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A semantic study of discourse connectivity in Korean

Yang, Insun Kang, Ph.D.
Rice University, 1993

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A SEMANTIC STUDY OF DISCOURSE CONNECTIVITY IN KOREAN

by

INSUN KANG YANG

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Houston, Texas
April, 1993
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1993
Abstract

A Semantic Study of Discourse Connectivity in Korean

Insun Kang Yang

The focus of this paper is on coordinate conjunction markers in Korean. Most studies of clause conjunctions in Korean have been very formal syntactic studies. Formal syntactic approaches, however, fail to identify the subtle semantic qualities of conjunctions in discourse. This paper thus adopts a pragmatic/functional perspective, concluding that coordinating conjunctions carry not only grammatical information, but also necessarily semantic and pragmatic information. In other words, the present study discovers the underlying semantic differences among the coordinate conjunctions by examining their more overt syntactic behaviors based on insights from a functional approach.

This study also investigates how spoken discourse is connected. A sentence outside of its context can be interpreted in a number of different ways depending on the inclination of the interpreter. Studies 'beyond the sentence' that is actual discourse, however, are ultimately necessary for understanding language. In discourse, connectivity is one of the fundamental areas needing exploration, and my analysis of spoken Korean discourse is intended as a contribution to that study. The Korean discourse data itself is another contribution to the analysis of Korean discourse.
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my appreciation to each member of my thesis committee members, Dr. James Copeland, Dr. Philip Davis, Dr. Douglas Mitchell, and Dr. Stephen Tyler, for their guidance and encouragement.

Special thanks go to my advisor Professor James Copeland. Professor James Copeland has helped me with valuable suggestions and comments concerning the contents, style, and form of the thesis. I am grateful for his enduring patience and warm encouragement.

I am also greatly indebted to Professor Philip Davis. He has generously contributed his valuable time and spent many hours in discussion with me. Without his insightful comments, criticisms, and suggestions, this thesis would have been much poorer than it is.

Finally I thank my parents, Young-Bok Kang and Young-soon Park, who have always expected something special of their eldest daughter. I would also like to extend my thanks to my husband, Taeyong Yang. Without his patience and understanding of my academic life this thesis could never have been written.
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cm
DO
gm
honor
ind
inst
IO
lm
nm
mod
om
plu
pre pro
pres
pm
pre
qm
ques
rm
sm
tns
tp

Conjunction marker
Direct object marker
Genitive marker
Honorific suffix
Indicative mood marker
Instrumental case marker
Indirect object marker
Locative marker
Nominalizing marker
Modifying marker
Object marker
Plural marker
Present progressive marker
Present tense marker
Polite marker
Present tense
Quotation marker
Question marker
Relative marker
Subject marker
Tense marker
Topic marker
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Chapter 1
Introduction

The definition of a coordinating conjunction found in Webster's dictionary (New Universal Unabridged Dictionary) is:

"...A conjunction that marks equal grammatical rank between the words or word groups that it connects."

S. Dik (1968: 65) defines coordination as follows:

"A coordination is a construction consisting of two or more members which are equivalent as to grammatical function, and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of a linking device."

The above definitions are syntactic definitions of coordination. Coordinating conjunctions connect constituents of equal grammatical rank, and in this way they differ from subordinating conjunctions. The primary focus of this dissertation is on coordinate conjunction markers in Korean. There are three possible approaches to the study of coordination markers in Korean. The first is purely syntactic, the second is semantic, and the third is pragmatic. I will adopt the point of view of the third approach to coordination markers: a pragmatic, or functional, perspective. This dissertation thus seeks an answer to the question of whether coordinating conjunctions carry only grammatical information or whether they also necessarily carry semantic and pragmatic information.

1.1. Previous syntactic study of Korean conjunctions.

1.1.1. Syntactic rules

Most of the previous syntactic study of coordinating conjunctions in general and in Korean, specifically, focuses upon the derivation of conjoined surface sentences from deep structure. Because of the influence of Transformational Generative Grammar, formal
derivation is the major concern of the syntactic approach. According to Andrew Radford (1981:104), coordination can be derived by the following rules:

1. \( X^n \rightarrow X^m \ldots \) (where \( m = n \), or \( n-1 \))
2. \( X \rightarrow X \text{ conj } X \)

".....Rule (1) says every \( X \) phrase must have an \( X \) as its head and a phrase of category \( X \) with \( n \) bars contains as its head (i.e. must immediately dominate) a constituent of category \( X \) with \( n-1 \) bars (such as \( NP \) dominates \( N \)) or with \( n \) bars (such as \( N \) dominates \( N \)). Rule (2) says coordinated constructions are endocentric. That is, the coordinated constituents have the same category status as their conjuncts, e.g. conjoining two Noun Phrases produces a Noun Phrase, conjoining two Prepositional Phrases produces a Prepositional Phrase....and so on and so forth."

Thus the structure of a conjoined Noun Phrase like "This tall boy and that short girl (get on well together)." might well be:

```
N
 / \  
N    Conj    N
 | |     |     |
This tall boy and that short girl
```

Lakoff and Peters (1966:2) had a different rule for the coordinate conjunctions:

3. \( X \rightarrow \text{ conj } X^n \quad n \geq 2 \)

Suppose \( n = 3 \), then this rule generates a string as follows:

4. and NP NP NP

Then, this string is converted into:

5. and NP and NP and NP
Then the first 'and' is obligatorily deleted by transformations, and there is an optional transformation deleting all but the last 'and'. Thus the structure of conjoined Noun Phrase like

(6) John, Mary, Mark and Tom

will be

```
NP
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</table>
NP  NP  NP  conj  NP
  |      |     |    |
John Mary Mark and Tom
```

In discussing coordinating conjunctions in English, Lakoff and Peters have claimed there are two types of conjunction: sentence conjunction and phrasal conjunction (1969: 113):

(7) John and Mary are erudite.
(8) John and Mary are alike.

Sentence (7) is derived from the underlying structure (9).

(9) John is erudite and Mary is erudite.

Sentence (8) can not be interpreted in this way.

(10) John is alike and Mary is alike.

Sentential conjunction sentences like (7) have been treated adequately within the framework of transformational grammar. However, phrasal conjunction sentences like (8) can not be derived from (10) and Transformational Generative Grammar was not successfully dealt with these relations. Lakoff and Peters claim that the reason there are these two kinds of conjunction is that two kinds of verbs exist: symmetrical and non-symmetrical verbs. They distinguish symmetrical verbs like "erudite, leave, meet... etc.,"
from non-symmetrical verbs like "alike, are similar, marry...etc.". (Lakoff and Peters' distinction between sentence conjunction and phrasal conjunction will be important in studying the Korean noun phrase conjunction wa 'and' in chapter 3.)

1.1.2. Constraints

Another syntactic approach involves constraints on coordination. The origin of this approach is Ross' (1967) coordinate structure constraints. Ross' constraints are:

"No element can be moved out of a coordinate structure."
"Coordinate structures are islands."

These constraints block the derivation of ungrammatical sentences such as the following.

* Mildred, I really like George and ______.

Most syntactic studies reformulate or develop new constraint conditions to handle the exceptions that Ross' constraints can not (e.g. Schachter 1977, Dougherty 1970). Ross' constraint is a very important condition in the explanation of gapping or conjunction reduction in TG Grammar. Gapping occurs when two sentences are conjoined, and the overlapping parts of the predicate are deleted (John goes to school and Mary goes to school. -> John and Mary go to school). Conjunction reduction occurs when two sentences are conjoined and the overlapping co-referential Noun Phrase is deleted (John is handsome. John is smart. -> John is handsome and smart)

1.1.3. Recursion

The syntactic approach treats conjunction as a major source of recursion, as in the sentence 'John said that Mary loves that..... Tom and Mary and John and .....'. This approach further distinguishes coordinating from subordinating conjunctions. Coordination is restricted to units which contain the same constituents, like NP & NP or VP & VP; coordinated constituents are conjoined as sister nodes under a single, higher-level node of the same structural category as illustrated in the following.
1.2. Semantic approaches

The traditional Transformational Generative approach to coordinating conjunctions has a semantic component. When two constituents are conjoined, they must have some semantic similarity; more specifically, the two conjuncts must have the same semantic function. Thus if two conjuncts have semantically no common ground between them, it is difficult to connect them. Similarly, deletions like gapping or conjunction reduction across conjoined sentence boundaries are possible only when there is a common semantic relationship. Thus, even though an element is deleted it must be recoverable, based on its semantic similarity to the other component.

According to Shiffrin (1982:175), two issues dominate the semantic analysis of conjunctions. First, there is the question whether conjunctions are natural language parallels to logical connectives, and thus to be defined only by their truth conditions. In other words, if two true sentences are conjoined with and, then the combined sentence is true. If either sentence were false, the combined sentence would be false. The second question arises when the interpretation of a given conjunction is beyond that of logical conjunction. In that case, the question is whether the interpretation of a given conjunction is from properties of the conjunctions themselves, or properties of the connected propositions, or pragmatic principles of use.

To describe the semantic values of coordinators, scholars tend to rely on logic. The coordinators are classified as 'logical connectives'. In logic, the values of the connectives and but are determined by the truth values of the sentences (or propositions) which they combine. Classical logic has connection conditions such that two propositions must have a common truth-value, and they are connected purely syntactically by a connective. Two connected clauses keep the same truth value even though they occur in either order and they do not change in grammaticality, even though they change the order. In other words, symmetricality is an important feature of conjunction.
Examine the following truth table 1.1:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>q</th>
<th>p&amp;q</th>
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<tr>
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<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Truth Table 1.1

That is, 'p&q' is true if and only if 'p' is true and 'q' is true. However, whether the properties of truth and falsity have any relation to the grammatical and semantic structure of natural languages is questionable. These truth and falsity properties could be attributed to declarative sentences in the indicative mood. However, the coordinators of natural language are not all restricted to linking sentences of this type. They have a much wider range of use, combining questions, wishes, exhortations, and almost any kind of linguistic expressions, including the following:

(11) Please turn on the light, and open the window!
(12) Do you want to go or stay?

For validating the claim that the natural language conjunction and is parallel to the logical connective &, the symmetricality condition is essential. Two connected clauses should maintain the same truth value even though they change the order.

According to R. Lakoff (1971:126), the difference between symmetric and asymmetric conjunction is, first, that symmetric conjunction freely allows for any number of conjuncts in a sentence, and the members can change their order freely without changing grammaticality or meaning. But this is not true of asymmetric conjunction. The second difference between the two types concerns presupposition. With symmetric conjunction, none of the conjuncts is presupposed, but rather all are asserted. With asymmetric and, the first member of the pair is presupposed in order for the second to be meaningful. In other words, with symmetric conjunction, each conjunct is independent of the conjuncts it precedes or follows. For the asymmetric conjunction, each conjunct is more dependent.
Therefore, when in natural English **and** is used in the asymmetrical sense, it presents a real problem for the logicians' view. To be symmetrical, the order can be alternated freely without a change in truth value. Consider the following examples:

(13) John left and Mary stayed  
(14) Mary stayed and John left.  
\[ p \cdot q = q \cdot p \]

(15) John went to the store and bought a napkin.  
(16) John bought a napkin and went to the store.  
\[ p \cdot q \neq q \cdot p \]

In examples (13) and (14), even though the order is changed, the truth value of the pair remains the same. However, in (15) and (16), if the order is changed, there is a time relationship between two propositions, thus the meaning is changed; **and** in (15) and (16) is asymmetrical and paraphrased as **and then**.

In English there are thus at least two different **ands**. One of them simply links two or more sentences, and the other imposes an order of priority on the sentences it links. This second, asymmetric **and**, is equivalent to **and then**. Lakoff and Peters (1969:69) state that symmetricality is the basis of coordinate clauses. They claim that even though **and then** is asymmetrical, it has a symmetrical **and** in the deep structure. They claim that asymmetric **and** is reducible to symmetric **and** plus **then**. But Robin Lakoff (1971) disagrees with their claim. She (1971) states that **and, or, but** have both symmetric and asymmetric characteristics. Symmetric **and, or, but** have coordinate characteristics, and asymmetric **and, or, but** have subordinate characteristics. R. Lakoff's asymmetrical **and** has a temporal character. Temporal asymmetrical **and** (actually **and then**) is not the same as the logical connective **and**, since it is not reversible and it presupposes the first conjunct. Schmerling (1975) criticizes R. Lakoff by saying that not all asymmetric conjunctions have temporal sequence. Her point is that asymmetrical **and** has not only a temporal character, **and then**, but also it has an aspectual character as well. Schmerling (1975) continues that although linguists and philosophers have recognized the existence of asymmetric **and** conjunction clauses, such clauses have not received serious attention. Schmerling states that not only is the 'asymmetric conjunction' not identical with 'logical conjunction'; 'symmetric conjunction' is also not identical with 'logical conjunction' as the following examples show:
(17) a. I go to the store and buy the whisky
    b. I didn't go to the store or buy the whisky
    c. I didn't go to the store and buy the whisky.

According to Demorgan's law which pertains to logical conjunction.

\[- p \land - q = -(p \lor q)\]

Schmerling says that since 'u' is 'or', the expected negative version of the sentence (17a) should be (17b), but according to her (17c) is the negative counterpart of (17a) and it keeps 'and' not 'or'. Therefore, Demorgan's law does not work, and the symmetrical and is not logically symmetrical.

Thus linguists, especially functional pragmatic linguists (R. Lakoff, Schmerling etc.), generally agree that natural language and logic are somewhat interrelated, but different. Logic is a subset of natural language. Natural language is neither logical nor illogical. Certain sentences of natural language can be correlated with truth-values, but logic is only concerned with a part of natural language, and its purpose and use is quite different from the normal communicative use of natural language. Therefore linguistic semantics is not the same as logical semantics. It is for this reason that truth-tables are of no practical use in clarifying the semantic values of coordinators in natural language.

1.3. Beyond the asymmetrical and

Besides its problems with the asymmetrical and, the logical semantic approach has still more problems, since in many cases the interpretation of the conjunction is beyond that of logical conjunction or the asymmetrical sense of and. There are thousands of examples which can not be explained by the logical conjunction and or by the asymmetrical temporal or causal and. Consider the following examples from van Dijk (1977: 40):

1. Peter is at the library and (he) is reading a book on physics.
2. John is very reactionary and very fond of Richard Nixon.
3. Harry came at six and Bill came at seven.
4. Laura took a pill and fell asleep.
5. I am damned thirsty and I am going to order four beers.
6. Give me that book and I will show you the picture.
7. Give me enough money and I would show you that I could finish any project.

1'. (and) there
2'. (and) in that situation, simultaneously, while
3'. (and) next; (and) then
4'. (and) therefore
5'. (and) consequently
6'. if...then
7'. if...then

In the above examples, although the and is not a temporally or causally asymmetrical one, all of its occurrences imply meanings beyond the logical conjunction meaning.

According to Posner, and can be interpreted in thousands of ways depending on the context (Posner 1980: 186):

(18) a. Annie is in the kitchen and she is making doughnuts.
   b. Annie fell into a deep sleep and her facial color returned
   c. The window was open and there was a draft
   d. Peter married Annie and she had a baby
   e. Paul pounded on the stone and he shattered it
   f. Give me your picture and I will give you mine
   g. The number 5 is a prime number and it is divisible only by 1 and itself.
   h. Peter is a reactionary and he is crazy about Mao.

(18') (a)....and there.....
   (b)....and during this time.......
   (c)....and coming from it....
   (d)....and after that.....
   (e)....and thereby...
   (f)....If you give me your picture, I will give you mine.
   (g)....and therefore....
   (h)....and nevertheless....
i. The locks were opened and the ship was able to move on
j. The control lamp went on and the oil pump was broken

(i)....so that....
(j)....which showed that....

(18') lists the possible interpretations of and in (18). Posner's examples are convincing in showing that there are numerous different interpretations of and depending on the context of its use. He further states that and can even be replaced with a semicolon in a written text, as in the following:

(19)  a. Annie is in the kitchen; she is making doughnuts.
    b. Annie fell into a deep sleep; her facial color returned
    c. The window was open; there was a draft
    d. Peter married Annie; she had a baby
    e. Paul pounded on the stone; he shattered it
    f. Give me your picture; I will give you mine.
    g. The number 5 is a prime number; it is divisible only by 1 and by itself.

According to Posner, we can communicate practically the same information with (19) as with (18). Does it follow then the semicolon, i.e. simple juxtaposition, itself has a meaning, actually many different meanings? It can be observed that (18) and (19) have some differences in meaning. Sentences in (18), each contain two equally ranked propositions that are connected by and. However, in the sentences in (19), the second clause seems to be subordinate to the first clause. In other words, the two propositions are not in fact equally ranked.

It is thus clear from these examples that there are many different possible meanings of and. The logically uniform and interpretation in which and codes only conjunctivity or connexity relations for the above examples, does not work here. There remain, then, three other possible explanations of the conjunction and as follows:

Second: It is accounted for by the properties of the connected propositions.
Third: It is accounted for by the properties of the conjunctions themselves.
Fourth: It is accounted for by the general context of knowledge of the world.
1.4. The properties of the connected propositions.

Let us look first at the possibility that conjunction can be accounted for by the properties of the connected propositions. T. van Dijk (1977:25) states that

'(ii)......it was supposed that, in entailment, both connects should at least share one proposition.....
(iii). A more general requirement is that connected propositions be compatible, i.e. neither of them must entail the negation of the other. This condition does not hold, however, for tautological disjunction. A sentence like 'Peter is at home or Peter is not at home' is acceptable, and its propositions are connected by 'condition (ii), if it may be said that p and -p share a proposition.'

What van Dijk is claiming is that if the coordinator has a combinatory semantic value, the members which it coordinates must be compatible.

(20) * The bird is tall and small.

Sentence (20) is not normally acceptable, because of the incompatibility ('tall' contradicts 'small') of both coordinated members. Compatibility may be a matter of degree. R. Lakoff (1971:118) says that two sentences may be conjoined if one is relevant to the other, or if they share a common topic, but she expands the notion of topic and relevance beyond intensional meanings of connected propositions to include speaker/hearer background knowledge, presuppositions, and deductions. Consider R. Lakoff's examples:

(21) John eats apples and John eats pears.
(22) John eats apples and his brother drives a Ford.
(23) ? John eats apples and many New Yorkers drive Fords.
(24) ? John eats apples and I know many people who never see a doctor.
(25) ?? Boys eat apples and Mary threw a stone at the frog.
(26) *John is a strict vegetarian and he eats lots of meat.

In the above examples (21) through (26), the difficulty of contextualizing the sentences increases in order. Lakoff claims (1971:114) that there is a hierarchy of naturalness of the presuppositions and deductions. She then states that two sentences may be conjoined if one is relevant to the other, or if they share a common topic. But the common topic is not
necessarily overtly present and identifiable in the sentences. The common topic is the part of each conjunct of the sentence that is overlapping.

If the paired constituents that compose the common topic are identical, and all other pairs are similarly identical, except for one; and this pair is such that, if one member is A and one B, A = - B, the conjunction will be contradictory. The effect of a situation like this will be that the second conjunct denies an assertion or presupposition made in the first.

Saunders and Davis (1978:49) say that conjunction is possible only when a common theme exists between the conjoined sentences. And common theme means there is at least one pair of matching semantic constituents and no more than n-1 pairs of matching constituents between the conjoined sentences (where n equals the total number of paired constituents.) This compatibility, or contrast theory can at most explain Posner's example (18h), but it can not explain all the above different kinds of and.

Hockett (1958:153) says that coordinators do not serve directly as carriers of meaning, but only as markers of the structural relationships between other forms. Linguists and philosophers have long argued whether function words like conjunctions have meaning or not. Part of the answer to the question depends on the definition of 'semantics'. There are two kinds of content: semantic and pragmatic. Pragmatic meaning adds contextual information to linguistic meaning. It will be necessary first to discuss semantics and pragmatics before continuing the discussion of whether the above kinds of conjunction involving and can be accounted for by the properties of the and itself or only by including the properties of the context of its use.

1.5. Semantics and pragmatics

Semantics is the study of meaning. The notion of semantic presupposition originated with the logician and philosopher Gottlob Frege (1893), who developed the notion of the logical form of sentences. He claims that when declarative sentences make a statement, each of their referring expressions should succeed in referring to an appropriate object.

Levinson (1983:12) says that pragmatics is the study of all those aspects of meaning that are not captured in a semantic theory.
'...Those linguistic investigations that make necessary reference to aspects of the context....'

Where the term 'context' covers the identities of participants, the temporal and spatial parameters of the speech event and the beliefs, knowledge and intentions of the participants in that speech event. Syntax is taken to be the study of the combinatorial properties of words and their parts, and semantics to be the study of the meanings of these. Pragmatics thus includes the study of language usage in context.

Charles Morris (1938) was the first to make a division among syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Bar-Hillel (1954) proposed that pragmatics is the study of the context of use. Without knowing the situation of the conversation and context, you can not know the reference.

Richard Montague (1970) and his colleagues have provided a basis for indexical semantics in the general framework of model-theory. Following Frege (1893), he distinguishes senses from meanings. Senses are defined to be functions of a possible world while meanings are functions of two arguments- a possible world and a context of use. The truth value should be maintained in the context.

Cresswell (1973) says that there are two kinds of pragmatics: semantic pragmatics and pragmatic pragmatics. With the former, a part of the meaning is dependent on the context, and with the latter the meaning is entirely dependent on the context.

Borrowing from Kant, Grice (1975) proposes four cooperative principles in a conversation: quantity, quality, relation, and manner. These four principles provide for the effectiveness of the conversation. Conversational implicature offers a point of departure for examining many important problems about the interface of semantics and pragmatics.

1.6. The linguistic background of pragmatics

In generative theory, Chomsky emphasizes syntax, first dividing language into competence and performance. Grammar describes competence, and pragmatics belongs to performance. It is therefore outside the purview of grammar. Only some followers of Chomsky (e.g. Katz and Langendoen 1976) distinguish grammar from pragmatics. The
former is the study of competence and the latter is the study of language use. Pragmatics studies the utterance, and grammar studies the sentence. But generative grammarians like Ross (1970), G. Lakoff (1972), and McCawley (1968) have attempted to include pragmatics within grammar. Ross adopts Austin's performative concept into the grammar. G. Lakoff (1987) and Sadock (1974) include context in the semantic interpretation of sentences.

The object of study in pragmatics is not the sentence, but discourse. If grammar includes the study of discourse, not just the sentence, then the mathematical approach or tree diagram is insufficient for the study of meaning in language. The idea that there are contextual presuppositions over semantic presuppositions is largely accepted nowadays. Many linguists like Grice, Schmerling, R. Lakoff now suggest that the semantic notion of presupposition should be abandoned in favor of the contextual one.

Contextual presupposition differs from semantic presupposition. Semantic presupposition is determined by the grammatical structure of a sentence type, whereas contextual presupposition is determined by the larger context. Contextual presupposition applies to actual utterances, while semantic presupposition applies to idealized sentences of a language. Descriptive semantics concerns itself with the meaning of sentences independently of their utterance in actual situations. There is a distinction between pragmatic and semantic contexts: semantic context is confined locally at most to a previous or following sentence in a discourse, while pragmatic context is not restricted to the context of contiguous sentences, but rather includes situational and broader cultural contexts as well.

Now let us return to the third and fourth possibilities for interpreting conjunction. I posed in section 1.3 (p.14) the question whether interpretation of conjunctions is dependent only on the properties of the conjunctions themselves, or whether it is dependent on the discourse context as well.

1.7. Pragmatic interpretation of and

And in numbers, as in one hundred and twenty-five, adds no more than its purely combinatory value. The basic semantic aspect of and is additive. Grice (1975) says that all the different kinds of and in the examples above mentioned by Posner or in van Dijk's
examples, can be explained from conversational implicature, and that there is no need to set up a special asymmetrical and then in addition to the symmetrical and in English. The notions of 'symmetrical' or 'asymmetrical' are themselves the result of conversational implicature. Schmerling (1975) basically agrees with Grice, but raises the objection that Grician implicature can not explain all 'asymmetrical conjunction' phenomena. Some of her examples are:

(27) a. I've got to try and find that screw.
    b. I've got to try and I've got to find that screw.

(28) a. She's gone and ruined her dress now.
    b. ? She's gone and she's ruined her dress now.

Sentences (27) and (28) are 'asymmetrical conjunction' sentences and (27a) and (28a) are the reduced versions of (27b) and (28b). However, the reduced versions of (27a) and (28a) do not have the same meaning as the original sentences (27b) and (28b). The extra information conveyed in the 'reduced' version is not present on the original sentences. The and in the reduced versions and the and in the original version have different contextual interpretations although they should be the same.

Taking Grice as a point of departure, Schmerling (1975), Posner (1980), and Gazdar (1979) all propose essentially identical analyses of and; and is regarded as an equivalent to logical conjunction, and its variation in meaning is attributed exclusively to the operation of pragmatic rules of conversation. And is basically symmetrical, and any asymmetry in the interpretation is derived from the context of usage.

1.8. The properties of conjunction itself

Bar-Lev and Palacas (1980) criticize the pragmatic inference hypothesis of and and claim that and is not semantically vacuous, but indeed has a meaning. One of their examples is the following (1980:144):

(29) Wars are breaking out all over;
    a. Champaign and Urbana have begun having border skirmishes
    b. * and Champaign and Urbana have begun having border skirmishes
c. for example, Champaign and Urbana have begun having border skirmishes

d. * and, for example, Champaign and Urbana have begun having border skirmishes

Sentence (29 a) is an exemplification of sentence (29). Sentence (29 b) and (29 d) are strange, because they contain and, showing that and itself has some meaning of its own. Another example is:

(30) There are his footprints;
    a. he has been here recently.
    b. * and he has been here recently.

Sentence (30 a) is an explanation of sentence (30). Sentence (30b) is not acceptable in isolation, because of the presence of and.

(31) Language is rule-governed;
    a. it follows regular patterns
    b. * and it follows regular patterns
    c. that is, it follows regular patterns
    d. * and, that is, it follows regular patterns
    e. in other words, it follows regular patterns
    f. * and, in other words, it follows regular patterns

(32) * Language follows regular patterns; and it is rule governed.

Here, (31 b), (32d), (32 f) are not acceptable because of and. These examples show that in (18) and can be suppressed without much meaning difference, but not in (29), (30), and (31). The meaning of and can not be suppressed with the meaning of exemplification in (29), explanation in (30), and conclusivity in (31), but with causality and temporal in (18). If Bar-Lev and Palacas are right to say that and can not be suppressed with explanation, conclusivity, and exemplification, then maybe in those cases, two clauses have a different relationship than causality or temporality. It would be interesting to figure out why, but that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
There are some problematic examples in Bar-Lev and Palacas' (1980) data:

(33) a. John can not read, and he is a linguist.
    b. *John can not read; he is a linguist.

(34) a. There are three important letters, and the most important of them
    is lambda.
    b. ?There are three important letters, and one of them is lambda.

Here, use of and between the two clauses seems to indicate that two topics are present, and are connected by and. However, if there is no conjunction, it seems that the second clause belongs more closely together with the first clause. For example, in (33), if John can not read, he can not be a linguist. The first clause in (33 a) implies that John can not be a linguist, but the second clause contradicts that. Therefore, the only way to accept (33) is with irony. If there is an and between two clauses, it is more acceptable on face value than when there is no conjunction, because the relationship between the two clauses seems less tight when a conjunction is present. Sentence (34 b) is a little awkward, because the first clause identifies all three letters and the second clause only mentions one of them. Since the conjoined clause is not new information, asyndeton is more appropriate, and use of the conjunction is an unnecessary addition.

If we return to Posner's examples, we find (18) and (19) differ in meaning. That is, in (18), the two different topics of the clauses are connected by and. However, in (19), the second clause seems subordinate to the first clause. Perhaps it is true that in English, the semantic aspect of and is just an additive factor and that the contextual interpretation provides the rest of the information. Dik says (1972:250) that Indo-European languages all have a coordinator comparable to and, which has just a combinatory value without any further specification of the particular relation holding between the members of the coordination.

We have so far only discussed the semantic and pragmatic analysis of conjunctions in English. Korean conjunctions are somewhat different from English conjunctions. This dissertation examines the semantic quality of conjunction in Korean discourse. Chapter 2 will introduce the general characteristics of Korean conjunctions.
1.9. Discourse

So far, we have examined the use of and in the context of the combination of two clauses within a sentence. The conjunction should be additionally examined in the broader context of its functions in discourse. To understand language communication, the sentence does not provide a sufficiently broad context. The study of conjunctions is much more successful within the context of discourse since conjunctions are the major method of maintaining discourse coherence. Most of the propositions in a discourse are connected by conjunctions, although, in some cases, they are not connected by overt conjunction. They are simply juxtaposed.

1.9.1 What is discourse?

In studying discourse, four major distinctions are relevant; (a) language, (b) participants (speaker and hearer), (c) mental world, and (d) the real world.

(a). Language
Language is medium of the discourse. In producing a discourse, language is the basic tool necessary to the speaker/writer; and for understanding a discourse, language is the basic tool of the hearer/reader.

(b). Participants
Discourse requires a speaker, an addressee, and sometimes there is an observer. The observer is one who is overtly present at the time of the actual speech activity and has influence in a direct and/or an indirect way. For example, if there is an observer in the speech act situation, even though only the speaker and the addressee take an active part in the conversation, the style of conversation will be affected, as against a conversation in which there is no observer.

(c). Mental world
The speaker tries to describe the real world, but the real world is filtered through the speaker's mental world. Robin Lakoff's (1970:) example is clear about this:

(a). The animal you saw was a chipmunk: see, there he is running up a tree.
(b). That thing rusting in the bushes over there will no doubt be a chipmunk: let's wait till it comes out.
She says that the choice of the tense is determined by the speaker’s viewpoint. In (a), in the real world, the chipmunk is still there, and it is the same chipmunk that was seen, but the past tense is used because in the speaker’s mental world, it is displaced; the speaker can not see it any more. In (b), when the speaker says the sentence, there is something there, but it is not clear in the speaker's mind; the speaker then uses the future tense. R. Lakoff says the speaker's viewpoint, in other words, the speaker's mental world is a factor here.

In the study of discourse or of pragmatics, the speaker's mental world is thus part of communication. Pragmaticians have studied focus or emphasis of the speaker's mental world. Where in his utterances the speaker chooses to place the focus determines the syntactic form used. Use of the passive or the active voice and the choice of cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences are examples of such speaker focusing devices.

Another aspect of the speaker's mental world is the intention of the speaker. Locution, illocution, and perlocution are the salient distinctions. The same utterance can be different by reason of the speaker's intention. The locutional speech act is the plain, propositional speech act when we make an utterance. If we perform some social act when we make an utterance, e.g. making a promise, a request, giving advice, etc., then we are performing an illocutionary act. A perlocutionary act is counted as the consequence of the illocutionary act, how much change has the hearer brought. For example:

(35) This room is hot.

If a sentence (35) means that literally 'this room is hot', then it is a locution. If the sentence means 'since this room is hot, please open the window', then it is an illocutionary act. And if the sentence means 'I want this room to be cool, not hot. Why did you make this room so hot?' then it is a perlocutionary act.

Contextual presupposition is also another important factor. The speaker leaves unsaid what is presupposed or already known. The phenomenon of ellipsis is conditioned by such presupposition.

(d). Real world
In the real world entailment is important. For example;
(36) The room is cold.

If in the real world, the room is hot, (36) is opposite expression of its being hot. 
If the room is really cold, and the door is open, then it means please close the door. 
If the room is really cold, but the speaker already asked the hearer to make the room hot, then it means a complaint.

1.9.2. How discourse is connected?

Discourse coherence is achieved in part when each sentence satisfies a topic of the discourse. The semantic coherence relation between sentences involves topic. Each sentence in discourse should directly or indirectly satisfy topic, and sentences are connected with respect to a topic.

Discourse connection involves semantic interdependence. If two sentences are related to each other in meaning, then a conjunction marker can be used to code this relation. In other words, there is a 'semantic' connection prior to conjunction. Suppose that two sentences are not coherent in terms of their semantic meaning, the use of a conjunction is then meaningless. Consider the following example:

(37) Mary is beautiful, so the distance between Rome and Paris is 150 km.

Sentence (37) is anomalous. Also the connection of the sentences or phrases is not dependent on the presence of conjunctions. The conjunctions do not make sentences connected. The use of conjunctions implies that two sentences are already related or compatible. Conjunctions are tools of discourse connection, but they are also the outcomes of discourse connection. There are several different kinds of relatedness: temporal sequence, consequence, comparison, and addition etc. Halliday and Hasan (1976, chapter 5) have proposed four categories of conjunction: additive, adversative, causal, temporal. Martin (1983:1) says there are four conjunctive relation types: temporal, consequential, comparative, and additive.

Conjunctions are used to signal connections between sentences or phrases. In discourse, however, conjunctions are not the only method of connection. Pronouns and articles are also types of connectors. The use of pronouns and articles involves the identity of the
references. How references are organized in discourse is one of the important methods of discovering discourse connection. Reference marking is a necessary device for the continuity of topic.

Sometimes adverbs and prepositional phrases are also used to connect sentences in discourse. However, conjunction is the most frequently used means to relate clauses, and thus to form the text. Besides conjunction, tense marking in Korean is also a frequently used device to connect clauses in discourse. In Chapter 7, we consider ways in which Korean sentences are connected by means of conjunction, reference marking, and tense usage in discourse.

1.10. The data

The data used for this study are interviews with three Korean graduate students and one senior researcher in Houston. Two of the participants are females, and two are males. The data are composed mostly of the answers to the interviewer's question, "What is the most difficult or memorable experience in your life?" The interviewees are all native speakers of Korean, and all from Seoul, except for one (text 2 informant) who is from the southern part of Korea.

All of the data are spoken Korean texts and considered to be "informal" style, as indicated by the characteristic use of the verbal suffixes -yo, -tako, and -ketun etc., rather than the typical declarative -ta or interrogative -nikka. Consider the following lists of the verbal endings that are found in the texts:

1. -ta (declarative representative form) [text 1, line 45]

2. -nikka (interrogative) [text 1, line 53]

3. -ji (suspective, declarative) [text 1, line 5,57,73]

4. -rako (declarative ending+ quotative complementizer) [text 1, line 82, 84]

5. -tako (declarative ending+ quotative complementizer) [text 1, line 89, 93]
6. -ketun (quotative and declarative and connective) [text 1, line50,68]

7. -te (quotative) [text 1, line 75,115]
   -teyo (quotative polite) [text 3, line 22]

9. -re (imperative quotative) [text 1, line 76, 95]

10. -teraku(yo) (quotative or declarative polite) [text 3, line 9]1

10. -co (declarative) [text 1, line 46]

12. -je (suggestive) [text 3, line 46]

13. -yo (interrogative or declarative or imperative or proposative) [text 1, line 47, 65]

14. -nyako (indirect question) [text 1, line 49]

15. -keoya (declarative) [text 1, line52]

   -ya [text 1, line 59]

17. -kuna (declarative 'I guess') [text 1, line 72]

19. -na (interrogative) [text 1, line 116]

All the above 17 final mood suffixes are informal endings except for items no.1 and 2. Among them, item 13 -yo is the most frequently occurring suffix in informal discourse. The suffix -yo occurs only in colloquial communication. Item 5 -tako (item 4 -rako is a variation of -tako) expresses a strong assertion of the proposition. The form -tako only occurs in informal discourse, but never occurs in formal contexts.

Text 1 is a long narrative by a male student. The speaker was not conscious of the videotaping when he was telling the story. It is the story of how he became a Christian. He came to the U. S. as an immigrant when he graduated from high school, and attended a
university in the U. S. Even though, he was expected to support his troubled family, he could not find a job after graduation. During that difficult time, the speaker met a friend who had prayed for him without the speaker's knowledge, and that incident was the motivation for his becoming a Christian.

Text 2 is composed of several episodes, and is also videotaped. The speaker was conscious of the taping. The speaker is a male researcher who was responding to the interviewer's question "What is the most difficult experience you have had since you came to the States?" The incidents are not always sad. They are sometimes joyful. The speaker had appeared on T.V. at one time. His difficult experiences mostly concern English. His wife also had similar difficult experiences when she was working as a teaching assistant.

Text 3 is a long narrative by a female speaker, and it was audiotaped. She had gotten a very special birthday present from a male friend when she was a sophomore in college. The text is the story of how she met and broke up with him.

Text 4 is also a long narrative by a female speaker, and it was also audiotaped. When she was in college, she was confronted by a street gang, and she narrowly escaped from the dangerous situation. The story is exciting and has some tension.
Chapter 2
Korean Conjunctions in General

Korean is an SOV language and as such it is different from an SVO language like English. For example, a relative clause in English has a postnominal position, while a relative clause in Korean has a prenominal position, although in both languages the relative clause has a similar backgrounding function. Joseph Greenberg (1962) has proposed that languages like English, that place objects after verbs, tend to place modifiers after nouns, to put conjunctions before the second of two words they connect, and to use prepositions. On the other hand, languages like Korean that place objects before verbs tend to reverse the order of those elements, placing modifiers before nouns, putting conjunctions after the second of two words they connect, and to use postpositions. Thus, according to Greenberg, Korean, an SOV language, naturally prefers prenominal relative clauses, and an SVO language like English prefers postnominal relative clauses.

Korean is an agglutinative language. Since it is agglutinative and suffixing, a productive way of analyzing Korean grammar is to study its suffixes. In Korean, the verb is the central part of the sentence. It always occurs finally in the sentence, and although the subjects are sometimes elided, the predicates are never dropped in normal conversational situations. Korean has a rich array of inflectional suffixes. Suffixes code most of the grammatical information. Thus, word order is not as important in Korean as it is in English, and a study based on the suffixes is the best approach to Korean grammar.

If the central part of the clause is the predicate, then the definition of a complex sentence is a sentence that has two or more separate predicates. In other words, if there are multiple verb phrases in a sentence, the sentence is a complex sentence. A simple sentence has only one verb phrase.

The verb in Korean is composed of the root and grammatical suffixes. For example:

(1) abeo+nim+i ka+si+ess+ta
    father+hon+sm go+hon+past+ind
    'Father left.'
In the predicate ka+si+ess+ta, ka 'go' is the root and -si is the honorific marker, -ess is the past tense marker and ta is the indicative mood marker. -si, -ess, and ta are the suffixes of the predicate ka. The conjunction marker appears as the suffix of the predicates as in the following example:

\[(2) \text{ abeo+nim+i} \quad \text{ka+si+ess+kö} \quad \text{John+to} \quad \text{a+ss+ta} \]
\[
\text{father+hon+sm} \quad \text{go+honor+past+and} \quad \text{John+also} \quad \text{go+past+ind}
\]

'Father left and John left also.'

In (2) the conjunction marker -kö in ka+si+ess+kö is together with -si and -ess, a suffix of the predicate -ka. Consider the following example:

\[(3) \text{ abeo+nim+i} \quad \text{ka+si+ess+um+ul} \quad \text{al+koi+ss+ta} \]
\[
\text{father+hon+sm} \quad \text{go+hon+past+nm+om} \quad \text{know+pre pro+ind}
\]

'I know that father left'

In sentence (3), the nominalizer -um is the suffix of the predicate in the first clause. The usual ordering of the suffixes of the predicate is that after the root, the voice marker comes first, the aspect marker comes second, the honorific marker comes third, the tense marker comes fourth, and the mood marker comes fifth, and the conjunction marker comes last. This is illustrated in the following:

\[\text{root+ voice+ aspect+ honor+ tense+ mood(conjunction)}\]

So far we have seen that the conjunction markers are final suffixes of the predicates. However, there are also conjunctions which are not suffixes but free and independent morphemes like the English conjunctions and, or, but etc. For example:

\[(4) \text{ abeo+nim+i} \quad \text{ka+si+ess+ta} \quad \text{kuriko} \]
\[
\text{father+honoric marker+sm} \quad \text{go+honor+past+ind mood} \quad \text{and}
\]

\[
\text{John+to} \quad \text{ka+ss+ta} \quad \text{John+also} \quad \text{go+past+ ind mood}
\]

'Father left and John left also.'
In (4), *kuriko* has a meaning similar to the coordinate conjunction suffix *-ko* in (2). However, it is a free morpheme, and not attached to the predicates of the first clause. There are some additional pairs of independent and bound conjunctions in Korean. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>independent form</th>
<th>bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>kureomyun</td>
<td>-myun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>kurese</td>
<td>-ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>kuriko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>kureona</td>
<td>-una</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjunction Table 2.1

A more detailed list of such pairs will be available in Table 6.1. In many cases the independent form is used as an initial sentence introducer in discourse, thus it is classified as a conjunction adverb in Korean reference grammar (e.g. Jeong and Jeong 1979:146). The independent form is historically derived from the adjective/verb *kureota* 'it is' plus the suffix markers.

\[
\text{kureota + ese} \Rightarrow \text{kurese} \\
\text{kureota + una} \Rightarrow \text{kureona}
\]

As mentioned earlier, conjunctions are usually divided into two groups: subordinate and coordinate. Coordinate conjunctions connect two clauses of equal grammatical rank, and the subordinate conjunctions connect two clauses in a hierarchical order. There are many kinds of subordinate conjunctions-- adverbial, relative, subjunctive, nominalized, serial, etc. For convenience of grouping, in this section I will divide and list all Korean suffix conjunctions into two groups: coordination markers and subordination markers, and each group is further subdivided.
I. Coordination markers:

1.1. NP coordination markers

'and' -wa/kwa, -hako, -irang/rang, -ini, -imyu, -ta, -etaka, -ina, -iko

1.2 VP coordination markers

'and' -ko, -myu, -kose, -ese
'while' -(u)myunse, -myu
'upon...ing' -ja, -nunte
'but' -(u)na, -eoto, -jimanun, -lato, -tüö, -kunman, -nuni

II. Subordination markers

There are five subgroups of Korean subordination markers: nominalizer/complementative marker, relative marker, adverbial marker, quotative marker, and serial verb marker.

1. Nominalizer

There are five markers in this group: -m 'ing,' -ki 'ing,' -keot 'ing,' ī 'ing,' ka 'ing.'

Some examples of them are as follows:

(5) ku-ka ton-i man-um-i punmyunghata.
    he-sm money-sm many-nm-sm clear-ind

'It is clear that he has a lot of money.'

(6) ne-ka jip-e ilj'k o-ki-ka taheng-ita.
    I-sm house-lm early come-nm-sm lucky-ind

'It is lucky that I come back home early.'

(7) jiku-ka tungulta-nun-keot-un jungmyung-tlios'-ta.
    earth-sm round-pres-nm-tp prove-become-ind

'It has been proved that the earth is round.'

2. Relative marker

Relative markers occur post-nominally, and here separate shapes depending on tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n/un</th>
<th>: Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nun</td>
<td>: Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
<td>: Future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(8) a. ne-ka salangha-ŋ jip-i yeoki iss-ta
    I-sm love-past house-sm here is-ind
    'The house that I loved is here.'

b. ne-ka salangha-nun jip-i yeoki iss-ta
    I-sm love-present house-sm here is-ind
    'The house that I love is here.'

c. ne-ka salangha-1 jip-i yeoki iss-ta
    I-sm love-future house-sm here is-ind
    'The house that I'll love is here.'

3. Adverbial markers
   This class has the largest number of Korean complex markers.

   (i) condition: -(u)myun, -keotun, -teorato, -eoya, -untul
   (ii) reason: -ese, -(u)nikka, -(u)muro, -uni, -nurako
   (iii) result: -ese, -kek'm, -torok, -urako
   (iv) addition: -taka, -(u)lp'unteoreo, -tusi, -i, -ja, -taka, -ulsurok
   (v) purpose: -koja, -(u)ryeoko, -ureo
   (vi) either-or: -keona, tunji
   (vii) should: -eoya
   (viii) background information: -nunte
   (viii) evaluation: -tasipi, -kunte
   (x) when: -tte
   .
   .
   etc.

4. Quotative markers
   Quotation markers are used for indirect quotations. There are two different forms:
   -rako 'they said,' -ko 'they said.'
    I-Tp John-sm school-lm go-qm say-past-ind
    'What I said was John went to school.'

6. Serial verb markers
These are suffixes used for coordinating serial verbs. Use of serial verbs is a very productive way of combining sentences in Korean. Common serial verb markers are given in (i) and (ii) provides some examples of them.

(i) -eo 'and,' -ko 'and,' -ji 'and,' -i 'and,' -ke 'to,' -torok 'is possible, can, ' -tusi 'looks like, almost,' -eoya 'should do,' -uryeo 'to do something;' -koja 'to do something;' -tasipi 'almost.'

(ii) Examples:

(a) -ko 'and'
(10) a. na-nun haky-o-e ka-ko-sip-ta
    I-Tp school-lm go-and-want-ind
    'I want to go to school.'

(b) -i 'and'
(11) Kusaram-i mal-i eops-i tteonapeori-ta
    he-sm say-sm not exist-and leave-ind
    'He left without a word.'

(c) -tusi 'like'
(12) pulk-un he-ka pul-i tha-tusi sosaoru-n-ta
    red-mod sun-sm fire-sm burn-like rise-pres-ind
    'The red sun is rising like a fire flaming.'

(d) -ke 'and'
(13) jeo ai-ka jeju-ka is'-ke seukyeoss-ta
    that child-sm talent-sm have-cm looks like-ind
    'That child looks like he has talent.'
(14) na-nun John-i hakyo-e ka-ke-he-ss-ta
    I-Tp John-sm school-lm go-cm-make-past-ind
    'I made John go to school.'

(e) -torok 'can'
(15) Tangkuk-un iokukin-to ikot-eseo sal-torok heokahe-ss-ta
    government foreigner-also here-at live-cm allow-past-ind
    'The government allowed foreigners also to live here.'

As is shown above, there is a large class of suffix conjunction markers in Korean. However, in this dissertation, I will be able to concentrate only on the coordination markers.
Chapter 3
Korean Noun Phrase Conjunction -wa

3.1. NP conjunction markers

The Korean suffixing marker -kwa/-wa, which functions to conjoin noun phrases, poses some interesting problems, both in regard to its syntactic patterning and its semantics. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Greenberg has proposed that SVO type languages like English, tend to put conjunctions before the second of the two constituents they connect, and SOV type languages like Korean, tend to put conjunctions after the second of the two constituents they connect. Thus, according to Greenberg, NP and NP is the expected pattern of English and NP NP wa is the expected pattern for Korean. However, in Korean we have both pattern-1 NP wa NP and pattern-2 NP NP wa.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are many noun phrase coordination conjunction markers in Korean, e.g. -wa/kwa, -hako, -irang rang, -ini, -imyu, -ikeon, -ita, -etaka, -ina, and -iko. Among them, -wa/kwa is the most productive and is the representative textbook form meaning 'and' in Korean. -Hako and -irang can be grouped together with -wa, because they all have the meaning of 'simple addition.' However, the three behave somewhat differently as conjunctions for NPs. For example, when -irang is used as a marker of conjunction, the last NP must have -irang suffixed, but this is not the case for -wa or for -hako. The difference between -hako and -wa is that the last NP can take -hako as a suffix, but in the case of -wa, the last NP must not appear with -wa suffixed to it.

Consider the following examples:

(1) a. sakwa-wa pe-wa poto-nul sa-ss-ta
    apple-and pear-and grape-om buy-past-ind
    'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'

    b. *sakwa-wa pe-wa poto-wa sa-ss-ta
       apple-and pear-and grape-and buy-past-ind
       *'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'

(2) a. sakwa-hako pe-hako poto-nul sa-ss-ta
    apple-and pear-and grape-om buy-past-ind
    'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'
b. sakwa-hako pe-hako poto-hako sa-ss-ta
   apple-and pear-and grape-and buy-past-ind
   'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'

(3) a. sakwa-rang pe-rang poto-nul sa-ss-ta
   apple-and pear-and grape-om buy-past-ind
   ?'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'

b. sakwa-rang pe-rang poto-rang sa-ss-ta
   apple-and pear-and grape-and buy-past-ind
   'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'

Sentence (1a) is acceptable, but sentence (1b), in which the last NP takes -wa as the suffix marker, is unacceptable because -wa can not occur on the last NP. And sentence (3a) is unacceptable, because the last NP does not appear with -irang as the suffix marker. Sentence (3b) shows that -irang must be present. Sentences (2a) and (2b) are both acceptable; either the last NP takes -hako as the suffix marker or it occurs with the object marker. Consider more examples (-wa appears as -kwa after a consonant):

(4) a. * tokki-wa keobuki-wa nuka ikil-kka?
    rabbit-and turtle-and who win-ques
    * 'Who is going to win between the rabbit and the turtle?'

b. tokki-hako keobuki-hako nuka ikil-kka?
   rabbit-and turtle-and who win-ques
   'Who is going to win between the rabbit and the turtle?'

c. tokki-rang keobuki-rang nuka ikil-kka?
   rabbit-and turtle-and who win-ques
   'Who is going to win between the rabbit and the turtle?'

(5) a. * Kim-kwa Lee-wa sara-ss-ta
    Kim-and Lee-and live-past-ind
    *'Kim and Lee lived together.'
b. Kim-hako Lee-hako sara-ss-ta 
   Kim-and Lee-and live-past-ind
   'Kim and Lee lived together.'

c. Kim-irang Lee-rang sara-ss-ta 
   Kim-and Lee-and live-past-ind
   'Kim and Lee lived together.'

Sentences (4 a) and (5 a) are not acceptable since the last NP occurs with -wa as the suffix marker. The acceptable expressions for (4 a) and (5 a) are as follows:

(4)  a'. ttkki-wa keobuki nuka ikil-kka?
      rabbit-and turtle who win-ques
      'Who is going to win, between the rabbit and the turtle?'

      a". ttkki-wa keobuki-junge nuka ikil-kka?
          rabbit-and turtle-between who win-ques
          'Who is going to win, between the rabbit and the turtle?'

(5)  a'. Kim-kwa Lee-ka sara-ss-ta
     Kim-and Lee-sm live-past-ind
     a. 'Kim and Lee lived together.'
     b. 'Kim and Lee lived.'

Sentences (4 a'), (4 a"), and (5 a') are all acceptable sentences, in which the last NP does not appear with -wa. Sentences (4 b), (4 c), (5 b), and (5 c) are acceptable. These distributions can be represented as in the following diagram:

1. NP+wa ........ NP+any other case marker
2. *NP+wa ........ NP+wa

3. NP+hako ........ NP+any other case marker
4. NP+hako ........ NP+hako

5. *NP+irang ........ NP+any other case marker
6. NP+irang ........ NP+irang
The remaining suffixes -ini, -imyu, -ita, -ikeon, -ina, -iko, and -etaka, add other meaning to the content of 'simple addition.' For example, -ina, -ikeon, and -iko have the meaning of 'selection' or 'condition' augmenting the meaning of 'simple addition'; and -ini, -imyu, and -ita provide an enumerative character to the meaning of 'addition'; and -etaka has the meaning of 'piling up.' Since the study of -wa/kwa is the main focus of this chapter (rather than these complex suffixes or a comparison among -wa/kwa, -hako, and -irang/rang), the following section will deal only with the contrast between number 1. and number 2.

The studies of -wa in the contexts of NP wa NP and NP NP wa can be divided into two types. Hyunbae Choi (1965), who is one of the best known scholars in current Korean linguistics, says that -wa in pattern-1 (NP wa NP) is conjunctive -wa, and -wa in pattern-2 (NP NP wa) is comitative. [Another -wa, comparative -wa, in Choi's study, it is irrelevant to the present study; it will not be discussed here.] Choi's study is based on a traditional prescriptive approach which assumes two -wa's and then describes their functions and distribution. However, many Korean linguists have not followed Choi in this approach. Thus other scholars (W. Kim 1970, Y. Kim 1974, Lim 1972, Hong 1986) say there are not two -wa's but one, and that -wa in pattern-2 is derived from -wa in pattern-1. Their studies were either heavily influenced by generative linguistics, especially Lakoff and Peter's oft cited paper (1969), or by Fillmore's case grammar. Their studies are mostly very formal syntactic accounts of -wa.

This study attempts to provide a semantic description of -wa based on a functional view of grammar, identifying the semantic differences and the similarities of -wa in its basic patterns. There is only one conjunctive -wa in Korean. But the semantics of -wa in pattern 1 differs from that of -wa in pattern 2 in that -wa in pattern 1 signals a unit composed of equal partners, while -wa in pattern 2 signals that the composing partners are unequal. The equality (or inequality) of the partners is recognized by the varying force with which they participate in the event. The character of the predicate is, then, important because the properties of reciprocality and activity interact with the semantic variation of -wa.
3.2. *wa*

3.2.1. The semantic similarities and the truth values between *wa* in pattern-1 and *wa* in pattern-2

A sentence with *wa* with pattern-2 as in (6) and a sentence with *wa* with pattern-1 as in (7) have some semantic similarity.

(6) Kim-i Lee-wa ssau-n-ta
     Kim-sm Lee-with fight-pres-ind
     'Kim fights with Lee.'

(7) Kim-kwa Lee-ka ssau-n-ta
     Kim-and Lee-sm fight-pres-ind
     'Kim and Lee fight.'

The same semantic similarity that holds for the pairs (6) and (7) is also applicable in the pairs (8) and (9), (10) and (11), and (12) and (13).

(8) Kim-i Lee-wa manna-ss-ta
     Kim-sm Lee-with meet-past-ind
     'Kim met with Lee.'

(9) Kim-kwa Lee-ka manna-ss-ta
     Kim-and Lee-sm meet-past-ind
     'Kim and Lee met.'

(10) Kim-i Lee-wa Seoul-e ka-ss-ta
     Kim-sm Lee-with Seoul-loc go-past-ind
     'Kim went to Seoul with Lee.'

(11) Kim-kwa Lee-ka Seoul-e ka-ss-ta
     Kim-and Lee-sm Seoul-loc go-past-ind
     'Kim and Lee went to Seoul.'
(12) Kim-i      Lee-wa      kyuohonhe-ss-ta  
       Kim-sm     Lee-with      marry-past-ind  

'Kim got married to Lee.'

(13) Kim-kwa    Lee-ka      kyuohonhe-ss-ta  
       Kim-and    Lee-sm      marry-past-ind  

'Kim and Lee married.'

As indicated by the English glosses of the above sentences, the pairs (6) and (7), (8) and (9), (10) and (11), and (12) and (13) share an analogous semantic contrast signalled by NP NP wa and NP wa NP respectively. We will refer to -wa (NP NP wa) in sentence (6) as p6-wa and -wa (NP wa NP) in sentence 7 as p7-wa since the two patterns are first introduced in sentences (6) and (7). The interesting feature of the patterns is that, -wa appears in both, but in different positions. I believe that the occurrence of the same morphological form in p7-wa and p6-wa suggests that they share some semantic similarity; however, their different position indicates that they have some semantic differences as well. In English, the semantic contrast is realized by two different morphemes, and and with. p7-wa is translated as 'and' in English and p6-wa is translated as 'with' in English.

According to the symmetricality condition, 'John and Mary fight' is true if and only if 'Mary and John fight'; and 'John fights with Mary' is true if and only if 'Mary fights with John.' According to Sukchung Song (1982: 47), if A stands for John and B for Mary, the following equation is possible.

English:     A and B fight = B and A fight = A fights with B = B fights with A  
Korean:     A-wa B-ka fight = B-wa A-ka fight = A-ka B-wa fight = B-ka A-wa fight

Thus we can say p7-wa and p6-wa share some semantic similarity and have the same truth value. However, there are differences in meaning and these differences are reflected in the syntactic contrasts between NP wa NP and NP NP wa. Let us look specially at some of the differences.
3.2.2. The differences between \textit{p7-wa} and \textit{p6-wa}

3.2.2.1. The different positions

Returning to section 3.1, if there are multiple NPs in one sentence, the final NP can not take \textit{-wa} as the conjunction marker as in pattern 2. (However, in case of \textit{-hako} and \textit{-irang}, the final NP can suffix them for the conjunction marking as in patterns 4 and 6). Thus (1a) is acceptable, but (1b) is not.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{sakwa-wa} & \textit{pe-wa} & \textit{poto-rul} & \textit{sa-ss-ta} \\
apple-and & pear-and & grape-om & buy-past-ind
\end{tabular}
'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'
\item \begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{*sakwa-wa} & \textit{pe-wa} & \textit{poto-wa} & \textit{sa-ss-ta} \\
apple-and & pear-and & grape-and & buy-past-ind
\end{tabular}
a. *'I bought an apple, a pear, and a grape.'
b. *'An apple, a pear, and grape bought.'
\end{enumerate}

Apparently the reason that the last NP can not take \textit{-wa} is because there are two different functions in \textit{-wa} : \textit{p7-wa} and \textit{p6-wa}. \textit{P7-wa} can not be attached after the last NP, since \textit{p7-wa} always requires another NP to the right of it. Thus, the dangling \textit{-wa} after the final NP is of necessity always \textit{p6-wa}. Although one other theoretical possibility of \textit{-wa} after the final NP would be some other case interpretation like nominative or accusative, the interpretation of \textit{-wa} as some other case marker is not, however, supportable, and thus the last \textit{-wa} should be interpretable as \textit{p6-wa}. Thus, (1b) is not acceptable, since the last \textit{-wa} has no way of being interpreted it as \textit{p6-wa}. However, the following gloss (a) of (14 a) is acceptable because the last \textit{-wa} is interpretable, with the \textit{p6-wa} meaning.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{Kim-kwa} & \textit{Lee-wa} & \textit{John-kwa} & \textit{ka-ss-ta} \\
Kim-and & Lee-and & John-and & go-past-ind
\end{tabular}
a. (I/He/ She) went with Kim, Lee, and John.'
b. *'Kim, Lee, and John went.'
\item \begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textit{Kim-kwa} & \textit{Lee-wa} & \textit{John-i} & \textit{ka-ss-ta} \\
Kim-and & Lee-and & John-sm & go-past-ind
\end{tabular}
'Kim, Lee, and John went.'
\end{enumerate}
c. Kim-kwa  
Lee-ka  
John-kwa  
ka-ss-ta  
Kim-and  
Lee-sm  
John-with  
go-past-ind  
'Kim and Lee went with John.'

d. Kim-i  
Lee-wa  
John-kwa  
ka-ss-ta  
Kim-sm  
Lee-and  
John-with  
go-past-ind  
'Kim went with Lee and John.'

The reason that the gloss (a) of (14 a) is acceptable is because Kim, Lee, and John are animates and can receive p6-wa interpretation with an 3rd person singular elided subject. On the contrary, (1 b) is not possible, since sakwa, pe, and poto are inanimates. Sentence (14 b) is acceptable, because there is a subject marker after the final NP. However, the (b) gloss of (14 a) is not acceptable since the final -wa is not interpretable with p6-wa meaning, but rather as the subject marker. Sentences (14 c) and (14 d) are acceptable sentences since the final -wa is interpretable with p6-wa meaning. In (1 b) there is no way of interpreting the final -wa as having p6-wa meaning, since the inanimate participant 'grape' can not buy anything with a presupposed elided subject if the final -wa were to be interpreted with p6-wa meaning, 'accompaniment'; and p6-wa also can not take the form of the subject marker -ka in this sentence. Inanimate participants can not participate actively in the event as will be made clear in the following section. Therefore sentence (1 b) is unacceptable. However, the gloss (a) of sentence (14 a) is acceptable, since the final -wa can be interpreted as p6-wa. The reason that p6-wa can not substitute for the subject or object case marker could arbitrarily be part of the grammar of p6-wa. The meaning difference is signaled by the contrasting positions of -wa.

3.2.2.2 The difference between p7-wa and p6-wa in multiple NP sentences

There is an interesting difference between p7-wa and p6-wa when they occur in multiple NP sentences. Consider now the following examples:

(15) Kim-i  
Lee-wa  
Susan-eke  
ton-ul  
ju-ess-ta  
Kim-sm  
Lee-and  
Susan-IO  
money-om  
give-past-ind  

a. 'Kim gave money to Lee and Susan.'

b. 'Kim with Lee gave money to Susan.'
(16) Kim-i Susan-eke Lee-wa ton-ul ju-ess-ta
    Kim-sm Susan-IO Lee-with money-om give-past-ind
  a. *'Kim gave money to Lee with Susan.'
  b. 'Kim with Lee gave money to Susan.'

In (15 a) there can be two separate acts of giving money to Lee and then to Susan, or there
 can be one simultaneous act of giving money to Lee and Susan at the same time. Thus -wa
 of Lee-wa can be interpreted as either pattern p7-wa or p6-wa. If there is a pause after -wa
 or stress on Lee, (b) is a more possible interpretation than (a). Of course the sense of (a)
 or (b) can be derived from the context even though there is no special pause or stress; for
 example, in the previous context if Susan asked money from Kim and Lee, then the (b)
 interpretation is more appropriate. In (16), (b) is the only possible meaning. Sentences
 (15 b) and (16 b) have the same English glosses, although (15 b) is a more productive
 sentence than (16 b). In (16), Lee can only be connected with the subject participant Kim,
 because Susan has the marker -eke. Lee can not join with Susan for the reason that when
 two NPs are in the dative case, they can not be connected using p6-wa. This constraint
 will be discussed in a later section. If Lee is joined with Susan, the result is an
 unacceptable sentence. However, consider the following examples:

  a. *'The US conceded the Philippines to China and the U.S.S.R.'
  b. 'The US with China conceded the Philippines to the U.S.S.R.'
  c. *'The US conceded China and the Philippines to the U.S.S.R.'

(18) U.S.-ka U.S.S.R-eke China-wa Philippines-ul yangbohe-ss-ta
  a. *'The US conceded China and the Philippines to the U.S.S.R.'
  b. ?'The US with China conceded the Philippines to the U.S.S.R.'
  c. *'The US conceded the Philippines to the U.S.S.R. with China.'

In (17) -wa of China-wa can be interpreted as either pattern p7-wa or p6-wa. The (17 c)
 interpretation is not possible since there is an intervening NP U.S.S.R-eke between China-
 wa and Philippines-ul and this NP hinders the connection between China and the
 Philippines. In order to connect two NPs, the two NPs normally need to be contiguous,
 with some possible exceptions like sentence (18 b). In (18 b), the first NP U.S.-ka and
the third NP China-wa can be connected although there is an intervening NP U.S.S.R-ke. The reason for this is that in (17 c) -wa of China-wa occurs as p7-wa, and in (18 b) -wa of China-wa is intended as p6-wa. In (16 b), -wa of Lee-wa is also p6-wa. However, (18 b) is an odd sentence since -wa of China-wa can be interpreted as p7-wa, and can easily be conjoined to the following NP as in (18 a). But to be connected with the remote NP U.S.-ka is odd although it is possible. In (18 c), U.S.S.R-ke can not join with the following NP China-wa, because of -ke as in (16 a). The reason for this restriction will be discussed in a later section. Thus (18 c) is unacceptable. Consider the following examples:

(19) a. ?Na-nun ppang-kwa ke-eke koki-rul chu-ess-ta
   I-ing bread-and dog-IO meat-om give-past-ind
   ?'I gave bread and meat to the dog.'

   b. Na-nun ke-eke ppang-kwa koki-rul chu-ess-ta
   I-ing dog-IO bread-and meat-om give-past-ind
   'I gave bread and meat to the dog.'

In (19 a) the reason ppang-kwa can connect with the remote NP koki-rul, despite the intervening NP ke-eke, is that it is semantically the only choice, since 'bread' and 'dog' can not be conjoined. However, the entire sentence is strikes a speaker of Korean as abnormal. Sentence (19 b) is an acceptable sentence.

All of these examples show that with multiple NPs, when -wa is interpreted as p7-wa, any two NPs which are not adjacent to each other are difficult to connect. The reason for this is that p7-wa can connect with any NP which follows it immediately without being semantically odd like sentence (19). However, a p6-wa suffixed NP which is looking for a previous NP to be connected with has additional restrictions as in sentences (16 b) or (18 c). Thus although the adjacent preceding NP is the first choice, it can, on occasion, be connected with the remote NP instead. We can hypothesize that the bond between two NPs is less tight in the case of p6-wa, because an intervening NP is possible between the two conjoined NPs as in sentences (18 b) and (16 b).

Now let us look at the cases where the differences between the two patterns of -wa are considerably blurred.
3.2.2.3. Sentences where the distinction between p7-wa and p6-wa is blurred

Multiple NPs and multiple -wa’s sometimes occur in a simple clause. For example:

(20)  a. na-nun sakwa-wa pam-kwa poto-wa pe-rul
      I-tp apple-and chestnut-and grape-and pear-om
      meok-ess-ta
      eat-past-ind
      'I ate an apple, chestnut, grape, and a pear.'

      b. * na-nun sakwa-rul, pam-ul, poto-rul, pe-wa
         I-tp apple-om chestnut-om grape-om pear-with
         meok-ess-ta
         eat-past-ind
         * 'I ate an apple, chestnut, grape, with a pear.'

      c. na-nun sakwa-rul, pam-ul, poto-rul, pe-wa,
         I-tp apple-om chestnut-om grape-om pear-with
         talki-wa, banana-wa meok-ess-ta
         strawberry-with, banana-with eat-past-ind
         'I ate an apple with pear, chestnut with strawberry, grape with banana.'

      d. na-nun sakwa-rul, pam-kwa, poto-wa, pe-wa
         I-tp apple-om chestnut-with grape-with pear-with
         meok-ess-ta
         eat-past-ind
         'I ate an apple with chestnut, grape, and a pear.'

In (20), (a) is an acceptable sentence, and p7-wa constructs the multiple NP connections. But (b), which has more than one -rul, is not acceptable. However, the (c) version is acceptable. In (c), each object is connected with the following individual NP-wa. In (d), the first and the second -wa is either p7-wa or p6-wa, and it is difficult to decide. If the first and the second -wa are p7-wa, then the meaning is 'I ate an apple with three other fruits at the same time'; however, if the first and the second -wa have p6-wa meaning, then the meaning is the conjunction of three different actions 'I ate an apple with a chestnut' and
'I ate an apple with a grape' and 'I ate an apple with a pear'. Those three reported actions do not necessarily occur at the same time. However, even in this case, the first and the second -wa have not only the meaning 'with,' but also have the meaning 'and,' because without that, the three sentences 'I ate an apple with a chestnut,' 'I ate an apple with a grape,' and 'I ate an apple with a pear' would remain unconnected. However, if -wa is used with p6-wa meaning, it only connects two NPs like 'apple with chestnut,' 'apple with grape,' and 'apple with pear.' Consider another example:

(21) a. Kim-kwa Lee-wa John-kwa ka-ss-ta
    Kim-and Lee-and John-and go-past-ind
    a. '(I/He/ She) went with Kim, Lee, and John.'
    b. * 'Kim, Lee, and John went.'

In (21), in the (a) gloss, the first and the second -wa are difficult to identify unambiguously as either p7-wa or p6-wa, as was the case in (20 d). It is either 'with Kim and Lee and John' or 'with Kim, with Lee, and with John.'

Sentences (20 d) and (21 a), where the distinction between p7-wa and p6-wa is blurred, seem to support the hypothesis that there is only one -wa. Another thing to notice here is that p7-wa can construct multiple NP connections or multiple semantic units; but p6-wa can not. In (20 d) the multiple NPs 'chestnut, grape and a pear,' are treated either as three NPs in one semantic unit 'three fruits as one group' in the case of p7-wa or three different groups of two NPs each as 'apple with chestnut,' 'apple with grape,' and 'apple with pear' in the case of p6-wa. This is represented as in the following diagram:

\[
\text{[apple] with [chestnut+grape+pear]}
\]
\[
\text{or}
\]
\[
\text{[apple] with [chestnut] +[apple] with [grape] +[apple] with [pear]}
\]

Figure 3.1

So far we have seen that p7-wa and p6-wa have some similarities and also have some differences. Now let us consider their semantic qualities, comparing them with the object marker -rul and in the context of three different types of verbs: reciprocal, non-reciprocal, and stative.
3.2.2.4. Semantic similarities and differences between *p7-wa* and *p6-wa*

3.2.2.4.1. Accusative/dative markers and *p6-wa*
Sometimes *p6-wa* and the accusative marker *-rul* (the phonetic shape *-ul* occurs following a consonant) appear as alternate forms in an otherwise identical construction in Korean. However, there is a slight difference in meaning between the following two sentences:

(22) a. Kim-i Lee-wa manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-with meet-past-ind
    'Kim met with Lee.'

b. Kim-i Lee-rul manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-om meet-past-ind
    'Kim met Lee.'

In (22 a) Lee knew at least that he was going to meet with Kim, but in (22 b) Lee did not know of the meeting and probably met Kim accidentally; but Kim met Lee on purpose. If it is a question of only Kim's intention to meet Lee, and Kim went to Lee's place to meet Lee, then (22 b) is more appropriate. When Lee is waiting for Kim, (22 a) is more appropriate. If it is a special case like a doctor's appointment, the doctor already knows about the appointment; thus we would perhaps expect that there is no distinction between *-rul* and *p6-wa*. But in fact there is. Consider the following examples:

(23) a. Kim-i doctor-wa manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm doctor-with meet-past-ind
    'Kim met with the doctor.'

b. Kim-i doctor-rul manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm doctor-om meet-past-ind
    'Kim met the doctor.'

In (23) the doctor knows that Kim is coming to meet him in both (a) and (b), but (a) has the sense that there is more involvement by the doctor in the event of meeting than (b). In (b), it is more likely that Kim's intent was to meet with the doctor in order to ask solely about his sickness; in other words, it is more likely a strictly business appointment. However, in (a), perhaps the doctor is an acquaintance of Kim and they will discuss matters other than
Kim's illness. Again, if the intention of the meeting is only Kim's, (b) is more appropriate than (a). Let us consider more examples:

(24) a. Kim-i Madonna-rul talma-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Madonna-om resemble-past-ind
    'Kim resembled (impersonated) Madonna.'

    b. ? Madonna-ka Kim-ul talma-ss-ta
    Madonna-sm Kim-om resemble-past-ind
    '?Madonna resembled (impersonated) Kim.'

Sentence (24 a) is possible since Kim is trying to imitate Madonna or she looks like Madonna; but (24 b) is semantically odd, because Madonna is the famous singer and nobody knows who Kim is. Therefore, naturally Kim orients towards Madonna's position in resembling her, and not the reverse. If Kim and Madonna have an obvious kinship relationship like siblings, then (24 b) is an acceptable sentence. Consider the following example:

(25) a. nampyun-i puin-ul talma-ss-ta
    husband-sm wife-om resemble-past-ind
    'The husband resembled his wife.'

    b. puin-i nampyun-ul talma-ss-ta
    wife-sm husband-om resemble-past-ind
    'The wife resembled her husband.'

    c. nampyun-i puin-kwa talma-ss-ta
    husband-sm wife-with resemble-past-ind
    'The husband resembled his wife.'

    d. puin-i nampyun-kwa talma-ss-ta
    wife-sm husband-with resemble-past-ind
    'The wife resembled her husband.'

The husband and wife are not blood relatives. (25) can be used when 'resemble' is taken to mean 'similar to in appearance' or 'similar in behavior.' If the husband, and wife's
appearance happen to be similar, (25 a) and (25 b) are both acceptable without much meaning difference. However, if they are similar in behavior, in (25 a), the husband tries to become similar to his wife in behavior, but in (25 b) it is the wife who is trying to be similar to her husband. In (25 c) and (25 d), if 'resemble' is used in the sense of 'similar in appearance', then there is less detectable difference in meaning in (25 c) and (25 d). But if 'similar in behavior' is intended, then in (25 c), the husband tries to be similar with the behavior of his wife as in (25 a), but unlike (25 a), the wife also is involved in the action of resemblance with the husband. And in (25 d), the role of husband and wife is reversed.

In (22 a) Kim and Lee both move to the point at which they meet, but in (b) Kim moves in Lee's direction. It is perhaps clearer in the following examples:

(26)  
a. Kim-i Lee-wa saranghe  
Kim-sm Lee-with love  
'Kim loves Lee.'

b. Kim-i Lee-rul saranghe  
Kim-sm Lee-om love  
'Kim loves Lee.'

In (26), (a) is the answer to the question in (27 a), and (b) is the answer to (27 b):

(27)  
a. Kim-i nuku-wa sarang-ul ha-ni?  
Kim-sm whom -with love-om do-question marker  
'With whom is Kim in love?'

b. Kim-i nuku-rul sarangha-ni?  
Kim-sm whom -with love-question marker  
'Who does Kim love?'

Sentence (a) is interpreted as 'Kim loves Lee and Lee loves Kim, too (but probably less than Kim loves Lee).'. However, in (b) Kim loves Lee as before, but we do not know whether Lee loves Kim or not.
Thus, although there is similarity in meaning between *p6-wa* and the accusative marker *-rul*, a closer examination shows that, there is a distinct meaning difference between them. The differences in meaning are perhaps not always significant enough to be recognized clearly. *P6-wa* signals that the second participant is involved in the action more than when the object marker *-rul* is used. When there is an object marker as in (26 b), the second participant, Lee, is more passively involved in the event of 'loving' than in (26 a). This is clear when the event requires the mandatory participation of both participants. Then using *-rul* is not acceptable as shown in the following:

(28) a. * Kim-i Lee-rul ssau-n-ta  
     Kim-sm Lee-om fight-pres-ind  
     *'Kim and Lee fight.'

b. Kim-i Lee-wa ssau-n-ta  
     Kim-sm Lee-with fight-pres-ind  
     'Kim fights with Lee.'

Sentence (28 a) is unacceptable because *ssau* 'fight' requires both participants' contribution, but *-rul* marked Lee gives the impression that he is not reciprocally participating in the action. If Lee is not a contributing combatant, there can be no fight, and this contradicts the predicate *ssau* 'fight.' However, (28 b) is acceptable, since *p6-wa* attached to Lee gives the impression that he is participating in the event. On the contrary, if the semantics of the event precludes the second participant's active contribution, then *p6-wa* is not possible, and it is *-rul* which is acceptable:

(29) a. Kim-i Lee-rul honja tteri-n-ta  
     Kim-sm Lee-om alone hit-pres-ind  
     'Kim hit Lee alone.'

b. Kim-i Lee-wa John-ul honja tteri-n-ta  
     Kim-sm Lee-with John-om alone hit-pres-ind  
     a.* 'Kim hit John alone with Lee.'
     (b. 'Kim hit Lee and John alone.')</n
In (29 b), the (a) gloss is not possible, since the adverb *honja* 'alone' contradicts the second participant *Lee's* participation with Kim in the 'hitting,' which is signaled by *p6-
wa. (I will not discuss the (b) gloss here, since it is irrelevant to the present discussion. But the (b) gloss is possible, since no contradiction occurs where Kim acts alone to hit 'Lee and John.')

Thus I can conclude that ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ-ٍ and the accusative marker ٍ-ٍٍ are used somewhat interchangeably only in case the second participant can be alternately taken as an active contributor to the action or as a participant passively involved in the action. And even though ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ and ٍ-ٍٍ appear to be used interchangeably, there is a meaning difference. That is, ُpُ-ٍ indicates more involvement in the event than the object marker ٍ-ٍٍ. There is a degree of participation indicated by ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ and ٍ-ٍٍ on the scale of participation by the named participants. This same difference recurs in the alternation of the dative case marker and ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ. They are interchangeable in some cases.

   Kim-sm Lee-with crush-past-ind
   'Kim collided with Lee.'

   b. Kim-i Lee-e(ke) butichi-ess-ta.
   Kim-sm Lee-to crush-past-ind
   'Kim collided with Lee.'

The result is the same as in (26) and (28). In (30 a), Lee has more participatory force when compared to (30 b), although Kim has more initiative than Lee. In (30 b), Kim moves in Lee's direction, and they collide. In (30 b), Lee is the patient. Thus, the result is similar to the case with the accusative. The second participant is indicated as having a more passive way of participating in the event when it is marked by the dative case marker -e(ke) than by ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ, and we can conclude that ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ indicates that the participant is more actively involved in the event with the first participant than when ٍ-ٍٍ or -e(ke) is used.

3.2.2.4.2. ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ and ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ

Now we compare ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ and ُpُ-ٍ-ٍ. In the following sentences (8) and (9), to accomplish the event 'meeting,' more than one participant, in this case 'Kim' and 'Lee,' are involved.
(8) Kim-i Lee-wa manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-with meet-past-ind
    'Kim met with Lee.'

(9) Kim kwa Lee-ka manna-ss-ta
    Kim and Lee-sm meet-past-ind
    a. 'Kim and Lee met.'
    (b. 'Kim and Lee met with somebody. ')

Sentence (8) has only one meaning, that 'Kim met with Lee.' But sentence (9) has two possible meanings, that either 'Kim and Lee met' or 'Kim and Lee (together) met with somebody (else).' From the perspective of the participants' involvement in the action, 'Lee' in sentence (8) participates in the action of meeting in a less active way than does 'Kim.' 'Kim' in sentence (8) shows more initiative in the action of meeting than does 'Lee.' The sentence gives the impression that 'Lee' just accompanies the action of meeting 'Kim.' On the contrary, in sentence (9), 'Kim' and 'Lee' have equal intention of meeting each other. In other words, the two participants of (9) are more symmetrical than in (8).

In (9), Kim and Lee both fully agree to meet each other or both agree with each other to meet with somebody else. If the president of the USA and Russia have had a meeting, then American newspapers would probably write, 'President Bush met with the Russian President Yeltsin.' or at least 'President Bush and President Yeltsin met,' but rarely 'President Yeltsin met with President Bush.' However, in Russia, the newspapers would be more likely to write 'President Yeltsin met with President Bush.' or 'President Yeltsin and President Bush met.' However, in a third country like China, the paper would tend to write 'President Yeltsin and President Bush met' or 'President Bush and President Yeltsin met,' but they would try to avoid writing 'President Yeltsin met with President Bush.' or 'President Bush met with President Yeltsin,' if the Chinese newspapers did not want to give the impression that the country is taking sides.

Now consider the hypothesis that p7-wa has more participation force than p6-wa, in the light of sentence (22) from above,

(22) a. Kim-i Lee-wa manna-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-with meet-past-ind
    'Kim met with Lee.'
b. Kim-i Lee-rul manna-ss-ta
   Kim-sm Lee-om meet-past-ind
   'Kim met Lee.'

The p6-wa pattern in (22 a) and (8) indicates more intention on the part of 'Lee' than does the object marker -rul as we have seen in section 3.2.3. Thus, there is a gradation in the degree of involvement of the second participant which is signalled by the speaker's choice of p7-wa, p6-wa, and -rul. The scale can be represented as in the following diagram:

```
| Strong participation of the second participant | weak participation of the second participant |
```

p7-wa     p6-wa     -rul/-eke

If the degree of involvement of the second participant is pictorially represented, it might appear as follows:

```
| p7-wa | p6-wa | -rul/-eke |
  | A     | B     | A        | B             | A                | . |
```

Since p7-wa signals the most equal distribution of participation by two subjects, the meaning of the utterance is not so affected if the first and second participants are permuted:

(31) Lee-wa Kim-i manna-ss-ta
    Lee-and Kim-sm meet-past-ind
    a. 'Lee and Kim met.'
    (b. 'Lee and Kim met with somebody.')

Sentences (9) and (31) have only a slight meaning difference in terms of participating force in the action of 'meeting' of two participants. However, if we change the order of
participants in sentence (8), as in (32), then the main participating force moves to 'Lee' and 'Kim' has less participating force than for instance in (8):

(32)  

Lee-ka  Kim-kwa  manna-ss-ta  
Lee-sm  Kim-with  meet-past-ind

'Lee met with Kim.'

In other words, 'Kim' and 'Lee' exchange their participating power from strong to weak and from weak to strong. Consider also the following example:

(33)  

a. Mary-wa  John-i  kyuohon-hakosip-ta  
Mary-and  John-sm  marry-want-to-ind

a. 'Mary and John want to marry.'

(b. 'Mary wants to marry (somebody) and John wants to marry (somebody).')

b. Mary-ka  John-kwa  kyuohon-hakosip-ta  
Mary-sm  John-with  marry-want-to-ind

'Mary wants to marry John.'

This *hakosipta* 'want to' shows more clearly the difference between *p7-wa* and *p6-wa*. In the case of *p7-wa*, as in (33 a), the intention of marrying is equally distributed between participants, Mary and John; but in (33 b), the intention to marry is entirely Mary's.

The equal participation of *p7-wa* means that it characterizes a *symmetrical* semantic unit, and the weak participation of *p6-wa* means that it makes an *asymmetrical* semantic unit. *NP wa NP* signals a unified semantic unit specifying the second participant as an *equal* semantic partner with the first participant. *NP NP wa*, on the other hand, indicates *unequal* semantic coordination. This contrast can be represented diagrammatically as follows:
Another interesting point is that in sentences containing more than two conjoined NPs, each NP in an NP wa NP construction can behave independently when they are conjoined in multiple NP sentences as in (i) of the following diagram, which pictorially represents the above sentence (24 d) in Figure 3.1 in section 3.2.2.3. The plus sign '+' indicates the linkage of single NPs in a coordinate fashion like 'chestnut' or 'grape' or 'pear.' In (A) a pair of NPs need not act together as one block as is the case in (B), where they do form an irreducible block; hence sentence (33a) has a second (b) gloss. Each of the symmetrical and equal partners of NP wa NP may act independently of the other. In contrast to this, the unequal and asymmetrical relation of NP NP wa of (33b) translates into a dependence of the second NP upon the first; hence there is but one gloss here. (Cf. below.) NPs in an NP NP wa construction can not behave independently but behave together as one block conjoining with additional NPs. The (B) form above conjoins a form of the same (B) type as in (ii) of the following diagram. The plus sign '+' occurs between NP blocks, each of which is a single semantic unit containing two NPs like 'apple with chestnut' or 'apple with grape' or 'apple with pear.'

This feature is related to another characteristic of p7-wa and p6-wa. Depending on the predicates, certain ones require only one participant, but others have more than one inherent participant as the agent or the patient of the sentence. There is a grammatical difference
between transitive verbs and reciprocal verbs although both require more than one participant. Transitive verbs require a syntactic object, but reciprocal verbs require plural participants in the subject or object. Some examples of reciprocal verbs are mannata 'to meet,' topna 'to help each other,' seekkta 'to mix,' sokehata 'to introduce,' pikyohe 'to compare,' talma 'to resemble,' or jaruta 'to be different from,' etc. The following are some examples of sentences with reciprocal verbs. The parentheses of the (b) glosses in the following examples mean that it is a possible interpretation, but that it is not an interpretation based on reciprocal verbs, thus it is irrelevant to the present discussion.

(34) a. Kim-i Lee-wa John-ul sokehe-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-and John-om introduce-past-ind
    a. 'Kim introduced Lee and John to each other.'
    (b. 'Kim introduced John (to somebody) with Lee. ')

b. Kim-i John-ul Lee-wa sokehe-ss-ta
    Kim-sm John-om Lee-with introduce-past-ind
    a. 'Kim introduced John and Lee to each other.'
    (??b. 'Kim introduced John (to somebody) with Lee. ')

(35) a. Kim-i Lee-wa John-ul pikyohe-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-and John-om compare-past-ind
    a. 'Kim compared Lee and John.'
    (b. 'Kim compared John (with somebody) with Lee. ')

b. Kim-i Lee-ul John-kwa pikyohe-ss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-om John-with compare-past-ind
    a. 'Kim compared Lee with John.'
    (??b. 'Kim compared John (with somebody) with Lee. ')

Sentences (34) and (35) have the plural patients 'Lee and John' because sokehe 'introduce' and pikyohe 'compare' require double patients. (34 a) and (35 a) have a possible other (b) interpretation that has plural agents involved in the event. However, the key point of the above example is that the reciprocal verbs sokehe 'introduce' and pikyohe 'compare' require double patients not plural agents. Thus the (b) glosses are ignored. Sentences (34 b) and (35 b) have a possible but very strange and almost ungrammatical (b) interpretation. The reason for this is that Lee-wa in (34 b) is supposed to be connected with the closest
possible left side NP John-ul as in the (a) interpretation, but conjoining with remote NP Kim-i makes it sounds strange, and the same holds for (35 b).]

There are three classes of predicates identified by the number of participants the predicate requires as subject or object and by whether the predicate is active, or stative.

Group I. [ + reciprocal, + active]

Reciprocal active verbs. This group of verbs are active and require more than one participant as subject or object. For example: kalanota 'separate,' mannata 'meet,' saranghata 'love,' chohahata 'like,' chinkuhata 'become friend,' ssauta 'fight,' aksuhata 'shake hands,' etc.

Group II. [ -reciprocal, + active]
The verbs of this group are nonreciprocal active verbs. Thus they do not necessarily require plural participants as subject or object. For example: tterita 'hit,' jukita 'kill,' meokta 'eat,' kominhata 'agonize,' kunmuhata 'work,' nolta 'play,' natanata 'appear,' kulbokhata 'yield,' jata 'sleep,' etc.

Group III. [-reciprocal, + adjectival stative]

Adjectival stative verbs. For example: hwita 'white,' kilta 'long,' ipputa 'pretty,' kuta 'tall,' etc.

Now let us examine how p7-wa and p6-wa behave in each of the three above verb groups. Group I verbs require more than one participant in the subject or object like sentences (8) and (9). Consider the following example:

(36) c. Kim-i Lee-wa kyulhonhe-ss-ta
     Kim-sm Lee-with marry-past-ind
     a. 'Kim got married with Lee.'
     b. *'Kim and Lee each got married with somebody.'

In (36 c), the only possible interpretation is the (a) gloss, and the (b) gloss is not possible. However, (36 d) can have two possible interpretations, i.e.
d. Kim-kwa    Lee-ka    kyu lhonhe-ss-ta
Kim-and    Lee-sm    marry-past-ind

a. 'Kim and Lee got married.'
(b. 'Kim and Lee each got married with somebody.')

In sentence (36c), Kim married with Lee, but not Mary or Susan, etc. This means that there is a strong implication that Kim willingly chose Lee, not Mary or Susan as his bride. In sentence (36d), the marriage is by Kim and Lee's mutual agreement, and not by one party's selection. The reason that sentence (36 c) has only one interpretation, and sentence (36 d) has two, can now be explained. The only formal difference between two sentences which have a reciprocal verb such as kyu lhonhata 'marry' is that p7-wa occurs in (36 d) and p6-wa occurs in (36 c). In sentence (36 c) the requirement for plural participants of the verb kyu lhonhata 'marry' is satisfied by the p6-wa attached NP, Lee-wa. P6-wa makes the second NP Lee-wa act together with the first NP Kim-i. They got married with each other, and there is no possibility that the two NP referents act independently by marrying with somebody else other than each other. Refer to the diagram on page 65 which depicts the conceptual dependency of the second participant upon the first when p6-wa is used. However, in (36 d), the possibility of their acting independently as in gloss (b) is higher than in (36 c), although the gloss in the (a) interpretation still has a higher possibility than the gloss in the (b) interpretation. In other words, the p7-wa sentence has two possible interpretations, but the p6-wa sentence has only one possible interpretation. The point is that p7-wa leaves more room to interpret the sentence in two different ways than p7-wa.

Let us consider the following sentence:

(36) e. * Kim-i    Lee-rul    kyu lhonhe-ss-ta
      Kim-sm    Lee-om    marry-past-ind

* 'Kim got married Lee.'

There is no sentence such as (36 e), using the object marker -rul to describe the act of marriage, in Korean. This is because marriage can not be done without consent of the other side. In the above example (28), the verb ssauta 'to fight' behaves the same as the verb kyu lhonhata 'to marry'. Consider the following example:

(37) Kim-i    Lee-wa    kyu lhon-hakosip-ta
     Kim-sm    Lee-with    marry-want-to-ind

'Kim wants to marry Lee.'
In (37), it is only Kim's intention to marry, but still -wa is used instead of -rul. Remember p6-wa, as in sentence (36 c), indicates more consent or participation of the second participant than does a sentence with -rul.

\[(38)\]  

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{a.} & \text{Kim-i} & \text{Lee-wa} & \text{John-ul} & \text{jungmehe-ss-ta} \\
& \text{Kim-sm} & \text{Lee-and} & \text{John-om} & \text{match-past-ind}
\end{array}\]

\[a. '\text{Kim matched Lee and John.}'\]

\[b. '\text{Kim matched Lee (with somebody) and John (with somebody).}.'\]

\[c. '\text{Kim matched John (with somebody) with Lee.'}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{b.} & \text{Kim-i} & \text{John-ul} & \text{Lee-wa} & \text{jungmehe-ss-ta} \\
& \text{Kim-sm} & \text{John-om} & \text{Lee-with} & \text{match-past-ind}
\end{array}\]

\[a. '\text{Kim matched John with Lee.'}\]

\[b. '\text{Kim matched Lee (with somebody) and John (with somebody).}.'\]

\[c. '\text{Kim with Lee matched John (with somebody).}.'\]

Sentence (38 a) has three possible meanings. It can involve two separate events (Kim's matching of Lee to somebody, and Kim's matching of John to somebody else), or a single event (Lee and John are introduced to each other by Kim, and Kim's [with Lee] matching John to somebody). Sentence (38 b) has one less possible interpretation. However, again in sentences (35 a), (36 d), and (38 a), the (b) interpretation that is parenthesized is possible but of very low probability in comparison with the (a) interpretation. The low probability means that the hearer tends to select the (a) interpretation than (b). The reason for this low probability and that (38 b) has only one possible interpretation is very important to pursue. [ I will not elaborate the possibility of the (c) interpretation of (38 a) because it is irrelevant to the present discussion.]

When the verb belongs to Group II and does not necessarily require more than one participant, then there is a meaning difference between p7-wa and p6-wa. Consider (10) and (11), replicated from above:

\[(10)\]  

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Kim-i} & \text{Lee-wa} & \text{Seoul-e} & \text{ka-ss-ta} \\
\text{Kim-sm} & \text{Lee-with} & \text{Seoul-loc} & \text{go-past-ind}
\end{array}\]

'Kim went to Seoul with Lee.'
In (10) and (11), both Kim and Lee are agent participants. However, as has already been noted by many linguists, sentence (11) is ambiguous in the absence of context, as to whether it involves two separate events (Kim's going to Seoul and Lee's going to Seoul) or a single event (Kim and Lee's going to Seoul together). Notice that compared to sentence (36 d), which has a reciprocal verb, the possibility of acting independently by the two participants is higher here in sentence (11). Both interpretations are equally possible. This is the difference between Group I and Group II. The possibility of the (b) interpretation is very low in Group I; but in Group II, the possibility of the (b) interpretation is stronger, and the (a) and (b) interpretations are almost equally possible.

The reason is, I believe, because of the fact that nonreciprocal verbs do not require two participants in the event of the predicate, but the reciprocal verbs require two participants in the event. Since nonreciprocal verbs do not require two participants to act together, there is more room for interpreting the two participants' action separately. That is why in (38 a), the (a) interpretation is more possible, since jungmehata 'match' which is a reciprocal verb requires two participants rather than one. However, in (11), the verb kata 'go' which is not reciprocal does not require two participants; thus both (a) and (b) interpretations have equal possibility. Another factor is in the difference between p7-wa and p6-wa. It is related to the finding above in sentence (20 d): p6-wa makes the second participant work together with the first more than p7-wa. P6-wa makes the two participants into one semantic unit, because, as the diagram of page 67 shows, the participation force of the second participant is smaller and with less initiative in case of p6-wa, and the second participant depends more on the first participant since it can not stand alone. The 'accompaniment' or 'comitative' meaning is stronger in p6-wa. However, p7-wa has less power of making one unit since the two participants have the equal power of participation, thus they can act together. But they are easier to separate since the two participants are not dependent on each other as is the case of p6-wa in (20 d). Elson and Pickett (1988: 69) say that in English the preposition 'with' functions as an accompaniment indicator, and the same general idea of accompaniment (but with a potential difference of meaning) could be expressed by the conjunction 'and.' Since they are easier to separate, the two participants more easily act independently. Thus p6-wa and a reciprocal verb are used to state that two
participants act together. In cases such as sentence (10), \textit{p6-wa} helps to mark the sentence as having the meaning of reciprocal, because it has only one interpretation. In the case of \textit{p7-wa}, the conjoined participants have the possibility of working together or working independently, but if they work together, they participate in equal force. In the case of \textit{p6-wa}, the two participants work together, but not with an equal participation. Thus, in the case of a sentence which has a non-reciprocal verb and \textit{p7-wa}, there is no pushing force that requires that the two participants act together since the nonreciprocal verb does not ask two participants to work together, and \textit{p7-wa} indicates only the possibility of working together of the two conjoined participants. That is the reason why the two interpretations are equally possible in sentence (11). On the contrary, if the sentence has both a reciprocal verb and \textit{p6-wa}, there is only the possibility that two participants are acting together as in (34). If the sentence has a reciprocal verb and \textit{p7-wa}, the requirement for the two participants to act together is less strong than in a sentence which has both a reciprocal verb and \textit{p6-wa}, but the force for making the two participants act together is more obligatory than in a sentence which has a nonreciprocal verb and \textit{p7-wa} as in (11). Thus, although there are choices between the two interpretations, the (b) interpretation is less likely as in for sentence (36 d). These considerations can be represented as in the following diagram. There is a continuum of degree of cooperation between the two participants as indicated by the way in which those two devices are used.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\textbf{(non)/ reciprocal verbs} & \textbf{reciprocal verbs} & \textbf{nonreciprocal verbs} \\
\textit{p6-wa} & \textit{p7-wa} & \textit{p7-wa} \\
\hline
Two participants & necessarily work together & \quad \\
\text{(Togetherness)} & & Two participants do not necessarily work together. \quad \text{(Separateness)}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

From the above diagram, one thing noticeable is that whenever there is a \textit{p6-wa} in the sentence, regardless of whether the predicate is reciprocal or not, the two participants work together. We can hypothesize that \textit{p6-wa}'s function originated historically when people found it necessary to indicate that the two participants obligatorily work together in the nonreciprocal events like 'go', or 'sleep.' For example, if the speaker wants to convey the meaning that John and Mary went to N.Y. together, not separately (e.g. they eloped), the speaker needs some device for indicating clearly that the two people go together, and one such device is \textit{p6-wa} as in (10). Another device is the adverb \textit{hammke} 'together.' The
difference between *p6-wa* and an independent adverb is that the former is explicitly suited to the case of unequal participation of the two participants when they act together. But when two participants equally participate in the event, then the adverb is more appropriate. For example, if a sentence already has a nonreciprocal verb and *p7-wa*, the speaker may still want to indicate that the two participants behave together equally by using an adverb as in the following:

(39)  Kim-kwa  Lee-ka  hamkke  Seoul-e  ka-ss-ta
      Kim-and  Lee-sm  together  Seoul-loc  go-past-ind
 'Kim and Lee went to Seoul together.'

(10)  Kim-i  Lee-wa  Seoul-e  ka-ss-ta
      Kim-sm  Lee-with  Seoul-loc  go-past-ind
 'Kim went to Seoul with Lee.'

      Kim-and  Lee-sm  Seoul-loc  go-past-ind
a. 'Kim and Lee went to Seoul together.'
b. 'Kim went to Seoul and Lee went to Seoul.'

The difference between (39) and (11) is that (11) has two possible senses, since *ka* 'go' is not a reciprocal verb, and *p7-wa* does not require the cooperation of two participants; but (39) has only one possible sense, because the adverb *hamkke* 'together' (or *seoro* 'each other') makes a unified pair of the two participants. The difference between (39) and (10) is that in (39), the two participants participate in equal force in the event 'going,' but in (10), Kim has more intention and participation force than Lee in the event.

For the reciprocal intransitive verb sentence, if it already contains *p6-wa*, using an adverb is redundant; but if it has *p7-wa*, using an adverb makes sure that the two participants work together. For example:

(40)  a.  ? Kim-i  Lee-wa  seoro  kyulhonhe-ss-ta
      Kim-sm  Lee-with  each other  marry-past-ind
       ? 'Kim got married with Lee.'
b. Kim-i Lee-wa kyulhonhe-ss-ta
   Kim-sm Lee-with marry-past-ind
   'Kim got married with Lee.'

c. Kim-kwa Lee-ka kyulhonhe-ss-ta
   Kim-and Lee-sm marry-past-ind
   a. 'Kim and Lee got married.'
   (b. 'Kim and Lee each got married with somebody. ')

d. Kim-kwa Lee-ka seoro kyulhonhe-ss-ta
   Kim-and Lee-sm each other marry-past-ind
   'Kim and Lee got married.'

As seen above, (40 a) sounds a little odd, because seoro 'each other' is redundant. However, it is necessary in the case of (40 d) if we wish to assure the one interpretation in which the two participants work together.

Let us consider the nonreciprocal transitive verb tterita 'hit':

(41) a. Kim-kwa Lee-ka tteri-ess-ta
     Kim-and Lee-sm hit-past-ind
     a. 'Kim and Lee hit somebody or something together.'
     b. 'Kim hit something and Lee hit something.'
     c. ?? 'Kim and Lee hit each other.'

b. Kim-i Lee-wa tteri-ess-ta
   Kim-sm Lee-with hit-past-ind
   a. 'Kim hit (somebody or something) with Lee together.'
   b. ?? 'Kim and Lee hit each other.'

Tterita 'hit' requires an object, thus sentences (41 a) and (41 b) are both supposed to have an elided object. Sentence (41 a) has two possible senses; either Kim and Lee work together to hit something or somebody, or they work separately, since tterita 'hit' is not a reciprocal verb, and p7-wa is present. Sentence (41 b) has the meaning of cooperation between the two participants, since it has p6-wa. If we want sentence (41 a) to have only one meaning, that of 'hitting together,' sentence (41 a) needs an adverb hamkke.
'together.' However, in (41 b), hamkke 'together,' is redundant. The reason that (41 d) is perfectly acceptable is that, although (41 b) has only one meaning 'together hitting,' there is still a required meaning distinction between the two participants 'hitting together someone else' and the two participants 'hitting each other.' This is accomplished by using the adverb seoro 'each other'. Thus (41 b) does not sound so odd as sentence (40 a).

(41) c. Kim-kwa Lee-ka hamkke tteri-ess-ta.
      Kim-and Lee-sm together hit-past-ind
      'Kim and Lee hit together (somebody or something).'

d. Kim-i Lee-wa hamkke tteri-ess-ta.
      Kim-sm Lee-with together hit-past-ind
      'Kim and Lee hit together (somebody or something).'

Thus if we want the sentence to have the meaning of 'hitting each other,' sentence (41 a) and (41 b) need an adverb seoro 'each other' as in the following (41 e) and (41 f). In this case, the adverb seoro 'each other' is not redundant at all.

(41) e. Kim-kwa Lee-ka seoro tteri-ess-ta
      Kim-and Lee-sm each other hit-past-ind
      'Kim and Lee hit each other.'

f. Kim-i Lee-wa seoro tteri-ess-ta
      Kim-sm Lee-with each other hit-past-ind
      'Kim and Lee hit each other.'

The differences among (41 b), (41 d), and (41 f) is as follows. Sentences (41 b) and (41 d) have the same meaning and indicate unequal participation between the two participants. Hamkke 'together' in (41 d) is redundant. However, seoro 'each other' in (41 f) turns the direction of hitting to each other. Thus seoro 'each other' in (41 f) is not redundant at all although it is used in a p6-wa sentence.

When -wa occurs with stative adjectival verbs of Group III, p6-wa is unacceptable unless there is an adverb, as in the following example:
(42) a. nun-kwa ssal-i hwita
     snow-and rice-sm white
     'The snow and the rice are white.'

b. nun-i ssal-kwa teobureo hwita
     snow-sm rice-with together white
     'The snow with the rice together are white.'

c. * nun-i ssal-kwa hwita
     snow-and rice-with white
     * 'The snow with the rice are white.'

In (42 c), p6-wa is ungrammatical since there is no adverb. Let us further examine these examples:

(43) a. pom-panghak-kwa kyoul-panghak-i jjalpta
     spring-vacation-and winter-vacation-sm short
     'The spring vacation and fall vacation are short.'

b. kyoul-panghak-i pom-panghak-kwa katci jjalpta
     winter-vacation-sm spring-vacation-with together short
     'The winter vacation and spring vacation both are short.'

c. * kyoul-panghak-i pom-panghak-kwa jjalpta
     winter-vacation-sm spring-vacation-with short
     * 'The winter vacation and spring vacation are short.'

In (43), (c) is not possible unless there is the adverb katci 'together' after -wa as in (b). Here jjalpta is a stative verb. Consider one additional example:

(43) a. Kim-kwa Lee-ka tokttokhata
     Kim-and Lee-sm smart
     'Kim and Lee are smart.'
b. Kim-i Lee-wa hamkke ttokttokhata
   Kim-sm Lee-with together smart
   'Both Kim and Lee are smart.'

    c. * Kim-i Lee-wa ttokttokhata
       Kim-sm Lee-with smart
    * 'Kim is smart with Lee.'

Again p6-wa is not acceptable without an adverb. However, we may change the predicate as in the following:

(44) a. Kim-kwa Lee-ka ttokttokhe-jikoiss-ta
    Kim-and Lee-sm smart-is being-ind
    'Kim and Lee are being smart.'

b. ?Kim-i Lee-wa ttokttokhe-jikoiss-ta
   Kim-sm Lee-with smart-is being-ind
   '?Kim is being smart with Lee.'

c. Kim-i Lee-wa katci ttokttokhe-jikoiss-ta
    Kim-sm Lee-with together smart-is being-ind
    'Kim is being smart with Lee.'

Sentence (44 b) sounds a little strange; but it sounds far better than (43 b), because the predicate ttokttokhata 'smart' is changed to ttokttokhejikoisssta 'is being smart' and the change means there is some activity involved. It is the same as hwita 'white' and ijalpta 'short' above.

(45) son-i pal-kwa hwi-ejikoiss-ta
    hand-sm arm-with white-is being-ind
    'The hand with the arm is becoming white.'

The reason that p6-wa can not be used with stative verbs is that, there is no activity involved, so the second participant can not show its participation in the event (with stative verbs). Thus we can conclude that p6-wa's character or function (cf. page 67 and 69) can only be activated in the context of animacy or activity. The animacy context of p6-wa is
related to the fact that stative verbs can not use p6-wa. It is clearer if we consider the following examples:

(46)  a. Kim-un Lee-wa hakkyo-e ka-n-ta
     Kim-tp Lee-with school-to go-pres-ind
     'Kim goes to school with Lee.'

     b. *Kim-un chek-kwa hakkyo-e ka-n-ta
        Kim-tp book-with school-to go-pres-ind
        *'Kim goes to school with book.'

Sentence (46 b) is unacceptable since chek 'book' is not an animate entity. If we change the sentence as follows, it is acceptable.

    c. Kim-un koyangi-wa hakkyo-e ka-n-ta
       Kim-tp cat-with school-to go-pres-ind
       'Kim goes to school with a cat.'

'Cat' is an animate subject, thus sentence (46 c) is acceptable.

If the predicate indicates some activity or process, so that the second participant can participate in that activity, p6-wa can be used. The essential character of p6-wa, which codes unequal participation of the second participant with the first participant in the action of the event, can not be achieved if there is no domain of activity involved as is the case in stative verbs. The stative verbs can not use p6-wa, so an adverb is used for the function. There are different kinds of reciprocity among sentences, and p6-wa is used for non-equal participation of the two participants. An adverb is used to code equal participation (and sometimes non-equal participation, too, as in sentence (41 f)). Thus an adverb is a more general device than p6-wa in showing the cooperative togetherness of two participants, since it can be used for both equal and non-equal participation. This notion can be represented as the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{p7-wa reciprocal verb} & \text{p6-wa} & \text{adverb} \\
\hline \\
\text{weaker togetherness} & \text{stronger togetherness}
\end{array}
\]
Use of p7-wa is weaker than use of a reciprocal verb, since if the sentence has p7-wa and a nonreciprocal verb like kata 'go' in 'John and Mary go to N.Y,' it has two equally plausible interpretations; so the chance of working together is 50%. However, if the sentence has a reciprocal verb and does not have p7-wa, like John-i Kim-ul mannata 'John and Kim met,' then there is certainty that the two participants reciprocally affect each other.

So far we have studied the semantic characteristics of p7-wa and p6-wa. These semantic characteristics can explain dative and instrumental marking as well.

3.3. Dative and instrumental cases

The following examples show that p6-wa can not be used with the dative coordination, but p7-wa can.

(47) a.  Kim-i koyangi-wa ke-ke ke pap-ul ju-ess-ta
        Kim-sm cat-and dog-dat food-om give-past-ind
    'Kim gave food to the cat and the dog.'

        Kim-i ke-ke koyangi-wa ke pap-ul ju-ess-ta
        Kim-sm dog-dat cat-with food-om give-past-ind
    * 'Kim gave food to the dog with the cat.'

With instrumental participants, p6-wa is also not possible.

(48) a.  Kim-i younipil-kwa pen-uro yuonjang-ul sso-ss-ta
        Kim-sm pencil-and pen-inst will-om write-past-ind
    'Kim wrote his will with pen and pencil.'

        Kim-i pen-uro younipil-kwa yuonjang-ul sso-ss-ta
        Kim-sm pen-inst pencil-with will-om write-past-ind
    * 'Kim wrote his will with pen with pencil.'

The use of p6-wa is thus not possible with either the dative or instrumental cases. However, p6-wa can combine with the nominative or accusative cases as was shown earlier above and also by the following examples:
(49) a. na-nun sakwa-wa pe-rul meok-ess-ta
    I-tp apple-and pear-om eat-past-ind
    'I ate an apple and a pear.'

        b. na-nun sakwa-rul pe-wa meok-ess-ta
        I-tp apple-om pear-with eat-past-ind
        'I ate an apple with a pear.'

(50) a. na-wa Sue-ka pe-rul meok-ess-ta
    I-and Sue-sm pear-om eat-past-ind
    'I and Sue ate a pear.'

        b. na-ka Sue-wa pe-rul meok-ess-ta
        I-sm Sue-with pear-om eat-past-ind
        'I ate a pear with Sue.'

Sentences (49) and (50) show that p6-wa is possible in conjoined units marked by the nominative and accusative cases. From the above, it is clear that p6-wa conjunction can not be used except for NPs in the nominative and accusative cases. There is thus a boundary between the nominative and accusative cases on the one hand and the dative and instrumental cases on the other, as defined in the following diagram:

| Nominative | Accusative |  | Dative | Instrumental |
|------------|------------| |       |           |
| p7-wa 0    | 0          | l | 0      | 0           |
| p6-wa 0    | 0          | l | x      | x           |

Figure 3.2

The reason for this is that, NP wa NP creates an equal semantic unit (cf. the diagram on page 67 and 69), therefore as a unit it can take any case marker since the last NP receives the case marking, but NP NP wa creates an unequal semantic unit, and the second NP is very dependent on the first NP. The first NP takes the case marker not the second NP. In the dative and instrumental cases, speakers can not tolerate the unequalness of the semantic unit, because dative and instrumental cases are not at all active participants in the event compared to nominative or accusative participants. Such participants have almost a passive
character. Thus there is no room for the active participation of a p6-wa NP in the action, because p6-wa requires animacy and activity as its domain.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the semantic characteristics of the Korean conjunctive -wa in its two basic patterns, p7-wa and p6-wa.

First, in terms of the degree of participation force, p7-wa signals that two participants participate equally in the event, i.e. p7-wa creates a symmetrical semantic unity. However, p6-wa indicates that the second participant participates in the action in a less active way than does p7-wa. P6-wa thus creates an asymmetrical semantic unity.

The second difference is that since p7-wa makes a symmetrical semantic unity, the two parts of the semantic unit can be easily separated. But since p6-wa creates an asymmetrical unity the two participants must act together, and the two parts of the semantic unit cannot be isolated or fractured.

To activate the p6-wa function which is described in the above paragraphs, the domain of animacy, or activity is required. Thus if the domain of the event is not active but stative, if p6-wa attached to the second NP can not show its participation force, since the domain is not active. Thus sentences with p6-wa subjects are ungrammatical when combined with Group III stative verbs. P7-wa does not have this specific character, so it can be used without restriction. Thus it is more generally used in discourse.

P6-wa, reciprocal verbs, and reciprocal adverbs cooperate to code the function that two NPs should act together. P7-wa has less comitative meaning compared to p6-wa. That is why two NPs can be separated easily in the case of NP wa NP, but not easily in the case of NP NP wa. If the sentence has a reciprocal verb, and p6-wa, then there is almost no possibility that the two participants can act differently. However, if the sentence has the reciprocal verb only and p7-wa, there is a small chance that the two participants can act differently. If the sentence has a nonreciprocal verb and p7-wa, then there is an increased likelihood of two participants acting independently. P6-wa is used in both the reciprocal and nonreciprocal verb sentences, to code an action in which the two participants act together in an unequal force. Reciprocal adverbs are used to indicate that the two participants work together in equal participation. However, the reciprocal adverb is used
more generally in situations like with an stative verbs, where p6-wa can not be used since
the domain is not active.

P7-wa and p6-wa thus share the function of linking NPs in discourse, but they mark a
different degree of participation force in the event for the NPs they conjoin. P7-wa and p6-
wa involve the same morpheme -wa, but they are semantically divergent. These semantic
differences are reflected in the differences in the patterning of -wa.
Chapter 4
The Clause conjunction markers in Korean

4.1. ko

This chapter is a study of the clause coordinate conjunction markers in Korean. There are three possible approaches to the study of coordination markers in Korean. The first is purely syntactic, the second is more broadly semantic, and the third includes pragmatics. We will adopt a pragmatic, or functional approach to the problem of coordination marking. This chapter thus examines whether a coordinating conjunction carries only grammatical information or also semantic and pragmatic information. The discussion will be largely limited to the markers employed in conjointing two clauses within a discourse, having the same subject. We will begin by examining the conjunction marker ko, which traditionally, is considered to be the marker most similar to the English coordinate conjunction and.

According to Shiffrin (1982:175), two issues dominate the semantic analysis of conjunctions. First, there is the question whether conjunctions are natural language parallels to logical connectives. The second question arises when the interpretation of a given conjunction is beyond that of logical conjunction. In that case the question is whether it is from properties of the conjunctions themselves, or properties of the connected propositions, or pragmatic principles of use. Consider again van Dijk's examples which show that English 'and' has many senses depending on the context of its use (cf. section 1.3). Korean ko also has many interpretations. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the different senses of ko. The question is whether the variant senses of ko can be accounted for by the properties of ko itself or by the properties of the connected propositions or by the discourse context. I believe that the different senses of ko are derived from the two proposition conjuncts and from the context, but that also ko itself has some independent content of its own.

The first key to understanding the semantics of the conjunction marker ko in Korean is tense. Tense here means that the past tense marker -ass/-ess occurs either in both clauses or only in the matrix clause in complex sentences. For example:

1. Clause[tense] + Clause[tense]
2. Clause + clause[tense]
3. Clause[tense] + Clause
Pattern 1 is not a popular complex sentence pattern, and sometimes it is not acceptable. Pattern 2 is the most frequent and is the most productive form whether or not the temporal references of the two clauses are the same or different. Pattern 3 is only possible when the first clause event has occurred before the second clause event.

Another important key to the semantics of *ko* is negation. The critical feature here is whether the scope of the sentence final negative particle includes the first event or not. If the sentence final negative particle negates only the second event, the semantic relationship between the two events in the complex sentence is more distant than in a complex sentence in which the sentence final negative particle negates the first event as well as the second event.

4.1.1. Clause linkage by tense marking

There have been many studies about the behavior of tense in connection with the Korean clause conjunction *ko* (cf. Chin-soo Kim 1987, Sung 1979, Nam 1985, An 1980, Yang 1972, Suh 1979, Yu 1984, etc.). All of these studies maintain that *ko* has two distinct binary temporal functions: simultaneity and sequentiality. But this study will show that a finer distinction is needed. Let us start with examples in (1).

(1) a. son-ul tul-ko, hangbok-he-ss -ta
ever hand-om raise-and surrender-do-past-ind
   a.'They surrendered with their hands raised.'
   b.'They raised their hands and surrendered.'

   b. *[son-ul tul-ass -ko, hangbok-he-ss -ta]
ever hand-om raise-past-and surrender-do-past-ind
   a.* ['They raised their hands and surrendered.]
   b.* ['They surrendered with their hands raised.]
   (* The square bracket means the sentence is not grammatical.)

In (1) the first clause does not mark tense. In other words, the use of past tense marking in both sentences is inappropriate. The event of the first conjunct entirely precedes that of the second conjunct and is completed before the second event. The action of 'raising hands' is seen as a one time action. Or it may be that the actors is raising their hands and simultaneously saying 'We surrender'. In that case the two actions are completely
overlapping. Normally, however, people raise their hands to surrender and keep their hands raised until they are asked to drop their hands. In other words, the first event occurs before the second event but its results continue until the second event is finished. Thus the two events are either partially or completely overlapping. However, we can not say that the sequential interpretation is impossible, i.e. that the event of the second clause follows immediately upon the event of the first clause. This can be represented as in Figure 4.2:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>event 1-tense</th>
<th>event 2-tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sentence 1: a. -Ø</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentence 1: b. *-ass</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Figure 4.1

```
event 1: 'raise'
        a. | b. | c. |
        -Ø | -Ø | -Ø |

event 2: 'surrender'
        |   |   |
        -ass | -ass | -ass |
```

Figure 4.2

It is obvious from Figure 4.2 that ko in sentence (1) has overlapping senses. The sequential meaning while possible is, however, very unusual. Switching the order of the two conjuncts in such a sentence will switch the temporal order of the two events as in (1 c). Semantically this is odd, since people seldom surrender first and then raise their hands later.

(1) c. hangbok-ha-ko son-ul tul-eqs-ta
     surrender-do-and hand-om raise-past-ind
     'They surrendered and they raised their hands.'

Sentence (2) shows the same iconic formal and temporal ordering as sentence (1).
(cf. Figure 4.3).

(2) a. Kim-i kicha-rul ta-ko sopung-ul ka-eqs-ta
        Kim-sm train-om ride-and picnic-om go-past-ind
     'Kim went to the picnic riding a train.'
'Riding a train' is a method of 'going to a picnic' just as 'raising hands' in sentence (1) is a way of 'surrendering'. People ride trains to go to picnics, so 'riding a train' precedes the act of 'going to a picnic' or if 'go to a picnic' includes 'riding a train' as part of the activity, then the two activities are fully or partially overlapping. Thus Figure 4.3 is virtually the same as Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

When we examine additional Korean sentences, we find, however, there is another function of ko which clearly encodes the meaning 'and then'. In the sentences in (3), the events 'eat' and 'go out' can only be sequenced, and no temporal overlapping can exist.. Sentences (3) and (4) illustrate a sequence with no overlap in contrast to sentences (1) and (2). Thus there is no complete or partial time overlap between the two events in (3) and (4). The two events 'eating' and 'going out' cannot normally be done at the same time in (3) and 'waking up' and 'washing ones face' can also not be done at the same time in (4). They can only be done sequentially:

(3) a. Kim-un pap-ul meok-ko naka-ta
Kim-ta food-om eat-and go out-past-ind

'Kim ate food and then went out.'
b. Kim-un pap-ul meok-ss -ko naka-ss -ta
Kim-tp food-om eat-past-and go out-past-ind
'Kim ate food and then went out.'

(4) a. Kim-un ileona-ko sesuhe-ss -ta
Kim-tp wake up-and wash his face-past-ind
'Kim woke up and then washed his face.'

b. Kim-un ileona-ss -ko sesuhe-ss -ta
Kim-tp wake up-past-and wash his face-past-ind
'Kim woke up and then washed his face.'

The meaning difference between (1)/(2) and (3)/(4) correlates with the necessary absence of the past tense marker in the first clause in (1)/(2) and with the possible presence of the past tense marker in the first clause in (3)/(4). In other words, sentences like (1) and (2) do not allow the past tense marker at all in the first clause, but sentences like (3) and (4) can have a past tense marker in the first clause (although it seldom occurs there in actual conversation). The difference between sentences (3 a) and (3 b) or (4 a) and (4 b) is that sentences (3 b)/(4 b) have more of a time gap between the two events than sentences (3 a)/(4 a). The speaker probably intended to stop after the first clause in (3b) and (4b), and adds the second clause as an afterthought. Figure 4.4 illustrates the sequencing relation for the events in sentences (3 a) and (4 a).

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>event 1-tense</th>
<th>event 2-tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -Ø</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -ass</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

event1: a | -Ø | -ass |
          |    | with fluency |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>event 2</th>
<th>event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... -Ø</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tight sequence</td>
<td>with disfluency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...-ass</td>
<td>-ass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.4
```

In sentence (4), switching the two conjuncts can produce unacceptabilities due to temporal incongruity, as shown in (4 c) and (4 d).
(4) c. Kim-un sesuha-ko ileona-ss -ta  
     Kim-tp   wash his face-and   wake up-past-ind  
     'Kim washed his face and then woke up.'

d. Kim-un sesuhe-ess -ko ileona-ss -ta  
     Kim-tp   wash his face-past-and   wake up-past-ind  
     'Kim washed his face and then woke up.'

One can not wash one's face before waking up. We have thus discovered two different 
patterned functions of ko in Korean. The first function of ko illustrated in sentences like 
(1) or (2) will be designated ko-1, 'overlapping ko' [It will be referred to as ko-1 because it
is first introduced in the example sentence (1)]. Sentences (5) and (6) are further examples 
of this patterned function of ko (ko-1):

(5) a. Halmeoni-nun atul-ui son-ul butjap-ko ileona-ss -ta  
     grandma-tp son-gm hand-om hold-and stand up-past-ind  
     'The grandma stood up holding her son's hand.'

     b. [* Halmeoni-nun atul-ui son-ul butjap-ess -ko ileona-ss -ta]  
     grandma-tp son-gm hand-om hold-past-and stand up-past-ind  
     [* 'The grandma stood up holding her son's hand.']

(6) a. Totuk-i kal-ul kat-ko tuleowa-ss -ta  
     a robber-sm knife-om have-and enter-past-ind  
     'A robber got in with a knife.'

     b. [* Totuk-i kal-ul kat-ess -ko tuleowa-ss-ta]  
     a robber-sm knife-om have-past-and enter-past-ind  
     [* 'A robber got in with a knife.']

In (5), the grandmother probably could not stand without the son's help, so 'holding the
son's hand' is a necessary act for accomplishing the second event. In (6), 'holding a knife'
is a necessary act for accomplishing the robbery, perhaps to threaten a victim. The two
events 'holding the son's hand' and 'standing up' are temporally overlapped and 'holding a
knife' and 'getting in' are overlapped too.
The second linking function of *ko* introduced in sentence (3) and (4), designated here as *ko-3/*sequential ko*, indicates strict ordering between two events. However, *ko-3* linkage is also more comfortable without a past tense marker in the first sentence, although it is not unacceptable as with *ko-1*. Examine the following examples:

(7)  

a. Chulsoo-nun pap-ul mok-ko hakkyo-ro ka-ss-ta  
   Name-tpl eat-and school-to go-past-ind  
   'Chulsoo ate and then went to school.'

b. Chulsoo-nun pap-ul mok-ss-ko hakkyo-ro ka-ss-ta  
   Name-tpl eat-and school-to go-past-ind  
   'Chulsoo ate and then he went to school.'

Sentence (7 b) has the past tense marker in the first clause. Although it is a grammatically acceptable sentence, there are no attested occurrences of such usage in our discourse data. In actual conversation, people avoid using this form. As was mentioned earlier, if there is a pause or intonation break after the first event, the occurrence of the past tense marker is far more acceptable:

(4)  

c. Kim-un ileona-ss-ko……… sesuhe-ss-ta  
   Kim-tpl wake up-past-and…. wash his face-past-ind  
   'Kim woke up and then..... washed his face.'

In (4 c), the speaker is thinking of something else when he mentions the first event 'waking up'. There is a discourse disfluency. Probably, Kim did not usually wash his face after he woke up. Consider the following example:

(8)  

a. John-un mun-ul yeol-ko naka-ss-ta  
   John-tpl door-om open-and go out-past-ind  
   'John opened the door and went out.'

b. ? John-un mun-ul yeol-ss-ko naka-ss-ta  
   John-tpl door-om open-past-and go out-past-ind  
   '? John opened the door and went out.'
In (8), the two events are strictly ordered, in other words, they are sequential. Thus the linkage is more like that of ko-3 as in sentences (3) and (4). However, (8 b) is less likely than (7 b). If there are different subjects for the two events, this linkage is more acceptable:

(8) c. John-un mun-ul yeol-ko Mary-ka naka-ta
     John-ta door-om open-past-and Mary-sm go out-past-ind
     'John opened the door and Mary went out.'

Or if there is a clear pause between the two events, (8 d) is more acceptable. Also (8 d) can be used disfluently when the speaker does not know immediately what to say right after the first sentence.

(8) d. John-un mun-ul yeol-ko,... naka-ta
     John-ta door-om open-past-and,... go out-past-ind
     'John opened the door and went out.'

Asides such as mituluisseo 'would you believe it?,' nolapketo 'to our surprise,' etc, can be inserted in (8 b) after the first event, but not in (8 c).

However, in sentence (2), if there is a pause after the first event as in (2 d), the sentence itself is acceptable, but the meaning is different.

(2) d. Kim-i kicha-rul ta-sopung-ko.......sopung-ul ka-ta
     Kim-sm train-om ride-past-and... picnic-om go-past-ind
     'Kim rode a train..... and then he went to a picnic
     (probably to our surprise).'</n
The meaning in (2 d) is not any longer that Kim uses the train to go to a picnic as in sentence (2), but here the two events are independent, sequenced events.

In sum, (2 d) shows that if there is a past tense marker and a pause after the first event, ko-\^1 does not indicate temporal overlapping of the two events. We can conclude from the above example that if both events are marked for past tense, there is more temporal distance between the two events, and if the first event lacks the past tense marker, the two are more proximal in time. If there is a past tense marker in the first clause, there is more likely to be a pause after the first clause or there will be a different subject in the second clause. There
is either a time discrepancy between the two events, or a disfluency after the first event. Thus, no tense marker in the first clause signals closeness, and the occurrence of a past tense marker in the first clause means that there is more distance between the two events. The past tense marker in the first clause thus strengthens the sequencing relationship with a longer time discrepancy between the two events.

With regard to closeness and distance between two events in ko sentences, it is obvious that ko-1 'overlapping' indicates the closest relationship between the two events, since it does not allow the past tense marker in the first clause. Ko-3 'sequencing ko' [It is designated ko-3 since it was first introduced in the example sentence (3)] indicates a sequential relationship and also allows the past tense marker in the first clause.

There are therefore two different functions of ko: ko-1 'overlapping,' ko-3 'sequencing' of ko. These two different functions of ko can be represented as on the following temporal scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>/ko/</th>
<th>Simultaneity</th>
<th>Sequentiality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>ko-1</td>
<td>ko-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>overlapping</td>
<td>sequencing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>encoding * tns+tns</td>
<td>tns+tns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.5

The scale of Figure 4.5 shows two different ko functions in the scale of the degree of temporal sequencing of two events linked by ko. The left extreme position represents the character of simultaneous, the right extreme position indicates a strict sequential relation between the two events.

The two functional contexts of ko-linkage that we have identified so far do not, however, exhaust the context of ko-linkage. Let us consider the following examples in addition:
In sentence (9 b), there exists some time discrepancy between the two events of 'singing' and 'dancing' which is absent in (9 a). The type of ko-linkage in (9 b) is more natural if the events here have different subjects:

(9) a. Kim-i noreha-ko chum-ul chu-ass -ta
   Kim-sm sing-and dance-om dance-past-ind
   a.'Kim sang a song and he danced at the same time.'
   b.'Kim sang a song first, and then he danced.'

b. Kim-i norehe-ss -ko chum-ul chu-ass -ta
   Kim-sm sing-past-and dance-om dance-past-ind
   a.'Kim sang a song first, and then he danced.'
   b.[* 'Kim sang a song and he danced at the same time.]

    event 1-tense _______  event 2-tense __________
    a.  -Ø  -ass
    b.  -ass  -ass

    event 1   a. [ ______ ]  b. [ ______ ]
    event 2   -Ø  -Ø/-ass
            -ass  ...-ass

Figure 4.6

Sentence (9 a) has two possible interpretations, glosses 'a' and 'b.' However, sentence (9 b) has only one possible interpretation. In other words, in (9 b) the two events can not be simultaneous, only sequenced. But in sentence (9 a), the events can be either simultaneous or sequenced. Sentence (9 a [gloss bi]) and (9 b) are alike in the sequentiality of the events, but (9 a) is more natural, and the distance of sequentiality is more proximal in (9 a). This function of ko-linkage in sentence (9 a) is different from the 'sequencing' ko-3 function, since it can link events that are either simultaneous or sequential. Thus ko in sentence (9) is
potentially ambiguous; it can be interpreted as either simultaneous or sequential. Only the context makes it clear which is intended. Thus *ko*-linkage in this context is similar to both the 'overlapping *ko*' and the 'sequencing *ko*'-linkage.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{simultaneity} & \text{sequentiality} \\
\hline
\text{ko-1} & \text{ko-3} \\
\text{overlapping} & \text{sequencing} \\
\text{ko-9 [ko in sentence (9)]} & \text{ko-9 [ko in sentence (9)]}
\end{array}
\]

Figure 4.7

Let us consider some other examples:

(10) a. Mary-ka ice cream-ul kilise muk-ko ka-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ta Mary-sm ice cream-om on the street eat-and go-past-ind 'Mary went, eating ice cream on the street.'

b. [* Mary-ka ice cream-ul kilise muk-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ko ka-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ta] Mary-sm ice cream-om on the street eat-past-and go-past-ind [* 'Mary went, eating ice cream on the street.']

(11) a. Mary-ka wul-ko anja-iss-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ta Mary-sm cry-and sit-progressive-past-int. 'Mary was sitting, crying'

b. [* Mary-ka wul-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ko anja-iss-\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}-ta] Mary-sm cry-past-and sit-pro-past-int. [* 'Mary was sitting, crying']

In (10) and (11), the two actions of Event 1 and Event 2 take place at the same time. If they occurred in sequential order, then (10 b) and (11 b) should be acceptable, but they are not. In (10 a) and (11 a) the sense of *ko* seems similar to that of *ko-1*, since the past tense marker is not acceptable in the first clause, and the two events are temporally overlapping. In (10 a) and (11 a), the pairs of events 'eating' and 'going,' or 'crying' and 'sitting' are
fully overlapped. There is no possibility that the two events are sequenced to the native speaker's ear. However, it is difficult to decide which of the instances of ko-linkage shows a closer relationship between the two events, ko-1 or ko in this context. Thus we place them at the same point on the scale of sequentiality

```
/k0/

simultaneity                      sequenciality
|________________________________|
ko-1                               ko-3
overlapping                        sequencing
ko-10 [limiting ko in sentence (10) and (11)]
```

Figure 4.8

There is another interesting example in which it is difficult to decide between the sequential or the overlapping sense. Consider the following example:

(12) a. janggap-ul    kki-ko    pakke     naka-ss -ta
gloves-om  put on-and then  outside      go-past-ind
  a. 'He put on his gloves and then went outside.'
  b. 'He went outside wearing his gloves.'

b. janggap-ul    kki-ss -ko    pakke     naka-ss -ta
gloves-om  put on-past-and then  outside      go-past-ind
  a. 'He put on his gloves and then after that went outside.'
  b. ["He went outside wearing his gloves."]

The same activity can be conceived of in two ways. First, he put on his gloves, which created a result that overlaps (i.e. 'wear') with the second act of 'going out.' Second, we may see only the act of putting on gloves and ignore the 'wear' aspect and view the two acts as sequenced. If the sentence (12) has the past tense marker in the first clause, the 'b' gloss interpretation is not possible. Sentence (12 b) is possible only in the sequenced meaning. This is the same as in (9 b), but in (12 b) there is no possibility of complete overlapping between two events as in (9) 'singing' and 'dancing' since two actions 'wearing' and 'going out' can not occur at the same time. But the two events 'wearing' and 'going out' can be partially overlapped, because the first event 'wearing' partially
precedes the second event 'going out.' The difference between 'overlapping ko' in sentence (1), and ko in sentence (12) is that, in (1) there is almost no possibility of sequentiality, but in (12) the sequentiality meaning is strong. This is the reason that (14 b) can have the 'a' gloss interpretation. Ko-linkage in sentence (12), which is called ko-12 lies between ko-1 and ko-3, since there is no possibility that two events can be completely overlapped. (cf. Figure 4.9) Thus the diagram scale is as follows:

```
/kö/

simultaneity  sequentiality

|-----------------------------------------------|

ko-1  ko-3

overlapping  ko-12 [ko in sentence (12)]  sequencing

partial overlap

Figure 4.9
```

Now let us reconsider an example of ko-linkage involving sequencing, namely sentence (8).

(8) a. John-un mun-ul yeol-ko naka-ga -ta
   John-tp door-om open-and go out-past-ind
   'John opened the door and went out.'

      John-tp door-om open-past-and go out-past-ind
      ? 'John opened the door and went out.'

In (8), the two events are sequential, thus ko-linkage is more like the ko-3 sequencing function in sentence (3). However, if the first clause has the past tense marker, (8 b) is more unlikely than (3 b), although it is not impossible. Its function is more like in ko-1. Sequences with ko-3 can have a past tense marker inside the first clause, but sentence (8 b) is awkward. The reason is that in this case the second event is accomplished only by the assistance of the first event. If you do not open the door, you can not go out. It sounds like the overlapping ko function, ko-1, where the second event can only be accomplished by means of the first event. For example, in sentence (2), if you do not ride the train, you
can not go to a picnic. Semantically the two events are very close. This ko-linkage fits between the overlapping and the sequencing function. Ko-linkage in sentence (8), which is designated ko-8, is different from the ko-linkage in sentence (12), ko-12, because in sentence (8) there is no overlapping temporality as in (12) or (9). This fact indicates that, within the sequential ko function, there is a gradation of degrees of closeness between two ko-linked events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simultaneity</th>
<th>sequentiality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-1</td>
<td>ko-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overlapping</td>
<td>assisting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tns+tns</td>
<td>ko-8 [ko in Sentence (8)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>?tns+ tns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tns+tns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.10

These results indicate that a binary distinction between simultaneous and sequential temporality of ko is not appropriate. In other words, there is a continuum of temporality where the temporal character of ko linkage can be located along a scale. The scale is not discrete, but continuous, and the semantics of the two events of the conjunct will decide the position of ko in this functional scale. However, the properties of the two events are not sufficient in deciding the function of ko; but the context is also very important in many cases. For example, in sentence (9) ko has either the character of simultaneity or of sequentiality, and only the context can make it clear. In sentence (1) or sentence (12), the full or partial overlapping sense is not clear, thus again context plays a role.

4.1.2. ko-linkage in complex sentences with stative verbs.

Now we turn to another function of ko. So far we have discussed the temporal continuity of ko in active predicative sentences. However, ko is also used to connect stative adjectival events as well. Let us look at example (13) and (14).

(13) a. Kim-un meori-ka kumbali-ko ki-ka keo-ss-ta
    Kim-tp hair-sm blond-and height-also tall-past-ind
    'Kim was blond and tall.'
(14) a. Kim-un eolkul-i yeppu-ko kongbu-to jalhe-ss -ta
   Kim-tp face-sm pretty-and study-also do well-past-ind
   'Kim was pretty and was good in study.'

b. Kim-un eolkul-i yeppu-ss -ko kongbu-to jalhe-ss -ta
   Kim-tp face-sm pretty-past-and study-also do well -past-ind
   'Kim was pretty and was good in study.'

Sentences (13)/(14) do optionally allow the past tense marker in the first clause. This can be represented by the following diagram.

```
   event 1-tense       event 2-tense
      _________       ___________
   a. -Ø             -ass
   b. -ass           -ass
```

Possibly Simultaneous events

```
event 1: 'pretty'
   a. [_____]
      -Ø
      -ass

event 2: 'study well'
   [_____]
      -ass
      with fluency
      without pause
      tight
      -ass
      with disfluency
      with pause
      loose
```

Figure 4.11

In sentence (13), the first clause of the coordinate pair allows either null tense marking or past tense marker -ass. There is no necessary temporal ordering between the two events, although the two events are possibly simultaneous in temporal ordering. The two stative events 'blond' and 'tall' cannot have an immediate temporal relationship in the way events linked by ko-1 or ko-3 do, because stative verbs do not inherently involve temporal ordering. Sentence (13 b) is an acceptable sentence, but people rarely use it in ordinary
conversation. People will say (13 b) if the speaker has originally intended to end the sentence after the first part, 'Kim was blond,' but suddenly changes his mind and adds another part 'Kim was tall.' Sentence (13 b) would then occur with more disfluency than sentence (13a). Thus also if there is a pause between the two clauses, (13 b) is more likely. In sentence (14), 'pretty face' and 'study well' cannot be sequentially related although they can have a simultaneous temporal ordering.

This linking function of ko will be designated 'co-present,' as it occurs in sentence (13) or (14). They are stative events and thus differ in important ways from the active events linked by ko-1 and ko-3 sentences. There is no necessary temporal ordering since they are stative verbs. The first clause more or less freely allows the past tense marker. With stative events linked by ko, the occurrence of a pause between the two events, and the occurrence of the past tense marker in both clauses makes a sentence more likely to be acceptable, as in sentence (14 c).

(14)  c. Kim-un eolkul-i yeppu-ss -ko... kongbu-to jalhe-ss -ta
     Kim-tp face-sm pretty-past-and.study-also do well -past-ind
     'Kim was pretty and...... was good in study.'

The meaning of (14 c) is something like, 'Kim was pretty and to our surprise, she studied well too'. Sentence (14 b) does not have such a surprise meaning but indicates less closeness of the events. Sentence (14 a) is the typical default linkage of stative events.

This 'co-present' ko can not be placed on the temporal scale of Figure 4.5 since it does not have a temporal character. However, there is another semantic dimension on which ko-1, ko-3 and ko-8 can be placed. The semantic closeness between the two propositions determines the semantic quality of ko, and temporal overlapping or sequentiality is but one of the parameters of semantic closeness on a scale of semantic closeness. Our hypothesis is that the more overlapping the temporal sense of ko inside the clause, the greater the semantic closeness of the two events. And the more sequenced the sense of ko is inside the clause, the less the two events are semantically close. To test this hypothesis, a negation test can be applied. If the sentence final negative particle negates only the second event, the semantic relationship between the two events in the complex sentence is more distant than it is in a complex sentence in which the sentence final negative particle negates the first event as well as the second event. Again, the scale of the semantic closeness is a
continuum, not a discrete scale. However, before we turn to the scope of negation, let us
discuss the semantics of the two events being conjoined.

4.1.3 Semantics of ko.

Sentences (1), (2), (5), (6), (10), and (11), which contain ko in its 'overlapping' function,
show semantic regularities in the relation between the two conjoined events. In (2) the first
event specifies a method of accomplishing the second event; thus riding a train is a means
of, 'going to the picnic', and 'raising hands' is a means of surrendering in (1). The first
event 'raise hands' facilitates or enables the second event, 'surrender.' We will thus refer
to the conjoining function ko-1 as 'enabling ko.' The two events are semantically and
temporally so close that if you put the past tense marker in the first clause, the meaning is
changed. In sentences (5) and (6), as in (1) and (2), ko in the first clause 'holding the
son's hand' 'holding a knife' constrains the second event 'standing up' or 'invading' as a
way of facilitating the event or as a means of its accomplishment. Ko-1 can frequently be
translated using the English preposition 'and with,' and the second event is typically
accomplished with the assistance of, or by using the method of the first event. In (10 a)
and (11 a), the first event limits or characterizes the second event, not helping or enabling
the second event as in sentence (1). This is more like an adjectival function than an enabling
function. Mary is going but eating at the same time and she is sitting but crying at the same
time. Mary can go simply, but 'eating ice cream' modifies the action of 'going,' and
'action of 'crying' modifies the action of 'sitting.' This ko function will thus be referred to
as 'limiting ko.'

In the case of the 'sequencing' ko function as in sentence (3), the two events 'eat' and 'go
out' are temporally sequenced, so the function ko in this context has been designated
'sequencing ko.' But no necessary enabling relationship is signalled here. The occurrence
of a past tense marker in the first clause is possible only with disfluency. The two events
in ko-3 linked clauses are clearly more independent events than those linked by ko-1. In
other words, the second event does not necessarily need the assistance of the first event as
indicated with ko-1. In sentence (2), 'waking up' does not necessarily aid the act of
'washing his face,' and similarity for the relationship between 'eating' and 'going out' in
sentence (3), too.

In case of ko-13 as in sentence (13), where the two stative events 'blond' and 'tall' just co-
exist, there is no necessary enabling or temporal sequencing relationship between two
events, the two events in sentence (13) are just co-existing stative characteristics of Kim. This function has thus been earlier designated 'co-present ko.' A semantic distance between the two events is indicated by the use of the past tense marker in the first clause as well as the second.

Thus temporally 'overlapping' ko has the semantic function of 'enabling' or 'modifying or limiting' the second clause event. The temporally 'sequencing' ko does not have that function, but if the order of two events is changed as in (4 c), the results are not acceptable. This means that in many cases, one of the two events has temporal precedence and the second has a follow up relationship. However, in case of 'co-present ko,' ko-13, changing the order does not cause any semantic incongruity. Thus we can tentatively construct a semantic closeness scale of these three functions of ko.

The closeness relationship between two ko-linked events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>integral (Overlapping)</th>
<th>separated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-1</td>
<td>ko-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enabling</td>
<td>sequencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encoding</td>
<td>encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tns+tns</td>
<td>tns+tns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.12

4.1.4. Negation

Now we focus on negation. As was indicated earlier, ko-linked clauses may occur with tense marking only in the last clause or in both clauses, indicating variant degrees of semantic closeness of relationship between the ko-linked clauses. This hypothesis can be tested by examining an additional factor, namely negation. We can employ a 'negation test' to decide the semantic closeness between events at ko-3 and ko-13. The question is whether the sentence final negative marker negates both events only or the final one. Let us start with the following examples in which ko-1 is the function:

(1) d. son-ul  tul-ko,  hangbok-ha-jiana-ss -ta
    hand-om  raise-and,  surrender-do-not-past-ind
a.'They did not surrender with their hands raised.'
b.[* 'They raised their hands and did not surrender.]

In the case of 'enabling' ko-1 in (1 d), the sentence final negative marker jiana 'not' negates both Event 1 and Event 2. The 'b' gloss is not acceptable where the negation marker negates only Event 2. But if there is a pause after the first event, the gloss 'b' interpretation is acceptable and indicates disfluency.

(1) e. son-ul tul-ko,........ hangbok-ha-jiana-ss-ta hand-om raise-and,....... surrender-do-not-past-ind a.[* 'They did not surrender with their hands raised.'] b.'They raised their hands and did not surrendered.'

Now consider the following example where the function is ko-13:

(13) c. Kim-un meori-ka kumbali-ko ki-ka ku-jiana-ss-ta Kim-tp hair-sm blond-and height-also tall-not-past-ind a.'Kim was blond and was not tall.' b.* 'Kim was not blond and was not tall.'

In case of ko-13 'copresent ko' in (13 c), the sentence final negative jiana 'not' negates only the second event; the 'b' gloss is not acceptable. This contrasts with the negation in sentence (1 d). Consider also the following example where ko-3 is the function:

(3) c. Kim-un pap-ul meok-ko naka-jiana-ss-ta Kim-tp food-om eat-and go out-not-past-ind a. 'Kim did not eat food and then go out.' b. 'Kim ate food and did not go out.'

In the case of sentence (3), which shows the sequencing function ko-3, the sentence final negative jiana 'not' negates either the Event 2 only or both Event 1 and Event 2. This again confirms that ko-1 indicates the closest relationship between the two conjoined events since the final negative negates both Event 1 and Event 2. Comparing functions ko-3 and ko-13, ko-3 indicates a closer relationship than ko-13, since in case of ko-3, the final negative negates either Event 2 only or both Event 1 and Event 2. But for ko-13 the final negative negates only Event 2. It is thus necessary to modify Figure 4.5 as shown in Figure 4.13.
The closeness relationship between two ko-linked events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ko/</th>
<th>integral</th>
<th>separated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-1</td>
<td>enabling (overlapping)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-3</td>
<td>sequencing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-13</td>
<td>co-present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| tense    | Ø+tns | Ø+tns | Ø+tns |
| encoding | * tns+tns | tns+tns | tns+tns |
| negation | EV1+EV2 | EV1+EV2 | *EV1+EV2 |
|          | * EV2 only | EV2 only | EV2 only |

Figure 4.13

Let us consider additional examples of ko-linkage that lie somewhere between the extremes of ko-1, and ko-13. If sentence (9), which has either the function of ko-1 or ko-3, is negated, there are two possible interpretations:

(9) d. Kim-i noreha-ko chum-ul chu-jiana-ass -ta
    Kim-sm sing-and dance-orn dance-jiana-past-ind
    a.'Kim did not sing a song and dance at the same time.'
    b.'Kim sang a song first, and then he did not dance.'

In the sentence (9 d), 'a' and 'b,' both glosses are possible interpretations (as in the case of 'sequencing ko' linkage). This is an expected result since sentence (9) has either the function of simultaneity and/or sequencing. If the two actions are simultaneous, then the relationship between the two events is closer than with sequenced events, and the sentence final negative negates the first event as well as the second event.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ko/</th>
<th>immediate/close</th>
<th>remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-1</td>
<td>enabling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-2 [ko in sentence (9)]</td>
<td>co-present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-3</td>
<td>sequencing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation</td>
<td>EV1+EV2</td>
<td>EV1+EV2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*EV2 only</td>
<td>EV2 only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.14
If sentences (10) and (11), which have the 'limiting' ko-1 function, is negated, the result is as follows:

(10)  c. Mary-ka ice cream-ul kilese muk-ko ka-jiana-ss -ta
Mary-sm ice cream-om on the street eat-and go-not-past-ind
a. 'Mary did not go, eating ice cream on the street.'
b. ["Mary ate ice cream on the street and did not go."]

(11)  c. Mary-ka wul-ko anja-iss-jiana-ss -ta
Mary-sm cry-and sit-progressive-not-past-ind
a. 'Mary was not sitting, crying.'
b. ["Mary was crying and was not sitting."]

The only possible scope of negation in (10 c) and (11 c) is the negation of both Event 1 and Event 2. This demonstrates the expected close relationship between the two events in (10 c) and in (11 c).


/k o /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>immediate/close</th>
<th>remote</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ko-3</td>
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<td>sequencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-10 [ko in Sentence (10)/(11)]</td>
<td>co-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation EV1+ EV2</td>
<td>*EV2 only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.15

If sentence (12), in which the ko function is closer to ko-3, is negated, the result is as follows:

(12)  a. janggap-ul kki-ko pakke naka-jiana-ss -ta
gloves-om put on-and then outside go-not-past-ind
a. 'He put on his gloves and then he did not go outside.'
b. 'He did not go outside wearing his gloves.'
The negative either negates only Event 1 or both Event 1 and Event 2, although the 'a' interpretation is less likely. Thus ko-12 appears to be intermediate between 'enabling' ko-1 and 'sequential' ko-3. But it is closer to 'sequential' ko-3. The difference between ko-1 and ko-12 is that there is no enabling relationship between two events in sentence (12), and the negation scope is more like ko-3. Thus the expanded diagram will be as follows:

```
/kö/
  immediate/close  remote

ko-1                              ko-3                              ko-13
  enabling                       sequencing                       co-present

        ko-12
negation EV1+EV2                  EV1+EV2                        EV1+EV2
  *EV2 only                        ?EV2 only                      EV2 only
```

Figure 4.16

When sentence (8), which is between ko-1 and ko-3 but closer to ko-3 than sentence (12), is negated the result is as follows:

(8)  c. John-un mun-ul yeol-ko naka-jiana-ssa-ta
      John-tp door-om open-and go out-not-past-ind

      a. 'John did not open the door and go out.'
      b. ?'John opened the door and did not go out.'

In (8 c) the 'b' gloss is a little strange, and it is a more likely interpretation when there is a disfluency pause between the two clauses. The sentence final negative negates both Event 1 and Event 2 just as with the 'enabling' ko-linkage. This is another difference from the ko-3 function of sentence (3), in which only the second event is negated. Sentence (8) belongs to the ko-3 group, since the two events are sequential, but tense and the 'negative' test show that two events are closer than the default sequential ko-linkage (ko-3) as in sentence (3). This is an expected result.
Let us consider additional examples:

(15)  a. Mary-ka son ssit-ko o-асс -ta
      Mary-sm hand wash-and come-past-ind
      'Mary washed her hands and then came.'

      b. ? Mary-ka son ssit-асс -ko o-асс -ta
         Mary-sm hand wash-past-and come-past-ind
         ['? 'Mary washed her hands and then came.']

      c. Mary-ka son ssit-ko o-йiana-асс -ta
         Mary-sm hand wash-and come-not-past-ind
         a. 'Mary did not wash her hands and then come.'
         b. 'Mary washed her hands and then did not come.'

(16)  a. Mary-ka kongbuha-ko jа-сс -ta
      Mary-sm studied-and sleep-past-ind
      'Mary studied and then slept.'

      b. Mary-ka kongbuhe-сс -ko jа-сс -ta
         Mary-sm studied-past-and sleep-past-ind
         'Mary studied and then slept.'

      c. Mary-ka kongbuha-ko jа-йiana-сс -ta
         Mary-sm studied-and sleep-not-past-ind
         a. 'Mary did not study and then sleep.'
         b. 'Mary studied and did not sleep.'
In these examples, the two actions take place sequentially, not simultaneously. Thus the \( \text{ko} \)-linkage function is of the 'sequential' \( \text{ko} \) type \( \text{ko-3} \). It is difficult to be 'coming' while 'washing one's hands,' or 'studying' while one is 'sleeping'. However, when sentence (15) and sentence (16) are negated, the results are different. In (15), the scope of negation includes both Event 1 and Event 2 as a first interpretation, but an interpretation negating only the second event is possible. But in sentence (16), the first interpretation would be negation of only the second event rather than negating both Event 1 and Event 2. In sentence (16), both 'a' and 'b' interpretations are also possible. There is an expected difference in the semantic closeness between the two events: in (15) the second verb \( \text{on} \) 'come' is semantically more closely connected with the first event than the second event in sentence (16) is tied to the first. Let us consider one additional example:

\[
\text{(4) e. \hspace{1em} \text{Kim-un} \hspace{1em} \text{ileona-ko} \hspace{1em} \text{sesuha-jiana-sa} \hspace{1em} \text{ta}}
\]

\[
\hspace{1em} \text{Kim-tp \hspace{1em} wake up-and \hspace{1em} wash his face-not-past-ind}
\]

a. 'Kim woke up and then did not wash his face.'

b. '? Kim did not wake up and then wash his face.'

In (4 e), the interpretation of gloss 'a' is possible, but 'b' gloss is not. The second event can be negated in the \( \text{ko} \)-linked clauses. The relationship between the two events 'wake up' and 'wash face' is not close at all. We may conclude that depending on the event semantics of the two clauses, the sequencing \( \text{ko} \)-linkage function admits a gradation in the degree of closeness.

\[
\text{/ko/}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{immediate/close} & \text{remote} \\
\text{ko-1} & \text{ko-3} & \text{ko-13} \\
\text{enabling} & \text{sequencing} & \text{co-present} \\
\text{negation EV1+EV2} & \text{EV1+EV2 EV1+EV2 EV1+EV2 EV1+EV2 EV1+EV2} & \text{EV2 only EV2 only EV2 only EV2 only}
\end{array}
\]

Figure 4.18
Now let us examine the 'co-present' \textit{ko}-linkage function more in detail. For example:

(17) a. Kim-un chakha-ko seongsilhe-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-and sincere-past-ind
    'Kim was good and sincere.'

b. Kim-un chakhe-\textit{ss} -ko seongsilhe-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-past-and sincere-past-ind
    'Kim was good and sincere.'

c. Kim-un chakhe-\textit{ss} -ko..... seongsilhe-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-past-and..... sincere-past-ind
    'Kim was good..... and sincere.'

d. Kim-un chakha-ko seongsilha-jiana-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-and sincere-not-past-ind
    a. 'Kim was not good and sincere.'
    b. ? 'Kim was good and not sincere.'

When a sentence which has \textit{ko}-linked stative verbs is negated, the negative usually negates only the second event. However, in (17 d), the negative element negates the first event as well as the second event. In fact, the gloss 'a' is even more likely than gloss 'b.' The reason for this lies in the semantics of the two events 'good' and 'sincere.' They both express very similar positive human characteristics. Thus if one negates only the second event 'sincere,' the sentence is odd, since the two events share positive features. Apparently, one of the aspects of \textit{ko}-linkage is that it conjoins only positive values with positive, and negative values with negative, not positive with negative. This fact will become clearer in the following example:

(18) a. Kim-un chakha-ko ki-ka ku-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-and height-sm tall-past-ind
    'Kim was good and tall.'

b. Kim-un chakha-ko ki-ka ku-jiana-\textit{ss} -ta
    Kim-tp good-and height-sm tall-not-past-ind
a. 'Kim was good and was not tall.'
   b. *'Kim was not good and not tall.'

In (18), the two events 'good' and 'tall' are not so closely related as 'good' and 'sincere.' 'Good' is a characteristic of the mind and 'tall' is a physical characteristic. Thus the negative element negates only the second event 'tall.' The relationship between the two events 'tall' and 'good' is not as close as that between 'sincere' and 'good.' Thus we can conclude that sentences containing ko-linked events indicating co-presence, vary in the semantic closeness of the two events depending on the verbal semantics.

\[ /ko/ \]

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
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<td>ko-13</td>
<td>ko-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-18</td>
<td>ko-18</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In sum, there is an enormous number of different semantic integrity functions of ko-linkage on the scale of semantic closeness between two events in a complex sentence. This scale also relates to the temporal continuum of section 4.1. Ko with the more temporally overlapping sense has also a semantically tighter sense as shown by the scope of negation; and ko of both the more sequential and the more co-present sense has a semantically looser interpretation. The sample utterances that I have examined show the possibility that there are numerous possible functions of ko on the temporal and the semantic closeness scales. The closeness of the two clauses is gradually disengaged as one moves from left to right on the continuum. Thus, Korean has only one morpheme ko to cover the many continuously variant semantic functions of temporality or semantic integrity. Morphologically and syntactically there is no distinction in the form, but the semantic analysis of this chapter shows that there are many different possible semantic distinctions that can be discovered for the simple coordinate conjunction ko: distinctions that are not discrete but describe a continuum of variability.
4.2. Other coordinate conjunctions

Although there are numerous conjunctions in Korean that link verb phrases, (cf. Chapter 2 p.34; p. 37) I will concentrate in this chapter on four VP coordinate conjunction markers. We have already discussed the first marker *ko*. Let us now examine the other three.

2. *kose* 'and then'
3. *ese* 'and, and then'.
4. *umyu* 'and, while, at the same time as'

4.2.1. *kose*

The Korean conjunction *kose* is different from *ko* in that it almost always indicates sequentiality, 'and then,' and there is almost no possibility of simultaneity signalled there. However, sentence (1 e) which has the *ko*-1 function is acceptable, since the sentence (1 a) has either the sequentiality sense or the simultaneity sense. However, the interpretation of (1 e) is more likely to be sequential than simultaneous, compare (1 a).

(1) a. son-ul tul-*ko*, hangbok-he-ss -ta
    hand-om raise-and surrender-do-past-ind
    a.'They surrendered with their hands raised.'
    b.'They raised their hands and surrendered.'

e. son-ul tul-*kose*, hangbok-he-ss-ta
    hand-om raise-and surrender-do-past-ind
    a.'They surrendered with their hands raised.'
    b.'They raised their hands and then surrendered.'

f. [* son-ul tul-ass-*kose*, hangbok-he-ss-ta]  
   hand-om raise-past-and surrender-do-past-ind
   [* 'They raised their hands and surrendered.']*

As mentioned earlier, in sentence (1 a), the 'b' interpretation is not impossible, but very rare. However, in (1 e) the 'a' interpretation is not impossible, but less plausible than the 'b' interpretation. The two events are more sequential than simultaneous. However, the substitution by *kose* for *ko* is impossible in the following sentence.
(11)  a.  *Mary-ka  wul-kose  anja-iss-ass-ta
   Mary-sm  cry-and then  sit-progressive-past-ind
   [* 'Mary was sitting, crying.]

   b.  [*Mary-ka  wul-ass-kose  anja-iss-ass-ta]
   Mary-sm  cry-past-and then  sit-pro-past-ind
   [* 'Mary was sitting, crying.]

The reason is that sentence (11) has only the overlapping simultaneity sense of ko in the clause, and there is no possibility of sequentiality. This contrast shows that the 'limiting' ko function is more to the left on the temporal or semantic integrity continuum than the 'enabling' ko function.

/kko/

<table>
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<tr>
<td>ko-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

limiting ko in sentence (10)/(11)

Figure 4.20

Sentences linked by 'co-present' ko-3 cannot contain kose; thus sentence (13) cannot occur with kose, in place of ko; (cf. (13 c) below).

(13)  c.  [*Kim-un  ki-ka  ku-kose  nore-rul  jal-hess-ta]
       Kim-tp  height-sm  tall-and  song-om  well-sing-ind
       [* 'Kim was tall and then sang very well.]

As expected, the 'sequential' ko-3 function, 'and then,' can alternate with kose. Compare (4 d) and (4 a):

(4)  d.  Kim-un  ileona-kose  sesuhe-ss-ta
       Kim-tp  wake up-and  wash his face-past-ind

'Kim woke up and then washed his face.'
a. Kim-un ileona-ko sesuhe-ss-ta  
   Kim-tp wake up-and wash his face-past-ind  
   'Kim woke up and then washed his face.'

---

e. [* Kim-un ileona-ss-kose sesuhe-ss-ta]  
   Kim-tp wake up-past-and wash his face-past-ind  
   [* 'Kim woke up and then washed his face.']

Sentence (4 d) and (4 a) have the same English translation, but (4 d) indicates more time duration between the two events than (4 a). The lexical content of kose requires the event of the first clause to take place before that of the second clause. However, (1 d) and (4 e) are not acceptable if the first clause contains a past tense marker. Kose-linkage never occurs with a past tense marker in the first clause, unlike the 'sequential' ko-linkage, ko-3, (remember that 'enabling' ko-linkage, ko-1, does not occur with a past tense marker in the first clause either). When a kose-linked sentence is negated, the result is as follows:

(1) g. son-ul tul-kose, hangbok-ha-jiana-ss-ta  
   hand-om raise-and surrender-do-not-past-ind  
   'They raised their hands and then did not surrender.'

(4) e. Kim-un ileona-kose sesu-ha-jiannas-ta  
   Kim-tp wake up-and wash his face-do-not-past-ind  
   'Kim woke up and then did not wash his face.'

As seen in the two sentences, the negation element negates only the second clause. This is the same as with the 'sequential' ko-linkage function, ko-3. Thus, kose has a similar character similar to the sequential ko-3 function, but kose does not occur with a past tense marker in the first clause. The reason that kose does not allow the past tense marker inside the clause is possibly that since kose has a stronger sequentiality function than the 'sequential' ko-3 function, the hearer knows automatically from the tense of the second event (which codes the tense of the whole sentence) what the tense of the first event must be. In other words, kose-linkage signals semantic perfectivity, and anteriority to the second clause, and that is the reason that the first clause avoids the overt perfect tense marker -ess. Another reason is that kose is a subordination marker, and the subordinate clause avoids overt tense marking. It is thus a more backgrounded clause. In other words, ko is officially used as a coordinate conjunction marker, but, kose, which has almost the
same temporal character as the 'sequential' ko-3 function is used more as a subordination marker or a marker of backgrounded clauses. Thus, a kose clause does not allow a past tense marker inside the clause. This notion is represented in the following (the dotted lines between Event 1 and Event 2 means temporal discrepancy):

```
background                             foreground
<-------------------------------------------------------------------------->kose------ko------>
```

Figure 4.21

4.2.2. ese

The conjunction ese codes a relation between the two linked events that involves no temporal discrepancy; this can be a sequence relation, or a condition/result relation. With ese, the second event is accomplished by way of the first event. The first event is usually the reason of the second event, and the first event provides the grounds for the second event. The distinction between 'enabling' ko-linkage, ko-1, and ese-linkage is that ese does not indicate any temporal overlap of Event 1 and Event 2. Ese rather implies that Event 1 is done for the purpose of realizing Event 2, but subsequentially. If we specify ese-linkage in sentence (1) and (13), it has a different meaning than with ko-linkage.

(1) g. son-ul  tul-ese,    hangbok-he-ss -ta
    hand-om   raise-and   surrender-do-past-ind
    'They surrendered by raising their hands.'

    h. [* son-ul  tul-ass -ese,    hangbok-he-ss -ta]
        hand-om   raise-past-and   surrender-do-past-ind
        [* 'They surrendered by raising their hands. ']

(13) d. [* Kim-un meori-ka kumbali-ese ki-ka keo-ss -ta]
     Kim-tp hair-sm blond-and height-also tall-past-ind
     [* 'Kim was blond and because of that he was tall. ']

In (1 g), the first event 'raise (hand)' is only interpreted as the necessary method of accomplishing the second event 'surrender.' However, in (1a), the first event is the facilitating event, but it is not the necessary means of accomplishing the second event. Temporally, (1 a) has a stronger overlapping sense, but (1 g) has the more immediate
sequencing meaning. Sentence (13d) is not acceptable, since semantically being blond cannot be the reason for being tall. Consider the following examples:

(19) a. Kim-un toseokwan-e ka-se kongpu he-ga -eyo Kim-tp library-at go-and study do-past-pm
    'Kim went to the library and studied there.'

b. ? Kim-un toseokwan-e ka-ko kongpu he-ga -eyo Kim-tp library-at go-and study do-past-pm
    ? 'Kim went to the library and (then) studied.'

(20) a. Kim-un toseokwan-e ka-se kongpu he-yo Kim-tp library-at go-and study do-pm
    'Kim goes to the library and studies there.'

In (19 a) and (20 a), Kim has been studying in the library since he went there, but in (19 b), there is a possibility that going to the library and studying can be an independent acts, thus Kim does not have to study in the library. The two events are more independently conceived.

(21) a. Kim-un ilena-se changmun-ul tata-yo Kim-tp got up-and window-om close-pm
    'Kim gets up and closes the window.'

b. ? Kim-un ilena-ko changmun-ul tata-yo Kim-tp got up-and window-om close-pm
    ? 'Kim gets up and closes the window.'

(22) a. se-se kitarita stand-and wait-pm
    'Standing ,wait.'

b. [* se-ko kitarita] stand-and wait-pm
    [* 'Stand up and wait.']
In (21a), the first event is the limiting factor of the second event; thus it is more like a 'limiting ko-1.' However, in (21 b) the two actions are more sequenced and ko sounds a little strange. If the speaker wants to code an overlapping sense, the sentence will be as follows:

b. se-(kat) ko kitari-ta
stand-(have) and wait-pm
'Standing, waiting.'

The action of 'waiting' is overlapped with the action of 'standing,' and the second event 'waiting' is limited by the first action of 'standing.' Consider also the following example:

(23) a. Pak sonsu-nun Chongro-rul jina-se Kwangwhamun-uro
Pak-runner-tp Chongro-om pass-and Kwangwhamun-towards
ttuiokapni-ta
runs-ind
'Runner Pak passes Chongro street and runs toward Kwangwhamun.'

b. Pak sonsu-nun Chongro-rul jina-ko Kwangwhamun-uro
Pak-runner-tp Chongro-om pass-and Kwangwhamun-towards
ttuiokapnita
run-ind
'Runner Pak passes Chongro street and runs toward Kwangwhamun.'

Sentences (23 a) and (23 b) have the almost same meaning. However, in (23 a) the runner Pak goes into Kwangwhamun street immediately after passing Chongro street. However, in (23 b) the two events are less likely to be immediately sequenced.

As all the above example sentences show, the tense of the first event is determined by the tense of the following event. In other words, like the kose clause, the esse clause does not allow past tense marking inside the clause. The reason is similar to that for kose. The conjoining element esse itself has an inherent perfective meaning (as against ko), and an esse clause is also more of a subordinate clause than is a ko clause. The subordinate clause is less independent than the coordinate clause, and the relationship between the main and the subordinate clause is more immediate. Thus, the semantic disjunction that -ass would signal in the first clause of (19a) contradicts the contact-causality signalled by esse. Ese-
linkage signals that one event abuts or flows into the second. (This is seemingly the same sense as with enabling ko-linkage, but if ko replaces e-ss in (19 b), (20 b), and (23 b), the first event and the second event are not as smoothly connected.) The first event in a ko-linked clause is finished, and then the second event starts, as medium is mutated into result, and -ess denies such a relation by signaling a more remote relation between the two events. Consider the following examples:

     Kim-tp gun-om take out-and Lee-om shot-past-ind
     'Kim took out the gun and shot Lee.'

     b. Kim-un chong-ul keone-ss -ko Lee-rul sso-ss -ta
     Kim-tp gun-om take out-past-and Lee-om shot-past-ind
     'Kim took out the gun and shot Lee.'

     c. Kim-un chong-ul keone-ss Lee-rul sso-ass -ta
     Kim-tp gun-om take out-and Lee-om shot-past-ind
     'Kim took out the gun and shot Lee.'

     d. [* Kim-un chong-ul keone-ss -se Lee-rul sso-ass -ta]
     Kim-tp gun-om take out-past-and Lee-om shot-past-ind
     [*'Kim took out the gun and shot Lee.']

     e. Kim-un chong-ul keone-kose Lee-rul sso-ass -ta
     Kim-tp gun-om take out-and then Lee-om shot-past-ind
     'Kim took out the gun and then shot Lee.'

Sentences (24 a) and (24 b) have basically the same meaning, but (24 b) is less natural because the time duration between 'taking out the gun' and 'shooting' seems longer than in (24 a). Sentence (24 c) is the most natural, because 'took out the gun' is a necessary prerequisite of 'shot,' and (24 d) is not acceptable, as one would expect. The difference between (24 a) and (24 c) is that in (24 a) the first action of 'took out the gun' is finished first and the second event of 'shot' occurs subsequently. However in (24 c), the first event and second event occur without any time discrepancy, and the first event is the necessary condition or the means of achieving the second event. In (24 e), the duration between the first event and the second event is relatively longer than (24 a) or (24 c).
From these examples it appears that the events sequenced by esse are adjoined with no possible intervening (third) event. Thus the relationship between the two events is much closer than with kose.

With esse-linkage, negation always negates the first clause as well as the second clause as is shown in the following:

(21)  c. Kim-un ilena-se changmun-ul tat-jiana-yo
      Kim-tp got up-and window-om close-not-pm
      'Kim does not get up and close the window.'

(24)  e. Kim-un chong-ul keone-se Lee-ru Lee-om sso-jina-ass-ta
      Kim-tp gun-om take out-and Lee-om shot-not-past-ind
      a. 'Kim did not take out the gun and shoot Lee.'
      b. *'Kim took out the gun and did not shoot Lee.'

This result is similar to the 'enabling' ko-linkage, ko-1. Thus we can conclude that esse-linkage and kose-linkage both signal sequential meaning, similar to 'sequential' ko-linkage, ko-3, but esse has a more immediate sequential relationship than 'sequential' ko-linkage, ko-3; and kose has a more distant sequential relationship than the 'sequential' ko-linkage, ko-3. This is represented as the follows:

background               foreground
temporally overlapping   temporally sequenced
semantically close        semantically remote

<--------------------------------------ko-1/esse-------kose-----ko-2------ko-3------>
  negation v1+v2   v1+v2   v1+v2   v1+v2   *v1+v2
             *v2 only  *v2 only  v2 only  v2 only
  tense *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  tns+tns  tns+tns
       Ø+tns   Ø+tns   Ø+tns   Ø+tns   Ø+tns

Figure 4.22
The relationship between two events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
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</table>

Figure 4.23

4.2.3. *-myu*

The conjunction *-myu* (*-umyu* after a vowel) basically expresses two kinds of meaning:
(a) '...and...' it is roughly equivalent to 'co-present' *ko*-linkage, *ko-3*, in its coordinating use.

(26) a. bang-i teo-*umyu* supki-ka cha-n-ta
     room-sm hot-and humid-sm fill-pres-ind
     'The room is hot and humid.'

(27) a. Seoul-un jungchi-ui chungsim-i-*myu* kyungje-ui chungsim-ita
     Seoul-tp politics-gm center-and economy-gm center-be
     'Seoul is the center of the government and also the center of the economy.'

If *ko*-linkage is used instead of *-myu*-linkage, as in the following examples, the meaning can be simultaneity of the two events as in (26 a) and (27 a).

(26) b. bang-i teoup-*ko* supki-ka chanta
     room-sm hot-and humid-sm filled
     'The room is hot and humid.'

(27) b. Seoul-un jungchi-ui chungsim-i-*ko* kyungje-ui chungsim-ita
     Seoul-tp politics-gm center-and economy-gm center-be
     'Seoul is the center of the government and also center of the economy.'
(b) '...while, at the same time as...' express a purely overlapping sense, with no temporal ordering. Therefore, it is in part similar to 'enabling' ko-linkage, ko-1, but not similar to 'sequential ko'-linkage, ko-3. The following examples show the partial interchangeability of ko and myu. If ko is used instead of myu, as in the following examples, the meaning can be either simultaneous or sequential temporality as in (28 a) and (29 a).

(28) a. Mary-nun nore-rul buru-ko chum-ul chu-esx -ta
   Mary-tp song-om sing-and dance-om dance-past-ind
   'Mary sang a song and danced at the same time.'

   b. Mary-nun nore-rul buru-myu chum-ul chu-esx -ta
   Mary-tp song-om sing-and dance-om dance-past-ind
   'Mary sang a song and danced at the same time.'

(29) a. Mary-ka John-ul chuytabo-ko malh-esx -upnita
   Mary-sm John-om look up-and say-past-formal ind
   'Mary spoke as she looked up at John.'

   b. Mary-ka John-ul chuytabo-myu malh-esx -upnita
   Mary-sm John-om look up-and say-past-formal ind
   'Mary spoke as she looked up at John.'

(30) a. bus-ka meonji-rul ne-ko tali-n-ta
   bus-sm dirt-om make-and run-present-ind
   'The bus is making dust as it goes.'

   b. bus-ka meonji-rul ne-myu tali-n-ta
   bus-sm dirt-om make-and run-present-ind
   'The bus is making dust as it goes.'

(31) a. ku-ka nunmul-ul huli-ko ewonhateora
   he-sm tear-om shed-and appeal
   'He appeals with tears.'
b. ku-ka nunmul-ul huli-myu ewonhateora
   he-sm tear-om shed-and appeal
   'He appeals with tears.'

(32) a. na-nun kasum-ul joi-ko news-rul tul-ess -ta
    I-tp mind-om worry-and news-om listen-past-ind
    'I listened the news with a worried mind.'

b. na-nun kasum-ul joi-myu news-rul tul-ess -ta
    I-tp mind-om worry-and news-om listen-past-ind
    'I listened the news with a worried mind.'

As the above examples show, ko and umyu maybe used interchangeably, but when ko is
used there is always another possible interpretation, that is the sequential possibility, in
which the first event is completed and the second event starts again. For example in (28 b),
'Mary sang a song and then danced.' is a second possible interpretation. But this
interpretation is not possible for myu-linkage.

But there are some sentences which require simultaneity of events, in which myu-linkage
cannot substitute for ko-linkage. For example:

(33) a. Kim-i kal-ul tul-ko Lee-eke talyutul-ess -ta
    Kim-sm knife-om hold-and Lee-to attack-past-ind
    'Kim attacked Lee while holding a knife.'

b. [* Kim-i kal-ul tul-myu Lee-eke talyutul-ess-ta]
    Kim-sm knife-om hold-and Lee-to attack-past-ind
    [* 'Kim attacked Lee while holding a knife.']

(34) a. son-ul tul-ko. hangbok-he-ess -ta
    hand-om raise-and surrender-do-past-ind
    a.'They surrendered with their hands raised.'
    b.'They raised their hands and surrendered.'
b. [* son-ul tul-myu, hangbok-he-ss -ta]
   hand-om raise-and surrender-do-past-ind
   [* 'They surrendered with their hands raised. ']

In (33 b), -myu is not acceptable. The interpretation of (33 b) is that at the moment of the attack, the action of picking up the knife and attacking the patient occurred simultaneously. However, in (33 a), the attacker has carried the knife from his house or somewhere else, and is holding the knife before attack. In (34 b), the action of 'raised hands' is also an instantaneous action and has not occurred before the action of surrendering, but simultaneously. These examples support the hypothesis that the difference between the use of ko and myu is that ko-linkage has the sense of a continuing action, that is the action is not discrete; while myu-linkage indicates more of a one time happening, and if it is continued, it is not a smooth transition.

ko
---------------
myu _ _ _ _ _ _

Figure 4.24

Therefore, if Event 1 has the sense of a one time occurrence and does not continue through the completion of Event 2, then myu-linkage cannot be used. But ko-linkage can, as is shown in sentences (33) and (34). If the character of Event 1 is a one time happening, but can continue until Event 2 is finished, -myu can be used as well as in (30) and (31). If Event 1 and Event 2 are both one time happenings, either -ko or -myu can occur as in (35).

(35) a. son-ul tul-myu sorijil-ess -ta
      hand-om raise-and shout-past-ind
      'They shouted with their hands raised.'

b. son-ul tul-ko sorijil-ess -ta
      hand-om raise-and shout-past-ind
      'They shouted with their hands raised.'
### Time duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko. myu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 1 i. __________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2 ii. __________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko. *myu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 1 i. _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2 ii. __________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.26

As it is shown in Figure 4.17, if Event 1 and Event 2 have the same duration, ko and myu both are acceptable. However, as in Figure 4.18, if Event 1 is shorter than Event 2, then myu is not acceptable. Thus the semantics of -myu-linkage includes strong same time and same duration of event simultaneity. This is a stronger simultaneity than with 'enabling' ko-linkage, ko-1. Sentence (39 b) is not acceptable since it does not have such a same time, same place simultaneity.

When the sentence is negated, the result is as follows:

(26) bang-i teo-umyu supki-ka cha-\text{n}an-\text{n}-ta room-sm hot-and humid-sm fill-not-present-ind

'The room is hot and not humid.'

(29) c. Mary-ka John-ul chuytabo-myu
Mary-sm John-\text{om} look up-and
malha-jiana-\text{sx} -upnita say-not-past-formal ind
'Mary did not speak as she looked up at John.'

As seen in (31), if -myu is used in place of the 'co-present' ko-linkage function, negation applies to only to the event in the second clause, and if -myu is used signalling the meaning 'while,' negation applies to the event in the first clause as well as to the event in the second clause. Thus there are two linking functions of myu. On the one hand, myu-linkage
functions similarly to 'co-present' ko-linkage, and on the other hand myu-linkage functions similarly to 'enabling' ko-linkage; but it requires a stronger simultaneity of the two actions. They must occur at the same time and have the same duration. These contrastiveness is as follows:

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<th>foreground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporally overlapping</td>
<td>temporally sequenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically close</td>
<td>semantically remote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
  \text{negation} & v1+v2 & v1+v2 & v1+v2 & v1+v2 & v1+v2 & v1+v2 & v1+v2 \\
  \text{tense} & *v1+v2 & *v1+v2 & *v1+v2 & v2 only & v2 only & v2 only & v2 only \\
\end{array}
\]

Figure 4.27

4.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the semantics of the conjunction ko in Korean. It has been shown that the semantics of ko is far more complex than has been indicated in previous studies. Rather than having only two basic functions (simultaneity and the sequentiality), ko-linkage signals a number of far more delicate distinctions. There is in fact a continuum of simultaneity and sequentiality. This temporal continuity is the reflection of the semantic integrity continuum, and this assumption is supported by the negation test. Even in 'co-present' ko-linkage there is a graded degree of semantic closeness among the linked events. Semantically, the 'enabling' or 'limiting' function is also related to the scale of semantic integrity.

Because of this complex character of ko, speakers of Korean sometimes require additional markers to make clear the simultaneity, sequentiality, or causality of the linked events. Those markers are kose, ese, and myu. A noteworthy feature is that none of these three conjoining markers allows tense marking inside the first clause. The common function of kose, ese and myu is to mark subordination. Additionally, myu signals strong simultaneity, kose-linkage signals distal sequentiality, and ese-linkage expresses immediate sequentiality.
The distance between paired events is closest with **myu**, intermediate with **ese**, and **kose** indicates the greatest distance.

These results are represented on the semantic integrity scale as follows:

**Semantic Integrity Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>background</th>
<th>foreground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>temporally sequenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically close/immediate</td>
<td>semantically remote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enabling <strong>ko</strong></th>
<th>sequential <strong>ko</strong></th>
<th>co-present <strong>ko</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simultaneous <strong>myu</strong></td>
<td><strong>ese</strong></td>
<td><strong>kose</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-present <strong>myu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v1+v2</td>
<td>v1+v2</td>
<td>v1+v2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*v1+v2</td>
<td>*v1+v2</td>
<td>*v1+v2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tns+tns</td>
<td>*tns+tns</td>
<td>*tns+tns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.28
Chapter 5
Topic and Subject

The subject particle *-i/ka* in Korean occurs freely inside a conjoined clause, while the topic marker *nun* has some restrictions of occurrence in that environment. This formal difference follows from the semantic characteristics of subject and topic. This chapter will show that the semantics of the conjunctions *ko, kose, ese, and myu* and the semantics of topic share an attention-getting character, and this attention-getting property disposes the speaker to avoid use of an overt conjunction and topic markers at the same time.

Li and Thompson (1976) classify the languages of the world into four basic types: (1) subject prominent (2) topic prominent (3) subject and topic prominent (4) neither subject nor topic prominent. English is a subject prominent language (type 1), and Korean is said to be a subject and topic prominent language (type 3). In Korean *-i/ka* is sometimes called the subject marker, (*-i* is used after a consonant and *-ka* is used after a vowel.), and *un/nun* is sometimes referred to as the topic marker (*-un* appears after a consonant and *-nun* after a vowel.). The topic and subject markers both normally occur in sentence initial position, and it is difficult to identify the semantic contrast which accompanies the occurrence of the one or the other.

5.1. Topic vs Subject marker in Korean

Korean grammarians (Yang 1973, Shin 1987, Kim 1983, and Chae 1976) generally agree that the subject marker *-i/ka* occurs with the new information in the discourse, and that the topic marker *un/nun* occurs with the old information. Their common view of topic is that topic is the 'given' or 'old' element of the sentence and must be semantically definite. Generic notions with unique reference (the sun, the moon, etc.) are also included in the definite group. Indefinite elements cannot co-occur with the topic marker *nun*. But the factors involved in the conditioning of topic as subject can not be restricted to the narrow sentence scope and must include the larger discourse context. Association of the topic marker with the notion of 'old' (or 'given') and the subject marker with that of 'new' derive from the assumption (cf. Chafe 1976, Allerton 1978, Gundel 1977) that the occurrence of the topic marker is predictable when there is previous mention of the same NP referent in the preceding context. In other words, for an NP to be 'old' information, there has to be previous mention of the referent in the preceding context. (cf. Shin 1987, Sohn 1980, Maynard 1981). Conversely, 'new' information arises from the absence of
previous mention in the preceding context. In actual discourse, if the topic marker marks
the old information, and the subject marker indicates new information, then the
introductory sentence in discourse should use the subject marker ka, since it normally
codes new information. And the subsequent sentences should use the topic marker, since
the participant has already been introduced. But this is not always the case.

Sometimes the topic marker nun is used also when there is a contrast between the
participants. Sentence (68) of Text 1 shows an example of this function. The speaker uses
na-nun 'I-tp,' since it is old information, and because he also wants to show the contrast
between the speaker and the street gang's suggestions. The speaker wants to go to the
restaurant to talk, and the street gang wants to go somewhere else.

64. koore goo yeondeog-ul joongsimuro nerimak kurigo
   So that hill-om center downroad and

   na-nun olragago isseosseooyo.
   I-sm going up on the way

65. Jeoyie jagi chingooga jagi-rul kidarigo itte.
   There above his friend-sm him-om wait is

66. kooregatko yeodi innu-nago kureonikka keogitte
   Then where is-question said there is

   jakkoo.
   again and again

67. keogi gaseo iyagi-hajago.
   There go talk-let's do

68. Na-nun keongyangsikjibe kajago keogiga-myeon
   I-tp Western restaurant let's go go there-if

   saram-i manu-nikka,
   people-sm a lot-because
(64). I was on the way to climb the hill and on the other side was the descending road.
(65). (He said that) his friend was waiting for him at the top of the hill.
(66). (I asked him) 'Where is he?' and he said repeatedly 'He is up at the top.'
(67). (He asked me) to talk there.
(68). I told him 'Let's go down to the tea house.' because there were many people there.
(69). If (I) had gone to the tea house, of course (I) was not planning to go in.

[* Square Bracket in the English glosses means the element is not overtly present in the
Korean sentence, but it is necessary to make a smooth English translation.]

Now let us turn to some additional discourse data. The following is an analysis of the first paragraph of text 4.

In line 1, ne-ka\textsuperscript{a} T: ka appears to set the story.
In line 2: interviewer interruption
In line 3, ne-ka \textsuperscript{T}: ka occurs to set the story again after the interruption.
In lines 4, 5, 6, zero reference occurs
In line 7, woorikkaehana-ka'one of our classmates': ka is used to introduce a
new participant.
In line 8, zero reference occurs.
In line 9, woori ses-i 'we three': ka is used to refer to the speaker and a new
participant. (She was introduced in line 7).
In line 10 and 11, kae-nun 'she' and ge appear because line 9 already
introduced her using ke-do 'she also'
In line 12, na-nun appears because since line 3, the referent 'T' is
introduced, and nun designates old information. kae-nun
appears because in line 9 the referent 'she' was introduced, and
nun designates old information. Another function 'contrast' of nun is applied here.
The participant 'T' and 'she' are contrasted.
In lines 13,14,15,16,17,18, there is zero reference.
In line 19, and 20, na-nun appears because 'T' was introduced in line 3,
and it is old information.
This analysis shows that the 'old' and 'new' information hypothesis works very nicely, because after the first introduction of ne-ka the rest of the paragraph uses 'zero reference' or na-nun. Figure 5.1 presents a diagram of the distributions.

```
NP+ka : referent introduction
Zero or NP+nun or bare NP : subsequent mention
Zero or NP+nun, or bare NP : "

Figure 5.1
```

In some cases, however, the pattern contained in Figure 5.1 does not work as well. Let us examine another text. The following is an analysis of paragraph 4 of text 1 (please refer to the Appendix).

Paragraph 4 (Text 1)
[Line 26-56]

26. kureom kutte tehak jolyeopa-ko barossetsseyo?
then at that time university graduate-and was right after?

27. Song: mikuk on-ji je-ka.....
America come-since I-sm......

28. wenamyun je-ka 20salte tehak-ul sijakhetkeotunyo.
because I-sm 20 years old university-om start

29. kutangsi 2 nyun-i nuteojussji.
at that time 2-years-sm was behind

30. a 4-nyun-ul machi-ko jolup hess-nunte, nonu-rako
well 4-years-om finish-and graduation did-but, amusing myself-because

meo jikjang-ul mot ar-a bonkeoya.
well job-om can not find out.
31. meo teke 3-hak-nyun well usually junior end or

4-hak-nyun cho-e interview-rul han-teyo.
senior beginning-at interview-om do-(they) said

32. ne-ka kutte whawhak junkong-ul hesseoyo.
I-sm at that time chemistry major-om did

33. kunte nonu-rako interviewrang ta kkameoke-ss-eso.
but having fun-because interview all forgot

34. nochinkeoya.
miss the chance

35. kutte sasil kutte nuka yeope
at that time as a matter of fact at that time somebody beside me

ne-ka seonbe-ka isseokak-ko yeopeso joeon
I-sm a senior-sm was-and from the side advice

hejunun saram-i itssseoss-umyun,
does person-sm was-if,

neka kureonjit-un an-hess-ulkkeoya.
I-sm that kind of thing-tp not-did-must be

36. ikeonun nanun kutte mikuk onjito
this thing is I-tp at that time America come itself

colmatwejitoantwessul-ppunman anira meoka eoteoke -twekettji hanun
not long ago- not only something could be achieved do

makyeonhan sengkak-e kongbu-man tiripta hankeo-ko inje
obscure think-because study-only only do-and now
(26)."** Interviewer: Then did you graduate from that school and come over right after that?
(27). It has been since I came to America...
(28). Because I started college when [I] was 20 years old.
(29). [I] was two years behind then.
(30). [I] graduated in four years,
but [I] was amusing myself and [I] did not learn how to work.
(31). But usually, they say that either at the end of the 3rd year or in the beginning of 4th
year, they go to interviews.
(32). I was a chemistry major then.
(33). But [I] was having fun and [I] forgot all about interviews.
(34). [I] missed the chance.
(35). As a matter of fact, if somebody ahead of me, a senior had advised me,
I would not have done that.
(36). That is, not only had it been a short time since I came to the States,
but also [I] had this obscure idea that if [I] did something,
something would happen (or could be achieved);
therefore, that is why [I] studied so hard,
(37). now (after this) [I] just hung out with friends, since [I] now had less difficulty in
communication.

The interviewee was in a somewhat excited state, and thus repeated himself, because it was
the starting point of his painful experience. In line 27 and 28, je-ka 'I' appears to introduce
the speaker. However, in line 32, ne-ka appears again , not na-nun although it is old
information. The possible explanation for this is the appearance of the time adverb kutte
'when.' According to Shin-ja Hwang (1987: 118), time expressions force overt participant
reference and the topic marker nun to appear in narratives. However, here the subject
marker ka occurs instead of the topic marker. This contradicts Hwang's analysis.
Another possible explanation is that the preceding line 31 has a zero reference subject, but it
is not 'I' but 'they' or 'people,' so the speaker needs to specify the subject of the sentence, and thus overt reference to *ne-ka* is required. In line 35, the first *ne-ka* can be explained by its occurrence in a conditional clause. John Haiman (1978) and Sang-chul Shin (1987) both state that the conditional -*myun* 'if' and the topic marker have common characteristics, and that they do not occur together. Thus *-nun* does not occur before -*myun* 'if,' and the second *ne-ka* also can be explained by the following topic marker 'kureonjit-un (that kind of doing)' which blocks the occurrence of *nun* before it. Another reason that the overt NP *neka* 'I-sm' appears is that there are multiple participants, and *neka* competes with *nuka* 'somebody' and *saram-i* 'person'; thus the speaker needs to clarify the participant. In line 36, *nanun* appears again since it is old information. (*neka* occurred in 35.) The projected pattern of Figure 5.1 does not work in line 35 because the assumption is that if there is a previous mention of the same NP referent in the preceding context, the topic marker is treated as presupposed, but not the subject marker.

Let us now look at text 3, paragraph 3

42. tul-eo-ka-ko nat-nunte i namja-ka ije
   in-and-go-and after-but this guy-sm now

   najunge kunte kan-teyo.
   later but go-he said

43. kutte neomu neomu sireotkeotunyo.
   at that time really really dislike

44. neomu sil-ko je-ka wonle saram-ul
   really dislike-and I-sm originally person-om

   namja-rul mannal-tte jom kumbang
   man-om meet-when a little quickly

   siljung-to jalne-ko kumbang joaha-ko,
   bored-also become-and quickly like-and,

45. jom kureonke munjekeotunyo.
   a little that kind of thing problem
46.  amutun  kurett-nunte,   kunte  kass-nunte,  
    anyhow  it was like that-but,  but  went-but,  

    jaki-hante  majimakuro  hanbeon  teo  manna-jeyo.  
      he-to  finally  one time  more  meet-he said

47.  kureseo  na-nun  silta-ko  kuressteoni,  
  therefore  I-tp  do not want-and  [I] said and then,  

48.  ne-ka  seonbe  jakyukuro,  kachi  yeonmunkwa- 
  I-sm  senior  as,  together  English dept.-  

    nikka  kachi  seonbe  jakyukuro  manna-myun  
    because  together  senior  as  meet-if

    manna  ketji-man,  
    meet  [I] will do-only (under that condition)  

    nanun  kureon  yeoja  kureonsikuro  
    I-tp  that kind of  girl  that kind of way

    mannaki  sil-tako  kuressteoni,  
    meeting  do not want-[I] said  [I] said and then

49.  kureomyun,  seonbe  jakyukuro  jakirul  manna-a- tal-eyo.  
    then,  senior  as  him  meet-and-give-he asked

50.  mann-a-kaji-ko  kuress-nunte,  
    meet-and-have-and  [I] did-but

51.  neka  kutte  akbo-rul,  
    I-sm  at that time  music sheet-om

52.  ah  matta  matta.  
    ah!  right  right
53. keokita pan-ul hana jue-ss-eoyo.
in addition to that music record disk-om one gave [me]

54. kye-ka kutte jangmi kkot-hako
that guy-sm at that time rose flower-and
pan-ul juess-nunte kuke shopeng paniesskeotunyo.
disk-om gave -and that is Chopin's was disk

55. kunte, yettnal han 10 nyun kuttebuteo
however, old time about 10 years from that time
han 10 nyun jeon pan-inkeot kat-unte,
about 10 years ago disk-looks like-but,

56. jakika jeil akkinun pani-reyo, shopeng pan.
he-sm the most valued disk-he said, Chopin's disk

57. kunte kukeol junkeoya.
however that gave [me]


(laughing)

58. kurekajiko kureomyun, tarunkeotun ta bat-a-jukess-nunteyo,
and then in that case, other things all receive-and-keep-but,

59. ku akbo makum-un neomu butamsureopteyo.
that music sheet at least-tp too much burdened

60. ihe-to jal mot hakess-ko kureseo
understanding-also well not did-and so
tolyo-turi-ketta-ko kureteoni,
return-give honor-will-and [I] said and then,
61. kutte i namja-ka su-ul meokeo-ss-keotunyo.
at that time this guy-sm alcohol-om drink-past-you know

62. kureoteoni akbo-rul kat-ko twicheonak-a
and then music sheet-om take-and run out-and
whajangsil-ro ka-yo.
rest room-to go-pm

63. kureoteoni tasi o-nunte amukeot-to yeopseo.
and then again come-but nothing-even do not have

64. kureseo kukeot eojjesseoyo?
therefore that what did you do?
kuretteoni,
[I] said,

65. buljilr-eo-beori-ko wa-ss-te. (laughing)
burn it-and come-past-he said

(42). [I] went in but this guy said that he is going to the army.
(43). But really, [I] really disliked [him].
(44). [I] really disliked [him], and originally when I met men, [I] got bored with [them]
quickly, and quickly liked [them].
(45). That was [my] problem.
(46). Anyway it was like that, and he joined the armed forces, and he told me he wanted us
together for one last time.
(47). So I told him [I] didn't want to.
(48). Since I was a student in the same English literature field, if we meet as co-
students of English literature, [I] would agree to meet as people, but [I] didn't want to meet him in my
capacity as a woman, [I] said.
(49). So he said then let's meet as the most senior of the co-students.
(50). So [I] saw [him], and then,
(51). That time I had the music sheet
(52). Oh yeah that's it.
(53). In addition to that, [he] gave [me] a record.
(54). Along with that the guy gave me those roses and a record of Chopin's music.
(55). But it was about ten years ago, it must have been about 10 years ago,
(56). It was the record he valued the most. Chopin....
(57). But [he] gave that to [me].
(laugh)
(58). So, [I] could keep all others,
(59). the music sheet was such a burden.
(60). and that telling [him] also that [I] could not understand well that [I] will return it to
[him...].
(61). You see the guy had been drinking at that time,
(62). [He] rushed out with the music, and went to the bathroom.
(63). Then, [he] came out again, with nothing.
(64). So I asked " What did you do with it?"
(65). [He] said that [he] burned it. (laugh)

In line 42, i-namja-ka 'this guy-sm' appears because it is a new paragraph.
In line 44, je-ka 'I-sm' occurs because it is a new paragraph.
In line 47, na-nun 'I-tp' appears because it is old information.
In line 48, ne-ka and na-nun appear, and the first ne-ka is in the subordinate clause (if clause), and the nanun appears since it is the old information.
In line 51, ne-ka appears again because the time expression kutte' at that time' demands overt participant reference.
In line 54, kye-ka 'this guy' appears because the time expression kutte 'at that time' demands the overt participant reference.
In line 56, jaki-ka 'he' appears because it is the quoted sentence.
In line 61, i-namja-ka 'this guy' appears because the time expression kutte 'at that time' demands overt participant reference.

A time expression like kutte 'at that time' seems to force the speaker to make overt participant reference and to use the subject particle ka. This view is different from S. Hwang's (1987:118) hypothesis that topic marker nun is used when there is a time expression in the discourse. Also, whenever there is a quoted sentence, the subject of the quoted sentence is not affected by 'old' or 'new' criterion of topic and subject marker selection. Here the third person i-namja 'this guy' always takes -ka instead of -nun not
just because of the time expression, but for other reasons. And fairly regularly, the first person na 'I' or neo 'you' follows the pattern that after the first use of ka in the paragraph either ellipsis or the -nun marker occurs instead of the marker -ka, continuously until a new paragraph begins. But in contrast to the 1st and 2nd person participants, the third person is not so obviously present in the eye of the speaker or the listener. The third person is usually not present in the speech situation. The speaker thus feels it necessary reinvoke the third person referent again and again.

Let us look at text 2, paragraph 7:

78. kureseo cheotbeonijero akka malssum hasinkeot kachi
    so at first earlier saying do like
    jaki-ka jalhanta-ko sengkakhani-kka jalhanunkeoyeyo.
    self-sm do good-and think-because do good

79. je-advisor-ka yeongyeo-rul malha-nunte, yeonujeongto
    my-advisor-sm English-om speak-and, how good
    jalha-nya-myun ichinku-ka saram-i Greek-ira root-rul
    speak- you say-if this man-sm man-sm Greek-because root-om
    mani al-ko-issuni-kka ku root-rul kunyang ssuntakuyo.
    many know-and-be-because that root-om just use

80. kureonte exceptionally jal-ssuntakuyo.
    but exceptionally well-use

81. kunte kunayang under joleopa-ko han 8-nyun
    but just under graduate-and about 8-years
    jjum twice-ss-takuyo.
    about become-past-ind mood
82. ku advisor-ka Ohio chulsini-nte kunte jaki that advisor-sm Ohio from-and and his

hakseng-ul kiw-eo kaji-ko ssunun kureon style-nte, student-om foster-and have-and use that kind of style-and,

83. kunte malha-myun, jeo-nun jeo-man mot ara but speak-if, I-tp I-only can't under-

tutunjul ara-ss-nunte mikuk saram-to mot ara stand [I] think-past-and America man-also can't under-
tuleoyo. stand

84. kunte kusoke tulin mal-to issulte-nte, iltan but inside wrong word-also must be-and, for a moment

jaki-nun seonseng-ini-kka mot aratulu-myun jechekim-ikeotunyo. I-tp teacher-be-because can't understand-if my responsibility-is

85. kureonte hamulmyeo jaki-ka kangui-rul kachi har-eo tuli and (but) still more he-sm lecture-om together do-to two

kachi presentation hareo California-e issnun together presentation do-in order to California-at is

hwesa-tul toratanini-kka hanbeon San Francisco-e issnun company-plu go around-because one time San Francisco-at is

G. P. hwesa-e kaketwe-ss-eyo. company-at got to go to-past-ind mood

86. kureseo keokiseo seonseng-i apseo presentation therefore from there teacher-sm in front presentation
ha-ko seonseng-i concept-rul yekiha-ko je-ka
do-and teacher-sm concept-om speak-and I-sm

analysis yekiha-ko,
analysis speak-and,

kunte mujimujihake pparun sokto-ro 30 bun-ul
but really fast speed with 30 minute-om

yeki hani-kka saram-tul-i motuta ip-ul beoli-ko isseo.
speak do-because people-plu-sm all mouth-om open-and is

87. kureseo isaram-i kwengjanghankeol yeki he-ss-tako,
and so this man-sm tremendous thing speak do-past-he said

chief engineering-e kwanhan yeki.
-about about talk.

88. kurekajiko kutaume na-to kureomyun ppali yeki
and then next I-also well then fast speak

heyaji-ha-ko ppali haryeon-i-kka mal-i jom
should do-think-and fast try to do-when talking-sm a little

tetumeoji-kko hanmal-ul, neka hanmal-ul
stammer-and already talked word-om, I-sm

ne-ka jom jalmot he-ss-nunte tasiha-ko kureon banbok
I-sm a little not good do-past-and repeat-and that kind of repeat

katunke sengki-nunte uri seonseng-un
like it come out-but our teacher-tp

kureonili yeopsoyo.
that kind of thing not exist.
(78). Therefore, as [you] said at first earlier, when one thinks one is doing well, one does well.

(79). My advisor speaks English well. Since the man is a Greek, [he] knows a lot of roots, so [he] just uses that root.

(80). But [he] uses it in an exceptional way.

(81). And it has been 8 years since [he] graduated from college(under).

(82). This advisor is from Ohio University, [he] promotes his students, and..

(83). But I thought that when he spoke, I thought I was the only one not understanding [him], but even Americans could not.

(84). But surely there must be an error in his language. But for the moment [he] is the teacher, and when I don't understand it, it is my responsibility.

(85). But also, we got to do the presentations together. He went around companies in California to make presentations. We two once got to go to G. P. Company in San Francisco.

(86). So the teacher did a presentation and the teacher talked to them about the concepts, and I talked about the analysis. But since [he] talked at an extremely rapid pace for 30 minutes, everybody had their mouths wide open.

(87). About the chief engineer, this man said something tremendous.

(88). So next I too thought [I] should do it quickly but stammered a little bit, I didn't do well, and repeated it. That kind of repetition happens to [me], but not to my teacher.

(89). Of course there would not be a part that is not correct (I guess).

In line 78, jaki-ka 'people' introduces a new participant in a new paragraph.
In line 79, advisor-ka introduces a new participant, the speaker's advisor
but he uses i-chinku-ka 'this man,' and saram-i 'advisor-sm' appears again. Notice, they use ka instead of nun.
Line 80, 81 have zero reference about the advisor.
In line 82, ku advisor-ka 'that advisor-sm' occurs again and the subject marker.
In line 83, jeo-nun 'I-tp' occurs.
In line 84, jaki-nun 'advisor' occurs and the topic marker
In line 85, jaki-ka 'advisor-sm' occurs and the subject marker again.
In line 86, seonseng-i 'teacher-sm,' seonseng-i 'teacher-sm'and je-ka 'I-sm.'
All three use the subject marker instead of the topic marker.
In line 86, saramtul-i 'people-sm' introduces a new participants.
In line 87, isaram-i 'this guy (advisor) -sm' occurs again and has the subject
marker i.
In line 88, ne-ka 'I-sm,' ne-ka 'I-sm,' and seonseng-un 'teacher-tp' occur.

In the above analysis, the third person (the speaker's advisor) is mentioned with use of the
subject particle ka instead of nun in lines 79, 82, 85, 86, 87 except lines 84 and 88, even
though there are no time expressions ( cf. Kuno 1976 and Givon1976). That is, there is a
hierarchy of topicalization with respect to the participants. The first person is the most
frequent topic; next is the second person, and the third person is the least prevalent topic.

speaker> hearer> the third person

This hierarchy expresses the egocentric character of this genre of discourse, where the
speaker tends to be the universal deictic point of reference and the most highly presupposed
argument. When the speaker describes an event in which he himself is involved, he
naturally does it from his point of view rather than that of someone else.

In this text, the speaker names himself in lines 78, 84, and 86, and 88. Lines 78
and 84 are as expected, but the line 86 and 88 are not as expected. Line 86 can be
explained because seonseng-i 'advisor-sm' is used twice right before je-ka 'I-sm.' The
speaker uses the subject marker ka because he wants to reintroduce the speaker himself
right after another participant seonseng-i. However in line 88, ne-ka appears again, and it
can not be explained by means of topic and subject. According S. Kim (1983), NP+nun is
not the only method of expressing topic in Korean discourse. There are four ways of
expressing topic: (1) NP+nun, (2) bare NP, (3) zero reference, (4) NP+sm. I believe his
hypothesis is correct. If we go back to the data of text 1, paragraph 4, sentences 10, 12,
19, 20 show Kim's category (1) and sentence 11 exemplifies Kim's category (2), and
sentences 4, 5, 6, 8 illustrate Kim's category (3). The examples under discussion above
illustrate S. Kim's category (4) ('topic with the subject particle ka'). The same
phenomenon occurs in paragraph 9, line 94 and paragraph 13, line 161. An opposite
phenomenon occurs when the new paragraph starts in text 2, paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and
13, beginning with either na-nun 'I-tp' or jee-nun'I-tp,' not with the subject marker ne-ka
'I-sm.' In short, these are not amenable to explanation by a topic and subject hypothesis. There is no concrete explanation for these occurrences of the markers.

In my data, 85% of all the uses of topic and subject markers follow the pattern of Figure 5.1. That is, the introductory sentences use ka, and the remainder of the sentences in the paragraph use nun for the first person. For the third person, 50% of all the data follows the pattern of paragraph introductory ka, and the rest of the paragraph uses nun. Therefore, the 'old' and 'new' information theory has many exceptions in actual discourse data. 15% of the occurrences of na'I does not follow the pattern, and 50% of the third person singular does not follow the pattern. Thus the traditional theory that the use of the topic marker -nun means 'old' information and the use of the subject marker -ka means new information often falls short.

5.2. Four kinds of topic marking

The claim that the topic marker nun marks old information, and that the subject marker ka marks new information has raised many additional questions, largely because there is no way of maintaining any consistent association of the two markers with either 'old' or 'new' information. As we saw in section 5.1 in my text analysis, there are many exceptions which do not accord with the assumptions of Figure 5.1 that in order for an NP to be an 'old' information, there has to be a previous mention of the same referent in the preceding context.

Now consider additional counter-examples, which further illustrate problems with the 'old' and 'new' assumption of topic/subject markers.

(1) Q: nu-ka jeil jal he-ss-ni?
    who-sm the best well did?
    'Who did the best?'

    A: Mary-ka jeil jal he-ss-eoyo 
    Mary-sm the best well did
    'Mary did the best.'

In sentence (1), the particle ka in the answer is used to identify the new information. However in sentence (2);
(2) Q: Mary-ka jeil jal he-ss-ni?
Mary-sm the best well did?
'Did Mary the best?'

A: Ne, Mary-ka jeil jal he-ss-eoyo
yes, Mary-sm the best well did
'Yes, Mary did the best.'

the subject Mary in the answering sentence is suffixed by ka, but Mary is not the new information since she was introduced in the question. The questioner and the answerer already know who Mary is. Here again, ka does not mark the new information, but old information.

S. Hwang (1987) claims that the choice of particles ka and nun is correlated with, rather, the relative importance of information in discourse, than the general rule that the subject particle ka is used for new information, and the topic particle nun is used for old information. The salience scale defines a continuum. If the information is low on the salience scale, it is conveyed by particle ka, and if the information is high on the salience scale, it is conveyed by nun. A similar continuum analysis with a different set of terms is found in Davis 1989. According to Davis (1989), if the information of an NP is obviously contextually determined, then the speaker will use zero reference, and if the information can be contextually guessed or has been prepared, then the speaker uses nun, and if the information of the NP is totally new, then the speaker uses -ka. Thus the Korean topic and subject markers are analyzed in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contextually determined</th>
<th>Contextually prepared</th>
<th>Contextually Indeterminate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>NP-nun</td>
<td>NP-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2

What he proposes is then that the 'topic marker' nun and the 'subject marker' ka and zero can be understood by their differing affiliations with a semantic spectrum which is increasingly indeterminate as one moves to the right and more determinate as one moves to the left (as represented in Figure 5.2). I adopt this scale in a slightly augmented form as follows:
The difference is that I have added 'NP without any marker' because bare NPs appear in my discourse data. In actual discourse, all four of the above expression types occur. Participants with the subject marker ka are congruent with contexts in which they constitute unexpected information, participants with the topic marker nun are appropriate to contexts in which their content is more expected, and participants without any marker connote information which is still more expected, and ellipsis codes the most determined information. Therefore, there are degrees of expected and unexpected information. I now turn to 'ellipsis' and to bare NPs to examine their functions more in detail.

5.2.1 Ellipsis

Ellipsis occurs frequently in my data. Suppression from mention of presupposed information is a natural device in discourse. Elements which are not immediately important to be mentioned to the current discourse, because they are presupposed, are elided because they are recoverable. Such items of discourse information may be stored in short term memory. The elements may be easily retrieved from short term memory in the discourse. In normal discourse, one will not usually mention a referent that he thinks the other participants already know in the conversation. Ellipsis is also a strategy for maintaining topic continuity. This is a very prevalent phenomenon in Korean conversation. Martin (1975: 185) cites statistics to show that grammatical subjects are elided as much as 74% of the time in normal conversation in Japanese. Topic continuity in Japanese is achieved by ellipsis, and noun phrases marked by wa (roughly equivalent Korean nun) show more continuity than noun phrases marked by ga (Korean ka). When ellipsis occurs in discourse, the elided participant normally refers to an element mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. A zero reference will normally refer to the most foregrounded discourse element at the moment. At the beginning of a discourse the most foregrounded elements are of two kinds. One is situational: what is happening within common interest of the speaker and the listener at the moment. The second most foregrounded elements are the participants themselves. Therefore, any occurrence of zero anaphora is first interpreted either as referring to the speaker or the addressee. Elliptical sentences with no subject or
object are very frequent in Korean. The elliptical sentence is deficient syntactically (if we define the complete sentence as one having at least one subject, a verb, and sometimes an object), because there is no subject or object, but semantically it is a full sentence. The elliptical participant finds its referent across sentence boundaries.

5.2.2 NP with no marker

In Korean case-markers such as subjective and objective, together with the topic marker, do not always occur on NPs in the basic sentence with SOV word order. According to Alan Kim (1985:130) one condition for the deletion of these markers is that those NPs should not be 'focused' NPs. What he means by 'focused' is the newest, most important and significant information which the speaker assumes the hearer does not concurrently share with him. Now let us examine the data.

The following is from Text 4.

10. Ke-nun jagi-yeomma-ga ippwonhegass-ko ippwon
    she-tp her-mother-is hospitalized-cm hospital

    goo myeonhaesigan-i ijjana-yo.
    that visiting hour-sm are-honorific marker

11. Gooregakko, ke meonjeo jaloogo gasseo.
    Therefore, she first cut left

    And I-tp waited. lunchtime-sm she-tp visiting hours

(10). However, her mother was hospitalized and you know that there are only certain visiting hours.
(11). So, she got a haircut first and left.
(12). I had waited. Because lunchtime was the visiting hour.

In the middle of the paragraph, the speaker omits the topic marker, since in sentence (10), ge-nun 'she-tp' is already there. However, the topic marker reappears in the next line, because it has a contrastive meaning in line 12. If there is ellipsis in line 11, it will be somewhat ambiguous; on the other hand, the NP without a marker is sufficient to convey
the message. However, in sentence (11), ke 'she' can be replaced with ke-nun 'she-tp,' but not ke-ka 'she-sm.' Let us consider another example:

117. Na-rul salyeodalago.
     I-om save life

118. Na jeosaram jinija moroonun saraminde, moroonun saramirago.
     I that man really don't know man, don't know man

119. Mak gooretteo-ni, mak bakk-eseo an-nao-myeon
     Thoroughly did-and, just outside-from not-come out-if
     jugindago meo sorisorijirudeo-ni gade.
     kill-(he said) just shouted-and left

(117). Please help me,
(118). I really do not know that man. I do not know that man.
(119). He was shouting that 'if you do not come out, I will kill you,' outside for a while and went away.

In line 118, NP na 'I' appears without a marker. In this case the topic marker nun is omitted, not the subject marker ka, since it is in the middle of the paragraph, and na 'I' is already introduced in the previous sentences. One can not say ne-ka 'I-sm' instead of na 'I' in (118), however, na-nun 'I-tp' is better in (118) than ne-ka 'I-sm.' Thus bare NPs can not replace NP+sm, but can sometimes replace NP+tp. There are other examples of NP+zero marker in lines 62, 65, 81,108, 111. None of them occur in the paragraph initial position. In other words, NP+zero marker can not replace NP+ka, but only NP+nun or Zero NP.

5.3. Other characteristics of the topic marker

So far we have discussed 'old' and 'new' information in regard to the topic and the subject markers. However, there is another feature of the Korean topic marker nun which is very relevant to the current discussion in relation to the additional conjunction markers ko, kose, ese, and myu. This added characteristic of the topic marker is 'attention getting,' or 'contrastive focus' in function. According to D. W. Yang (1973: 117), 'contrastive'
means singling out one object or event to be focused out of a set of more than one object or event, which the speaker presupposes to exist as possible candidates for the assertion being made of the focused object or event. Yang continues that this 'contrastive focus getting' character is only applied to the non-sentence initial topic marker. For example:

(3). Kim-i meori-nun chota
    Kim-sm brain-tp good
    'Kim has a smart brain.'
    (The connotation of this sentence could be that, e.g., he may not be good looking, or he may not have good heart. etc.,)

In sentence (3), the contrast is on meori 'brain' and other possibilities that are 'good looking,' or 'good heart,' etc. However, there are many exceptions to the assumption that the topic marker which occurs in the middle of the sentence has this character, and the sentence initial topic marker codes 'old' information. The sentence initial topic marker also codes the 'contrastive focus' in many cases. For example:

(4) Kim-un ipputa kureona Lee-nun mipta
    Kim-tp pretty but Lee-tp not pretty
    '(Speaking of) Kim, (she) is pretty, but Lee is not pretty.'

In sentence (4), Kim and Lee contrast with each other and even though Kim is in the initial position of the sentence, it has 'contrastive focus.' Thus S. Kim (1983: 66) claims that the function of the topic marker nun is basically 'highlighting an item that is chosen as the center of the speaker's attention' in any position. Kim further states that the topic characteristic of sentence initial position and the contrastive focus character of non-initial position are complementary sides of the same coin.

The question is how the 'contextually prepared' information carrier nun can be the 'focus getting' marker. Nun is the topic marker and is expected to carry the 'contextually more determined' information. It can not be highlighted as the center of the attention, because usually the 'contextually indeterminate' information carrier NP+ka is supposed to get the information focus. However, NP+ka does not carry any special stress or emphasis. For example:
(5) Kim-un  ipputa
    Kim-tp  pretty
    '(Speaking of Kim, (she) is pretty.'

(6) Kim-i  ipputa
    Kim-sm  pretty
    'Kim is pretty.'

Without context, sentence (6) is a more plain (in terms of stress) sentence than sentence (5). The subject marker ka does not require any special attention. How then can the contextually indetermined information carrier subject marker ka have any special attention getting focus? The 'attention getting' character of the topic marker is more obvious in the 'double subject' construction.

5.3.1. Double subject construction

The so-called 'double subject' construction is a characteristic of topic prominent languages. Double subject means that in one clause, there are two participants, one of which takes a topic marker and the other, a subject marker. The usual assumption is that the topic lies outside the predicate-argument relations. However, the word order is relatively free. Consider the following examples:

(7) a. John-un  meori-ka  chota
    John-tp  brain-sm  good
    'John is smart.'

b. meori-ka  John-un  chota
    brain-sm  John-tp  good
    'John is smart.'

c. meori-nun  John-i  chota
    brain-tp  John-sm  good
    'As for the smartness, John is smart.'

The utterances of (7) are examples of the double subject construction in Korean. chota' good' is a stative verb, and it is not a transitive verb like sata' buy.' If the order is
permuted as in (7 b), the sentence is less acceptable than (7 a), but it is an acceptable sentence, depending on the individual. What this implies is that independently of -nun and -ka, the sentence order itself conveys some content, which may (or may not) be compatible with the -nun or -ka which appears there. This also suggests that when there are two NPs; one is animate and the other is inanimate, it is better for the animate participant to precede the inanimate participant, and the other way around is less acceptable. Sentence (7 c) is acceptable since the topic lies outside the predicate-argument relations. Consider the following:

(8)  

a. John-i  meori-nun  jjalpta  
    John-sm  hair-tp  short  
    'John has short hair. (but probably he has a long mustache.)'

b. meori-nun  John-i  jjalpta  
    hair-tp  John-sm  short  
    'John has short hair. (speaking of hair length)'

c. John-un  meori-ka  jjalpta  
    John-tp  hair-sm  short  
    'John has short hair. (If we speak about John)'

d. meori-ka  John-un  jjalpta  
    hair-sm  John-tp  short  
    'John has short hair. (speaking of John,)'  

e. John-i  meori-ka  jjalpta  
    John-sm  hair-sm  short  
    'John has short hair.'

f. meori-ka  John-i  jjalpta  
    hair-sm  John-sm  short  
    'John has short hair.'

All the above sentences are grammatical. However, when the inanimate complement meori 'hair' takes initial position with the subject marker as in (8 d) and (8 f), it is a bit less acceptable just as in (7 b), probably for the same reason that the animate participant should
precede the inanimate participant, and the other way around is less acceptable. This unusual change of the word order is not felicitous.

When the subject marker -ka and the topic marker nun occur together or there are two subject markers in one clause, the sentence is acceptable although the degree of acceptability varies. However, when there are two topic markers occurring together, the result is different. In the double topic construction, two topic markers occur in the clause. Consider the following examples:

(9). a. John-un meori-nun chota
    John-tp brain-tp good
    'Speaking of John, he is smart. (though probably not)'

    b. ?? meori-nun John-un chota
        brain-tp John-tp good
        '?? John is smart. (If you talk about smartness, and talk about John.)'

    c. John-i meori-ka chota
        John-sm brain-sm good
        'John is smart.'

Sentences (9a) and (9c) are acceptable, but (9b) is not acceptable. This confirms the hypothesis that when there are two NPs and one is animate and the other is inanimate, the animate participant should precede the inanimate participant; and the other way around is less acceptable. The contrastive meaning ('smart' vs 'handsome') of (9a) is achieved better in (9d).

(9) d. John-i meori-nun chota
    John-sm brain-tp good
    'John is smart. (but not handsome)'

Two topic markers in one clause are sometimes at odds with each other. The reason for this is that topic marking is a device that is used by the speaker to direct the hearer's attention to a particular NP in a clause; therefore, using the topic marker twice in the same clause causes a perceptual dissonance in determining the speaker's intention with regard to the attention focus in a given clause. The occurrence restriction of the topic marker in
relative clauses and conditional clauses is essentially the same as the cooccurrence restriction on double topic in one sentence. It is the speaker's choice of a particular NP or a proposition that is to be contrasted with the non-chosen ones. The nun attached NPs, especially in contrast with their ka attached counterparts, appear to be highlighted as the center of the speaker's attention to attract the listener's attention, whereas the ka attached NPs are free from such additional functions.

The third characteristic of the topic marker nun is a distance creating function between the topic NP and the rest of the sentence. The topic marker singles out or topicalizes the NP referent and signals to the hearer that the speaker is intentionally putting some distance between the topic NP and the rest of the sentence. Chae (1991: 91) states that there is a pause between the topic and the rest of the sentence, so when you put another clause between the agent and the predicate, if the agent is topic marked, it is grammatical, but if the agent is subject marked, it is not grammatical. For example:

(10)  a. *ne-ka he-ka tul-myun whabun-ul changka-e nenot-nun-ta
     I-sm sun-sm come in-if flower pot-om window edge-at put-pre-ind
     *'If the sun comes in, then I will put the flower pot in front of the window.'

     b. na-nun he-ka tul-myun whabun-ul changka-e nenot-nun-ta
        I-tp sun-sm come in-if flower pot-om window edge-at put-pre-ind
        'If the sun comes out, then I will put the flower pot in front of the window.'

In (10 a) when the 'if clause' is inserted, the sentence is unacceptable since the agent is subject marked, but in (10 b), the agent is topic marked and the sentence is acceptable. Thus when the agent is topic marked, that agent is singled out from the rest of the sentence, and there is a pause or cognitive distance between the topic and the rest of the sentence.

5.4. Conjunction markers and the topic marker

5.4.1. ko and kose

When in a complex sentence the clauses are connected by ko or kose, and have a different agent in each clause, the acceptability of the sentence varies depending on whether the agent is marked by the topic marker or the subject marker. Consider the following examples:
In (11), either the topic marker nun or the subject marker ka is grammatical when it is added to the agents of two clauses conjoined by ko; but in (12), only ka is allowed as the NP marker inside the first clause, when kose is used as the conjunction marker. Sentence (12c) is not ungrammatical, but (12a) is the more acceptable sentence.
If two clauses have the same referent as subject, there is no problem. Observe the following examples:

(13) a. **Kim-un** ileona-ko(se) pap-ul muk-ess-ta
    Kim-tp woke up and then rice-om eat-past-ind
    'Kim woke up and then ate.'

    b. **Kim-i** ileona-ko(se) pap-ul muk-ess-ta
    Kim-sm woke up and then rice-om eat-past-ind
    'Kim woke up and then ate.'

(14) a. **John-un** mun-ul yeol-ko(se) tuleowa-ss-ta
    John-tp door-om open-and come in-past-ind
    'John opened the door and then came in.'

    b. **John-i** mun-ul yeol-ko(se) tuleowa-ss-ta
    John-sm door-om open-and come in-past-ind
    'John opened the door and then came in.'

As can be seen from the above examples, if the events have the same referent as agent, either the topic marker or the subject marker occurs. Let us look at some additional examples:

(15) a. **Kim-i** tteona-ko(se) Mary-ka tteona-ss-ta
    Kim-sm left-and then Mary-sm leave-past-ind
    'Kim left and then Mary left.'

    b. * **Kim-un** tteona-kose Mary-ka tteona-ss-ta
    Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm leave-past-ind
    * 'Kim left and then Mary left.'

    c. ? **Kim-un** tteona-ko Mary-ka tteona-ss-ta
    Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm leave-past-ind
    ? 'Kim left and then Mary left.'
In (15 a), when *ko is used in the sense of 'sequential ko' or when kose is the conjunction, and there are two different subjects, both subjects take the subject marker ka. However, (15 b) and (15 c) are not acceptable when the first subject takes the topic marker. But on a scale of grammaticality, (15 c) is more acceptable than (15 b). Sentence (15 c) can be completely acceptable if there is a past tense marker inside the first clause. Observe the following:

(15) d. Kim-un tteona-ss-ko Mary-ka tteona-n-ta
    Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm leave-present-ind
    'Kim left and then Mary is leaving.'

    e. * Kim-un tteona-ss-kose Mary-ka tteona-n-ta
        Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm leave-present-ind
        * 'Kim left and then Mary is leaving.'

In (15 d), the past tense marker -ss is used in the first clause. The difference between sentences (15 c) and (15 d) is the time duration between two events, i.e. 'Kim's leaving' and 'Mary's leaving', are very closely associated in (15 c), but in (15 d) Mary's leaving is not so immediate. Or, if we put the past tense in the first clause and put a temporal adverb in (15 c), it is even better. Observe the following:

(15) f. Kim-un tteona-ss-ko Mary-ka jikum tteona-n-ta
    Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm now leave-pre-ind
    'Kim left and Mary is now leaving.'

    g. *Kim-un tteona-ss-kose Mary-ka jikum tteona-n-ta
        Kim-tp left-and then Mary-sm now leave-pre-ind
        * 'Kim left and Mary is now leaving.'

Let us consider another example:

(16) a. bi-ka o-ko(se) param-i bunta
    rain-sm come-and then wind-sm blow
    'Rain comes and then wind blows.'
b. * bi-nun o-kose param-i bunta
rain-tp come-and then wind-sm blow
* 'Rain comes and then wind blows.'

c. ? bi-nun o-ko..... aram-i bunta
rain-tp come-and... wind-sm blow
? 'Rain comes and... wind blows.'

Sentence (16 b) is unacceptable, while sentence (16 c) is a bit odd but not ungrammatical, although it lacks the immediate temporal ordering of (16 b), i.e. between the two events 'rain' and 'wind blows.' The two events in (16 c) are somewhat more independent than (16 a) or (16 b). A nun in the first clause damages the resulting sentence in which ka appears in the second clause, regardless of ko and kose, but a ka does not. Why? The effect of putting -ss in the first clause or putting a pause after the first clause is congruent with putting some distance between the two clauses. nun singles out or topicalizes the NP (here bi 'rain') and signals to the hearer that the speaker is intentionally putting some distance between the first event and the second event. If two clauses are too close semantically, then the speaker does not use the topic marker nun.

The topic marker nun can occur inside the kose clause, if there is an extreme contrast, between the first agent among many other possible candidates. But this is an extremely rare situation. For example:

(17). Kim-un Sue-nun mannabo-kose tteona-ss-ta
Kim-tp Sue-tp meet-and then leave-past-ind
'Kim left after he met Sue. (But he did not meet any other people.)'

Sentence (17) can be the answer to the question 'Did Kim leave without seeing Sue?'
Suppose Kim is the person who does not want to see anybody, so he leaves without seeing anybody. However, Sue is the person who has a special relationship with him (say she is his wife or mother), then when the hearer learns that Kim leaves without seeing anybody, the natural question will be 'Did Kim leave even without seeing Sue?' and (29) is the answer. The topic marker in Sue-nun singles out 'Sue' from other possible human beings. However, this is not a very frequently occurring situation.
So far we have examined instances in which the second agent takes ka, and the first agent takes either nun or ka. Now let us look at some utterances in which the second subject takes nun:

(18) a. Kim-i tteona-ko Mary-nun tteona-ss-ta
    Kim-sm left-and then Mary-tp leave-past-ind
    'Kim left and then Mary left.'

b. Kim-i tteona-kose Mary-nun tteona-ss-ta
    Kim-sm left-and then Mary-tp leave-past-ind
    'Kim left and then Mary left.'

As can be seen from the above example the first clause may take the subject marker -i, while the second clause takes the topic marker nun. Observe the following:

(19) a. bi-ka o-ko param-un bu-n-ta
    rain-sm come-and wind-tp blow-pre-ind
    'Rain comes and then the wind blows.'

b. bi-ka o-kose param-un bu-n-ta
    rain-sm come-and then wind-tp blow-pre-ind
    'Rain comes and then the wind blows.'

Therefore, we can conclude that when there are two agents, and if the first clause takes the topic marker nun in a kose conjunction clause, it is not grammatical. If it is a ko conjoined clause, the topic marker nun in the first clause is acceptable, if the first clause has the tense marker inside, or there is some cognitive space after the first clause. In other words, the pattern

*nun..............ka

is not possible with kose, but it is possible with ko, if there is some distance between the two events. But the pattern

ka..............nun
will succeed with *kose as with ko. This is also related to the semantic character of the conjunction ko and conjunction marker kose. When there are distinct referents as agents in kose conjoined clauses, the sense of kose is that there is a time sequence between the first event and the second event so that kose signals that the two events are sequenced. In other words, kose has a time sequencing character in addition to the successivity or connectivity feature of ko. Because of this character of kose, the two events are more immediately related, and there can be no pause distancing the two events. As we saw earlier, the topic marker creates some distance between the first and the second event. Thus, putting the topic marker nun inside the first clause is not acceptable. However, in case of ko, the topic marker can occur inside the first clause. I suspect that this is somewhat related to the fact that relative clauses in Korean can not take a marker nun inside the relative clause, nor can a -myun 'if' clause take nun inside the if-clause. This is congruent with the consideration mentioned above that Korean speakers do not like to have two topics in a one-semantic-unit clause. The agent of the second clause is the topic of the sentence, and if there is another topic marker inside the first clause, it divides the listener's attention. If two clauses have equal status as with coordinate clauses, then the two two clauses each have a topic marker, but if the first clause is subordinated to the second clause, the first clause will not normally have the topic marker inside, since the subordinating clause is the background clause and is not intended to get the speaker's or hearer's focal attention. For example, the head NP of the relative clause is what the relative clause is talking about; thus, if there is another topic inside the relative clause, it is difficult for the listener to figure out which topic to pay attention to. Keenan (1972) points out that the topic marker cannot appear in relative clauses in many languages. Thus S. Bak (1984) claims that the non-occurrence of the semantics of topic in relative clauses is a cross-linguistic phenomenon.

\[(20) \quad *\text{John-un} \quad \text{ka-n} \quad \text{hakkyo}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{tp} & \text{go-relative marker} & \text{school} \\
\multicolumn{3}{c}{\text{A}} \\
\text{Topic} & \text{Comment} & \text{Topic} \\
\text{C} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'The school John goes to'

Sentence (20) shows the clash of the two topics (A and C) in one semantic unit. Sentence (20) shows clearly the reason for the lack of topic marking in the relative clause. The topic marker also does not occur in a -myun 'if' clause in my data (cf. Text 3 line 48. and Text
1, line 44). The conjunction kose, like the relative marker or -myun 'if,' is tightly related to the second sentence. If the two events are close and immediately related, then putting the topic marker nun inside the first clause damages the resulting sentence. In other words, the conjunction marker kose is a subordinating marker. Another reason is that the topic marker nun and the conjunction markers share some common characteristics, probably they both attract contrastive (between two NP) focus and demand high pitch at the same time. Therefore, speakers attempt to avoid the clash between them. Events with the same agent take the nun marker inside the first clause. But events with different referential subjects are more problematic. There is a contrast between the two subjects in the two clauses, and the subordinate or background clause subject can not bear the contrastive focus, because speakers must pay attention to the subject of the foregrounded second clause. If there is a subject in the backgrounded clause which requires contrastive focus, it confuses the listener. This is not the case with clauses connected by ko, since the two clauses have equal focus. Thus the two subjects can get equal contrastive focus.

Nowadays many scholars (Givon 1980, Foley and Van Valin 1974, C. Lehmann 1988, etc.) agree that there are degrees of subordination in complex sentences. Davis presents an array of English clauses in a diagram that shows the degree of closeness of association of the events in complex sentences (1990 Class handout).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tight</th>
<th>Loose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjectival relative</td>
<td>if/when co-ordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause clause</td>
<td>clause clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.4

If we apply this notion to the consideration of Korean clauses we could say that kose establishes a tighter relationship between the first and the second events than the co-ordinate marker ko. In clauses conjoined by kose, nun does not occur as the topic marker. This is true because speakers treat the first kose clause as more backgrounded than the first ko linked clause. As we observed above, it is easier to place a topic marker inside the clause in ko conjoined clauses. The subordinate clause usually contains background information, and it is likely to contain 'old' or 'given' information. We can plot kose and ko as follows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tight</th>
<th>Loose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjectival relative -myun (if) kose ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause clause clause clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.5

This result is congruent with the diagram of Figure 4.28 in chapter 4, which shows kose is a more immediate conjunction marker than 'sequential ko' on the semantic integrity scale.

Semantic Integrity Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>background</th>
<th>foreground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporally overlapping</td>
<td>temporally sequenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically close/immediate</td>
<td>semantically remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tight</td>
<td>loose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

enabling ko..................sequential ko.......co-present ko.
simultaneous myu ese kose co-present myu

<--------myu/enabling ko/ese--kose--sequential ko-----co-present ko/myu--->

negation v1+v2 v1+v2 v1+v2 *v1+v2 *v1+v2
*only v2 only v2 only v2 only v2 only

tense *tns+tns *tns+tns tns+tns tns+tns tns+tns
O+tns O+tns O+tns O+tns O+tns

Figure 5.6

Now we turn to the conjunction ese to examine its behavior with respect to kose or ko.

5.4.2. ese

The conjunction ese is somewhat different from ko, as we observed in Chapter 4. It has a 'limiting' characteristic in addition to successivity and connexity. What I mean by 'limiting' is that the first event has some effect on the second event, but does not actually cause it. In this case, the event of the first clause is usually active, and there are place, time, method limitations to the second event. There is a relation between the first and second clauses that is different from that signaled by ko. For example;
(21). jeo-nun toseokwan-e ka-se kongbuhe-yo
    I-tp library-im go-and study-pm
    'I go to the library and study there.'

(22). yeoki-e wa-se anjuse-yo
    here-at come-and sit down-pm
    'Please come here and sit down.'

(23). tusi-ka tweo-se hewi-ka kkuna-ss-ta
    2 o'clock become-and meeting-sm end-past-ind
    'It became 2 o'clock and the meeting is finally finished.'
    'Because it is two o'clock, the meeting is finished.'

(24). ku e-nun pap-ul ssipeo-se meoke-ss-ta
    that child-tp rice-om chew-and eat-past-ind
    'That child chewed the rice and ate.'

In (21) and (22), the first clause facilitates or serves as the spatial requisite of the second clause. In (23) there is a time requirement, and in (24), there is a method requirement.

Ese is used with the meaning of 'consequence' or 'reason.' For example:

(25) a. John-i apa-se Mary-ka tesin ilhe-ss-ta
    John-sm sick-and so Mary-sm instead work-past-ind
    'John was sick, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

b. ?John-un apa-se Mary-ka tesin ilhe-ss-ta
    John-tp sick-and so Mary-sm instead work-past-ind
    ? 'John was sick, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

c. * John-un apa-se Mary-nun tesin ilhe-ss-ta
    John-tp sick-and so Mary-tp instead work-past-ind
    * 'John was sick, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'
d. John-i apa-se Mary-nun tesin ilhe-ss-ta
   John-sm sick-and so Mary-tp instead work-past-ind
   'John was sick, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

(26). jeo-nun pap-ul mani mek-e se tungtung-he-yo
   I-tp rice-om a lot eat-because fat-pm
   'I am fat because I eat a lot.'

The subjects are the same in (26) but they are different in (25). However, in both cases, the topic marker nun may occur inside the first clause as in (25 b) and (26). Sentence (25 b) is less acceptable than (25 a). If there are two topic markers in the clause context, it is not acceptable at all as in (25 c).

(27) a. John-i il anhe-se Mary-ka ilhe-ss-ta
   John-sm not work-and so Mary-sm work-past-ind
   'John did not work, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

b. ? John-un il anhe-se Mary-ka ilhe-ss-ta
   John-tp not work-and so Mary-sm work-past-ind
   ? 'John did not work, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

c. John-i il anhe-se Mary-nun ilhe-ss-ta
   John-sm not work-and so Mary-tp work-past-ind
   'John did not work, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

d. * John-un il anhe-se Mary-nun ilhe-ss-ta
   John-tp not work-and so Mary-tp work-past-ind
   * 'John did not work, therefore Mary worked instead of him.'

Also sentence (27 b) is less acceptable than (27 a), and if there are two topic markers in the clause, it is not acceptable at all as is demonstrated in (27 d).

(28) a. John-un il anha-ko Mary-ka ilhe-ss-ta
   John-tp not work-and Mary-sm work-past-ind
   'John did not work, and Mary worked.'
b. John-i il anha-ko Mary-ka ilhe-ssta
John-sm not work-and Mary-sm work-past-ind
'John did not work, and Mary worked.'

c. John-un il anha-ko Mary-nun ilhe-ssta
John-tp not work-and Mary-tp work-past-ind
'John did not work, and Mary worked instead of him.'

d. John-i il anha-ko Mary-nun ilhe-ssta
John-sm not work-and Mary-tp work-past-ind
'John did not work, and Mary worked instead of him.'

In case of ko, any combination is acceptable as shown in (28). Let us consider additional examples:

(29) a. jeo-nun [pang-an-i teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ess-oyo
I-tp room-inside-sm hot-because window-om open-past-pm
'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

b. jeo-ka [pang-an-i teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ess-oyo
I-sm room-inside-sm hot-because window-om open-past-pm
'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

c. *jeo-ka [pang-an-un teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeole-ssess-oyo
I-sm room-inside-tp hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
* 'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

d. *jeo-nun [pang-an-un teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeole-ssess-oyo
I-tp room-inside-tp hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
* 'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

(30) a. jeo-ka [i-pang-an-un teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ssess-oyo
I-sm this-room-inside-tp hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'
b. jeo-ka [i-pang-an-i teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ssess-oyo
   I-sm this-room-inside-sm hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
   'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

c. ?? jeo-nun [i-pang-an-un teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ssess-oyo
   I-tp this-room-inside-tp hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
   ?? 'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

d. jeo-nun [i-pang-an-i teoweo-se] changmun-ul yeol-ssess-oyo
   I-tp this-room-inside-sm hot-because window-om open-past participle-pm
   'The room was hot and so I opened a window.'

(31) ? i-pang-un teoweo-se, jeo-nun changmun-ul yeol-ssess-oyo
   this-room-sm hot-because I-tp window-om open-past participle-pm
   ? 'This room is hot, so I opened a window.'

Example (29 c) is not acceptable because the -ese clause only takes the subject marker ka ('room-sm') and cannot take the topic marker because the subject of the -ese clause is not definite. One of the characteristics of the topic marker is that it occurs with the definite and the subject marker occurs with the indefinite. Consider the following example:

(32) a. yenale eotteon saram-i sara-ss-ta
   Once upon a time some man-sm live-past-ind
   'Once upon a time, there lived a man.'

b. * yenale eotteon saram-un sara-ss-ta
   Once upon a time some man-tp live-past-ind
   * 'Once upon a time, there lived a man.'

Sentence (32 b) is odd since there is a topic marker after the unspecified subject eotteon saram 'a certain person,' but (32 a) is acceptable. Compare this sentence with the following:

(33) a. i-jip-e John-i sara-ss-ta
   this-house-in John-sm live-past-ind
   'John lived in this house.'
Both (33 a) and (33 b) are acceptable, since the subject is the definite individual 'John.' However generic NPs can take nun without being definite, as the following example shows:

(34) a. koyangi-nun jwi-ruk japa-se saramtul-i johaha-n-ta
cat(s)-tp rat(s)-om catch-because people-sm like-pre-ind
'People like cats because they catch rats.'

However, if i-pang 'this room,' that is the subject of the -ese clause, is definite, the topic marker may occur inside the -ese clause as in (30 a). This example shows that the topic marker nun carries 'old,' 'definite' information. However, (29 a) is less acceptable than (29 b), and the topic marker in (29 a) i-pang-un singles out the 'this room' from every other possible candidate of 'rooms.' In other words, 'this room' is emphasized or contrasted with all other possible in the speech context. Sentences (29 d) and (30 c) are not acceptable because there are two topic markers in the complex. Sentence (31) has two topic markers, but it is a somewhat acceptable, depending on the individual. In sentence (31), the two clauses of (30 c) are consecutive to each other, but in (30 c) the first clause is inserted inside the second clause, and the proximity of the two topic markers nun is too close. As a general tendency, two topic markers at close proximity are avoided.

The conjunction ese also does not occur felicitously with the topic marker inside the first clause, nor does kose. Ko freely allows the topic marker in the first clause. Ese and kose sometimes allow the topic marker in the first clause, but in such cases, the topic marked agent has a more extreme contrast among a set of possible candidates than in the usual usage. Thus the combinations:

1. ka................ka
2. ka................nun

are acceptable with ese and kose, but
*3. nun................ka
*4. nun................nun

are generally avoided.

Combinations 1 and 2 are acceptable, but 3 and 4 are both odd. However, number 3 is acceptable in some cases, for example, in sentence (31 a) with the restriction on definiteness.

A clause containing the conjunction ko does not require a definite NP to be marked with nun. See the following example:

(35). San-un nop-ko kyekok-un kip-ta
    mountain-tp high-and valley-tp deep-ind
    'A mountain is high and a valley is deep.'

When we use esse instead of ko for sentence (35), the referent san 'mountain' should be definite as in the following (36 c):

(36) a. * san-un nop-ase kyekok-i kip-ta
       mountain-tp high-and valley-sm deep-ind
       * 'Because a mountain is high and a valley is deep.'

b. san-i nop-ase kyekok-i kip-ta
    mountain-tp high-and valley-sm deep-ind
    'Because a mountain is high, a valley is deep.'

c. cho-san-un nop-ase kyekok-i kip-ta
    that-mountain-tp high-and valley-sm deep-ind
    'Because that mountain is high, the valley is deep.'

d. * san-un nop-ase kyekok-un kip-ta
    Mountain-tp high-and valley-sm deep-ind
    * 'Because a mountain is high and a valley is deep.'
e. san-ı  nop-ase  kyekok-un  kip-ta  
    mountain-tp  high-and  valley-sm  deep-ind  
    'Because a mountain is high, a valley is deep.'

f.  ?  cho- san-un  nop-ase  kyekok-un  kip-ta  
    that-mountain-tp  high-and  valley-sm  deep-ind  
    ?  'Because that mountain is high, the valley is deep.'

Sentence (36 a) is not acceptable because the speaker and the listener should know which mountain the speaker is talking about, since there is a topic marker after the NP san 'mountain'. San 'mountain' in (36 a) is not definite. Thus the definite marker ı 'this,' ku 'that,' or cho 'that' are necessary, and that is why (36 c) is acceptable. Without any previous context, sentence (36 a) is odd if it is an opening sentence. In (36 d ) and (36 f), two topic markers occur, and that makes those sentences sound odd as well.

Ese is more restricted than ko in using the topic marker in the two clauses. However, ese and kose do not like to take the topic marker inside the first clause. This situation can be represented by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ka,...ka</th>
<th>ka,...nun</th>
<th>nun,...ka</th>
<th>nun,...nun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kose</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ese</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1

This result is congruent with the diagram of Figure 5.6 above (cf. also p. 193.), which shows ese is a more immediate conjunction marker than 'sequential ko' on the immediate-remote semantic scale.
### Semantic Integrity Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>background</th>
<th>foreground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>temporally overlapping</td>
<td>temporally sequenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically close/immediate</td>
<td>semantically remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tight</td>
<td>loose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enabling ko</th>
<th>sequential ko</th>
<th>co-present ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simultaneouse myu</td>
<td>ese</td>
<td>kose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-present myu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<---myu/enabling ko/eso--kose--sequential ko--co-present ko/myu--->

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>negation</th>
<th>v1+v2</th>
<th>v1+v2</th>
<th>v1+v2</th>
<th>v1+v2</th>
<th>v1+v2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*v1+v2</td>
<td>v2 only</td>
<td>v2 only</td>
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<td>v2 only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>*tns+tns</th>
<th>*tns+tns</th>
<th>tns+tns</th>
<th>tns+tns</th>
<th>tns+tns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td>Ø+tns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.6

5.4.3. **myu**

As is seen in the previous chapter, there are two main functions of myu. When myu is used as the meaning of 'while...,' 'at the same time...,' the subject of the two clauses should be identical. For example:

(37) John-un piano chi-myae nore-rul buleo-ss-ta
    John-tp piano play-and sing-om sing-past-ind
    'John played a piano and sang a song at the same time.'

(38) John-un son-ul huntul-myae tteona-ss-ta
    John-tp hand-om wave-and leave-past-ind
    'John left waving his hand.'

When myu is used as 'co-present myu' the subjects of two clauses can be either referentially identical or different.

(39) sarang-un orechamumi-myae onyuha-myu sungneji an-nun-ta
    love-tp patience-and soft-and angry not-pre-ind
    'Love suffers long and is kind and is not provoked.'
(40) seroun  tosi-ka sengki-myu kun  kil-i sengki-n-ta
new  city-sm come into being-if big road-sm come into being-pres-ind
'New towns come into being and a big road comes into being.'

In sentence (39), there is only one agent sarang-un 'love.' However, sentence (40) has two. In this case, myu codes 'co-presentation.' Participants in 'co-present' clauses can take a topic marker as in myu clauses, too. Observe the following examples:

(41) a. ku-jip-un jibung-un para-ko byuk-un hayata
that-house-tp roof-tp blue-and wall-tp white
'The roof of that house is blue and the wall is white.'

b. ku-jip-un jibung-un para-myu byuk-un hayata
that-house-tp roof-tp blue-and wall-tp white
'The roof of that house is blue and the wall is white.'

(42). a. san-un nop-ko kang-un kip-ta
mountain-tp high-and river-tp deep-ind
'The mountain is high and the river is deep.'

b. san-un nop-umyu kang-un kip-ta
mountain-tp high-and river-tp deep-ind
'The mountain is high and the river is deep.'

In sentences (41) and (42), the first and the second verbs are both the stative verb 'be.' Here ko and myu are used interchangeably without any problem. However, myu is not substitutable for ko when the first and the second verbs are active verbs. Observe the following:

(43). a. John-un nol-ko Mary-nun kongbuha-n-ta
John-tp play-and Mary-tp study-pre-ind
'John plays and Mary studies.'

b. * John-un nol-myu Mary-nun kongbuha-n-ta
John-tp play-and Mary-tp study-pre-ind
* 'John plays and Mary studies.'
Sentence (43 b) is not acceptable. If there is not the second agent Mary-nun, it is a better sentence. Sentence (43 c) is odd even though the subject 'John' takes the subject marker.

(43) c. *John-i nol-myu Mary-ka kongbuha-n-ta
     John-sm play-and Mary-sm study-pre-ind
     *'John plays and Mary studies.'

The reason for the oddness of (43 c) is apparently due to another characteristic of myu. It has the meaning of 'at the same time' when the two verbs are active, and thus it creates oddness when the two verbs are active and have different subjects. Since two different subjects are behaving at the same time, the indication of two different simultaneous actions is not easily acceptable. But it is acceptable when the two verbs are stative (here 'to be high' and 'to be deep') and have two subjects, because in that case, the strong sense of simultaneity of myu is there but no action is required. Consider the following example:

(44) seroun tosi-ka sengki-myu kun kil-i
     new city-sm come into being-and big road-sm
     no-i-n-ta put down-passive-present-ind
     'New towns come into being and a big road is built.'

If myu is not used with the sense of simultaneity, but with the sense of simple addition as in (44), the verbs are no longer conceptualized as stative, but as passivized.

Myu thus does not take a double subject if it has the sense of 'simultaneity.' In other words, it allows only a same subject clause. If it is used with the sense of 'co-present,' the verbs are either stative or passivized. The subjects of the stative or passivized verbs either take the topic marker nun or the subject marker ka freely. This distribution is represented in the following Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ka...ka</th>
<th>ka...nun</th>
<th>nun...ka</th>
<th>nun...nun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kose</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ese</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myu(copresent)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2
Myu has the same restrictions as ko in the case of active events. It is restricted to linkage not allowing different agents in case of the active verbs. Myu has the same character of 'co-present ko' in case of the stative verbs. Thus I locate 'enabling' myu at the same position as 'enabling' ko and put 'co-present' ko before kose and ese on the semantic scale. This result further justifies Figure 5.6 above, which shows kose is a more immediate conjunction marker than 'sequential ko' on the immediate-remote semantic scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Integrity Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporally overlapping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically close/immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

enabling ko-----------------sequential ko---------------co-present ko.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simultaneous myu ese kose</th>
<th>co-present myu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<--------myu/enabling ko/ese--kose--sequential ko-----myu/co-present ko-->

negation

v1+v2 v1+v2 v1+v2  
*v1+v2  *v1+v2

v2 only v2 only v2 only  
v2 only v2 only

tense

*tns+tns *tns+tns tns+tns  
*tns+tns tns+tns

Ø+tns Ø+tns Ø+tns  
Ø+tns Ø+tns

Figure 5.6

5.5. Conclusion

The subject particle -i/ka in Korean freely occurs inside the conjunction clause, but the topic marker nun has some restrictions on its occurrence in conjoined clauses. It is related to the characteristics of the subject and topic markers. The reason the relative or 'if-clause' or kose or ese clause does not allow nun marking is related to the nature of the topic marker and the conjunction marker. Events with same subject take the nun marker inside the first clause. But events with different subjects are more problematic. The first reason is the necessity to avoid having a topic in the subordinate clause. If there is a contrast between the two subjects in the two clauses, the subordinate or background clause subject can not bear the contrastive focus, because speakers must pay attention to the foregrounded second clause and thus to the subject of the main clause. If there were a subject in the
backgrounded clause which requires contrastive focus, it would give two topic signals to
the listener and is thus avoided. This is not the case with clauses connected by ko, since
the two clauses have equal status. Thus the two subjects can get equal contrastive focus.
If there are two topics which require high pitch or stress, speakers attempt to avoid the
clash between them. The subordinate clause is used to encode background information,
the conjunction marker and the main clause are at the focus of attention. Thus, subordinate
clauses do not allow another focus getting attention focus marker nun inside the clause. A
possible explanation for this is that the hearer would be confused if there were multiple
attention getting markers in one utterance.

Another reason for avoiding the use of nun in the conjunction clause is that the topic marker
nun puts some distance between the two events in a complex sentence, but the subject
marker ka does not. The conjunction kose like the relative marker or -myun (if) has a
tighter relationship to the second clause than ko. If the two events are close and
immediately related, then putting the distance making topic marker nun inside the first
clause damages the resulting sentence. However, in the case of ko, putting the topic
marker inside the first clause does not cause a problem. This result is congruent with that
shown in Figure 4.28 in Chapter 4, namely that kose is more a immediate conjunction
marker than ko on the immediate-remote scale.

One notion associated with Korean nun and ka, which is problematic, is equating 'old' and
'new' information with nun and ka, respectively. 'Old' information is 'given' and
presupposed, and it does not bear the attention focus. 'New' information is unknown to
the hearer, and it occurs at the focus of attention. My study of spoken Korean discourse
shows that this 'old' and 'new' dichotomy does not work. Zubin (1979: 470) says that the
cognitive limits of human capabilities force us to choose one entity or event at a time as the
most salient item, because humans can not pay equal attention to everything that is involved
in the discourse process. The participants must be selective in listening. Neisser (1967)
points out that the item picked out as the center of the speaker's interest is meant to attract
the hearer's attention. If this is true, then the topic marker nun can not bear the focus
because it carries old information. The subject marker ka should get the focus since it
carries new information. However, as is determined above, more than two occurrences of
nun in one sentence irritates the speaker and the hearer, but more than two occurrences ka
in one sentence causes no problems. This contradicts the old and new information theory.
Although 85% of my discourse data shows that when the speaker begins a new paragraph,
he or she uses ka instead of nun to introduce the new participant and after that the speaker uses nun within the same paragraph, 15% use nun instead of ka.

I have found that as the conjunction marker indicates more subordination of the conjoined clauses, as with kose, or ese, the more difficult it is to use the topic marker nun inside the clause, enabling the use of the subject marker ka instead. Other Korean linguists (S. Bak 1983, S. Kim 1983, etc.) are also aware of these contradictions of the 'old' and 'new' hypothesis, although they do not take the perspective of the subordinate clause that I take. Thus, Bak says that nun has a speaker-oriented 'aboutness' semantic character, and S. Kim(1983:66) says that nun has the function of highlighting an item that is chosen as the center of the attention. D. Yang (1973) also says that the function of contrastive focus and the topic function of nun are inseparable, like the two sides of coin. Shin says that the highlighting function comes from the contrastive focus function of nun.

However, none of these scholars can explain why the topic marker (although ka is the new information carrier) can highlight an item so that it gets the focus. My position will be that the function of nun is to maintain topic continuity in the discourse by identifying the NPs that require the speaker/hearer's immediate attention. There are 4 devices for maintaining topic continuity in discourse: NP+nun, NP+ka, bare NP, ellipsis. Those four devices are on the continuum of the contextually determined and the undetermined. Another claim is that the topic marker always codes the attention getting focus in sentence initially and non-initially. This departs from the traditional theory that only the non-initial topic marker nun has the contrastive focus function. Bak (1981: 321) also points this out.

What I claim is that Korean ka can not be categorized as a subject marker which carries the new information. Ka is more like a basic nominative marker which does not require any attention. In other words, it is more subordinate than nun and a non-topical information carrier.

The fact that the topic marker nun does not occur inside the kose clause, gives a kose sentence a tighter relationship between the first and the second events than the coordinate marker ko. Thus speakers treat the kose clause as more backgrounded than the ko clause. It is easier to place a topic marker inside the clause in ko conjoined clauses. Ese has the same character as kose in not permitting the topic marker nun inside the ese clause. Ese also does not allow the two topic markers occur simultaneously in the first and the second clause. Myu does not take an overt subject in the first clause, if it has the sense of
'simultaneity.' If it is used with the sense of 'co-present,' the verbs are either stative or passivized. The subjects of the stative or passivized verbs either take the topic marker nun or the subject marker ka freely. This is represented in the above Table 5.2 and all this result is congruent with the diagram of Figure 5.6.
Chapter 6
Connectivity in Discourse

So far we have studied conjunction in the context of sentence coordination. In this chapter, the study is expanded to include connectivity in discourse and the strategies used to combine small chunks of discourse into a larger units. *Conjunction* is one way in which discourse is connected; in addition we will consider the use of *reference marking*, and the use of *tense markers* in the establishment of connectivity in Korean discourse. Since Korean is a clause chaining language (cf. Longacre 1983, Hwang1987:90), these devices are used throughout texts both within and between sentences. The data for this study consist of three interviews with Korean graduate students and with one senior Korean researcher in Houston. Two of the speakers were females, and two were males. The data are mostly extended responses of the answers to the interviewer's question, "What is the most difficult or memorable experience in your life?"

6.1. Reference marking within the scope of the paragraph

According to Longacre and Levinsohn (1978), *paragraphs* are units generally larger than a sentence without sudden break in temporal, logical, or locational progression. *Change of topic* is a semantic parameter that is helpful in establishing the contours of paragraph structure, since changes of topic may be manifest in temporal discontinuity, location change, and change of participant. However, none of the above in isolation gives a clear and unambiguous signal of the paragraph organization of a discourse. Consequently, one must depend on intersections of all the above factors in identifying the connectivity of discourse that is expressed through paragraphs.

A participant in the sense of Hopper and Thompson's manipulable participant (1984: 710) is referred to overtly when it is introduced the first time in a discourse and thus *a new paragraph is signalled by overt NP reference*. In actual spoken discourse, it is difficult to identify paragraph boundaries, but the appearance of overt participant reference is a very useful criterion in identifying a paragraph boundary. New reference is made in Korean by use of 'full' NP.

In the textual analysis of the following, I will identify paragraph boundaries at semantic breaks, marking discourse chunks within which the same topic continues. In other words,
when several continuous sentences are *intuitively* felt to have the same topic, they will normally constitute a paragraph.

Overt participant reference (i.e. any NP except zero reference) occurs both at paragraph boundary and internally within the paragraph. (cf. Appendix II.) My data show that overt participant reference occurs inside a paragraph when:

**Overt Participant Reference**

(a) there is a change of agent participant from the previous utterances.
(b) the agentive speaker introduces an additional new participant
(not the speaker) inside a paragraph that is not an agent.
(c) the sub-topic is changed in the same paragraph.
(d) quotation formulas occur as separate utterances after direct speech.

Figure 6.1

Otherwise, within the paragraph, reference is usually zero in my data, which are comprised of stories about the speaker himself or herself. After the first speaker uses 'I,' if there is no role switch from the previous sentence, the reference is usually ellipsis (75%) paragraph internally. Also, when the speaker introduces new participants other than him or herself in a paragraph, they are, naturally, overtly marked at the first appearance, but after that they usually appear as zero. But in the same sentence, when plural participants occur, for example when the speaker introduces a third person, to avoid ambiguity, one of the participants or all of them are overtly represented. First and second person pronouns na, ne, etc. are normally left out, since the speaker and hearer are obligatorily present in a speech situation. The relationship between speaker and hearer largely conditions the use of ellipsis. For example, the relationship between a writer and his reader is not the same as that between two intimate friends in conversation.

6.1.1. Strength of reference within a paragraph

As has already been extensively discussed in 5.1 and 5.2, whenever the first introduction of a participant is marked by the subject marker, and the same participant occurs overtly (not Zero reference) in the same paragraph, then it usually takes a topic marker or an NP without any marker. These are topic-continuing devices in Korean discourse. Figure 5.1
in section 5.2 shows this arrangement diagrammatically. A detailed discussion of this is included in 5.2.

If an overt participant reference occurs instead of zero reference after the introduction of the participant, it is because of one of the above four categories (a-d). Let us now examine the data in this regard. The following is an analysis of the first paragraph of text 4. (Cf. Appendix, p. 373.) The story is about the speaker's meeting with a street gang when she was a junior at the university in Seoul, and her narrow escape from that situation.

In line 1, ne-ka 'T: ka appears to set the story.
In line 2: interviewer interruption
In line 3, ne-ka 'T: ka occurs to set the story again after the interruption.
Lines 4, 5, 6 have zero reference.
In line 7, woorikkaehana-ka 'one of our classmates': ka is used to introduce a new participant. It belongs to category (b) in figure 6.1.
Line 8 has zero reference.
In line 9, woori ses-i 'we three': ka is used to refer to the speaker and a new participant. (She was introduced in line 7). It belongs to (a).
In line 10 and 11, gae-nun 'she' and ge appear because line 9 has already introduced her using ge-do 'she also.' The overt participant appears because there is a subject change from the previous utterances. It belongs to (a)
In line 12, na-nun appears because since in line 3, the referent 'I' is introduced and nun designates old information. It marks a different subject from that of line 11. It belongs to category (a).
gae-nun appears because in line 9, the referent 'she' was introduced and nun designates old information. There is another function of nun 'contrast' here. The participant 'I' and 'she' are contrasted
In lines 13,14,15,16,16,17,18 zero reference occurs.
In line 19, and 20, na-nun appears because 'I' was introduced in line 3 and it refers to old information. The overt participant appears because it is a different subject from that of previous utterances and a topic change as well. It belongs to categories (a) and (c).

Figure 6.2 summarizes this scheme diagrammatically:
As shown in Figure 6.2, a full NP occurs in accordance with one of the four categories enumerated in Figure 6.1.

The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, and zero realization in my data is as follows (cf. Appendix II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP+sm</th>
<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total ratio of the occurrence of an NP in discourse according to the condition (a), (b), (c), or (d) or none of the four is as follows: (cf. Appendix II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Figure 6.3, 72% of the sentences in the text have zero realization subject. This is about 17 times more than NP+tp occurrences. Thus in Korean discourse, zero realization is the most productive topic-continuing device. When a new paragraph begins, there is overt participant reference NP+sm, at the beginning quite regularly (85%), and if the subject does not change, then zero reference maintains the topic continuity (72%). Only 5.1% of topic continuity is carried by the NP+tp. When NP+tp or NP+sm appears, the conditions are: (1) paragraph break; (2) when there is a subject participant change from the previous sentences (a); (3) when the speaker introduces a new participant (b); (4) when the subtopic is changed inside a paragraph (c); (5) in quotation formulas that occur as separate sentences after direct speech (d). As shown in Figure 6.4, category (a) accounts for the highest number of overt participant occurrence in a discourse, and category (b) is the second.

After zero realization, the second most frequent topic carrier is the topic marker. We discussed the topic and subject markers in Chapter V. In the above data, the topic marker nun occurs only infrequently. There are many exceptions. When the topic marker is used, the conditions are, (1) in the same paragraph, after the participant has been introduced. The second mention of same participant usually is marked by nun instead of ka/je, or (2) nun is used to show the contrast between the speaker and another participant.

6.2. Tense marking in the paragraph

We have talked about topic continuity or connectivity in discourse within the perspective of reference marking. In this section, I would like to discuss discourse connection from the perspective of tense marking, by focusing on the contrast between the simple present and past tense within a paragraph (since the dominant tense contrast in my data is that between these two tenses). Tense marking here refers specifically to overt occurrence in the final or the main clause only. (I will discuss tense marking in the complex or multiple sentence in section 6.4) Thus in this section, I will disregard tense in the initial clauses in complex sentences and focus on tense in the final clause. In a paragraph, the tense pattern is different from the tense pattern within complex sentences. Now let us examine tenses of text 1, paragraph 1 as an example:
Text 1-paragraph 1 (cf. Appendix 1)

sentence (1): past
sentence (2): present
sentence (3): present
sentence (4): past
sentence (5): present
sentence (6): present
sentence (7): present
sentence (8): past
sentence (9): present

Each sentence in paragraph 1, text 1 is marked by one of the two tenses as indicated above. This marking refers only to the tense of the final clause. (I have indicated the tense of the preceding sentence when it is in a complex sentence.) In paragraph 1, sentence (1) establishes the setting, sentences (2) and (3) are very closely related to the continuing topic of 'pastor'; and sentences (4) and (5) are related to the continuing topic of 'pastor's work.' Sentence (7) represents an interruption by the interviewer, and sentences (8) and (9) give answers to the question posed in sentence (7). Thus, sentences (1), (4), and (7) are initial sentences of subtopics within a paragraph-1, and they all maintain the past tense. Thus, the pattern of the topic continuity within the perspective of tense is, that once they introduce a new topic, the first sentence marks the past tense, and the subsequent sentences keep the present tense until a new topic in introduced. The past tense is used for the main event line, and the present tense is used for the subsequent event line. Tense marking is thus very similar to the pattern of reference marking in discourse. Zero reference in discourse is similar to present tense and overt participant reference is similar to past tense. These sentences thus constitute a related chain of clauses, and together they comprise a discourse paragraph. This can be roughly represented by the following scheme:
Let us examine some additional examples and see whether they exhibit the same pattern.
The following is from text 1, paragraph 2.

Text 1, Paragraph 2
sentence (10): Interviewer's question
sentence (11): "
sentence (12): present
sentence (13): present
sentence (14): present
sentence (15): present
sentences (16): present
sentence (17): present
sentence (18): interviewer's comment
sentence (19): past
sentence (20): past
sentence (21): present
sentence (22): present
sentence (23): present
sentence (24): present
sentence (25): interviewer's comment

Sentences (10) and (11) are questions by the interviewer. Sentences (12) through (17) are answers to the interviewer's questions. Sentence (19) and (20) are marked for past tense and are related by the speaker's action in (20), that of 'confessing the faith.' And sentences (21) through (25) are paraphrases of sentence (20). It thus has the same pattern. The following is from text 1, paragraph 3.

Text 1. Paragraph 3
sentence (26): question
sentence (27): Incomplete sentence.
sentence (28): past
sentence (29): past
sentence (30): present
sentence (31): present
sentence (32): past
sentence (33): past
sentence (34): present

Sentence (28) begins an answer to the question posed in (26), and it contains the past tense. Sentence (29) also marks the past tense, but (30) and (31) have present tense marking. Sentence (32) 'I was a chemistry major then.' seems very important to the speaker, because it also contains ne-ka 'I-sm' in the middle of the paragraph, and temporal expression kutte, 'at that time' forces the overt pronominal expression. This paragraph shows the same pattern as in Figure 6.5. Sentence (33) repeats the same content of sentence (30) after the interruption of sentence (32). And sentence (34) results from sentence (33).
An analysis of the data shows, then, that in Korean discourse, the speaker uses the past tense marker when (1) it establishes the temporal setting for the paragraph, or (2) it is the first sentence introducing a new topic, or (3) it is an important piece of information or an important action of the speaker. Once new information is stated using past tense at the beginning, the following clauses that maintain the same topic take the present tense.

Let us look at more data. The following is from text 3, paragraph 1.

**Text 3, Paragraph 1**
sentence (4): past
sentence (5): past
sentence (6): past
sentence (7): present
sentence (8): present
sentence (9): present
sentence (10): present

In sentence (5) and (6) the main event is introduced, thus they have the past tense. Sentence (4) gives the temporal background to (5) and (6). Sentences (7), (8), (9) and (10) follow sentences (5) and (6) and thus take the present tense. Again this paragraph follows the pattern of Figure 6.5. The following is from text 3, paragraph 2.

**Text 3, Paragraph 2**
sentence (11): past
sentence (12): past
sentence (13): present
sentence (14): interviewer's interruption
sentence (15): "
sentence (16): "
sentence (17): past
sentence (18): interviewer's interruption
sentence (19): "
sentence (20): past
sentence (21): past
sentence (22): present
sentence (23): present
sentence (24): present
sentence (25): present
sentence (26): present
sentence (27): past
sentence (28): present
sentence (29): present
sentence (30): interviewer's interruption
sentence (31): "
sentence (32): past
sentence (33): present
sentence (34): present
sentence (35): present
sentence (36): present
sentence (37): present
sentence (38): present
sentence (39): present
sentence (40): past

It is normal for the first sentence which has the past tense marker to establish the scene setting for the new paragraph. After the interviewer's interruption in the above paragraph, there is again the necessity for the past tense marker to occur in order to set the temporal scene again. Sentence (27) introduces a new setting for an important action by the speaker 'So I went out to meet him.' This text illustrates the correctness of my hypothesis. Consider one additional example:

Text 4, Paragraph 1
sentence (3): past
sentence (4): past
sentence (5): past
sentence (6): past
sentence (7): present
sentence (8): present
sentence (9): past
sentence (10): present
sentence (11): past
sentence (12): present
sentence (13): past
interviewer interruption
sentence (15): present
sentence (16): present
sentence (17): present
sentence (18): present
sentence (19): past
sentence (20): past
sentence (21): past

Sentences (3)-(6) are setting introducing sentences. Sentences (7) and (8) are indirect quotations. In an indirect or a direct quotation, tense does not follow the above pattern of Figure 6.4. Sentence (9) starts the action, thus it retains the past tense. Sentence (11) and (13) are main event sentences which have past tense, and (10), (12), (15), (16), (17), and (18) are background information. In sentences (19), (20) and (21), overt expressions of the subject na 'I' occur, and they are strong emotional expressions to show the speaker's innocence. Again, the speaker uses the past tense for main line events. This example also shows that the pattern of Figure 6.3 is essentially correct.

The remainder of the data that I have examined all show the same pattern as that in Figure-3. Thus we may conclude that, in Korean discourse of this genre, a speaker uses the past tense marker, (1) when introducing the setting of a new paragraph, and (2) introducing important new events, and sometimes (3) in quotations. Except for these cases, sentences in connected discourse contain present tense marking. The speakers in Korean use the pattern of Figure 6.3 as a way of connecting discourse or maintaining topic continuity. In Korean the present tense marking means frequently that there is not any marking of temporality in non-final clause. This is congruent with the position of the reference marking in Korean discourse in which zero reference maintains the same subsequent topic. The present tense has a function in temporality similar to zero reference in referentiality.

6.3. Conjunction.

Conjunction is a third strategy for connecting discourse in addition to reference tracking and tense continuity. Let us start this section by examining a table of conjunctions.
6.3.1. Table of Conjunctions

For ease of reference, I include here all of the conjunctions found in my data, along with their frequency of occurrence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjunction</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Text 1</th>
<th>Text 2</th>
<th>Text 3</th>
<th>Text 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurziko</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hako</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureoteoni</td>
<td>and then</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nunte</td>
<td>and &amp; but</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntu</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ese</td>
<td>and so</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureese</td>
<td>and so</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>kurekatko(se)</td>
<td>and so</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-myun</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureom(yun)</td>
<td>if, well then</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>wenyamyun</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-myunse</td>
<td>and while</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureomyunse</td>
<td>and while</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nikka</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureonikka</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>-itemune</td>
<td>because of</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Table 6.1 (continued)
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<tr>
<th>conjunction</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Text 1</th>
<th>Text 2</th>
<th>Text 3</th>
<th>Text 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kureto</td>
<td>but</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-taka</td>
<td>while but</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ketaka</td>
<td>in addition to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nunji</td>
<td>since</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ji -ji</td>
<td>or...or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hayeotun</td>
<td>anyhow</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutte</td>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tte</td>
<td>when</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku tangsi</td>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-twi</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(man) anira</td>
<td>not only</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-man</td>
<td>only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>-to</td>
<td>even</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rako</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutaumbuteo</td>
<td>after that</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1

The number of occurrences of -ko 'and,' -nunte 'and, but,' -ese 'and so,' -myun 'if' and -nikka 'because' is 325 out of total 815. They comprise about 39.9% of all occurrences of conjunctions in the data. If we prefix kuri or kureo to the above -ko 'and,' -nunte 'and, but,' -ese 'and so,' -myun 'if,' and -nikka 'because,' the resulting forms are kuriko 'and,' kureonte (kunte) 'and, but,' kurese 'and so,' kureomyun 'if,' kureonikka 'because.' The meanings of these forms are basically the same as -ko 'and,' -nunte 'and, but,' -ese 'and so,' -myun 'if' and -nikka 'because.' However, kuriko 'and,' kureonte (kunte) and but, 'kurese 'and so,' kureomyun 'if,' and kureonikka 'because' are not suffixes of the verb, they occur as independent morphemes like English 'and' or 'but'. Therefore if I add those kuriko 'and,' kunte 'and, but,' kurese 'and so,' kureomyun 'if,' and kureonikka 'because' to the above, the total is 691 or 85% of all conjunction occurrences. Thus, -myun 'if,' -nikka 'because'), -ko 'and,' -nunte 'and, but,' and -ese 'and so,' are most frequently used in my spoken corpus, and this relative frequency is the reason that I have selected them for discussion, adding -myu 'and' and -kose 'and then' in the analysis of coordinate
conjunctions in Korean. This selection is, interestingly enough, similar to D. Schiffrin's (1982:156) discourse marker analysis for English. She says 'and,' 'but,' and 'so,' and 'because' are the most frequently occurring conjunctions in her English data. Halliday and Hasan (1976, Chapter 5) have proposed four categories of conjunction: additive, adversative, causal, temporal. Martin (1983:1) says there are four conjunctive relation types: temporal, consequential, comparative, and additive.

In Korean, -myun 'if,' -nikka 'because,' -ko 'and,' -nunte 'and, but,' and -ese 'and so' roughly reflect Halliday and Hasan's four way grouping and Martin's extended grouping. (Martin's 'comparative' relation involves contrast and similarity between messages, I have not analyzed message similarity in my text.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal:</th>
<th>-ko 'and'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causal or Consequential:</td>
<td>-ese 'and so,' -nikka 'because,' -myun 'if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additive:</td>
<td>-ko 'and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversative:</td>
<td>-nunte 'and, but'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Charles Fillmore (1990:23-45) proposes the following clause-relation types:

- temporal order: precedence and postcedence
- precondition
- means/end relationship
- cause
- example
- explanation: background explanation
- conjunct: simple addition
- contrast
- negation ('although')

Fillmore's categories can be seen to be roughly the same as Halliday and Hasan's or Martin's if we group them as follows:
Halliday and Hasan

Fillmore

**Temporal:**
- temporal order

Causal or Consequential:
- precondition
- means/end relationship
- cause

**Additive:**
- conjunct: simple addition

Adversative:
- contrast
- negation ('although')
- example

Fillmore's *Explanation* category is very productive in Korean (and in Japanese) since 
-*nunte* 'and/but' in Korean is the second most frequently occurring conjunction, as shown 
above. The conjunction *nunte* has a backgrounding function in addition to its adversative 
function. Thus, although there are some variations, the semantics of the basic conjunctives 
is similar cross linguistically.

If a conjunction is an often used device for connecting clauses and for maintaining topic in 
a discourse, then an important first step in an analysis of text is what percentage of the 
clauses in a discourse use conjunctions to connect clauses. Percentages of syndetic clause 
connection are presented in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Clauses connected using conjunctions, time expressions, 'that', 'anyhow'</th>
<th>parataxis (no conjunctions)</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text 1</td>
<td>183 (68%)</td>
<td>87 (32%)</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 2</td>
<td>227 (73%)</td>
<td>82 (27%)</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 3</td>
<td>116 (77%)</td>
<td>35 (23%)</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 4</td>
<td>134 (79%)</td>
<td>36 (21%)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2
As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Korean is a clause chaining language. Within one sentence, many clauses are conjoined either with conjunctions or asyndetically. 73.3% of the clauses are connected with conjunctions, and 26.6% of the clauses are asyndetic. However, most of the asyndetic parataxis occurs before the initial clause of a complex sentence. In other words, between sentences. Almost all of the sentences in my text are complex sentences, and they have an initial clause, a middle clause (or clauses) and the final clause. If you compare only the initial clause of complex sentences, the frequency of occurrence of asyndetic parataxis is quite different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clauses connected using conjunctions, time expressions, 'that,' 'anyhow'</th>
<th>parataxis (no conjunctions)</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text 1</td>
<td>74 (46%)</td>
<td>87 (54%)</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 2</td>
<td>94 (53%)</td>
<td>82 (47%)</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 3</td>
<td>71 (67%)</td>
<td>35 (33%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 4</td>
<td>88 (71%)</td>
<td>36 (29%)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3

42% of the sentence initial clauses are not introduced by conjunctions which connect them to the previous sentence. This is one and half times the total of 26.6% in Table 6.2. The following text will show this more clearly.

[Text 1, line 54-56]

54.  kureseo therefore 2-nyun  tongan  kongbu
       an-he-ss-eo.
       not- do-past-ind
(54). So (with that frame of mind.) I did not study much for two years; consequently my grades were so-so.
(55). I just studied half-heartedly.
(56). My grades were not good,
(57). I did get a job after an interview, but I got laid off after two months.

Sentences (55), (56), and (57) do not have a sentence introducer to connect the sentence with the previous ones. Sentence (54) has the conjunction marker, kureseo 'so'. However, both clauses (55) and (57) have conjunction markers to connect them.

Thus within a complex sentence, which is a tight semantic unit, the semantic connections between the clauses must be clear to make the hearer to understand the relation between events, and therefore they more often need overt syndetic conjunction. However, the lack of sentence introducing conjunctions in the initial clause of the complex sentence means that, the speaker presupposes that the hearer knows the semantic linkage between sentences from the context (i.e. pronoun reference or tense marking). The absence of conjunction in sentence initial positions that employ juxtaposition indicates a looser connection with the foregoing sentences and signals the beginning of a more tightly knit unit to follow. Another reason for the prevalence of overt conjunctions is that Korean is, as already mentioned, a clause chaining language. Thus, the events of the non-final clauses do not
have independent form, and only the final clause has a full form. The non-final incomplete predicates which have conjunctive suffix marking are dependent on the final predicates, and therefore, they very often need conjunctions to make clear the relationship between the clauses.

The lack of a conjunction at the initial clause of a complex sentence means there are intrinsic relationships between sentences in the text, and the conjunction markers merely reflect these relationships, rather than creating the relationships. The conjunctions do not make sentences connected. They simply mark the linkage. Conjunctions are just tools for discourse connection. If there is no conjunction present, then the hearer will often infer what the conjunctive relation must be from the context. For example:

a. Everybody is in the room.
b. The weather is cold.

Even though there is no conjunction and no common pronoun, we may infer from the juxtaposition that sentence (b) is the cause of the sentence (a). However, if a person has the habit of omitting conjunctions in paragraph initial position, it takes a little more time for the hearer to construe the relation, and sometimes a pun results. Notice that text 1 and 2 are made by males, and text 3 and 4 are by females. Males use fewer conjunctions than females in my data, and because of that, discourse by females is apparently, easier to understand.

I will now examine the common patterns of the complex sentences in Korean to show how Korean speakers connect clauses inside the sentence using conjunctions.

6.4. Complex sentences and tense patterns

We discussed paragraph tense patterns in section 5.2, identifying the importance of the final independent clause tense marking. Now let us focus on the tense patterns inside complex sentences, that is, the clause chains in a sentence. There is a basic tense pattern in Korean complex sentences. As we said earlier, Korean as a clause chaining language exhibits patterns of tense marking that are typical for such languages. When two or more clauses are overtly conjoined by conjunction, the verb in the first clause usually lacks a tense marker. The second clause has the tense marker in a two clause sentence, and in the case of a multiple clause sentences, the final clause has the tense marker. If there is a tense
marker in the first clause, the tense of the second or final clause does not determine the first or preceding clause tense. Figure 6.6 shows the basic tense pattern that I find in two-clause complex sentences in my data.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S1} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{V1} + \text{conjunction} + \text{S2} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{V2} + \text{Final Mood suffix} \\
1. \quad \text{no tense} \quad \text{past} \\
2. \quad \text{no tense} \quad \text{present} \\
3. \quad \text{no tense} \quad \text{future(wish)} \\
4. \quad \text{past} \quad \text{past} \\
5. \quad \text{past} \quad \text{present}
\end{array}
\]

Figure 6.6

In Figure 6.6, types 1, 2, and 3 are of the type in which the final sentence tense decides the tense of the first clause. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 4, depending on the characteristics of the conjunction marker, the interpretation of the tense in the first clause is sometimes very delicate (i.e., ko has many different interpretations, and kose signals that the first clause event always precedes the second event.). Types 4 and 5 have independent tense marking in both clauses. In that case, the second clause tense does not govern or influence the interpretation of tense of the first clause. Type 1 is the basic, and the most productive sentence type in my data. Since my data involve primarily discourses about past events, about 85% of the sentences follow this pattern. Observe the following example:

[Text 2, line 81]

81. kunte kunyang under joleopha-ko han 8-nyun
but just under graduate-Ø-and about 8-years

jjum twe-ss-takuyo,
about become-past-ind mood

'And it has been 8 years since he graduated from college(under).'
Type 2 is rare but it occurs [Text 1, line 1]:

1. Song: mikuk kyohoe-e na-to jom tany-e-byas-nunte-yo,
   America church-at I-also a little attend-and- see-past-but-polite ind
   kyohe bunwiki-ka cham jot-teo-rakoyo.
   church atmosphere-sm very good-past- final mood marker

Types 3 [Text 4, line 82], 4 [Text 4, line 107], and 5 [Text 1, line 107] are typical for clauses marking the present or the future tense in the second clause.
Type 3 is the following [Text 4, line 82]:

82. Chet, odaga i-halmeoni-ka doraseo goonyangga.
    Oh boy! on the way of coming this-grandma-sm turn back go away
    'But, well now, this grandma turns around and goes back.'

Sentence 82 has no tense marker at all in either clause, but the speaker is referring to a past incident, and the hearer interprets it as past time from the context.

Type 4 [Text 4, line 107]:

107. annao-myeon jooin-dako nalliya.
    not come out-if going to kill-he says make a fuss
    'He says outrageously that if I do not come out, he is going to kill me.'

Type 5 [Text 1, line 107]:

107. towajeott-s-sunikka kureonkeo yeopsi-nun coreoweo.
    help-past-because that thing without it-tp is difficult
    'If I did not get help, it is difficult to do.'

The conjoining of multiple propositions is typically accomplished in Korean discourse using the pattern S1+conjunction+S2+conjunction+S3.....+ final mood marker.
Combining complex sentences containing multiple propositions is shown in Figure 6.7.
Clause chains are thus series of clauses followed by a final independent clause. Only the verb of the final clause is marked for tense. The verbs of the preceding clauses do not usually inflect for tense. This is characteristic of clause chaining languages. The final verb has a distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain, while verbs of non-final clauses have a reduced structure. The final clause is like an engine that pulls a string of cars (Longacre 1983). A sentence typically ends in a dominating verb of fuller structure than any of the preceding verbs. However, Korean lacks another typical clause chaining language characteristic, namely switch reference marking (non-final clauses signal whether the following clause has the same subject or different subject). Co-ranking languages like English have full inflection of the predicate in the first clause of coordinate sentences. In other words, each clause has an independent verb. A clause chaining language does not have a distinction between the subordinate and coordinate clauses like in the English, *After finishing his breakfast, John went to his office, and John finished his breakfast and went to his office*. In clause chaining languages, subordinate and coordinate clauses with uninflected verbs are all followed by a final clause with an inflected verb. The subordinate and the coordinate distinction is subsumed in the medial and final clause distinction.

Another interesting point is that a conjunction is sometimes followed by the topic marker *nun* in colloquial discourse as in the following:

ko+nun.(and +topic)[Text 1 line 6],

6. Song: ku kyohe-nun jokuman ku tongne-e kwengjanghi
   that church-tp small that town-at really

   kun hesa-ka Commerce Deal company rako
   big company-sm called
iss-ass-nunte ku hesa-e jungyukup-tul-i iss-eo-
is-past-and that company-at executive-plural-sm is-and-

kat-ko-nun i moksa-ka jurohanun -- il-i
have-and-tp this pastor-sm usually does job-sm

jikjang-iratunka ku junganeoseoseo hantako
work-or that in the middle of does

'That church, there was a really big company, Commerce Diesel Co., in that small town, there were board of directors, and what the minister usually does is that work or as a middle man.'

kureseo+nun (and +topic) [Text 1, line 44],

44. Purdue-ka kakkapki ttemune,
Purdue Univ-sm near because

kurikoseo-nun ppali Purdue kongte-ro katkeo-tun.
and then-tp quickly Purdue engineering went-and

'Since Purdue was near by, I went there quickly.'

kureonikka+n (because+topic)[Text 3, line 24: Text 2, line 75],

75. kureonikka-nun mikuksaram-i kochyeoju-n bubun-i-nte tasi kocheo-yo.
well then-tp American-sm correct-past part-be-but again correct-pm
'The teacher, who is a foreigner, corrected it again.'

kutaumseobuteo+nun (after that+topic) [Text 3, line 89],

89. kutaumbuteo-nun chonwha-ka tasinun an-okeo-teon-yo.
from after that-tp telephone call-sm again not-come-past-ind-pm
'After that I never got a phone call from him.'
The use of the marker nun suffixed to the conjunction does not occur in written texts. It is difficult to explain why nun occurs here. This nun after the conjunction marker can be omitted without great effect. Apparently the speaker wants to put the focus on the conjunction in order to emphasize its importance. In (89), the speaker is a bit frustrated although she was the one who wanted to break with her boy friend. Thus she emphasizes kutaumbuteo-nun 'after that-tp.' In (75), the speaker is very surprised when his advisor who is not American corrects his English, which had been already corrected by another American. Thus he emphasizes kureonikka+n 'because+topic.' It is thus apparent that a conjunction which has the topic marker carries more emphatic information than its plain counterpart.

6.4.1. Three patterns of multiple complex sentences

In the linking of multiple clauses, there are three basic conjunctive patterns that I find in my data. The three linkage patterns in clause sequences are illustrated in Figure 6.8 through 6.11.

Pattern 1

\[ S_1 \mid S \_ O \_ V[\text{no tense}] + \text{conjunction} \_ \_ (\text{nun}) \]
\[ S_2 \mid S \_ O \_ V[\text{no tense}] + \text{conjunction} \_ \_ (\text{nun}) \]
\[ S_3 \mid S \_ O \_ V[\text{no tense}] + \text{conjunction} \_ \_ (\text{nun}) \]
\[ \vdots \]
\[ S_m \mid S \_ O \_ V[\text{past/present tense}] + \text{conjunction} \]

Figure 6.8

The first and most basic pattern of such linkage is characterized by tense marking in final clauses and by the absence of a tense marker in all of the preceding clauses. Consider example [Text 2, line 27]

27. nutkeseo whuwhe ha-nun k-eonte kongbu hal-tte
    later regret do-pre thing-and study do-when
kongbu-rul yeolsimhi heyaha-nunte congttunghan-jit-ui neomu
study-om hard do-but absurd-behavior-om too

manni ha-ko nolki-to mannì ha-ko kure-ss-eoyo.
much do-and divert-and a lot do-and I do-past-pm

'It is something that I regretted at a later period. When I was studying, I
should've studied hard, but I did so many wild and absurd things and diverted
myself.'

Another example is from Text 1, line 3:

3. eoti kunnan taum-e kanunkeo bo-myun,
well finishing after-at go home see-if

eoti muo jeo saram-i moksan-ka?,
well well that person-sm is pastor-sm

jeoreoke juchekeopsi ut-na?,
how come immodestly laugh-why

kureol jungtoro, kuruntako....(laughing).
to the extent, (he) does.......}

'After finishing the service, and seeing him go somewhere, you wonder if he is a
minister. For example, why is he laughing that immodestly.' (laughing)

In the second pattern of linkage, the final clause bears the past tense marking, and all of the
non-final clauses have no tense (or a present tense). Otherwise a non-final clause, which
has a conjunction will be temune 'because,' taume 'after,' or nunte 'and, but,' and it will
have past tense marking. (Cf. Figure 6.9.)
Pattern 2
S1 \_S\_O\_\_V[past tense] +conjunction
ttemune: because
taume:after
nunte: (and, but)

S2 \_S\_O\_\_V[no tense] +conjunction

S3 \_S\_O\_\_V[no tense] +conjunction

S\text{m} \_S\_O\_\_V[past tense] +conjunction

Figure 6.9

When the conjunction \textit{ttemune} 'because,' \textit{taume} 'after,' \textit{nunte} 'and, but,' or \textit{myun} 'if' occurs in a non-final clause, the clause always bears past tense marking. This non-final clause does not necessarily occur in the first clause, and can also occur in any position in a clause chain before the final clause. Consider the following three different variations which are found in the text, where the tense marker occurs in the middle of the sentences.

a. \textbf{S1} no tense:
   S2 \textbf{past:} \textit{myun} 'if,' \textit{nunte} 'and, but,' \textit{ttemune} 'because,' \textit{taume} 'after'
   S3 \textbf{past:} Final clause

b. \textbf{S1} no tense:
   S2 \textbf{past:} \textit{nunte} 'and, but,' \textit{myun} 'if,' \textit{ttemune} 'because,' \textit{taume} 'after'
   S3 \textbf{past:} \textit{nunte} 'and, but,' \textit{ttemune} 'because,' \textit{myun} 'if,' \textit{taume} 'after'
   S4 \textbf{past:} Final clause

c. \textbf{S1} \textbf{past:} \textit{nunte} 'and, but,' \textit{ttemune} 'because,' \textit{myun} 'if,' \textit{taume} 'after'
   S2 \textbf{no tense:}
   S3 \textbf{no tense:}
   S4 \textbf{present/past:} Final clause

Figure 6.10

Patterns a, b, and c in Figure 6.10 show that with conjunctions \textit{nunte}, \textit{ttemune}, \textit{myun}, or \textit{taume}, the clause preceding the conjunction takes the tense marker freely, but clauses with
other conjunctions like ko 'and' or ese 'and so' do not take the tense marker in my data (although theoretically they can). Consider this example:

[Text 2, line 58]

58. jeo dissertation-ul mikuk saram-hante ilk-eo o-rako.
my-dissertation-om America man-from read-and come-he said

jeo advisor-ka Greek io-ss-nunte, isaram jeongmal yeongeo
my advisor-sm Greek is-past-and then, this man really English

jalhanun saram-i-ess-nunte, language-e silyuk-i isseoyo.
do well man-is-past-and then language-at ability-sm has

'My advisor who was Greek told me to have my dissertation read by an American. This person really knew, spoke English well; he was proficient at languages.'

[Text2, line 92]

92. jeo-nun 'doable'-irako-he-seo jeosaram musikhan mal
I-tp 'doable'-so called-he says because that teacher uneducated word

hanta-ko-he-ss-nunte sajeon chaj-a bonikka isseoyo.
speak-and-think-past-and but dictionary look up-and see-because is there

'I thought that he was using uneducated language because he said 'doable, but when I looked it up in the dictionary, there it was.'

As shown in these examples, non-final clauses take the past tense marker if preceded by the conjunction nunte. The forms nunte 'and/but,' myun 'if,' ttemune 'because,' and taume 'after,' myun 'if,' ttemune 'because,' and taume 'after' are not coordinating markers. Some clauses are embedded inside of the main clause, and when clauses are subordinate to the main clause, and off the main event line, they take a different tense marking from that of the main line event. Therefore clauses with myun 'if,' ttemune 'because,' and taume 'after' take different tense markers from that of the main clause event of the sentence.
However, *nunte* 'and, but' is different, it is a coordinating marker, and as such it can take a tense marker in a pre-final clause chain.

For some conjoined clause the expected order is inverted.

**Pattern 3: Inverted Sentences**

S1 | _S_____O_____Vi+ [past/present tense]+ Final Mood suffix,
S2 | _S_____O_____Vi+ conjunction

Figure 6.11

Figure 6.11 pattern occurs only in the two clauses combinations.

6.5. Conclusion

In discourse production, topic continuity and coherence are basic requirements. In this chapter, I have studied the speaker's strategies for connecting clauses in Korean discourse. I have found that the principle of economy is the basic conjunction method.

The first method is heavy use of *ellipsis*. There are four kinds of nominal reference in Korean discourse that I find: NP+tp, NP+sm, bare NP, zero reference. To preserve topic continuity in a paragraph, the speaker uses NP+sm in the first sentence to introduce the speaker or another participant. After that, the speaker uses either NP+tp, bare NP, or zero reference. However, 72% of the sentences in my data use zero reference. This means that Korean speakers depend heavily on zero reference to maintain topic or to preserve coherence of the discourse on the basis of the principle of economy. The choice of NP+tp, NP+sm, bare NP, or zero reference (cf. Chapter 5) signals varying degrees of the topicality. This scale is related to the scale of 'contextually determined' and 'contextually undetermined' (cf. Figure 5.3). Also NP+tp, NP+sm, and bare NP occur inside a paragraph when there is a change of subject reference from the previous utterances, when the speaker introduces a new participant (not the speaker) inside a paragraph, when the topic is changed or a new event starts in the same paragraph, or in quotation formulas that occur as separate utterances after direct speech.
The second method of topic continuity is the tense marking in the main clause (final clause) event. As long as the same sub-topic continues, there is present tense marking (present tense marking usually means no marking for temporality in Korean discourse, because no tense marking is usually interpreted as present time.) which continues, and is interpreted as referring to past time until the final clause in which a past tense marker appears. This is also based on the economy principle. Korean speakers do not mark tense in every sentence, unless it is an important main event. Otherwise, relevant temporality is inferred by the hearer.

The third method is the use of conjunctions. Conjunction is an important tool for connecting sentences. 85% of the conjunctions found in my text can be rendered by the following four basic semantic categories which Halliday and Hasan, Martin, and Fillmore have suggested.

Temporal: \-ko 'and'
Causal or Consequential: \-ese 'and so,' \-nikka 'because,' \-myun 'if'
Additive: \-ko 'and'
Adversative: \-nunte 'and, but'

The above four categories of semantics of conjunctions seem to occur most in constructing discourses cross linguistically.

Another finding is that there is less frequent use of conjunctions in the initial clause of a complex sentence than between clauses inside the complex sentence. There is thus apparently an intrinsic linkage relationship between sentences in the text. And the conjunction markers merely reflect these relationships, without creating them. The conjunctions do not make sentences connected. The use of conjunctions already implies that two sentences are related or compatible within the topic of the discourse. Conjunctions are just tools for marking discourse connection overtly.

The fourth method is tense marking of the verbs of the internal clauses in clause chains. The verbs in non-final clauses do not usually inflect for tense. With few exceptions tense is marked on the final clause verb for the entire chain.
Chapter 7
Summary and Conclusion

This study has examined in detail the NP coordinate conjunction wa 'and' and the clause coordinate conjunctions ko 'and,' ese 'and so,' kose 'and then,' myu 'and, while' in Korean. The focus of the dissertation is on the senses of conjunctions that speakers unconsciously exploit in actual discourse. I have attempted to demonstrate that these different senses and their usages are semantically and pragmatically motivated and morphosyntactically represented in the discourse. The approach is semantic rather than syntactic. Thus, this study attempts to discover the underlying semantic contrasts by examining the more overt syntactic or semantic contrasts.

This study has also investigated how discourse is connected in spoken texts. Discourse coherence can be achieved when each sentence satisfies a topic of the discourse. Sentences are connected with respect to a topic. If two sentences are related to each other in meaning, then a conjunction marker can be used, i.e., there is a 'semantic' connection prior to the use of a conjunction. In other words, if two sentences are not coherent in terms of the semantic meaning, the use of overt conjunction is meaningless. In discourse, however, conjunctions are not the only means of connection. Pronouns or reference marking is a convenient device for the continuity of topic; the use of tense in the final clause is also a linking device in Korean discourse.

In Chapter 3, the NP coordinate conjunction marker wa was studied. This chapter examined the semantic characteristics of the Korean conjunctive -wa in its two basic patterns (NP NP wa and NP wa NP). First, in terms of the degree of participation force, NP wa NP signals that two participants participate equally in the event. However, NP NP wa indicates that the second participant participates in the action in a less active way than NP wa NP. To activate NP NP wa function, there is a requirement for presence of the domain of animacy, or activity. Thus if the domain of the event is not active, but stative, the -wa attached second NP can not show its participation force since the domain is not active. NP wa NP does not have this specific character, so it can be used without any restriction; thus, it is more generally used. NP NP wa, reciprocal verbs, and reciprocal adverbs carry the indication that two NPs are acting together. NP wa NP has a less commitative meaning compared to NP NP wa. That is why two NPs can be separated easily in the case of NP wa NP, but not easily in the case of NP NP wa. If the sentence has a reciprocal verb, and NP NP wa, then there is almost no possibility of two participants
acting separately. However, if the sentence has a reciprocal verb only and the \textit{NP wa NP} pattern, there is only a small chance of the two participants acting separately. If the sentence has a nonreciprocal verb and \textit{NP wa NP}, then there is an increased chance of two participants acting independently. \textit{NP NP wa} is used in both the reciprocal and nonreciprocal verb sentences, to indicate that the two participants act together with an unequal force. The reciprocal adverb is used to indicate that the two participants work together in equal participation. However, reciprocal adverbs are used more generally in situations like with stative verbs where \textit{NP NP wa} can not be used because the domain is not active.

In Chapter 4, we have discussed the semantics of the conjunction \textit{ko} in Korean. It has been shown that the semantics of \textit{ko} is far more complex than has been previously indicated. Rather than having only two basic functions (simultaneity and the sequentiality), \textit{ko}-linkage signals a number of far finer distinctions. There is in fact a continuum between simultaneity and sequentiality. This temporal continuity is the reflection of the semantic integrity continuum and the hypothesis is supported by the negation test. Even in 'copresent' \textit{ko}-linkage there is a graded degree of semantic closeness among the linked events. Semantically the 'enabling' or 'limiting' function is also related to the scale of semantic integrity.

Because of this complex character of \textit{ko}, speakers of Korean require other markers to make clear the simultaneity, or sequentiality or causality of the linked events. Such are the conjunctions \textit{kose}, \textit{ese}, and \textit{myu}. A noteworthy feature is that none of these three conjoining markers allow tense marking inside the first clause. The functions of \textit{kose}, and \textit{ese} and \textit{myu} are to mark more subordinate conjunction. \textit{Myu} signals strong simultaneity, \textit{kose}-linkage signals distal sequentiality, and \textit{ese}-linkage expresses immediate sequentiality. The distance between two events is closest in \textit{myu}, intermediate in \textit{ese}, and \textit{kose} indicates the greatest distance. These results are represented in Figure 4.28:
Semantic Integrity Scale

background  foreground
__________  ____________
temporally overlapping  temporally sequenced
semantically close/immediate  semantically remote
tight  loose

| enabling ko  sequential ko co-present ko simultaneous myu ese kose co-present myu |
|<----------------------------------------myu/ko-1/ese---kose---ko-2---ko-3/myu--->|
| negation  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2  v1+v2 |
|   *v2 only  *v2 only  *v2 only  *v2 only  v2 only  v2 only  v2 only  v2 only  v2 only |
| tense  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns  *tns+tns |
|  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns  Ø+tns |

Figure 4.28

In Chapter 5, ko, kose, ese, and myu are studied in relation to the topic and the subject markers. The subject particle -i/ka in Korean freely occurs inside the conjunction clause, but the topic marker nun has some distributional restrictions in the conjunction clause. They are related to the characteristics of the subject and topic markers.

One hypothesis of Korean nun and ka, which is problematic, is equating 'old' and 'new' distinction with nun and ka, respectively. Old information is given and presupposed, and it does not bear the attention focus. New information is unknown to the hearer, and it occurs at the marked focus of attention. My study shows that this 'old' and 'new' dichotomy does not work. The topic marker nun can not signal focus, because it is the carrier of old information. The subject marker ka should indicate the focus, since it codes the new information. However, if there are more than two occurrences of nun in one sentence in Korean, it irritates the speaker and the hearer. But more than two occurrences of ka in one sentence causes no problem. This contradicts the old and new information hypothesis. If ka is a carrier of new information, then it should not occur in the subordinate clause. However, my text shows that it is nun does not occur inside the subordinate clause and ka occurs freely inside the subordinate clause.

My position is that the function of nun is to maintain topic continuity in discourse by identifying the NPs that require the speaker/hearer's attention. Korean ka can not be
categorized as a subject marker which carries new information. **Ka** is more like a basic 
nominaive marker which does not require any attention. In other words, it is more 
subordinate than **nun** and hence a nontopical information carrier. Thus, **ka** occupies an 
area which is not topic and not focus, but in between. My position is that the function of 
**nun** is to maintain topic continuity in the discourse by identifying the NPs that require the 
speaker/hearer's immediate attention. There are four devices for maintaining referential 
topic continuity in discourse: **NP+nun, NP+ka**, bare NP, ellipsis. These four devices are 
plotted on the continuunm of contextually determined and undetermined referents.

The topic marker **nun** does not occur inside the **kose** clause. Thus a **kose** sentence indicates 
a tighter relationship between the first and the second events than does a sentence 
containing the coordinate marker **ko**. Speakers treat the **kose** clause as more backgrounded 
than the **ko** clause. It is easier to place a topic marker inside the clause in **ko** conjoined 
clauses. **Ese** has the same character as **kose** in not taking the topic marker **nun** inside the 
**ese** clause. Like **kose, ese** also does not allow the two topic markers to occur both in the 
first and the second clause. **Myu** does not take an overt subject in the first clause, if it has 
the sense of 'simultaneity'. If it is used with the sense of 'co-present', the verbs are either 
static or passivized. The subjects of the static or passivized verbs either take the topic 
marker **nun** or the subject marker **ka** freely. This distribution is represented in the Table 3 
and the cumulative results is congruent with the diagram of Figure 5.6.

Chapter 6 is a study of connectivity in discourse. In other words, it examines what 
kind of strategy the speaker uses to combine small chunks of discourse into larger units 
when the speaker constructs a discourse. **Conjunction, reference marking**, and the use of 
tense markers are studied as salient syntactic strategies for coding discourse categories.

In the construction of a discourse, topic continuity and coherence are basic tactics. The 
principle of economy is important in all discourse strategies. The first strategy is a heavy 
dependence on **zero reference**. There are four kinds of nominal reference in Korean 
discourse: **NP+tp, NP+sm, bare NP, zero reference**. **NP+ ka** signals a new paragraph. 
After that **NP+nun, or NP+Ø, or Zero reference occurs in the paragraph. 72% of the 
sentences in my data shows zero reference. This indicates that Korean speakers are heavily 
dependent on zero reference for continuing the topic. Pronoun reference occurs inside a 
paragraph when there is a subject reference switch from the previous utterances, for 
example, the speaker introduces a new participant (not the speaker) inside a paragraph, or 
the topic is changed, or a new event starts in the same paragraph, or in quotation formulas.
that occur as separate utterances after direct speech. The second tactic, *topic continuity*, is found in the tense of the main clause (final clause) event. As long as the same sub-topic continues, zero (present) tense marking continues, and it is interpreted as past time until the final clause in which the past tense marker appears. Korean speakers do not mark tense in every sentence, unless it is an important main event. The third tactic is the use of *conjunctions*. Conjunction is an important tool for connecting sentences. 39.9% of the conjunctions found in the text can be grouped into the following four basic semantic categories (temporal, consequential, contrastive, additional), as Halliday and Hasan (1976), Martin (1983), and C. Fillmore (1990) have suggested. Cross linguistically there is then an apparent need for at least four categories of conjunctions in constructing discourses. The fourth tactic is the *tense marking* of the non-final verbs of the clause chain. The non-final verbs do not inflect for tense usually and depend heavily on the final verb. Although there are exceptions to this generalization. For instance the coordinating conjunction *nunte* requires the clause to mark the tense overtly.

Another finding is the less frequent use of conjunctions in the initial clause of the complex sentence than in medial clauses in the complex sentence. The reason for this is that there is an intrinsic relationship between the sentences in the discourse, and the conjunction markers merely reflect those relationships. The conjunctions do not make sentences compatible. The use of conjunctions already implies that two sentences are coherently related according to the topic of the discourse.

The English coordinate conjunction 'and' is an all-purpose coordinate conjunction. There are many different 'and' type markers in Korean. The functions of English 'and' are actually numerous. In Korean, those different functions are realized by different markers as contrasted with English. For example, the NP conjunction marker is *wa* and the clause conjunction marker is *ko*. As shown in Chapter 3, there are four different kinds of VP coordination markers, and their functions are all somewhat different. The native speaker of Korean is clearly not always conscious of these differences, but they exhibit the patterns consistently in discourse. In understanding discourse, connectivity is a fundamental area that needs elaboration. Thus, I have attempted here to make a contribution in this essential area of study.
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Appendix I

Text 1

How he has changed after he knows the god

(1). Song: mikuk kyohoe-e na-to jom tany-e-byas-nunte-yo,
America church-at I-also a little attend-and-see-past-but-pm

kyothe bunwiki-ka cham jot-teo-rakoyo.
church atmosphere-sm very good-past- final mood marker

(2). i moksara-nun saram-i meo chinku kate.
this pastor-tp person-sm how can I say friend like

(3). eoti kunnan taum-e kanunkeo bo-myun,
well finishing after-at go home see-if

jeoreoke juchekeopsi ut-na?,
how come immodestly laugh-why

kureol jungtoro,
kuruntako......(laughing).

(4). samo-nun nan mot-ba-ss-nunte hayeotun ku moksa-ka
pastor's wife-tp I-tp not-see-past-but anyhow that pastor-sm

juro hanun il-i jungchi-rul mani ha-teorako
usually does job-sm politics-om a lot do-final mood

(5). Yang : jungchi-rul ung...
politics-om ung.....
(6). Song: ku kyohe-nun jokuman ku tongne-e kwengjanghi  
that church-tp small that town-at really

kun hesa-ka Commerce Deal company rako  
big company-sm called

iss-ass-nunte ku hesa-e jungyukup-tul-i iss-eo-  
is-past-and that company-at executive-plural-sm is-and-

kat-konun i moksa-ka jurohanun il-i  
have-and then this pastor-sm usually does job-sm

jikjang-iratunka ku junganeseseo hantako  
work-or that in the middle of does

(7). Yang: nosakwnakwena kureon-il-ul hantako  
the relation between labor and capital that kind of-job-om does

(8). Song: nosakwankwe-na kureochi,  
The relation between labor and capital-or that is right,

jungchi-rul manni hateorako,  
politics-om a lot does

(9). mullon ku hananim-ui kureon nonli  
of course that God-of that kind of dialectical

ipkakha-e ha-ketji.  
ground--of do-must be

.
.
.

(1). Song: I too attended American church a bit but...  
the church atmosphere was very good.
(2). The person called a minister was like that of a friend.
(3). After service and we see him go somewhere, you wonder if he is a minister,
up to the extent that why is he laughing that immodestly. (laughing)
(4). I didn't see his wife, but anyhow the things that pastor usually does was a lot of politics.

(5). Yang: politics hum

(6). That church, there was a really big company, Commerce Deal co., in that small town, there were board of directors rank that what the minister usually does is that work of as a middle man.

(7). Yang: He does such work as the relation between labor and capital?

(8). The relation between labor and capital, that's right, anyhow he is involved in a lot of political stuff.

(9). Of course, his behavior must be on the basis of dialectal ground of the God.

...

(10). Yang: kunte kyojun-i appa-to kutte we
but Kyojun's father-too at that time well

kanjung
profess one's relief
haltte
at that time
kuretjannayo,
you said

(11). samak jinakal-tte kwenjanghi eoryoweo-ss-takoyo.
desert pass-when very is difficult-past-ind m

(12). Song: kunte saram-i nukuna ku tankwe-ka
but person-sm anybody that stage-sm

iss-nunte eoteon saramtul-un meo ku
is-but some people-tp well that

tanke-ka keochilke jinakanun
stage-sm roughly pass

saramtul-to iss-ko meo smoothhake
people-some is-and well smoothly

jinaka-nunte, hayeokan ku meo
pass-and, anyhow that well
jukwanjeokini-kka.
subjective-because

(13). na-nun yeopeseo saramul bokie
I-tp from the side people seeing
kunyang jinakanunkut katu-nte, bonin-i
just passing looks like-but, oneself-sm
hard time ieo-ss-ta-ko nukki-myun
hard time is-past-mood marker-and feel-if
hard time i-rako.
hard time is-I can say

(14). nanun kutangsi-e kwejanghi
I-tp at that time-at very
na-eke hard time ieo-ss-kkittemune,
to me hard time is-past-because
wenamyun jangnam-etaka weatuli-n-te
because the oldest son-in addition to that only one son-and
ppali jipan-ul salyeo-ya-
as soon as possible family-om save-must
twe-nunte, should-and,

(15). kureon pressure-nun o-ji,
that kind of pressure-tp come-and,
tongsengtul-un ajikkkaji hakyotaniji,
younger sisters-tp still go to school,
tonun mot-bul-ji, ike pressure-ka oji,
money-tp not-earn-and, this pressure-sm come-and,
(16). kottenun
at that time
jinja
really
'neka
'1-sm
koa-ro
orphan-as
teonatssu-myun
was born-if
eolmana
how
joulkka'
hanun
like
sengkak-ul
thinking-om
hantu-beon
many times
hankeaniya.
do
(17). isanghake
strangely
kwegjanghi
a lot
silteorako.
hate
koa-ro
orphan-as
teonatss-umyon
was born-if
jotkess-tako
good-I wish
sengkak-kkaji
thinks-as much
hetssu-nikka.
did-because

(10). Insun: But Kyojoon's father said that too when you had professed your belief.
(11). It was very hard when your were crossing the desert.
(12). Song: But each person no matter who has such stage goes through it; some people pass that stage harshly (or roughly) or some pass it smoothly; anyhow, that is subjective,
(13). I think, even though people see someone's situation as being so harsh, but if an individual feels he or she had a hard time, it was a hard time.
(14). At that time, it was such a hard time to me.
It was because I was the oldest and the only son and had to provided for the family.
(15). So there was so much pressure coming onto me, my younger sisters still go to school; I can't earn money.
That kind of thing puts a burden on me.
(16). I thought many times "If I were an orphan, it would be good" at that time.
(17). Strangely I hated the onus so much since I wished to be born as an orphan.
God-sm difficult-when faith-om give

(19). Song: saram-mata ta tarukett-nunte, nakatun kyunguenun
person-every all different-and like me in the case of
ike meo kanjung hara-ko ha-myun,
this well confess the faith do-and ask-if
ya ku ttut machunu-rako, eolmana kominhessulkka.
well that meaning fit-try to how anguished

(20). kureonte nato kureonil-i iss-ko-nan
but I-too that experience-sm is-and-after

taumbuteo-nun jasinittkke yekihalssu iss-ess-eo.
after that-tp with confidence speak is-was-ind mood.

ung.
yes

(21). kunte, kureonikka kujeonenun sinang
but, well before that faith

kanjung han-tako ss eo-buchi-myunun,
confess the faith do- they said write-and-post-if,

hya, jeoil-ul eotteoke halsu-issulkka?
wow, that kind of job-om how does-can

(22). kureonte, mannanun saram-mata ku yeki-ka
but, meet person-every that story-sm

ha-ko-sipunkeoya.
do-and-want
(23). mannun saram-mata ha-ko-sipu-n te an muleobwa.
    meeting person-every do-and-want-but not ask me

(24). kureseo kunyang ssuk hebeoreoyatwe.
    therefore just just do it

an mul-eo-bwakat-kko.
not ask-and-see-since

    really interesting

(18). Insun: 'God gives faith when people are in a difficult situation.'
(19). Song: It must be different among each person,
    but in my case, I can guess how much I would anguish in trying to fit the meaning
    when people asked me to confess my faith.
(20). But ever since that experience, I could speak with confidence, yes...
(21). Before that time, saying that 'I will profess my belief in God,'
    I thought that 'how could I do that'.
(22). But every time I meet somebody, I wanted to talk about that story,
(23). But they don't ask, although I wanted to talk about that story with whomever
    I met.
(24). Therefore, since they did not inquire, I have to just do it.
    (laugh)
(25). Insun: It is so interesting.

(26). kureom kutte tehak jolyeophako barossetsseyo?
    then at that time university graduate-and was right after?

(27). Song: mikuk on-ji jeka,
    America come-since I-sm,

(28). wenamyun jeka 20saltte tehak-ul sijakhetkeotunyo.
    because I-sm 20 years old university-om start
(29). kutangsi 2 nyun-i nuteojuussji.
at that time 2-years-sm was behind

(30). a 4-nyun-ul machi-ko jolup hess-nunte,
well 4-years-om finish-and graduation did-but,

nonu-rako meo jikjang-ul mot ar-a- bonkeoya.
amusing myself-because well job-om can not find out.

(31). meo teke 3-hak-nyun mal animyun
well usually junior end or

4-hak-nyun cho-e interview-ruu han-teyo.
 senior beginning-at interview-om so-they said.

(32). ne-ka kutte whawhak junkong-ul hesseoyo.
l-sm at that time chemistry major-om did.

(33). kunte nonu-rako interviewrang ta
but having fun-because interview all

kkameoke-ss-eo.
forgot

(34). nochinkeoya.
miss the chance

(35). kutte sasil kutte nuka yeope
at that time as a matter of fact at that time somebody beside me

ne-ka seonbe-ka isseokak-ko yeopeso jeeon
l-sm a senior-sm was-and from the side advice

hejunun saram-i itsseoss-umyun,
does person-sm was-if,
36. ikeonun — nanun — kutte — mikuk
   this thing is — at that time — America
   onjito — eolmatwejitoantwessul-ppunman — anira
   come itself — not long ago — not only
   meoka — eoteoke -twekettji — hanun
   something — could be achieved — do
   makyeonhan — sengkak-e — kongbu-man — tiripta
   obscure — think-because — study-only — only
   hankeo-ko — inje — chinku-hako — eoulyoe
   do-and — now — friend-with — together
   nolki-man — he-ss- eo.
   hang out-only — do-past-ind m.

   language-sm — a little — communicate-since — play-only — did.

38. 4-haknyun-i — twe-myun — meo — halkeo-rako
   senior-sm — become-if — something — will do-like that
   byelro — sengkak — anhesseo.
   not much — think — not did.

39. kurunte — ejeota — 4-haknyun-i — chopanki-ka — tweseo
   but, — casually — senior-sm — opening part-sm — become
   interview-rul — ijjemeokeo-seo — bonikka — kureoni
   interview-om — forgot-because — seeing — because of that
meo well
isanghake strangely
joleophake graduate
sengkyet-kko become-and

maumun kuphake sengkutsseo.
my heart hasty looks like.

(40). arabo-nikka meo chemistry junkonghe-kat-kko
asking-because well chemistry major-have-with

joleophe-ya lab-eseo ilha-myun sikantang 6-7$
graduate-although lab-at work-if per an hour $6 or 7

batu-myun jalbat-nunte.
get-if is good-they said

(41). ikeo kulnattsseo ikeo.
this is serious problem this

(42). kureka-ttkko arabonikka kongte jolyeophako
therefore inquire-because engineering graduate-and

ka-myun chobong-i sangdangi jot-teyo.
go-if starting salary-sm very goo-they said

(43). kureomyun ppali kongte-ro kaya-hakettkuna.
then quickly engineering school-to must go-I thought

(44). Purdue-ka kakkapki ttemune,
Purdue univ. -sm near because

kurikoseonun ppali Purdue kongtero katkeo-tun.
after that quickly Purdue engineering univ. -to went-and

(45). paro kasskki ttemune, na-honja sengkak-e
right after went because, I-by myself think-as
han 2 nyun-man undergraduate he-kat-kko
about 2 years-only undergraduate do-have-with

ka-myunun chobong-to kwenchanko kujung
g-with starting salary-also o.k.-and among options

natketta.
It would be better

(46). kunte nuka kujeone tto eotteon sarami
but somebody before that also some person-sm

na-hante yeopeseo joeon hejunun saram-i issese. to me from the side advice give person-sm was

(47). kureojimalko jikumbuteo graduate joleopa-
do not that from now graduate graduate-

myun ne-ka master-rul ttalssuka itssesseyo.
if I-sm master-om get was able

(48). kunte neka undergraduate transfer
but, I-sm undergraduate transfer

han-taume eotteon saram-i kurun yeki
did-after some person-sm that advice

hejunun saram-i itssesse. person-sm was

(49). we kureomyun graduate oji under
why then graduate school come under

tasi tutnunyako?
again attend again?
(50). ne under sungjuk-i joasskeotun. my under records-sm was good

(51). I didn't know. I didn't know

(52). watotwe-nunte kunyang tasi under ha-n-keoya. come is o.k-but just again under do-past-ind m

(53). 'a kuke munjeka anita.' 'ah! that problem is not.' ppali joluphe-seo tonbuli-ka munje-nikka. quickly graduate-and earn a living-is problem-since

(54). kureseo 2-nyun tongan kongbu anhesseo. therefore 2 years during study not did

(55). ppali tonbeonun sengkak-e kunyang quickly earn a living think-because just tekang tekang hankeoya. roughly roughly did

(56). sungjuk-i byulro anjoajji. record-sm not so much good

(26). Then did you graduate from that school and came right after?
(27). Song: It has been since I came to America...
(28). Because I started college when I was 20 years old.
(29). I was two years behind then.
(30). I graduated in four years, but I was having too much fun that I did not find out about work.
(31). But usually, they say that either at the end of the 3rd year or in the beginning of 4th year, they go to interviews.
(32). I was a chemistry major then.
(33). But I was having fun then that I forgot all about interviews.
(34). I missed the chance.
(35). As a matter of fact, if somebody before me, a senior had advised me,
    I would not have done such thing.
(36). That is, not only has it been a short period of time since I came to the States,
    but also I had this obscure idea that if I do something,
    something will happen (or could be achieved);
    therefore, that is why I only studied so hard,
(37). now (after this) I only hung out with friends since I had less difficulty in
    communication.
(38). I did not think much about when I become a senior in college that I would do
    something.
(39). But casually, in the beginning of the 4th year, I forgot about interviews..., so
    weirdly enough, I was about graduate, and my heart became hasty.
(40). I found out that by majoring in chemistry, if one earns 6-7 dollars per hour by
    working at a lab, it is a good pay.
(41). It became a serious matter.
(42). So I inquired that if you graduate as an engineer, starting salary is supposed
    to be quite good.
(43). Then I thought, I should quickly go to an engineering school.
(44). Since Purdue was near by, I went there quickly.
(45). I thought to myself that if I study 2 more years, the starting salary would be o.k.
    and it would be better between my options.
(46). But also before somebody advised me.
(47). He said that if I don't get a bachelor's degree again and if I go to graduate
    school, I could get a master's degree.
(48). But, he advised me after I have transferred to Purdue undergraduate school.
(49). He said why do you do undergraduate work one more time instead of going
    to graduate school.
(50). My undergraduate grades were good.
(51). I didn't know.
(52). So I can go the graduate school, but I went to the undergraduate( because I
    had to earn a living after finishing my school as soon as possible.)
(53). Ah, 'that is not the problem, the problem was graduate in no time and earn a living,' I thought.
(54). So (with that frame of mind) I did not study much for two years; consequently my grades were so-so.
(55). I just studied half heartedly.
(56). My grades were not good,

(57). interview he-seo job-i twet-nunte,
interview do-and because job-sm got-but,

job twetnunji tatalman-e layoff tanghessji.

job got 2 months-after layoff got

(58). kureonikka jikumbuteo apeoji, umma ta
well from now on father, mother all
muky-eo saleo-ya hanunkeoya.
feed-and make a living-should do

(59). umma-ka meo k-mart ni kureonte ka-seo
mother-sm well K-mart they said that kind of place go-and
y-shirt sa-myun kilkeo anaya?
y-shirt buy-if long isn't it?

(60). julyeo-seo, hoesa nakalkeo-nikka, necktie
shorten it-and, company go out-because, necktie
sakatk-ko ollakankeoya.
bought and have-and go up

(61). olaka-seo tatalman-e layoff tanghess-nunte,
go up and 2 months-after layoff got-but,
jipe-nun yeonrakhalsuka yeopnunkeoya.
to home-tp tell the news can not.

umma-ka silmang halkeol sengkakha-nikka.
mother-sm disappoint will do think-because

(62). umma-nun na-man mittji uri apeoji
mother-tp I-only believe in our father

mot mitkeotun.
can not believe in

(63). jipenun yeonrakhalsu-ka yeopnun keoya.
to my family tell the news-sm can not

(64). uri apeoji beolsseo jungnyuntejik
our father already retire

hessul-ppuman anira jungsin-i tolppeon hesseo, uri apeoji.
did- not only a nervous break down, our father

(57). I did get a job after an interview, but I got laid off after two months.
(58). So from now on, I had to make a living for both my mother and father.
(59). My mom went to K-mart or some store and bought a y-shirt, but isn't it too long when you buy a y-shirt?
(60). And since I go to work, she altered it and bought a neck tie and came to visit me.
(61). But I could not tell the news to my family that I got fired after two months because my mother will be disappointed.
(62). My mother only believed in me, not my father.
(63). I couldn't inform the news to my family.
(64). Not only my father retired already but also almost had a nervous break-down.
(65). Insun: weyo? saeope silpehesseoyo?
    why? business failed?

(66). Song: sayeop-i anira jikjangsengwhal-eseo
    business not work-at
    mikuk saramtul-hako tikeoktaeokeok-hesseoyo.
    Americans-with dispute-did

(67). Insun: apeonim-i layoff tanghesseoyo?
    father-sm layoff got?

    our father-sm English-om well did

(69). ku tongne-ka redneck tongnekeotun.
    that town-sm redneck town is

(70). jokuman sikoliyeyo.
    small country is

(71). kureonikka nongbutul-to man-ko kureonte
    then farmers-too many-and and
    mencheoume tongyang saram-i o-ko ketaka
    at first Asian person-sm come- and in addition
    keokiseo uri apeoji yeongeo-rul
    from there our father English-om
    jalha-nikka ar-a-tutun-kun ta aratulunikka
    fluent-because understanding thing all under
    kuke sakoya.
    that is problem
(72). mot ar-a-tul-umyun jenetul-i meol
can not understand-if those guys-sm what

malhanunji mot ar-a-tulu-myun twe-nunte
speaking can not understand-if o.k.-but

ar-a-tutnunkun ta ar-a-tulu-nikka
understanding all understand-because

ikuttul-i mal-ul tolyeo-seo ha-nikka
these guys-sm talk-om twist-and do-because

ike yatjab-a-bonunkuna.
these guys belittling me

(73). keokiseo sinkyungjun-i beol-eo-jinkeoji.
from there incident-sm happen

(74). jeo sekki japayaji.
that guy I must get

(75). kureseo tul-i ireoke he-ss-te. (gesture)
therefore two persons-sm like this do-past-they say

(76). ku saram-i supervisor-re.
that person-sm supervisor-he said

(77). uri apeoji sungkyuk-i tto ireokkeotun.
our father personality-sm also sort of like that

(78). kureseo najunje tulta jjaleo-ss-seo.
therefore later two got cut

(79). uri apeoji-ka tto meori-ka jo-a-kattko,
our father-sm also brain-sm smart-and,
meori-ka
brain-sm

kyomyohi
cleverly

jj-a-kat-kko
devise-and

honja
himself

anjuk-kko
not die-and

na
juk-umyun
neo-to
jukeo-yatwe.
I
die-if
you-too
die-must be

(80).
kureonsikuro
so that is
twenkeoya.
what happened

(81).
kutaum
after that
Chicago-ro
Chicago-to
olao-si-n-twi
come up-honorific-past-after
tankeol
other things
ha-si-n-ta-nikka
beolsseo
do-honor-past-ind mood-because
already
jungsinjeokuro
mentally
takyuk
bat-un-twi
buteonun
shock
get-past-after
from
meotunji
everything
son-e
an japyo.
hand-at
not hold

(82).
kurekattikko
Therefore
kkureseo
bodyshop
jung-notong
so
Bodyshop
heavy-labor
maknotong
manual labor
sijak-haseossteynkeorako.
begin-did

(83).
kureonnikka
So
umma-nun
paranun
saram-i
mother-tp
count on
person-sm
jeo-pakke
I-only
yeop-ssyeo.
not exist-honorific

(84).
kuresseo
therefore
ne-ka
meo
tehakkyo
I-sm
well
university
4-hak-nyun  | jolyeophekak-ko  | total  | mane
senior     | graduate-and    | two months | after only
layoff     | tanghessta-nunte | yeki-rul   | halsu-ka | yeopketteorako.
layoff     | got-but          | talk-om    | tell-sm  | can not do

malmara.
I can't describe it

(65). Insun: Why, his business failed?
(66). Song: Not a business but at work, he disputed with Americans.
(67) Insun: Did your father get fired?
(68). Song: My father spoke English well.
(69). That town was a redneck town.
(70). It was small country.
(71). So there were a lot of farmers,
and in the beginning, he was an Asian and moreover he spoke English well there
and the bad thing was that he could understand them.
(72). It would have been okay if he did not understand what they were talking
about,
but since he understood all, they talked by twisting the language, he thought they
were belittling him.
(73). So from that, the incident occurred.
(74). 'I must get that guy', he thought.
(75). So the two blackerred.
(76). That guy was the supervisor.
(77). And my father's personality was sort of like that, too.
(78). So later both got cut.
(79). Since my father was smart, he cleverly devised that 'if I go down, you go
down with me' idea.
(80). So that's what happened.
(81). Since he already got the mental shock before coming to Chicago to do
something else, he couldn't get hold of anything.
(82). So he started an all manual labor, body shop.
(83). So the one my mother counts on is only me.
(84). So I couldn't say that I got laid off after two months on the job after graduating from school in four years.
Oh God...

(85). Insun: ttante apply hebojiyo.
somewhere else apply why don't do?

(86). Song: kureonikka meotunji jakieke ittnunkeol
therefore anything to me have things

kamsahake sengkakha-ko yeokijeoki apply
thankfully think-and here and there apply

hebo-ko kureomyun twenunte,
do-and if it is o.k.

nanun motunke wanjunhi kutjangnankut-kachi
I-tp everything completely end-like

sengkakha-ko...(pause)
think-and...

(87). layoff tanghesseo.
layoff got

(88). job-ul chajabo-nikka tojeohi twolketkajjikaanna.
job-om look for-because noway seems like not possible

(89). meo interview-rul he-to kureon saramtul-i
well interview-om do-although that kind of people-sm

natanantako.
there were
(90). yeoyu ease isske he-yaji, be do-must, just

(91). kunyang jjal-i-nun-keoya. cut-be-present-ind mood

(92). yeoyu-ka ease-sm jeonhyeo not at all an-bo-i-nunkeoya not-see-is-present ind
na-hante to muchi. I-from not at all

(93). kureseo halsuyeopsi sikantang 5 $ jjari job
therefore no choice at all per an hour $5 job
inка meo kureon sajin lab eseо
maybe it was some that kind of photo lab at
ilhesseosstako.
did work

(94). ilhesseot-nunte, ilha-myunseo ne sinse-ka
did work-but, work-at the same time my lot-sm
hantansureounkeoya,
is deplorable
wenyamyun neka manjok-mot-ha-nikka.
because I-sm satisfaction-not-do-because

(85). Insun: Why didn't you apply somewhere else?
(86). Song: So it would be okay if I thank God about anything and applied here and there. I thought that everything ended for me.
(87). I got laid off.
(88). I didn't think I could really get a job after getting laid off.
(89). Even if I go through interview....
There are such people when you go through interview.
(90). You should be at ease.
(91). If they think he is a little strange, then he is not going to be hired.
(92). I couldn't feel comfortable.
(93). So with no choice, I got a job paying $5 per hour at a photo lab.
(94). I worked but my lot seemed to be deplorable because I couldn't be satisfied.

(95). kuresseso therefore samchon-i uncle-sm bumonim parents Seattle-ro Seattle-to mosiji-mot-ha-ko, support-not-do-and, o-re. come-tell

(96). Seattle-e Seattle-to ka-seo go-and job apply job apply hess-nunte did-but
ike this 8-kewol 8 months tongan during nola-ss-ko. were in leisure
naksijil-ha-ko.
fishing-do-and
.
.
(97). Song: Keoki that place ka-seonun kuriko kutte amu go-and then and at that time any kind of
job-irato job-no matter what ha-ko-sipteorako. do-and-wanted

(98). sikantang 5-6$ irato hakesso. per an hour 5-6 $ even will do

(99). eoteonttenun sometimes over qualify rako he-seo over qualify they say say-because of
resume-rul bakkeo-ss-tako.
resume-om changed

tehak jungte-rako.
college drop out-I said

(100). kurunteto an-sseojuteorako
Even though not-hire

Yang: ung.
hum

(101). Song: kurekakoseonun jikjang-i an-twekat-konun,
And so job-sm not-be hired-and then,

ei halssuyeopta.
ei have no choice

(102). kureseo tasi hakyo-ro tolakaya twoketta-ko
therefore again school-to return o.k.-and

tasi oteon kile kureon-il-i issesso.
again coming back on the road that experience-sm was

(103). hayeotun uyeonhi krun kuke hananim-ui
anyhow by chance that that God’s

seke-ka sengkakjito-an-nunte,
world-sm even think about-not-but,

ttwolasstanunke na-ke-e-nun uyeon issesset-ko,
occurred in my mind I-to-tp coincidence was-and,

kutaumseobuteonun il-i ikeonun meo
after that thing-sm this well
kun yang  kureoke  kun kil-i
just  such that  wide road-sm

pyung pyung pyung  ttuleo isse.
symbolic sound  is open

(104). amuka na  he-to  ta  jal  twe.
anything  do-although  all  good  become

(105). ike  wanjeonhi  kureonikka  kuke
this  completely  because  that

nahante  kijeokinkeoya.
to me  is a miracle

(106). kureonikka  kukeonun  meo  inkan-i
because  that is  well  human being-sm

halssu  yeopnun  otteon  hanul-i  towajunkeoya.
can do  can not  some  heaven-sm  help

help-past-because  that thing  without it  difficult

this  make-sm  can not be

(109). na-nun  kureoke  mit-ko-itt-nunte,
I-tp  like that  believe-and-is-but,

ne-ka  ireon  yeki-rul  eoril-tte
I-sm  this kind of  story-om  young-when

hessu-myun,  'jeo  ssekki  musun
did-if,  that  guy  what kind of
kesori   hana   kuretssul   kkeorako.
what the heck is talking like that I thought

(110). nanun  hanul-ui  toum-i  issessekki  ttemune,
I-tp    heaven-’s    help-sm    was    because

nanun    chukbok    batun    saramiya.
I-tp    bless    got    person am

(95). So I couldn’t support my parents,
my uncle told me to come to Seattle
(96). I applied for a job after I went to Seattle, but I spent eight months in leisure -I
went fishing...
(97). And during that time when I was there, I wanted to take any job.
(98). I could even take a $5/hour job.
(99). Sometimes I was overqualified that I changed my resume as a college drop
out.
(100). Even with that, they did not hire me. yeah...
(101). So, I couldn’t get any steady job,
I thought I had no choice.
(102). thought I should go back to school and
I had that experience coming back again on that road.
(103). Anyway, it was a coincidence that even though I did not think about the
God’s world, the fact that it occured on my mind was a coincidence.
From then on, I saw a light at the end of the tunnel, this experience opened the
road clearly.
(104). Anything I did went well.
(105). So this was to me a miracle.
(106). So it was something that a human being could not do;
heaven helped me.
(107). Without such assistance, it is difficult.
(108). This can not happen.
(109). I was thinking in that fashion.
Sometimes when I say such story, I am sure somebody would say 'what the heck is that guy talking about?'

(110). I am a blessed person since I got a heaven's help.

(111). kurekattkoseonun kunte i-to apu-ko mom-to....
           after that after that tooth-also hurt-and body-also....

 (112). Yang: kureolten i-ka appayo
           such time tooth-sm hurts

 (113). Song:kurekkatkonun kunyang i-ka apu-nikka
           with that (after that) just tooth-sm hurt-because

           aspirin-man kunyang meok-un-keoya.
           aspirin-only just eat-past-ind mood

 (114). yeorum-e 7woltal-e unjunha-ko o-nunte
           summer-in July-at drive-and come-and

           yeolmana teopnya?
           how much hot isn't it?

 (115). kukil-un yeorum-e sayonghanun
           that road-tp summer-in using

           saram-i tumul-te
           person-sm is few-they said

 (116). Yang: 40-bun-uro wa-ss-na?
           40-route-with came?
Song: ung.
yes

(117). ku—kil-ro
that route-with
an o-ko
not come-but
Colorado-ro
Colorado-with
he-seo
through-and

ireoke
this way
ka-n-te. (gesture)
go-they said

(118). ne
my
cha-nun
piston
piston
tuke-ka
two-sm

my
an
car-tp
piston
kurekakonun
Colorado
Colorado-to

ka-myun
wiheom
hake-ss-teorako.
go-if
dangerous
might be

(119). kureoseo
therefore
honja
by myself
unjeon
drive
ha-nunte,
do-and

kureseo
therefore
changmun
window
ta
all
eri-ko
down-and
neryo
go down
o-nunte,
come-and,

radio
tulu-nikka
110 to-re.

radio
turn on-because
110 degree-they said

(120). kyesok
continuously
masinunkeon
drinking
ice tea-ya.
drinking
ice tea-is

(121). hayeokan
anyhow
ku drive
ha-myunseo
nukkinke

cham manna,
really a lot,
honja
alone
drive
ha-myunseo.
drive
do-while
(122). kapjaki sengkak-i tteo oru-nunte, meonjiara?
suddenly think-sm occur-and, do you know what it is?

(123). neka ireoke struggle halpilyo-ka meo isstnya?
I-sm like this struggle reason-sm well is?

(124). nahonja ssa-un-keoya.
by myself struggled

(125). etteon sengkak-i tunya-myun keomijul iss-janna.
some think-sm occur-if I say spider web is-you know

(126). keomijul momburimchi-myun chilsurok tteo cholatununkeoya.
spider web struggle with -if the more struggle the more contracts

(111). With that I had a tooth ache and also physically...
(112). Yang: We usually have usually tooth aches at that period of time.
(113). Song: So since my teeth ached, I only took aspirins.
(114). You know it is really hot since I came by driving during July of summer.
(115). I heard that people rarely uses that road during summer.
(116). Yang: Was it route 40?
(117). Song: I heard that people don't go by that way but go by Colorado.
(118). But since my car lacked two pistons taking the Colorado route seemed dangerous.
(119). So I came down driving alone with all the windows down.
   While on the way, I heard from the radio that it was 110 degrees F.
(120). The thing I continually drank was ice tea.
(121). Anyhow, I felt about a lot of things with that drive.
(122). There is something that suddenly jumps on my mind, 'Do you know what it is?'.
(123). 'Is it necessary to struggle like this?' I thought to myself.
(124). I fight with myself.
(125). What came to my mind was that you know the spider's web.
(126). The more you struggle with the web, the more it contracts.
(127). tto-hana sengkak-un neka yeotekkaji ne
one-more think-tp I-sm so far my

himuro-man he-boryo-ko,
effort-only do-try to-and

neka anun jisik uro-man heboryo-ko
I-sm know knowledge with-only try to do-and

nejasin-ul nesew-eo-borey-ko,
myself-om hold out-and

(128). ike meokatnya-myun kun julbyuk-e ikeomeoya
this what this is like-if I say big cliff-at what is this

keran-uro teonjinunkut hako kkok katteorako,
egg-with throwing with exactly same

(129). mat-ke twenunkeoaya.
hit-become

(130). kureon sengkak-i tul-ko mak kureomyunseo,
that think-sm occur-and well and then,
yetnale buru-teon chansongka buru-myunseo mak wassji.
old times sing-past hymns-sm sing-while just came

(131). him-i sengki-teo-rako.
strength-sm gain-past-ind mood

(132). kurekatkko jungkan-jjum wa-ss-nunte meo teoisang
and then middle-about come-past-and what more than normal

pikona-ha ko i-to apu-ko-heseo, antwekesseo.
tired-and tooth-also ache-and-because, I couldn't continue anymore
(133). jom sleeping ja-ko please kayaji go should no way antwekesseo.

(134). ne-ka eolmana i-ka apu-ko
I-sm how much tooth-sm hurt-and

pikonha-myun ne-ka ulyeo-ss-eo, motel-eseo.
exhausted-as much I-sm cried, motel-at.

(135). ne-ka keokiseo narul jam jom jake hetalrako.
I-sm from there me sleeping please sleep let me

(136). kuttenun hananim-to ne mal an-tul-eo-juseyo.
at that time God also my word not-listen-and-let me

(137) tasi naka-ranunkeoji.
again go out-he means

(138). keokiseo tasi nawa-ss-eo.
from there again came out

(139). Motel-e han 30 bun issessena?
Motel-at about 30 minutes was?

(140). kurekattkko New Mexico-eseo Indinana-kkaji
and then New Mexico-from Indiana-to

21 sikan-mane watji.
21 hours-in came

(141). Yang: wa!
wow!

(127). One more thought is that till now I tried to do it only with my effort, only
with my feeble knowledge,
I tried to hold myself out.
(128). What this is like is on a big wall, what is this, you know, like throwing eggs on it.
(129). You got hit (by the God).
(130). So I felt that way and I sang those hymns that I sang in old times.
(131). I became strong.
(132). So I came halfway on the road, but I couldn't since I was tired and also with the tooth ache, I thought I couldn't continue anymore.
(133). I had to get some sleep and go.
(134). It was so much that I had a tooth ache and felt exhausted, I cried at a motel.
(135). I asked to let me sleep there.
(136). But at that time, God did not listen to me,
(137). God wanted me to go back out.
(138). So I left.
(139). Did I stay about 30 minutes at that motel?
(140). So I came to Indiana in 21 hours from New Mexico.
(141). Yang : wow

(142). Song: kunte but jatongcha-ka car-sm kkattakyeopsse-ss-eo. no problem-occurred

(143). ne-ka neomu keokjungha-tun jatongcha-ka
I-sm too worry-past car-sm

nahante sako-hana yepsi wa-ss-ji.
to me accident-one without came

(144). samak-eso munje problem hana yepsi
desert-at problem one without
wa-ss-ji.
came

(145). kutaumseobuteonun Indiana Chicago-e wa-ss-nunte
from after that Indiana Chicago-at come-past-and
Purdue  tulyeo-seo  wonseo  ne-ko  wa-ss-ji.
Purdue  drop by-and  application  submit-and  come-past-ind mood

(146). wonseo  ne-ko  imo-tul-hante  tulryo-seo  insaha-ko.
application  submit-and  aunt-plural-to  visit-and  say hi!-and.

(147). onkime  wonseo-rul  ne-rako,
since I came here  application-om  submit-aunts said,

(148). nebatjijayeyo.
It is no use-I said

(149). ne-ss-ta.
(but) I submitted

(150). jikyeopjungeseo  itijana.
job introducing company  you know that

(151). ne-ko-wa-ss-nunte  jeonwha-ka  wa-ss-eo.
submit-and-come-past-and  telephone-sm  come-past-ind.

interview  hajako.
interview  let's do

(152). eotteon  nom-i  interview  ha-kosipt-anta.
some  gut-sm  interview  do-want to-he said

(153). interview  he-ss-ta.
interview  did

(154). kureokoseonun  an-twel-keora-ko  Indiana-ro
and then  not work-probably-and  Indiana-to
tasi  tor-a-o-nunte  bumonim-hante  junwha-ka  wa-ss-nunte,
again  back-and-come-and  parents-to  telephone-sm  come-past-and,
junwha wa-ss-eo, second interview hajako.
telephone come-past-ind. second interview let's do

(155). kuttebuteonun il-i chuk chuk puli-nunte.

from then thing-sm symbolic sounds untie-and

(156). kurikonaseonun uri bumonim saito

after that our parents relationship

puleoji-ko hayotun motunke...

resolve-and anyhow everything...

(157). Insun: bumonim sai-ka akwhateosse-ss-eyo?

parent relationship-sm deteriorated?

(158). Song: muji muji akwhateossossyo.

very very was bad

(159). Purdue tanil-jeoke tubun-i separate

Purdue go to-when dad and mom-sm separate

ha-si-n-tako-heso hancham hakki mal-e

do-hono-past-they said-because in the middle of semester end-at

neka hakkyo tani-myunseo wasstakassta

I-sm school go to-while came and went

wassta kassta myutbunssik hesseyo.
came and went several times did

(160). na-nun jolup-he-seo jikjang tanyu-ya hesski-ttemune....... I-tp graduate-do-and after work go-must did-because of that

(161). kunte, nanun kuke sinkihata-ko

but, I-tp that is marvelous
yekiha-jiman, na-nun kuke chulyepsi
say-although, I tp that is without maturity

kuke saram-i halssu yeopnun il-irako nukkyu-ss-eo.
that is man-sm can do not work-I thought felt

(142). Song: But the car had not a single trouble.
(143). The car I was so worried about had not a single trouble and I came without any accident.
(144). I came without a problem from that desert.
(145). From then on, Indiana, I came to Chicago and dropped by Purdue and submitted my application.
(146). I submitted my application and I visited my aunts,
(147). They said that I should submit the job application while I am there.
(148). I said "It is no use."
(149). (but) I submitted.
(150). You know that work intermediary place.
(151). I submitted it and a telephone call came saying that 'let's do interview.'
(152). Some guy wanted to interview me.
(153). So I did.
(154). So thinking that it wouldn't out, on the way back to Indiana, I got a phone call from my parents saying that they got a phone call from the interviewer saying they wanted me to come in for a second interview.
(155). From that point on, things unraveled themselves.
(156). And with that, even the relationship between my parents resolved, anyway everything.....
(157). Insun: Had the relationship between your parents deteriorated?
(158). Song: It was extremely bad.
(159). Because they said they would get separated when I went to school that, I (always) went back and forth at full swing at the end of a semester many times.
(160). Because I had to go to work after graduating.....
(161). But I say that that is marvelous, I thought that was something a person without maturity could not do......
What is the most difficult experience since you came to the States?

(1). Insun: mikuke wa-seo jeil sengkakna-nun il America come-and then the most memorable-mod event yeopseoyo?
isn't there?

appearance-sm be-past-honor indicative mood

(3). je-ka L. A. yeongsakwan-e nol-e ka-ss-teoniman I-sm L.A. consulate-lm play-and go to visit-past-but eotteon jasik-i camera-rul tul-ko, VHS camera,
some guy-sm camera-om carry-and VHS camera,
kukeol tul-ko yeongsakwan ape isseoyo.
that carry-and consulate in front of is (polite)

(4). kurekakko yeongsakwan apeseo, il bo-ko And then consulate in front of, business finish-and
nao-nikkan kureonikkkan 'oi! kim ki seon jal came out-since then and then Hei! Kim ki sun very good
mannasseo.'
saw (you here)

kureoteoniman kapjaki ku camera tun saram-eke And then suddenly that camera carry man-to
(5) bokto-ese manna-se ku saram-i kapjaki camera-ru
hall-at meet-and that man-sm suddenly camera-om

tulite-teo-ni,
focus-past-and then,

'hankook-e iss-nun jeolmun haksengul-hante yuhak-ul
'Korea-at be-present mod young student-to study abroad-om

ha-ko sip-un hakseng-tul-hante ha-ko sipun
do-and want-pre mod student-plural-to do-and want-pre mo

mal-i meonya?'-ko kureoke mul-e boteokorakoyo.
saying-sm what?'-ind quotation m like that ask-and see

(6) meo kunte kutte cham dangwhanghekaji-ko maliya,
well but at that time really embarrassed confound-and

(7) ya pyengsangsie yeoksi camera-ru uisik-heyaji,
well in ordinary times as expected camera-om be aware of -must

(8) kurekajiko ejenjeonghake yeki he-ss-ji.
therefore ambiguously talk do-past-ind

(9) kuriko iss-e beoreossji-yo.
and forget-and throw away-pm

(10) najunge jaki-ka musoon Munwha bangsong,
later he-sm some Munwha broadcasting co.,

Muwhabangsong-to tongne-mata tali iss-nabwayo.
Munwhabangsong-also village-each different be-(I guess)
(11). Seoul-e iss-nun bangsongkuk-un ta tongil-siki-ko
    Seoul-at be-pre mod broadcasting co.-tp all united-be-and

    jibang-e iss-nun bangsongkuk-tul-un, kukeo-n
    province-at be-pre m broadcasting co.-pl-tp that -tp

    tonghap-i an twonabwayo.
    unite-sm not become (I guess)

(12). eotiseo wa-ss-ta kuresseoyo.
    somewhere come-past-ind he said (polite)

(13). kureonkabota kuriko kureto na-nun ppejuketji kurett-nunte,
    I thought it such and but I-tp leave out I thought-but,

    han 1-nyun jjum isstaka uri mehyung
    about 1-year about later our brother-in-law

    eomeonim-i twenteyo, saton eorusin-inte
    mom-sm become(I heard) a member of the in laws elder-and

    nawatteyo.
    she said she saw me on T.V.

(14). jeonyuk 7-sie golden time tte nawakaji-ko
    evening 7-o’clock golden time when appear-and

    kkamjak nola-ss-teyo.
    very surprise-past-she said

    saton chongkak-i nawakaji-ko kkamjjak nola-ss-teyo.
    in-law bachelor-sm appear-and very surprise-past-I heard

(15) kureonteto chulyeonryo-to anjeo.
    but performance fee-also do no give
(1). 'Is there an experience that you think about the most since you came to the States?'
(2). 'I once appeared on T.V. as a student after I came to the States.'
(3). 'I went to (visit) the Korean Consulate in L. A., but I saw some guy standing in front of the consulate with a VHS camera.'
(4). 'Then when I came out of the office after taking care of some business, 'Hey, Kim Ki Sun' it is good I saw you here.' said he; then he suddenly told the cameraman about something.'
(5). 'Meeting the person at the hallway, he suddenly focused the camera on me and then..'
'he asked 'What would you like to say to the young students in Korea, the students who want to study abroad?''.
(6). 'Well but, I was confounded (quite confused) at that moment that....
(7). As expected as in ordinary times I was aware of the camera;
(8). therefore, I talked ambiguously (vaguely).'
(9). 'And forgot about the camera.'
(10). 'Later, he said 'Munwha', some 'Munwha Broadcast'. I think there is a different Munwha Broadcast in each village.'
(11). 'The broadcast stations in Seoul were all unified, but I guess the ones in the provinces could not have been unified.'
(12). 'He said he came from somewhere.'
(13). 'I thought it such and but I thought they would leave out my part.'
'But after a year, I think she is my brother-in-law's mother, she saw me on T.V.'
(14). 'She said she was surprised because I appeared on 'Golden Time' at 7 o'clock.'
(15). 'However, they did not give me the performance fee.'

(laugh)

.
.
.

(16). Yang: ani kunte kutte kureoke yeki-ka nawao?
       no but at that time such that talk-sm came out?

(17). kureonikka mike tak turitemyunun jetero
       let's see.. mike abruptly is thrust upon properly
tetaphalssu-ka
answering-sm
isseoyo?
is possible?

(18). Kim: kunte yeotteokheyo?
but what can I do?

(19). L.A. yeongsakwan-i iccok hancck-uro nakanun
L.A. consulate-sm this side one side-toward exit
muni-ko nameoji-nun ta makhyi-e-iss-tteorakoyo.
door-and rest-tp all close-and-be-retrospective mood

(20). changku-ka hana, tul, set, net i-nte kuriko ku saram-i
window-sm one, two, three, four be-and and that man-sm

itak ipku-eseo camera-rl turite-nunte, ku
right entrance-at camera-om put in front of me-and then, that
apuro tomang kalsu-ka yeopjannayo.
front run away way-sm no way

(16). 'But, the story came out such then,'
(17). 'When the mike is thrust upon a person, can one answer properly?'
(18). 'But what can I do?'
(19). 'The Korean Consulate in L. A. has this one exit door, and the rest was closed.'
(20). 'There were one, two, three, four ticket windows,
but that person was at the entrance and put the camera right in front of me,
so I could not run away.'

(21). malha-ko nantaume chokum mal-ul jalmot
saying after a little talk-om wrong
hankeot kata.
doing seems like

(22). jal-ha-ko jal-motha-ko tteona-se jip jip -han seng kak-i
    well-do-and well- do not-and leave-and uneasy feeling-sm

  tunun-ke meonamyu-n,
  enter-nm what it is-tp

  meorako ne kieok-e namnya-myun,
    what my memory-at is left-if I say.

  ne-ka yuhak naol-tte, (30 nyun jjum twon-keot
     I-sm study abroad come-when, (30 years about become-nm

    cheorum), kongbu har-e nao-ki-ka
      like), study do-connection marker (reason) come out-nm-sm

    himtul-ess-nunte ku iyu-ka kyungjejeokin iyu-ka
      difficult-past-and that reason-sm economic reason-sm

    jeil keotun -keot kat-unte,
    the most big-nm seems like-and

(23). kyungjejeokin iyu-ttemune kongbuhar-eo kyulsim
    economic reason-because of study-in order to determine

    kutkeha-ko wat-nunteto ku-kyulsim-mankum kyungjejukin
      hard-and come-although that-determination-about that economic

    toum-i issji-mot-hekaji-ko hata-mal-ko kunyang
      support-sm be-not-do-and do-stop-and helplessly

    torakan saram-to kanhok manni bwa-ss-nunte
    go back people-also sometimes many see-past-but
yojumenun kureochi anteorako.
nowadays such that not like that

(24). hakseng-tul boni-kka, aju yeoyu itt-ko neomu
student-plural see-because very money have-and so much

yeoyu-ka itta-bonikka yeoki wa kaji-ko jemi itkke
money-sm have-since here come come-and fun is

nol-taka meo-hareo wat-nun-ji ijjeeboori-nun saram-tul-i
play-ing what-to-do come-pre-nm forget-present men-pl-sm

iss-eo-kaji-ko,
be-and-have-and

kunyang kongbuhareo wat-taka kunyang kanun
freely to study came-but without anything go (back)

saramtul-i isssteorako.
people-sm are there

(25). kureseo sero onun saramtul meo hareoko onun-ji
and so new coming people what to do come-nm

chom jeongwhak hake seng kak hako waya twoji anketnunyako.
a little bit exactly think and come isn't that right
.
.

(21). 'After I spoke, I felt that I misspoke a little.'
I saw many who stopped their studies and went back.
But nowadays, it isn't like that.

(22). 'Leaving aside whether I did well or not, the thing that I felt awkward about
was - that which is still on my memory...if I say'
'when I left Korea to study abroad (As if it was 30 years ago), it was difficult to
study abroad; the biggest reason seemed to be economic,'
(23). 'and because of that economic reason, although they determined to study hard, but still some did not have as much economic assistance as the resolve, I saw many who stopped their studies and went back.'

'But nowadays, it isn't like that.'

(24)...Seeing the students, they have time and money, and that they had so much time and money that they come here and spend a good time and there are people who forget why they came here,'

'and so they came here to study but go back without doing so.'

(25). 'So, I said shouldn't the new people who come here should think about exactly(seriously) why they would come here before coming.'

(26). Insun: mikuk-e osyeo-seo himtulesstatunka kureonil kiyeok
U.S.A-lm come-and difficult something remember

nanun il yeopseoyo?
recall incident don't you have?

(27). Kim : nutkeseo whuwhe ha-nun k-eonte kongbu hal-tte
later regret do-pre thing-and study do-when

kongbu-rul yeolsimhi heyaha-nunte eongttunghan-jit-ul neomu
study-om hard do-but absurd-behavior-om too

manni ha-ko nolki-to manni ha-ko kure-ss-eoyo.
much do-and divert-and a lot do-and I do-past-ind

(28). kuresseo jjokum najunge whuwheheyo.
therefore little later regret

(29). jeo cheorum hankuk-eseo tehakwon kongbuha-ko
me like Korea-at graduate school study-and

on saram-i cheoume wakaji-ko 1-nyun tongan
come man-sm at first come-and one year during
nothing to do

(30) jeonjong-mata saram-mata jokum tarukettji-man, 
major-every person-every a little different-although

kureseo meil chinkutul bul-eo-kaji-ko sul meok-ko
so everyday friends call-and-have-and liquor drink-and

nol-ko masi-ko kureonkeoya.
play-and drink-and I did

(31) Yang: kureom yeongeo-ka an nuljanayo?
then English-sm not improve?

(32) Kim: kureseo yeongeo-ka jeilchutbunije takyuk-ul mani
so English-sm the first blow-om a lot

ipun-ke yeongeoyeyo.
get-nm+sm English

(33) kattukina LA-nun hankuk saram-i man-a-kaji-ko
moreover L.A.-tp Korea people-sm many-and-have-and

meil sulmasi-ko nol-ko...
everyday drink liquor-and play-and ..........

(26) Yang: Do you recall a tough and difficult time after you came to the states?

(27) It is something that I regret at a later period.

When I was studying, I should've studied hard but I did so many wild and absurd things and diverted myself.

(28) So I regret later a little.
(29). Like me, a person who went to graduate school in Korea once arriving here has nothing to do for a year.

(30). It must be different for each major and individual but... So I called up my friends everyday and drank and amused ourselves and...

(31). Yang: Then, you can't improve your English.

(32). Kim: So, English was the first one to get a lot of blow to be targeted.

(33). L.A. has so many Koreans that I drank and had fun everyday.

(34). Yang: Dr. Kim-un yeonje yeongeo-ka nulesseyo?
   Dr. Kim-tp when English-sm increase?

(35). Kim: Yeongeo-rul jalhanun saram-i isstanun-ke-ol
   English-om do well person-sm is-nm-om
   nukki-myunseo sanun-keol bo-myun ne-ka yeongeo-rul
   feel-and live-nm-om see-if I-sm English-om
   jal mot hanun-keo-n-te...
   well not do-nm-and
   kunte kuke yeoti swipke nuleonapnukka?
   and that somehow easy improve?

(36). kunte teoteoukina yojum-rul-eo-kaji-ko-nun
   and moreover nowadays-become-and-have-and-tp
   keotmeot-i-tul-eo-kaji-ko mal-ul ppali heyahanta-ko
   superficial style-sm-become-and-have-and speak-om fast should do-and
   eotteon muuisikjeokin sengkak-i iss-ess-eoyo.
   some subconcial think-sm is-past-polite ind
(37). LA nun...
L.A. tp.....

jeo-nun LA-e on-keot-ul aju tahengirako
I-tp LA-at come-nm-om very fortunate

sengkakha-nunte, wekukin-i woenak manuni-kka
think-and foreigner-sm already many-because

yeongeo-rul kkwe motheto bwajeoyo.
English-om a lot not good they let you alone

(38). ye-rul tulja-myun jeo-katun kyungu-nun ojama
example-om take-if me-like case-tp as soon as I come

mikuk-e sangrukhamajama,
U.S.A.-at right after I come

jeo-nun hakwon-to an-tanyutsseoyo. hankuk-eseo.
I-tp teaching institute-also not-attend Korea-at

(39). molatsseoyo.
I did not know

(40). sasilun hankuk-eso hakwon tani-myun yeongeo-ka
Actually Korea-at teaching ins. attend-if English-sm

nuntanun sasil-to moru-ko, tani-myun-un.
improve fact-also do not know-and attend-if-tp

(41). irum-to iijeobeoryu-ss-ta.
name-also forget-past-ind
(42). Sisa, hankuk Sisa yeongeo hakwon-eso kureonte-seo
Sisa Korea Sisa English teaching ins-from that place-from

jaki-ka mikuk-e ka-ss-taka,
he-sm America-at go-past-and then,

yummyunghan wekyokwan iess-nunte nappunil-ul
famous diplomat was-and then misdeed-om

jeojil-eo kaji-ko,
do-and have-and

jikum-un hakwon-kangsya hantanun,
now-tp teaching ins.-lecturer is doing,

(43). kureon seoron-buteo
that kind of introduction

chubalhanun nyuseok-eke Timeji katunkeo ilk-ko
start guy-from Time magazine such as read-and

kur-ess-keotunyo.
do-past-polite ind. mood

that conversation-tp not though

(45). Kim: kunte jeo-nun kutte kukeol yeongeo-rako
but I-tp at that time that English-is considered

sengkahhesessyo.
thought.

(46). kuriko 8sasil kuchinku-eke hangsang kamkyuk-ul
and as a matter of fact friend-to always impress-om
batakaji-ko,
get-and,

(47). tarunkess-un mola-to,
other things-tp do not know-although
ku chinku-ka honja mak Time-ul heseok ha-ko
that guy-sm alone well Time-om translate do-be
iss-taka isanghan taneo-ka 'aojanayo.
ing-and then weird word-am is sprung out

(48). kureomyun kukeoe teheseo myohan example-ul tul-eo
And then that about strange example-om tell-and
ju-nunte,
give-and,

jikumto ne meorisok-e namnunke 'villai'-inka hanun
still my head-at left 'villai'-like called
taneo-ka nawasseyo.
word-sm sprang out

(49). ku taneo-ui uimi-ka meo 'uimi-rul upsebeorinta'
that word-of meaning-sm what meaning-om take out

hanunkeo-nte,
is-and

ku 'villai'-iran mal jache-ka myohan
that 'villai'-so called word itself-sm curious

uimita-sip-eo-kaji-ko,
meaning-I think-and-have-and
ku 'villai'-ranun mal neokaji-ko kureseo jjalpunk-ul
that 'villai'-so called word put-and and then short sentence-om

hanarul jieotalra-ko he-ss-eoyo.
one make-and do-past-polite ind

(50). kuressteoni yojum-un nengjeon-ira-nun mal jache-ka
Since I said that nowadays-tp cold war-is called-tp word itself-sm

yeopeojeoka-ko-issta kureoteorakuyo.
disappear-is-ing he said

(51). kureon yeongeo-rul manni bewoessessyo.
that English-om many learn

(52). taneo silyuk-man nuleonanunkeoyo.
word ability-only enlarge

(53). kutaumbuteo, jikumto kureochiman, kakkum
From that time now it is same, sometimes

yeongeo-rul yeorupkke ssunta-ko..
English-om difficulty use-people say...

(54). kureonkeot-i yakaun compensate hanunkeoyeyo.
That kind of thing-sm a little compensate do

(55). ojamaja tatal-jje sihum-ul bwa-ss-nunte,
as soon as I got here second months-when test-om take-past-and but

eo malul jal alsu-ka -issna?
well language good knowing-sm-how do I?
eoreoun taneo hana-ro munjang-ul jinnunkeo-nte......
difficult word one-with sentence-om make-and then

(34). Yang: When did your English improve, Dr. Kim?
(35). Kim: When I see and feel that there are people who speak fluent English, then I knew
that I couldn't speak English very well.... but it is not easy to ameliorate that?
(36). And moreover, nowadays we get into surface (or superficial) style that, we
involuntarily think that we should speak quickly......
(37). In L.A. I feel that coming to L.A. is very fortunate.
Because there are so many foreigners, even if you don't speak English very well, they let you alone.
(38). (For example, In my case, as soon as I came here, as soon as I landed in the States). I didn't even attend any educational institute in Korea.....
(39). I did not know.
(40). Actually, I didn't know the fact that if you attend an institute in Korea, your
English fluency improves.
(41). I even forgot the name of the institute.
(42). At Korea's Sisa English Institute, the lecturer said he went to America, he was a famous diplomat, he got into a misdeed. So now he is an institute lecturer.
(43). From such introduction, I read magazines such as 'Time' with him.
(44). Yang: That was not conversation though.
(45). Kim: But then, I thought that was English.
(46). And the truth is that I was always so deeply impressed by him.
(47). I don't know about other things but, that guy, he was translating the 'Time' magazine by himself and a weird word sprung out.

(48). Then, he would tell me a strange example about that word.

(49). That something which is still in my head is something like the word 'Villain'.

The meaning of that vocabulary is supposed to take out some meaning of something.

I thought that word 'villain' itself was a curious meaning and

I asked him to make a sentence with 'villain'.

(50). Therefore he said that nowadays the word 'cold war' itself was villain.

(51). Only I learned a lot of such English;

(52). The one that your vocabulary is enlarging.

(53). After, it is still now but, people saying that I use difficult English.

(54). That compensates a little....

(55). As soon as I got here, I took test at the second month,

how could I know the Language well.

(56). It was composing a sentence with a difficult term.......
jéo advisor-ka Greek i-o-ss-nunte, isaram jeongmal
my advisor-sm Greek is-past-and then, this man really

yeongeo jalhanun saram-i-ess-nunte, language-e silyuk-i
English do well man-is-past-and then language-at ability-sm

isseoyo.
has

(59). tokileo, yeongeo, buleo-rul malbuteo useon jalhanun
German, English, French-om speaking first of all do well

saram i-ess-nunte,
man is-past-and

je-ka ikeo sseo kaki-man ha-myun
I-sm this write go-every time do-if

neyong alignment-ka antwei-ss-tanunkeoyeyo, hanmatiro.
content arrange-sm not aligned-past-he said, with one word

(60). kurekajiko katun neyong-ul kochi-nunte, tarunsik-uro
therefore same content-om correct-and, different way-with

pyohyun ha-myunun hwoelssin teo jja-baji-ko taneo-to
express do-if a lot more shorter-and word-also

meotissnun taneo-rul ssu-myunseo tok katun neyong-ul
fancy word-om use-and exactly same content-om

jeontal hanunkeoyeyo.
express do

(61). kureonikka, je-ka grammar-ka tuli-ko,
Well because, I-sm grammar-sm wrong-and,
kureonke ani-ra, that kind of thing not-but,

jokum teo kusaram pyohyune uiha-myun a little more that man expression according to-if

presentation level-eseo kochintakoyo.
presentation level-from correct

(62). kureseo myutbyun kochita-bo-myun, So several times correct-see-and then,

'ya ikeo katta-ka yeongeo hanun saram-eke you this bring-with English speak person-to

kocheo ora-ko.' correct come-he said

(63). boninto American-i ani-nte mot-halkeo aniyeyo. He himself-also American-sm not-and because can not-do can't he

(64). dissertation-ul ssul-tte kuresseoyo. dissertation-om write-when It happened

(65). kureseo kyuulkuke seonseng-i an bwa-ss-eyo. Therefore at last teacher-sm not read-past-polite ind

(66). kureseo inje kureto nekeo-nte, hakseng-ul ton-ul Therefore now although mine-and so, student-om money-om

ju-ko sayake-ss-kkuna. give-and will buy-past-probably do so

U.S.C. like case-tp Linguistics dept.-at
T. A. tul-i iss-nunte, hakyo-eseo support
T. A.-plural-sm be-and then, school-from support

ha-myunseo 1 chu-e hansaram-i
do-and while 1 week-at one person-sm

30 bun ssik 1 chuil-e hanbeon
30 minute each 1 week-at one time

isang an heju-kosssulsu isske hejeoyo,
more than not service-and use let us

yokuman ha-mynun.
ask do-if

(68). kureseo mebeon appointment-rul meju suyoilnal
Therefore several times appointment-om every week Wednesday

1si 30bun bueto 2si kkaji jesikanul kkok
1:30 p.m. from 2:00 till my time always

mantuleo-ss-eoyo.
make-past-polite ind mood

(69). yeotteon Lesley -ranun yeoja hakseng -io-ss-nunte
some Lesley -so called girl student-be-past-and then

master kkunntaltejjum twen yeohakseng iyeo-ss-eyo.
master about finishing time girl student be-past-polite ind

(70). kuriko mikuk sarami-ko je-ka boki-e jasehi-tutko
and America girl-and I-sm see-from carefully-listen

kochy-eo-jureo-ko noryokul ha-nunte, kurekajiko,
correct-and-give-and try do-and and then
cheoume abstract, 1 page pakke antwenun
in the beginning abstract, 1 page only only

abstract-rul 30 bun-ssik tubeon 1 sikan heseo
abstract-om 30 minutes-each 2 times 1 hour take

kochu-ss-yeoyo.
correct-past-polite ind mood

(71). cheoumenun hanbeon il-ko jaki-ka mak
in the beginning one time read-and I-sm no second thought

kocheoyo.
correct

(72). ya ikeo jakika 'a'-ka isseo-ya twenta-ko,
Wow this she 'a'-sm be-should must be-she says

neka sengkakhakienun 'the' rako kuriko jeka mak
I think 'the'-I say and I well

seolmyung-ul heyo.
explanation-om do

(73). ike we 'the' -inka, kureomyun jakika mak tut-taka
this why 'the' -is, then she well listen-while

ah kuke matunkeot katta-ko yeomul-yeomul mak
ah! that right seems like-and equivocally well

neomyeo ka-taka, cheoume hantubeon argue ha-nunte,
over goes-while, at first one time argue do-but,

kutaum buteonun jeoka sseono-n-keol ankochyeoyo.
after that from I write-past-nm-om not correct
(74). kureomyun kukeol tul-ko seonsengnim hante kani-kka
and then that take-and teacher to go-because

seonsengun jakika anta-ko sengkakhani-kka kocheoyo.
teacher he know-and think-because correct.

(75). kureonikkun mikuksaram-i kochyeoju-n bubuni-nhe tasi kocheoyo.
well then American-sm correct-past part-but again correct

(76). wekuksaramin uri-seonseng-i tasi tto kocheoyo.
foreigner my teacher-sm again again correct

(77). na-nun amureto seonseng-e teheseo yakkan
I-tp anyhow teacher-to to a little

sabunim-hanun style-ira,
yes master-say style-because,
also see-if

seonsengnim-i kochinunke joaboyeoyo
teacher-sm correct looks good

(57). It seems like nonsense to correct without knowing the content.
but I, too, have that experience.

(58). My advisor who was Greek told me to have my dissertation read by an
American. This person really knew, spoke English well; he is proficient at
languages.

(59). German, English, French he was good at first speaking well and whenever I
took my dissertation, he told me that my content was not aligned.

(60). In short, he, therefore, to correct the same content, if he express in a different
way, it becomes a lot shorter, and I could deliver the same content by using great
vocabulary.
(61). So, it is not that I got grammar faults, a little more according to his 
expression, He corrects it at a presentation level.

(62). So after correcting a number of times. He said he can't do it, so take this and 
get it corrected by an English speaking person.

(63). 'Since he himself is not an American, he can't do it, you know.'

(64). 'When I wrote dissertation, it was like that.'

(65). So finally, the advisor didn't see it.

(66). Anyway it was mine, and I thought that I should pay students.

(67). 'In case of U.S.C. the T.A. at Linguistics department. School supported 
that they let us use T.A. thirty minutes a week, but not more than once a week, if 
we ask.

(68). 'So, the appointment was every wednesday, I always made it from 1:30 to 
2:00 my time.'

(69). 'There was a student named Lesley who was finishing her Master's.'

(70). 'And she is American, and from my point of view, she tries to listen carefully 
and correct it...'

'but at first it took 30 minutes twice so 1 hour to correct an abstract only one page 
long.'

(71). In the beginning, she read once and corrected it herself.

(72). She said it needed 'a', and I thought that it should be 'the' and I explained 
why it was 'the'.

(73). If I do that, she listens and then she says she thinks that's right and 
equivocally goes over and argue once or twice.

But from then on, she didn't correct what I wrote down.

(74). Then I took that and went to the advisor, (since the teacher knows about 
it.) He corrected again

(75). The teacher who is a foreigner corrected it again.

(76). 'The teacher who is a foreigner corrected it again.'

(77). 'I, anyway, am the type to say 'master' to a teacher...... 
also, having Seen again, It looked that teacher's correction was better.'
(78). kureseo cheotbeonjero akka malssum hasinkeot kachi so at first earlier saying do like

jaki-ka jalhanta-ko sengkakhani-kka jalhanunkeoyeyo. I-sm do good-and think-because do good

(79). je-advisor-ka yeongyeo-rul malha-nunte, yeonujeongto my-advisor-sm English-om speak-and, how good

jalha-nya-myun ichinku-ka saram-i Greek-ira root-rul speak-you say-if this man-sm man-sm Greek-because root-om

mani al-ko-issuni-kka ku root-rul kunyang ssuntakuyo. many know-and-be-because that root-om just use

(80). kureonte exceptionally jal-ssuntakuyo. but exceptionally well-use

(81). kunte kunayang under joleoph-ko han 8-nyun but just under graduate-and about 8-years

jjum twee-ss-takuyo. about become-past-ind mood

(82). ku advisor-ka Ohio chulsini-nte kunte jaki hakseng-ul that advisor-sm Ohio from-and and his student-om

kiw-eo kaji-ko ssunun kureon style-nte, foster-and have-and use hat kind of style-and,

(83). kunte malha-myun, jeo-nun jeo-man mot ara turnunjuul but speak-if, I-tp I-only can't under-stand

ara-ss-nunte mikuk saram-to mot ara tuleoyo. I think-past-and America man-also can't under-stand
(84). kunte kusoke tulin mal-to issulte-nte, iltan jaki-nun
but inside wrong word-also must be-and, for the moment I-tp

seonseng-ini-kka mot aratulu-myun ---- jechekim-ikeotunyoo.
teacher-be-because can't understand-if my responsibility-is

(85). kureonte hamulmyeo jaki-ka kanguil-rul kachi har-ee o tuli
and (but) still more he-sm lecture-om together do-to two

kachi presentation hareo California-e issnun
together presentation do-in order to California-at is

hwesa-tul toratanini-kka hanbeon San Franciscoe issnun
company-plu go around-because one time San Francisco-at is

G. P. hwesa-e kaketwe-ss-eoyo.
company-at got to go to-past-ind mood

(86). kureseo keokiseo seonseng-i apeseo presentation
therefore from there teacher-sm in front presentation

ha-ko seonseng-i concept-rul yekiha-ko je-ka
do-and teacher-sm concept-om speak-and I-sm

analysis yekiha-ko,
analysis speak-and,

kunte mujimujihake pparun sokto-ro 30 bun--ul yeki
but really fast speed with 30 minute-om speak

hani-kka saram-tul-i motuta ip-ul beoli-ko isseo.
do-because people-plu-sm all mouth-om open-and is

(87). kureseo isaram-i kwengjianghankeol yeki he-ss-tako,
and so this man-sm tremendous thing speak do-past-he said
(88). kurekajiko kutaume na-to kureomyun ppali yeki
and then next I-also well then fast speak

heyaji ha-ko ppali haryeoni-kka mal-i jom
should do think-and fast try to do-when talking-sm a little

teotumeoji-ko hanmal-ul, neka hanmal-ul
stammer-and already talked word-om, I-sm

ne-ka jom jalmot he-ss-nunte tasiha-ko kureon banbok
I-sm a little not good do-past-and repeat-and that kind of repeat

katunke sengki-nunte uri seonseng-un
like it come out-but our teacher-tpp

kureonili yeopseoyo.
that kind of thing not exist

(89). mulon tulin bubun-i yeopjinunankessji-man,
of course wrong part-sm can not say that it is not there -although

(78). Therefore, as you said at first earlier, when one thinks one is doing well, one
does well.

(79). My advisor speaks English well, how well you say, Since he is Greek, he
knows a lot of roots, so he just uses that root.

(80). But he uses it exceptionally.

(81). And it has been 8 years since he graduated from college(under).

(82). This advisor is from Ohio Univ., he fosters his students, and..

(83). But I thought that when he spoke, I thought I was the only one not
comprehending him, but even Americans could not.

(84). But surely there must be an error in his language, but for the moment since he
is the teacher and when I don't understand it, it is my responsibility.
(85). But still more, to do the presentation together, he went around companies in California to make presentations, we once got to go to G. P. company in San Francisco.

(86). So the teacher did a presentation and talked about concept before them, and I about analysis.
But since he talked in an extremely rapid speed in 30 min., everybody had their mouths wide open.
(87). About the chief engineering, he said something tremendous.
(88). So next I too thought I should do it quickly but stammered a little bit, I didn't do well, and repeated it'
that reiteration happens to me but not to my teacher.
(89). Of course there would not be a part that is not correct (I guess).

(90). kureon-mal hoksi tuleobonjeokssi-seoyo?
that-saying maybe heard before?

(91). 'duable' -iranun mal-i isseyo.
'duable'-so called word-sm is

. .

(92). jeo-nun 'duable' -irako-he-seo jeosaram musikhan
I-tp 'duable'-so called-he said-because that teacher uneducated

mal hanta-ko-he-ss-nunte sajeon chaj-a
word speak-and-think-past-and but dictionary look up-and

bonikka isseoyo.
see-because is there

. .

(93). cheoum tut-nunteto kuke 'duable'-iranun mal
first hear-although that 'duable' -so called word
nukkim-i wheolssin teo powerfulhake neka jeongmalro
feeling-sm a lot more powerfully I-sm really

halssuissta kureon uimi-ro tulin-teyo.
can do it like that meaning-as is heard-they said

(94). ne-ka muleobwa-ss-eyo.
I-sm ask-past-ind mood

(95). kureonikka kureonke yeonyeo nunryeok-iji.
well that kind of thing language ability-is.

(96). yerultuleo presentation ha-taka 'This kind of implementatiion is
For example, presentation do-while
duable'-i ' I can implement very well' bota wheolssin teo
-sm than a lot more
kanghake tulinta-ko heyo.
strongly is heard-and they say.

(97). tto hana-nun Latex-ranun mal-ul jakinaramal-ro
also one-tp Latex-so calld word-om his language-in

'Latech' rako hanteyo.
'Latech'-so called they say

(98). jakinun 'Latech'-irako malulheyo.
he-tp 'Latech'-called say

(99). tarun saramtuli mot aratulu-myun kukeo-n
other people-sm not understand-if that-tp
root-nun 'Latech' irako heyo.
root-tp 'Latech'-called he says
(90). Maybe have you heard this saying before?
(91). There is a saying 'duable'.
(92). I thought that he was talking uneducated language, but when I looked up in the dictionary, there it was.
(93). That 'duable' word feeling was whole a lot more powerful, and it is heard as 'I could really do it.' they said.
(94). I asked people.
(95). That is language proficiency.
(96). For example, while doing the presentation, 'This kind of implementation is duable.' is heard more powerfully than 'I can implement very well.'
(97). One more, the word 'Latex' is called 'Latech' in his language.'
(98). He says 'Latech'.
(99). When other people don't understand, he tells them that root is 'Latech'.

(100). taneo hani-kka sengkaknanunke isseo. vocabulary you say-since remember is

(101). jeo-nun yojumeto bo-ko muntuk muntuk taneotulul I-tp nowadays see-and casually casually vocabularies
sengkakna-nunte, remember-and,

(102). ch 8 eoje narang kachi bwa-ss-janna. ch 8 yesterday with me together see-past-didn't you?

(103). jip heon-jip busey-eo-kaji-ko jip sero jitmunkeot house used-house demolish-and-have-and house new build
issjanna. (talking to his wife) there is, isn't it?
(104). kunte keokie meorako naonamyun 'gable' iranun
but in that show what appears 'gable'-called

taneo-ka nawa-sse-o yo.

vocabulary-sm appear-past- polite ind mood

(105). 'gable' iranunkeon Edgar Allan Poe-ka ssun ' House of seven
'gable'-they say -sm wrote

Gable' -iranun jakpum-i iss-nun-n-te, '7 byukong-ui jip'.
-they say novel-sm exist-present-and, '7 wall hole's house.'

kureseo tejeotek-iranun mal-ro 'gable' iranun mal-i
and so big house-they say word-as 'gable'-they say word-sm

isskeotunyo.
there is (probably you do not know but there is.)

(106). 'gable' ul sajeon-eseo chaj-a-bo-myun pyukong
'gable'-om dictionary-from look for-and-see-if wall hole

irako tweisseoyo.
they say (indirect quotation) is translated

(107). kureseo 7 byukongui jip kureoke tweissnunte, jeo-nun
and so 7 wall hole house like that is translated, I-tp

pyukong-irako he-seo musun sengkak-ul he-ss-nunya
wall hole-they say say-because what kind of think-om do-past-

hamyun pyuk-e ttuleonon kumeong issjanayo.
if you want to know wall-at made by piercing hole is (you know).

ah-kureom botong jip-e meonka ipku katun-te.
ah! -then regular house-at something entrance like-at
(108). uri-jip-e  kureomyun  'gable'-i  myutke-nya?
     our-house-at  then  'gable'-sm  how many-are there?

     (pointing his house walls)

(109).  i-chok  byuk-e  hana  kumeong  hana,  jeo-chok
       this-side  wall-at  one  hole  one,  that-side

       byuk-e  hana  uri-jip-i  4 moni-kka  byuk-i
       wall-at  one  our house-sm  4 sided-because  wall-sm

       4ke-inkarako  sengkakhe-ss-nunte,  7 gable
       4-possibly  think-past-and,  7 gable

       iranikka  7 myun size  jip-inkabokuna  kureoke
       they say-because  7 sided size  house-possibly right  like that

       sengkak  he-ss-nunte,
       think  do-past-but,

       eojje  yeki-rul  tut-a-boni-kka,  TV-rul  botabonikka
       yesterday  program-om  listen-and-see-because  TV-om  see-and-see-because

       neyekinun  meonyamyeonyo,
       what am I saying is  what it is,

(110). uri-jip-un  kureoke  ttak  sengkiji  anass-nunte  mun-i
       our house-tp  like  exact  shaped  not-but (and)  door-sm

       iss-ko  mun-ui-e  hessbit  tul-eo-onun  kumeong
       is-and  door-above-at  sun shine  enter-and-come  hole

       katunke  ttongkuran  chang  isseojanayo.
       like that  round  window  is (you know)
(111). kureon chang-i wekuk-jip kunjiptul boni-kka kuseok
that kind of window-sm foreign house big houses see-because corner

kuseok — istseorakuyo.
corner — there are

(112). kukeol 'gabe' irako ha-teon-teyo.
that 'gabe'-they say say-past-they say

(113). eo eo ttongutran chang-i issnun ku byuk-ul
well well round window-sm is that wall-om

jeongwhakhake chang jache-ka ani-ra kukeol
exactly window itself-sm not-but that

bo-myunseo 'This gable-i ijip-ul wheolssin teo kuke
look at-while 'This gable-sm house-om a lot more bigger

boike hanta-ko...'
showed make-they say...

(114). kureseo ttohana beweokuna kure-ss-ji.
therefore one more learn I thought

.
.

(100). Since you say vocabulary, I remember something.

(101). When I see it something nowadays, casually I think about vocabularies.

(102). You saw channel 8 with me yesterday. (talking to his wife)

(103). We saw demolishing an old house and building a new one.'

(104). In that show, the word 'gabe' appears.

(105). gable' is the one that Edgar Allen Poe wrote, 'House of Seven Gables'.
'So it is used as a big house.

(106). If you look up the word 'gabe', it is translated as 'byukong'.'

(107). So it is called the house of seven gables.
Since they said 'byukong', I thought about the wall and its hole.
So I thought about a regular house with some kind of entrance.
(108). Then how many gables do we have in our house?
(109). There is one hole in this wall, another at that wall.
Since, our house is square shaped, there would be four walls and they say 7 gables so it must be 7 sided house.
'What I am saying is that while listening to and watching the T.V. yesterday.
(110). our house does not look just like it, but there is a door and above it, there is a hole-like opening with a round window to let the sunshine in.
(111). When I saw big foreign houses, such windows existed here and there.
(112). They call that gable.
(113). It is not that the wall where it has the round window to have exactly the window, but while looking at it, this gable makes the house whole lot bigger, they say.
(114). So I thought that I learned one more.

(115). Lee: cheot he-e T.A. hal-te jom himtule-ss-eyo.
first year-at T.A. do-when a little difficult-was

(116). mencheoum wa-seonun Indiana tehak-eseo-nun wekukintul-i
at first come-after that Indiana university-at-tp foreigners-sm

T. A. batu-myun yejeone munje-ka manassna bwayo.
got-if past time problem-sm many seems like

(117). class tul-eo-ka-seo etul hako communication-i
class enter-and-go-and student with -sm
antwenta-ko haksengtul hako hasengtul-i complain-ul mani
not available-and students with students-sm -om many

hessnabwayo.
did (I heard).

(118). kurekajiko rule-ul bakk-eo-noasseoyo.
therefore -om change-and-left
(119). tehak-eseo silsihanun spoken siheom-e pass-heya
       university-by administered test-at pass-must do

       class tur-eo-kal su issta-ko.
       class in-and-go way is-they say

(120). tteoleoijjyo.
       failed

(121). test-ka iss-nunte siheom-ul chyeo-ss-nunte tteoleoijjyo.
       test-sm is-and test-om take-past-and fail

       written-un tongkwa.
       written-tp pass

(122). kureseo tongkwa halttekkaji-nun tongkwa anha-myun
       therefore pass until do-tp pass not do-if

       class-nun lecture mot tul-eo-kayo.
       class-tp lecture not in-and-go

(123). grading ha-ko haksengtuul program chejeom hako,
       do-and students grade do-and,

       kuriko office hour-e wa-seo jilmun-hanun-keot-ul hara-ko
       and -at come-and question-do-nm-om do-they say

       kure-ss-keotunyo.
       they told (me)

(124). kukeo ha-nunte weonak program sukje chejeom
       that do-but well homework first time

       haki-kka himtuleo-seo bamse-ko heyo.
       do-reason was difficult-because overnight-and do
(125). kurekajiko pamul, therefore overnight-om,
neil kattajeoyaha-myun hakseng-i umchungnake maanayo.
tomorrow should hand out-if student-sm tremendously many

(126). haksengi han 200 myung twe-nunte T. A.-ka
student-sm about 200 people are-but -sm

4-myung isseo-ss-keotunyo.
4-people are-past-ind mood

(127). han saram-i 50 myung neji 70 myung-ul chejum
one person-sm 50 people through 70 people grade

heyatweyo. should do

(128). kukeol na-nun pamse-ko 2sikkaji 3si kkaji
that I-tp spend night-and 2 o’clock 3 o’clock

chejum he-seo katt-a-juntakuyo.
grade do-and bring-and-give

(129). kunte hanbeonun chejum-ul ha-taka kutaumnal-e siheom
but one time grading-om do-while next day-at test

kamtok tuleokayatwe-nunte nutjamul ja-ss-janayo.
proctor to be -but oversleep slept

(laughing)

(130). kurekajiko honnanjeokiisseoyo.
Therefore got reprimanded
(131). uri seonsengnim-i cover hejeo-ss-eoyo.
our teacher-sm cover did

hakseng-i complain he-ss-eoyo.
student-sm did.

(132). T.A. an natanssta-ko hakyo-etaka pyunji
not showed up-they say school-to letter

ssukessta-ko complain hesseooyo.
is gong to write-they say did.

(133). mikukei-n-te seonsengnim-i bul-eo-kat-ko,
American-but teacher-sm call-and-have-and,
mikuk yeojaei-n-te.
American is a girl student-and

(115). The first year when I was a T.A., it was a little hard.
(116). Coming at first at Indiana Univ., when a foreigner gets to be a T.A., It
seemed that there were lots of problem in the past.
(117). Students complained that communication was not good between the T.A.
and the students.
(118). So the university changed its rules.
(119). We had to pass the spoken test administered by the Univ., in order to
lecture.
(120). I failed.
(121). There was the first test, I failed the (spoken) test; I passed the written exam.
(122). So until passing the spoken test, I couldn’t lecture.
(123). So I was told to do grading, and also grade the student's programs as well
as have an office hour for students to come and ask questions.
(124). But it was so hard to correct the program homework that I spent the night up
awake. '
(125). so overnight...
If we have to hand out that by tomorrow,
there are extremely a lot of students.
(126). 'There are around 200 with 4 T.As.
(127). one person has to grade 50 to 70 students.
(128). So I spend all night doing it till 2 or 3 o'clock and turn it in.'
(129). But once, while grading I fell asleep and over slept and missed to be the proctor for a test.
(130). So I got reprimanded.
(131). My teacher covered it for me.
Because students complained.
(132). A student said she was planning to write a letter complaining that the T.A.
has not showed up.
(133). she was an American, the teacher called that student on so......
An American girl......'

(134). Kim: na-nun  hang-sang ta ar-a-tut-nunta-ko seng-kak
I-tp always all know-and-listen-and think
hess-nu-nte, cheothakki-e
did-but the first semester-at
ttingka ttingka nol-ko tanyuss-nunte, wenyamyun
play-and hanging around-and, because
ta ani-kka yekiha-myun ta ara.
all know-because take a lecture-if all understand

(135). kunte imi ara-ss-ki-ttemune aru-n-keoya.
but already know-past-nm-reason I know-past-ind mood

(136). ku sarami yeongeoroman yekihessul ppuniji.
that man-sm only English talk only

(137). na-nun urimalro imi concept-ka ta issnunkeoya.
I-tp our language-with already sm all have
(138). kunte kukeol yeotteoke palkyun hessunyua
       but that how discover did

       ha-myun saramtul-i anja-seo yekihajanayo.
do-if (you want to know) people-am sit-and talk

(139). ya cheothakki-e wa-seo 30 % iheha-myun
       listen! the first semester-at come-and 30 % understand-if

       jalhanunkeota.
doing well

(140). 50%-ta. 70 %-ta.
       50% -is, 70 %-is

(141). na-nun 90% jjum alkess-nunte kureon yeki
       I-tp 90% about know-but that story

       hanun-ke komin-i twenunkeoya.
talk-nm problem-sm pose

(142). ta alkess-nunte, kuriko mal-un anhesseoyo.
       all I know-but, and talk-tp did not

(143). kunte munjen-un morunun saram jakika
       but problem-tp ignorant person-tp himself-sm

       moruntanun-ke-ol morunantan-un jinjja munjeyeyo.
do not know-nm-om do not know-nm really is problem.

(144). kuk-eol eotteoke ara-ss-nyahamyun 2 nyun
       that-om how know-past-if (you want to know) 2 years

       jjum jinani-kka ku seonsengnim hangsang class
       about pass-reason that teacher always class
style -e jeilmajimak-e 'onulun sueop yeoki
style-at the last-at today-tp class here

kkaji-man hapsita .'
until-only let's do

ku yeki-l mebeon hesseoyo.
that talk-om every time did.

(145). kukeon yeongeo-ka yeoryeopji-to annayo.
that English-sm difficult-even not

(146). 'Let's call it a night.' iyeyo.
is

(147). kureoko kassta-ko...
saying that left-and...

(148). kunte 'kuke antulyu-ss-eoyo.
but that I could not hear

(149). habeon-to antuleotsseoyo.
one time-even I could not hear

(150). 2-nyun jje jjum tweni-kka, kunte kujeone-to
2-years when about become-because, but before-also

seonseng-i kkunal-tte meorako hakinunha-nunte....,
teacher-sm finish-when something do say-but....,

(151). i-yangban-i jwaujikan aju gentlehake mennal
this-gentleman-sm anyway very gently everyday

ku yeki-rul hess-nunte, 1 nyun tongan hanbeon-to
that story-om did-but, 1 year during one time-even
mot tule-ss-eo. (laugh)
not understand-past-ind

(152). kunte 2 nyun jje,
but 2 year when,

interest have-nm-only you heard

that's right

(155). kwansim-i issnun-keo-n jipjungha-ko-iss-umyun mal-i
interest-sm have-nm-tp concentrate-and-is-if saying-sm
tul-eo
hear-and

onun-keot jung-eseo key myutke-man tut-ko content-rul
come-nm among-from key several-only listen-and content-om

aratununta-ko sengkakhe-ss-nunte sasil-un ku
understand-and think-past-but the fact-tp that

sarami malhanun eotteon toktukhan pyohyun
person-sm talk some peculiar expression

katunkeot-un ta jinaka-n-keot kate.
like that-tp all pass-past-nm seems like

(156). taum buteonun saramtul-i kakkum hubetul-i wa-seo
next from people-sm often juniors-sm come-and
kureochiyo.
say

(157). 'ta—aratununta'-ko,'
'all understand'-they say,'

(158). 'ta-aratuleo, kunte jokum issu-myun mot aratuleo'.
'all-you understand, but a little pass-if not understand.'

(laugh)

(134). I thought that they always understood, but during the first semester, I played much since I knew all, when he speaks I know all.
(135). But I knew beforehand that I knew.
(136). It is just that he spoke in English only.
(137). I already had the concept in my language.
(138). But how did I discover that is that people were talking that during the first term.
(139). If you understand 30%, you are doing well,
(140). or 50%, or 70%,'.
(141). I knew about 90% but talking about that posed problem for me.
(142). I knew it all but didn't say anything.
(143). But the problem is that the people who do not know saying that they don't know.
(144). How did I know is that after 2 years, that teacher's style was that at the end, today let's do the class till here'.
He said that every time.
(145). That is not hard English.
(146). It was 'Let's call it a night, and went.
(147). But I didn't hear that, not once.
(148). But, I couldn't hear it.
(149). I could not hear it even one time.
(150). But after two years,
he did say something at finishing time beforehand, but..
(151). This gentleman, nevertheless, always said that gently but I couldn't hear it for a year. (laugh)

(152). but the second year...

(153). You only heard that ones you are interested in.

(154). That's right.

(155). For the ones I like, if I concentrate, I only listen to the few key words among the words coming in, and I thought I understood the content, but really, the peculiar expression he used seemed to have passed all.

(156). From the next time, sometimes people, juniors come and say.

(157). they understand all they said.

(158). I said 'you understand, but after a little while, don't understand.' (laugh)

(159). Yang: nanun teokuntana juiryuk-i jom yeopseoyo.
      I-tp     moreover attention-sm a little not have

(160). kureonte hankukmal-un juiryuk-i yeopse-to ta
      but Korean-tp attention-sm not have-although all

aratununtakuyo.
understand

(161). wonake tulrinun malinikka, attention-ul ha-tun
      already understanding language-because, attention-om do-or

      anha-tun ta tullinunkeo-nte,
      not do-or all understand-but,

      nanun juiryuki yeopki ttemune jikum-to yose
      I-tp attention-sm do not have because until now-even nowadays

      ne-ka uri hakwajang kwamok-ul sitting tureokanunteyo
      I-sm our chair class-om enter.
(162). nanun yennale bluffing-ul jalhess-nunte bluffing
       I-tp olden times -om did well-but

      anhanji 10 nyun-i tweni-kka ijenun mothakesseo.
      not do 10 years-sm become-because now can not do

       know-if know-and don't know-if do not know-and

(164). na-jom tuleoyakessta-ko taum hakki-e neural
       I -please should be going to take-I say next semester-at neural

       network-to tul-eo-ka-lkeo-nte.
       -also enter-and-go-future-but

(165). kunte jikum-to, ai meo ta tuliji.
       but until now-even, well well all understand

(166) kwansim-man kaji-myun ta tuli-nunte,
       interest-only have-if all understand-but,

(167). manun kyangu-e ttanchungha-taka meolhanunji
       a lot of cases-at wandering around-while what's going on

       moru-ko ta notchinunkeoya.
       do not know-and all miss

       ttan sengkak-e jipjungha-ko iss-taka bo-myun
       other think-at concentrate-and is-while look-if,

(168). kunte hakseng junge-to eotteon nomtul-i mal-ul
       but student among-even some guys-sm speaking-om

       eoreoupke hanun nomi isseoyo.
       difficult do guy-sm is
(169). urikwae-to  naikamanun  chinkuka  iss-nunte, yenun  jaki
    our dept.-also    aged       guy-sm    is-but,  this guy  his

    bumo-ka  tokil  kyetong-eseo  wassta-nunte,
pARENTS-SM  German  lineage-from  come-and,

    jikum  kongbu-rul  jalheyo.
now    study-om    do well

    -sm 1400 points  is-I can say

    U. H.  graduated

(172). kyesokhe-seo  swiweossta  kongbuhata  ha-nunte
    continuously-and     take a break     study  do-and

    kongbu     jalheyo.
study    do well

(173). yeka  malulha-myun  neka  nochyo....
    He     talk-if  I    miss.....

(174). mal-ul  kwengjianghi  bokjaphake  mantuleo-seo  hanu-rako
    talk-om  a lot        complicated  make-and  do-to do

    ilbureo  tolinunkeon  ani-nte,
    intentionally  go round  not-but,

(175). jakittane-nun  wanbyukhake  hanu-rako....
to him-tp perfectly  do-to do

(176). 'what the hell'-ul  yekihanya'-ko  kureoko
    'what the hell'-om  are you speaking'-I say  I say
(159). I more over don't have long attention span.
(160). But I can understand all Korean even though I do not have long attention span.
(161). 'I can understand Korean with or without attention,because I know that language already very well.
'But still now since I don't have to pay much attention, I go to sitting to my department chair's class.....
(162). I did 'bluffing' well in the old times, but it has been 10 years since I have not bluffed that I can't do it anymore.
(163). If you know, you know...
If you don't know, you don't know.
(164). I said I would be going to take that class, I will take Neural Network class next semester also....
(165). But still, I think I hear all if I only get interested.
(166). If I have interest, I can hear, but..
(167). In many instances, my thoughts wander and don't know what's going.
And I miss all.
When I think about some other useless things.
(168). But even among students, there are those who speak big words.
(169). In my department, there is an aged students, he says that his parents are of German heritage.
He does well at school.
(170). Even though he is old, his G.R.E was 1400.
(171). He graduated from U of H.
(172). He continuously takes a break or studies but does well on his studies.
(173). When he speaks, I miss some.....
(174). He makes the language so complicated, even though it is not that he does intentionally going around to make it.
(175). To him, he was trying to say it perfectly.
(176). I told him 'what the hell are you talking about?'
Birthday Present

(1). Yang: 20 sal tte sengil-i eonje yeot-nunte?
         20 years old time birthday-sm when was it-and...?

(2). Bk: 20 sal tte sengil-i tehakkyo 2 haknyun tte,
         20 years old time birthday-sm college junior when,

(3). tehakkyo 2 haknyun-iyo.
        college junior-polite ind mood

(4). tehakkyo 2 hak nyun tte man 20 sal-i an wet-nunte,
        college junior at that time exactly 20 years old-sm not be-and,

        amutun ah! man ttak 20 sal ieo-ss-ta.
        anyhow ah! exact exactly 20 years old was

(5). kutte je chinku-ka chukje-tte-rako eotteon namja,
    at that time my friend-sm festival-time-because some guy,

    K te taninnun namja-rul soke sikyujeo-ss-keotunyo.
    K college attending guy-om introduce passive(be-ed) -past-ind mood marker

(6). kunte cheoumenun kwechana-ss-eoyo.
    but at first he was o.k.

(7). kunte tbeonjje manna-ss-ul-tte
    but second time meet-past-modifying marker-when

    i-namja-ka neomu neomu hujinkeoya. (laughing)
    this-guy-sm too too lousy
(1). Yang: When was your birthday?
(2). BK: It was my sophomore year in college when my 20th birthday was.
(3). 2nd year in college.
(4). Since it was my second year in college, I was not 20 years old.
    anyway, ah, I was exactly 20 years old.
(5). My friend then, since it was festival time; she introduced me to some guy, a
guy who attended Koryo Univ, you see...
(6). But in the beginning, it was good.
(7). But the second encounter, this man was so lousy. (laugh)
(8). He dressed so badly- the first meeting he attired himself properly but you know
the second time that poor appearance.
(9). So I did not like that.
(10). But anyway, since I could not see any man properly, it was quite awkward;
(11). kurekajiko ije sengil-i twe-ss-eoyo.
and then now birthday-sm became

(12). jeonwha-ka wa-ss-eoyo.
telephone-sm came

(13). kunte ne-sengil-i
but(and) my-birthday-sm

(14). Yang : chukje-ka sengil hako bisuthe?
festival-sm birthday with about the same time?

(15). chukje-ka 5wol 31il ijana.
festival-sm May 31st is( you know)

(16). BK: 15 il hu-ka je sengil ikeotunyo.
15 days after-sm my birthday is

(17). kunte i namjaka zweke romantikhan saram iyeo-ss-eoyo. (laughing)
but this guy very romantic person was

(18). Yang: chukje-nun ka-ss-eot-ko?
festival-tp go-past-ind-and?

(19). Bk: ye. haru katsseosseoyo.
yes. one day went

(20). kurekajiko kass-taka...
and then went-and while...

jeonwha-ka watsseosseoyo.
telephone call came

(21). kunte soljikhi mannaki sireo-ss-keotunyo.
but frankly meeting did not want
(22). kunte seonmul julkke iss-teyo, jeohante.
but present to give is-he said to me

(23). kureseo— silta-ko na papputa-ko siheom
therefore do not want-and I busy-and exam

kongbu he-seo papputa-ko kuresteoni,
study do-because busy-and I said and then,

hakkyo humun-uro nao-myun ku tabang-eseo
school back door-through come out-if that tearoom-at

jaki-nun kitari-ko issulte-nikka nao-reyo.
he-tp wait-and was-because come out-he said

(24). kureonikkan jokuman seonmul-inikka kunyang kongbu-hata
because small present-because just study-while

nawa-seo kunyang coffee masi-ko tuleoka-reyo.
come out-and just coffee drink-and come back-he said

he-tp any more not expect-he said

(26). jota-ko.
o.k.—(I said)

(27). kureseo naka-ss-jiyo.
therefore I went out

(28). naka-ss-teoni ttak anja-seo kitari-ko itt-nunte, ttak ttak meo
I went out and just sit down-and wait-is -ing-and, tak tak well

busirak busirak ha-myunseo ju-nunte,
rustling sound do-while give-and,
(29). jangmi kkotul ireoke sangja-etaka 20 songi-rul jjak henot-ko, 
   rose flower like this box-in 20 branch-om straight put in-and,
   kutaume jakika jakokhan keo-rako, kwanhyunakkok-ul jakokhan-keoreyo. 
   after that i-sm compose thing-he said, orchestral music-om compose-he said

(30). Yang: umteseng-geoisseo?
       music student-was?

(31). Bk: aniyo. yeongmunkwa, kote yeongmunkwa.
       no. English dept. K college English dept

(32). kureseo akbo-hako kutaume meo jeo-ss-teora.
       therefore sheet music-with after that what give me-past-let's me think

(33). pyunji ssu-ko, kieok-i jal annayoo.
       letter write-and, remembering-sm good not occur

(34). amutun, kureoke batunkeot katunte,
       anyhow, like that receiving seems like,

(35). kunte botong saramtul bo-myun jangmi
       however, average people see-if rose
       kot-ul juteo-rato kunyang ireoke vinyl
       flower-om give-even though just like this vinyl
       jongi-eta ireoke ssa-seo ju-janayoo.
       paper-at like this wrap-and give-you know

(36). kunte kuke anira yeongwha-eseo bonkeot cheoreom ttak
       however, that is not but movie-from seeing like exact
       sangja-etaka jangmi kkot-ul ttak neot-ko pojang-ul
       box-in rose flower-om exact put in-and wrapping-om
(37). kuke tweke nolnankeoya.
that very make me surprise

(38). kunte teo nolnankeot-un umakuk-ul
but, more making me surprise-tp music-om

(sujunkupiya. classic umak-e teheseo),
(high standard. classic music-about about)

kunte, ku jakok-ul hess-tako
but, that compose-om did-he said

ju-nunte jom tweke butamsureop-ko,
give-but a little very burden-and,

kunte mak soljikhi kureonkeo iss-janayo eonni,
and, well frankly that thing is-you know sister,

(39). ireoke kipun-un jounkeot iss-janayo.
like this feeling-tp good was-you know

silhun namja-inteto,
dislike guy-even though,

(40). kureseo... ppali kongbuhe-ya han-tako,
So.... quickly study-must do-I said,

tul-eo-kasseoyo.
come in-and-went

(11). And then it was my birthday.
(12). He called me.
(13). But my birthday is,
(14). Yang: Is your birthday date similar to the festival's?
(15). Festival is May 31st.
(16). BK: My birthday was fifteen days later, you see.
(17). But this man was such a romantic person.
(laugh)
(18). Yang: Did you go to the festival?
(19). BK: Yes I went there one day.
(20). So I went there and later I got a phone call.
(21). But truthfully speaking, I did not want to see him.
(22). But he said that he had a gift to give me.
(23). But so, I told him I did not want to, and that I was busy studying for exams,
but he still insisted that if I come out by the school's back gate, he would be waiting
at this cafe.
(24). 'So come.. since it was a small present, just come while studying and get a
drink and go back'.
(25). He said he did not expect (from me) anymore.
(26). I said O.K.
(27). So I went.
(28). I went and saw that he was sitting there waiting for me, and
he gave me something rustlingly.
(29). there were 20 stems of roses in a box, and
next he said that it was an orchestral music that he composed.
(30). Yang: Was he a music student?
(32). So with that sheet of music,
(33). what did he give me next?
(34). He wrote a letter and I can't remember well.
(35). Anyway I think I got those...
But if you look at the average people, when they give roses, they just give them
wrapped in a vinyl wrap, you know.
(36). But it wasn't that, it was like the one I saw on movie, he put the wrapped
roses in a box.
(37). I was so surprised then.
(38). But the thing I got surprised more at was that the music was... he was a high
standard about classical music.
It was such a burden to me that he gave me that thing he composed. But truthfully, you know that this thing.

(39). You feel so good, even though he is a man I dislike so.

(40). I told him that I must get back and study and went in.

(41). tul eo ka ko nat nunte i namja ka ije in and go and after but this guy sm now

najunge kunte kan teyo.
later but go he said

(42). kutte neomu neomu sireotkeotunyo.
at that time really really dislike

(43). neomu sil ko je ka wonle saram ul really dislike and I sm originally person om

namja rul mannal tte jom kumbang
man om meet when a little quickly

siljung to jalne ko kumbang joaha ko,

bored also become and quickly like and,

jom kureonke munjeotunyo.
a little that kind of thing problem

(44). amutun kurett nunte kunte kass nunte, anyhow it was like that but but went but,

jaki hante majimakuro hanbeon teo manna jeyo.

he to finally one time more meet he said

(45). kures eo na nun silta ko kuressteoni,

therefore I tp do not want and I said and then,
(46). ne-ka seonbe jakyukuro, kachi yeonmunkwa-
I-sm senior as, together English dept.-

nikka kachi seonbe jakyukuro manna-myun
because together senior as meet-if

manna ketji-man,
meet I will do-only (under that condition)

nanun kureon yeoja kureonsikuro
I-tp that kind of girl that kind of way

mannaki sil-tako kuressteoni,
meeting do not want-I said I said and then,

kureomyun, seonbe jakyukuro jakirul mann-a- tal-eyo.
then, senior as him meet-and-give-he asked

(47). man-a-kaji-ko kuress-nunte,
meet-and-have-and I did-but,

neka kutte akbo-rul,
I-sm at that time music sheet-om,

ah matta matta.
ah! right right

(48). keokita pan-ul hana jue-ss-eoyo.
in addition to that music record disk-om one gave me.

(49). kye-ka kutte jangmi kkot-hako
that guy-sm at that time rose flower-and

pan-ul juess-nunte kuke shopeng paniesskeotunyo.
disk-om gave-and that is Chopin's was disk
(50). however, old time about 10 years from that time

han 10 nyun jeon pan-inkeot kat-unte,
about 10 years ago disk-looks like-but,

(53). jakika jeil akkinun pani-reyo,
he-sm the most valued disk-he said,

shopeng pan. Chopin's disk

(51). however that gave me

. .
(laughing)

(52). and then in that case, other things all

kurekajiko kureomyun, tarunkeotun ta
and then in that case, other things all

bat-a-jukess-nunteyo,
receive-and-keep-but,

(53). that music sheet at least-tp too much burdened

ku akbo makum-un neomu butamsureopteyo.
that music sheet at least-tp too much burdened

(54). understanding-also well not did-and so

ihe-to jal mot hakess-ko kureseo
understanding-also well not did-and so

tolyo-turi-ketta-ko kureteoni,
return-give honor-will-and I said and then,

(55). at that time this guy-sm alcohol-om drank.

kutte i namja-ka sul-ul meokeo-ss-keotunyo.
at that time this guy-sm alcohol-om drank.
(56). kureoteoni akbo-rul kat-ko ttwicheonak-a
    and then music sheet-om take-and run out-and
    whajangsil-ro kayo.
    rest room-to go

(57). kureoteoni tasi o-nunte amukeot-to yeopseo.
    and then again come-but nothing-even do not have

(58). kureseo kukeot eojjesseseoyo?
    therefore that what did you do?
    kuretteoni,
    I said,

(59). buljil-eo-beori-ko wa-ss-te. (laughing)
    burn it-and come-past-he said

(60). Yang : ku namja jom isanghakuna.
    that guy a little extreme

(61). BK: ung yakkan kureyo.
    yes. a little like that

    fall in love-if mind-sm at loss

(63). kureseo hanun -mal-i 'BK-hante pilyo yeopnun keot-un
    therefore said-speaking-sm name-to use not thing-tp
    jaki-eketo pilyo-ka yeop-te.'(laughing)
    he-to also use-sm not-he said
(64). cham kikamakhyo.
really dumbfound
.
.
(65). kamanissja kuresseoyo,
well then therefore,
.
.
(41). I went in but this guy said that he is going to the army.
(42). But really, I really disliked him.
(43). I really disliked him and originally when I meet men, I got bored with them
quickly and quickly like them. That was my problem.
(44). Anyway it was like that, and
he joined the armed forces, and he told me he wanted us get together for one last
time.
(45). So I told him I didn't want to.
(46). Since I am a student in the same English literature field, If we meet as co-
students of English literature major, I would see the person, but I don't want to
meet such way as a woman-I said;
so he said then let's see as the senior of co-students.
(47). So I saw him, and then,
That time I had the music sheet..
Oh yeah that's it.
(48). In addition to that, he gave me a record.
(49). Along that he gave me those roses and that record which was Chopin's
music.
(50). But it was about ten years ago, it must have been about 10 years old,
it was the record he valued the most: he said,
Chopin....
(51). But he gave that to me.
(laugh)
(52). So, I could receive all others,
(53). the music sheet was such a burden to me
(54). and that telling him also that I could not understand well that I will return it to
him...
(55). When I said that, you see he had drank alcohol that time,
(56). he rushed out with the music, and went to the bathroom.

(57). Then, he came again, nothing was there.

(58). So I asked 'What did you do with it?'

(59). He said that he burned it. (laugh)

(60). Yang: He is a little extreme.

(61). BK: yes. He is a little extreme.

(62). He gets out of his mind if he falls in love.

(63). So what he said was 'If it is something that is not need to BK, it is useless to me, too.' (laugh)

(64). I was dumbfounded.

(65). Well, let me see... therefore...

(66). kuriko heojuss-nunte, jungmal inje kunte kanun naliyeyo.
and splited-and, really now army joining day is

(67). je chiku kote taninun e-ka
my friend K college attending she-sm
soke sikyu jeo-ss-unikkanyo,
introduce passive-past-because

(68). kachi nak-a whansong-ul hajeyo.
together go out-and a farewell-om let's do-she said

(69). 'ah neomu neomu siltako'
'ah! really really do not want.'

(70). kureonte kunyang ku saram chinku-to nao-ko
but just that person friend-also come out-and
kureseo kunyang naka-jeyo..
therefore just go out-she said
(71). kureoseo barata juki-nun he-ss-eoyo.
therefore see him off-tp did

(72). cheouminteyo.
the first experience

(73). kureon il-i issu-rirakunun sangsang-to mot heyo.
that kind of thing-sm happen-would imagine-even not do

(74). hayeotun ka-ko hayeotun kuriko bye bye-nun hessjiyo.
anyhow go-and anyhow and bye-bye-tp did

(75). kunal najunge nonsan hunryunso-e
that day later Nonsan (name) training center-at

ka-a-kaji-ko uri jip-e jeonwha-ka wass-nunte
go-and-have-and our home-at telephone call-sm came-but

kuttenun soljikhi kureonkeo issjanayo.
at that time frankly that kind of thing is-you know

(76). jikumun kunin-i meo na-bota eorinetul-inikka meo
now soldier-sm well me-than children-because well

sangkwan-i yeop-jiman, kuttenun kunin ha-myun
relationship-sm not there-although, at that time soldier they say-if

kwengjanghi mak neomu neomu sil-chanayo.
really well really really dislike-you know

(77). kuriko kuressnunte i-saram-i jeonwha-ka wa-ss-eoyo.
and I said after that this-person-sm telephone-sm came

(78). kuretteoni taumjue inje nonsan huryunso-e
and then next now Nonsan (name) training center-at
kkunna-seo finishing-and because hyuka-rul time off-om nakanteyo. go out-he said

(79). kureseo, 'BK ssi an-joayo?'
therefore 'miss BK not -good?'

(80). kurekatkoseo ne-ka 'meo-ka joayo ?' kuressteoni,
so I-sm 'what-sm good?'
I said and then,

(81). jaki-ka hunryun han tal man-inka 3 kewol
he-sm training one month after-I am not sure 3 months

man-inka naka-nunte, kibun an jon-neyo.
after-I am not sure go out-and feeling not good-he asked

(82). kureseo 'aniyo.'
so 'no.'

(83). 'han-beon man-naje'
'one-time see-he asked.'

(84). kureseo
so

'neka we mannayo?'
'I-sm why meet?'

(85). ne chinku-ka Unhi-nte 'Unhi-nun jakika hyuka nakanta-nunte
my friend-sm Unhi(name)-and 'unhi-tp he-sm time off go out-and

kwengjanghi joaha-teo-nte'
really like-past-and.'

(86). kureseo
so
(87). 'jeh-nun sangkwan-i yeopjanayo.'
I tp relationship-sm not exist.

(88). kureteni kureo-nyako.
I said and then is that so-he said

(89). kutaumbuteonun chonwha-ka tasinun
from after that telephone call-sm againmarker.
an-okeo-teon-yo.
not-come-past-ind polite mood marker

(66). After we split, now really it was time for him to join the army.
(67). Since my friend was attending to Koryo university, the one who introduced us.
(68). She told me to give him a send off farewell together.
(69). 'Ah, I really really don't want to. '
(70). But since his friend is also coming over, she said 'let's just go'.
(71). So I did see him off.
(72). That was my first, you see,
(73). I never imagined that such thing would happen.
(74). Anyway I went and I said bye-bye.
(75). Later he went to Nonsan training center and called my house,
but you know that thing, then....
(76). Now it is o.k. that the soldiers are younger than I am but, then when we say soldiers, I really hated it.
(77). an then but he called me.
(78). He told me that now next week his training ends and he gets some time off.
(79). And he said, 'Don't you like it?'.
(80). So I retorted ' What's there to like?'.
(81). Since he is going off after a month or 3 months of training, 'don't you feel happy?'.
(82). So I said 'no'.

(83). But he said he wanted to see me again

(84). So I told him 'why see you?'

(85). My friend was Eunhee, and

he said that she was delighted when he told her he was getting a vacation.

(86). So I said that but since she is his junior, she is happy about it,

(87). It was nothing to do with me. - I said

(88). So I told him that, he said 'I see.'

(89). After that I never got a phone call from him.

(90). kunte utkinunke meonya-myun,

but funny thing what is-if I say,

ku-namja ne-ka joaha-ko kureonk-un

that-man I-sm like-and that kind of thing-tp

yeopess-nunte kureto kureonkeo iss-janayo.

not exist-but but that kind of thing is-you know

(91). ireoke eoril-jeoke jangmikkot bat-ko

like this young-when rose flower get-and

sang bat-ko meo kureomyun

present get-and well if you do

kureonkun iss-janayo.

that kind of thing is-you know

(92). chinkutul-hante yekiha-myun 'ah kureon saram-i issessta.' -ko

friends-to tell-if 'ah! that kind of person-sm was.' -I said

jarangsama yekiha-nunte (laughing).

proudly tell-and (laughing)
(93). kunte najunge ku namja-ka, (pause)
   but later that guy-sm(pause)
   myut-nyun-i jinasseyo.
   several-years-sm passed

(94). kunte-eso jeteha-ko nawa-seo, (pause)
   army-from discharge-and get out-and,(pause)
   chinku-boko uyeonhake 'ya neone seonbe eotteoha-ko-
   friend-to accidentally 'ya! your senior how
   jinena?"-kuretteoni
   is he?-I said

(95). 'uri seonbe kwangko hwesa tanin'-teyo.
   'our senior advertising company attend'-she said

(96). kwangko hwesa tul-eo-kanta-ko kuretkeotunyo.
   advertising company go in-and-go-and he said

(97). kureonyako
   is that so

(98). 'kunte yeoja chiku sengkyu-tte."-kureyo.
   'but girl friend have-I heard."-she said

(99). kunte tweeke utkinunke meonyamyun, (laughing)
   but really funny thing what is,(laughing)
   na-rul joaha-teon saram-un kkutkkaji na-rul joahe-yaji,
   I-om like-past person-tp until the last I-om like-must be,

(100). na-nun sil-eo-ha-myunseo-to tarun yeoja-ka sengkyusssta-nikka
   I-tp dislike-and-do-while-even other girl friend-sm had-because
kwenhi kibun-i jounkeot-man-un aninkeo aljiyo.
not necessarily feeling-sm good-only-tp not you know

(101). tweke utkinunkeoya.
really funny

(90). The funny thing is that, it was not that I like the man, but you know such thing,
(91). when you are this young and get roses and that things.....
(92). And when you talk to your friends, 'Ah, there was such a person,' speaking with a pride. (laugh)
(93). But later this man (pause).....,
some years went by,
he was discharged from the military service and (pause).
(94). I asked my friend accidently 'How is your senior doing?.'
(95). She said that he was working in an ad. agency.
(96). He told me before that he was going to an ad. agency.
(97). 'Oh, really.'
(98). She said that 'But, he got a girlfriend.'
(99). But what was so funny was that, that person who liked me must like me till the end,
(100). Even though I didn't like him, when I heard that he got another girl, I didn't only feel happy .
(101). It is so funny.

(102). kye-ka wonle kote kikye konghak-kwa-rul
he-sm originally K college mechanical engineering-dept-om
tul-eo-kasskeotunyo.
enter-and-went

(103). kikongkwa-rul tul-eo-kat-nunte kunte
mechanical engineering dept-om enter-and-went-and but
jeokseong-i an matnunkeoya.
(his) character-sm not fit

(104). kureseo han-he jesuheseo so one-year cramm to repeat the entrance exam
tasi kote yeongmun kwa-rul tul-eo-kass-teyo.
again K college English dept.-om enter-and-went-he said

(105). kunte wonle jeka namja munkwa teke sileohakeotunyo.
but originally I-sm guy literature major a lot dislike.

(106). kureseo jom munhak hanun namja sawhehak so a little literature doing guy social study
munkwa-rul tweke sileohakeotunyo.
literature-om really dislike

(102). He originally entered the mechanical engineering, you see.
(103). Although he entered the mechanical engineering, but it didn't fit his character, personality.
(104). So he crammed to repeat college entrance exam for a year and again he got into English lit. major at Koryo univ.
(105). But actually, I hate men who take literature courses.
(106). So, I hate a man who major in literature, especially major in social study.
Text 4

Shocking Story

(1). Jeogehalkka, ne-ka yennare yeondaee aape
How about that I-sm long time ago Yeon Univ. front
meori'arooreo gattaga kkangpe mannann yegi?
to cut hair when go street gang meet story?

**Interviewer: Ah! gookeohaeyo.
Ah! that is good

(2). Ah, gigaamakheo. Nuleo-ss-eoyo?
Ah, that was really something. turn on-past-qm

(3). Ne-ka daehakkyo samhaknyeon tteinga-boda.
I-sm undergraduate junioe when-maybe

(4). Samhaknyeon ttein-de, goottaee inje Seonjni appa
Junior when-cm, that time now Seonjni father

mannel tte-nikka,
meet when-because

(5). Goottaee Dear Hunter gookjang gagi-ro he-ss-tago.
When Dear Hunter movie to go plan-past-you know

(6). Goottaee goonal siheomi yeolhansi-jjum isseo-ss-nunde,
When that day exam 11 o'clock-about is-past-cm

yakssok-i doosinga-e iss-ss-eo.
appointment-sm about 2 PM-at be-past-ind

(7). Yeolhansi-e kkutnanun-de woorikkwa-e hana-ga
11 o'clock-at finish-cm our dept-person one-sm
(8). geogiga meo ssade, jalha-n-daе.
That place well cheap, doing very well-pre-they said.

(9). Gooraeseo, sigan-i neomoo namkkko, gedo
Therefore, time- is too much left, that classmate

woori sesi ga-ss-eо.
we 3 people go-past-инд

(10). Ge-nun jagi-yeomma-ga ippwonhega-kko ippwon
That friend-sm her-mother-is hospitalized-cm hospitalized

goo myeonhaesigan-i iss-jana-yо.
that visiting hour-sm are-you know-hm

(11). Gooregakko, ge meonjeo jaloogo ga-ss-eо.
Therefore, she first cut leave-past-инд

(12). Goorigo na-nun giidareosseo. Jeomsimsigan-i ge-nun
And I-tp waited. lunchtime-sm she-sm

myeonhe-ya.
visiting hours-инд

(13). Gooregakko, meori-rul jaroo-ko nawa-nundedo,
And then hair-om cut and came out-but

**Interviewer: Gоoge Yeonde appieo-ss-eо?
That place Yeon Univ. in front of-past-qm

(14). Oong.
yes
(15). Yeonde appoo-ro ireoke oomyeon goo Sinchon
Yeon Univ. front-to this way come that Sinchon
gooldari sageori iss-jo?
bridge 4 crossing roads is-qm

(16). Geogiseo jokkum dureogamyeon orunchogooro
At that place a little bit went into right side-to
golmogi iss-teo-ra.
narrow pathway be-past-ind

(17). Goonde hanok jib-i gwengjanghi
Then Korean style house-sm really
manko gwengjanghi hanjeokhe-yo.
a lot really secluded-hm

(18). Geogi-ga miseongneonja goomjigooyeogre!
That place is someone who is under 18-years-old no place to enter!

(19). Na-nun hanbeon-do andooreogaba-ss-eo
I-tp even one time never had entered-past-ind

**Interviewer: Gooreondaega iss-eo?
That place really is-qm

(20). Na-n gootte cheoum dooreogaba-ss-eo.
I-tp that time for the first enter-past-ind

(21). Googeotto molasso goottekkaji.
Even that fact did not know until that time
(1). Well, how about that story? The story about when I met a street gang when I went to get a hair cut in front of Yeonsei Univ.
   **Interviewer: That is great.
(2). Well, that was really something. Do you press the button?
(3). It must have been happened when I was a junior in college.
(4). It was during my junior year because I was dating my husband at that time.
(5). I had a date to see the movie 'Deer Hunter'.
(6). On that day the test was about 11AM and the date was about 2PM.
(7). The exam ended at about 11AM, but one of my classmates suggested to have a hair cut at a hairstylist in front of Yeonsei Univ.
(8). She said that it was cheap and the stylist cuts well.
(9). I had plenty of time before the date, so we three went together.
(10). However, she had a hospitalized mother and you know that there are only certain visiting hours.
(11). So, she got the haircut first and left.
(12). I had waited. Because lunchtime was the visiting hour.
(13). I came out after I had gotten a hair cut.
   **Interviewer: Was that still in front of Yeonsei univ.
(14). Yes.
(15). If you come to the front of the Yeonsei univ., then there is a Shinchon Gooldari crossroads.
(16). If you come a little bit to the right side from there, there is a narrow alley.
(17). There were really lots of old Korean style houses and it was really a secluded place.
(18). That was the so-called adult only place.
(19). I had never been there before.
   **Interviewer: Is there that kind of place?
(20). That was the first time for me.
(21). I didn't know that until then.

   **Interviewer: Geogin we dureogasso?
   That place why entered?

(22). Nae mal-dul jom dureoba-yo.
My saying-plu please listen to me (laughing)-hm
(23). Googe go ttak ippku-e isseo-yo.
    That place right right entrance-at exist-hm

(24). Gooreonikka ige gil Yeondae
    Therefore that place is road Yeon univ

galreo-myeon  sageorieseo  jjook  ga-myeon
to go-if  4 crossing roads  straightly  go on-if

Yeonde0-jana-yo? (Jesture)
it is Yeon univ.-right you know-qm

(25). Gadaga gil orunchoke ippku-e isseooyo, goo
    On the way to go road rightside-at entrance-at is that

mijangwon-i.
beauty shop-sm

(26). Gadaga sook nawa-seo yoreoke nawa-seo
    On the way to go sneak out-cm this way get out-cm

sageorijjog-uro gatta-ga 42beon tamyeon guttae
4-crossing roads-to went to-cm no.42 get in-if at that time

Myeongdong gattago-yo.
Myeongdong went to-hm

(27). 42beon tamyeon Yeonde appe soonun-ji ansununji
    No.42 ride in Yeon-univ. front stop-or no stop-or

moruge-ss-eo.
do not know-past-ind

(28). Gooraeseo hansigan-i namanun-de Myeondong
    So that one hour-sm left-sm Myeongdong
(29). Gooraeseo, ah! E-de appkkaji georeo-gaja.
So, ah! E-Univ. to the front walk-let's

(30). Ede-appkkaji-nun boonmyeonghi 42beoni onoon-ji
To the front to of E-Univ.-sm surely No.42 comes-cm

a-nikka.
I know that-because

(31). Ilro geoleogalyedaga, (Jesture) ah! neomoo bokjapha-go
To this way intended to walk but, ah! too much busy-cm

gooraeseo yeoreoke goo yeondeokman neomoomyeon
and this way that hills only over-if

E-de-ilkkeotga-ss-rago,
E-univ-be possibly-past-ind

(32). Gooraeseo, ige jirumgil gatecorago ireoke
So, this is short cut seemed like this way

nawaseo ireoke (Jesture) ga-ss-ta dasi inje inje goo
get out this way go-past-and again now now that

mijangwon golmokoo-ro dooreoga-seo ga-ss-tago, hanjeokhan!.
beauty shop pathway-to enter-cm go-past-cm secluded place!

(33). Goo mak ganunde, nooga na-rul
that well on the way to go, somebody I-om

ttaraonunkeotgatturago, nookkim-e nookkim-i iss-janayo.
seemed like was following feeling-at feeling-sm is-you know-qm
**Interviewer: Mooseoweo!**
Scary thing!

So this way look-past-ind

(35). Gooretteoni namjan-de hoeseok yangbog-ul singiro
Ant then a man-cm gray suit-om in single

tak ippeo-ss-eo.
all wear-past-ind

(36). Seoulde PPajj-rul jjak dalatteora-ko gumte-ankyung-ul
Seoul-Univ. badge-om all wore-cm golden-eyeglasses-om

tak sseo-ss-eo.
right wear-past-ind

(37). Hal mal-i iss-te.
have to do-om talk-sm is-he said

(38). Geogiseo gootae gyeahgo ttakseoseo yegi-rul-
At that point at that time with him right stopped speak-om-

he-ss-eoya ha-nunde,
tell-past-must do-but

wootkinune daitta kooreogo mal-ro tekku-rul
Funny guy he is think talking-om answer-om

anhago gyesok geoleo ga-n-geo-ya.
not do continuously walk-cm go-pres-nm-ind

(39). Meo jaginae godunghakkkyo dongchanghoega 6si-e
What his high school alumni meeting 6 o'clock-at
innunde partnerga yeopseoseo gachi-ga-je?
was partner-sm do not have together-go-let's

(40). Gregatkokk ttak seoseo dekkul-rul
   And then again right stop answer-om
hesseoya hanunde gesok gangeo-ya.
should do do continuously go on-ind

(41). Dekku-rul anhago gada-ga,
   Answer-om not do go on-cm

**Interviewer: We daekku-rul hesseoyade?
   Why answer-om should need?

(41). Dekkurul hesseoyade, goo sangwhang-eseo-nun.
   Answer-om should do, that that situation-in-tp

(42). Yega ne pal-ul kkwak jap-teo-ni,
   He-sm my arm-om tightly grasp-past aspect-cm,

**Interviewer: Ha, yeommaya!
   Wow, Oh, mother!

(43). Gapjaki banmalro naonunde 'nigameonde,
   Suddenly lost respect word-with said 'What a girl you are?
irreoke geonbangjigo mal-do anhanae?
so much saucy talk-even do not say?

(44). Yeo! yakssok,
   Ah! appointment,

(45). Gooraeseo, yeoltteolgyeore 'Yaksog-i isseo-yo'. (laughing)
   So that, to avoid the crisis appointment-sm is-hm
(46). Gooreonikka, meottsie kkutnanage yaksok-i?
    Then what time finish appointment-sm?

(47). Gooraeseo, gootae an-kkunan-dago.
    So, at that time not-finish-ind

**Interviewer: Then why did you go there?**
(22). Listen to me(laughing)
(23). That was the entrance.
(24). Well, this is the road, if you want to go to Yeonsei univ. you walk straight from the crossing roads.(Gesture)
(25). That beauty shop was at the right entrance of the road.
(26). Walk continuously, and come out, come out this way, walk to the crossing roads and take the number 42 bus, then you got to Myeong dong at that time.
(27). I was not sure the #42 bus stops in front of Yeonse univ. or not.
(28). One hour was left and it takes only 30 minutes to to Myeongdong.
(29). So I decided to walk to Ewha univ.
(30). Because I knew that there was a #42 bus in front of Ewha univ.
(31). I intended to walk this way, but that road was too busy, and I thought if I just climbed over that hill then it might be Ewha univ.
(32). It looked like a short cut, so I came out this way , walked this way (Gesture), and again I entered into that beauty shop pathway, a secluded place.
(33). When I continued walking, I got a feeling that somebody was following me, that feeling.

**Interviewer: Scary!**
(34). So I looked back,
(35). Then a man was there wearing a nice gray suit.
(36). I noticed he wore a golden frame eyeglasses and had the pin of Seoul Univ. pinned on his clothes.
(37). He wanted to talk to me.
(38). Well, I should have talked with him at that time.
but I just thought that he was a funny guy and did not say anything and continued walking.
(39). He said that there was a high-school alumni party at 6 o'clock, but he did not have a partner, so he wanted me to go together.
(40). Again I should have talked to him at that instant, but I just continued walking.
(41). I walked on without saying anything, then...

**Interviewer: Why did you have to talk to him?

(41). I had to talk to him in that situation.
(42). He grabbed my arm tightly.

**Interviewer: Wow!

(43). He changed his words lacking respect and said 'What kind of girl are you to be so haughty and say nothing?'
(44). Oh, 'appointment!'.
(45). In the midst of confusion, I blurted 'I have an appointment.'
(46). He asked me 'What time is that appointment going to end?'
(47). I said 'It is not going to finish at that time.'

(48). Gooreonoonde guttae mak ye-ga jom
Then at that time well he-sm please

isanghangeot gass-teo-rago.
abnormal seem-past aspect-ind

(49). Greseo bonikka doolrerul bonikka amudo yeopss-eo.
So looked around looked anybody is not.-ind

(50). We, hanok-jip manun-de iss-janna-yo
well, Korean style-houses many-at exist-you know-hm?

(51). Gadaga yeogwan gadaga tto myeot-gip
On the way inns on the way to go also some-houses

hanokjip ittaga yeokwan.
Korean style houses were inns

(52). Goonajoonge algobonikka geogi-ka
Later learned that place-sm
**Interviewer:** Geogiga sachanggayeokkuna, geogi-ka jokum?

That place is the whore place. that place-sm a little bit?

(53). Gooreongabwa.

Maybe that's right

(54). Gooraegatkkko an-dege-ss-eo.

Therefore not- become-past-ind

(48). At that time he looked odd.

(49). I looked around, but there was nobody there.

(50). You know that the place where there were lots of old Korean style houses.

(51). Old style Korean houses and motels and motels.

(52). I knew later that that was for adults only place.

**Interviewer:** Well, it sounds like that is the place for an unlicensed prostitution.

(53). I think you are right.

(54). So, I had to think of different ways to handle that problem.

(55). Goore nega jeo are neryeogaseo yegihajago(laughing)

So, I-sm far down go down let's talk

Gure-ss-eo.

ask-past-ind

(56). Akka jeo mijangwon golmok innunde geogi-nun

Before, far beautyshop pathway is-place M that place-is

inje saram-i manu-nikka.

now people-sm many-because
(57). Gooreseo nega jeo-are neryeogaseo yegiha-jago.
So I-sm that-down go down talk-let's

(58). Ne-ga mijangwon yeope-seo geongyangskijip hana
I-sm beauty shop beside-at western restaurant one
bannunde geogi-rul gajago goo geongyangskijib-e.
saw that place-om go that restaurant-at

(59). Geogi-kkaji ga-myeon sarami issunikka, igeon
To that place go-if people-sm are, this thing
meo sorir-ul chilyeo-he-do saram-i yeopsseo.
well help-om shout-try to-although people-sm not there

(60). Gooreseo gyeongyangskijibe gaseo yegiha-jago hekkeoddun,
Therefore western restaurant go talk suggested,

(61). Gooreonikka yega meorahameon, 'anirae.'.
And then he-sm what said, no

his there friend-sm one also is-he said

(63). Ige ireoke undeok-bajigiliye-yo.(Jesture)
This this way hill-slope-hm

(64). Goore goo yeondeog-ul joongsimuro nerimak gurigo
So that hill-om center downroad and
na-nun olragago isseo-ss-eoyo.
I-sm going up on the way

(65). Jeoyie jagi chingooga jagi-rul gidarigo iss-tte.
There above his friend-sm him-om wait is-he said
(66). Gooregatkk o yeodi innu-nago gureonikka geogiit te jakkoo.  
Then where is-Question said there is again and again.

(67). Geogi gaseo iyagi-hajago.  
There go talk-let's do

(68). Na-nun geongyangsikjibe gajago geogiga-myeon  
I-sm Western restaurant let's go go there-if

saram-i manu-nikka,  
people-sm a lot-because

(69). Geogiga-myeon dooreogagin myeol dooreo-ga.  
Go there-sm enter what enter-but

(70). Geogigamyeon sarami manuni-kka domang  
Go there-sm people-sm a lot-rm run away

gamyeon deoji.  
go is

(71). Gyeongyangsikjibe gajanikka jakku jeogi-gajae.  
Western style restaurant let's go again there is-let's

(72). Geogiga yeodinyago gooreoni-kka, ireoke boni-kka-nun,  
There is where ask-RM, this way look-rm-cm

itts-yeoijido ana.  
forget-passive marker not

Whanggum yeogwan irago sseo-iss-eo.(laughing)  
Golden inn is written-is-ind

**Interviewer: Michinget.  
He was crazy.  
Gooraeseo yeotteokhe-ss-eo?  
Then what's next-past-qm
(73). Whangkum yeokwan appe iss-te.
Golden inn front is-(is said by him)

(74). Gootiebuteo mak gasum-i ttinun-de,
From that moment violently heart-sm beaten-sm

**Interviewer: Gasumi tti-ji.
Heart beat-of course

Myeot sinde, Denatinde?
What time is it, In the middle of the day is it?

(75). Hansidoandetnunde, hansiijum deo-ss-eyo.
No later than 1 P.M, about 1 o'clock became-past-hm

(76). Denatinde amudo yeop-ss--yo.
Middle of the day anybody not there-past-hm

(77). Yeocheom guri gemi han-mari-do yeop-ss-eyo.
Really like that ant one-aunt-even do not exist-past-hm

(55). I told him 'Let's go down there and talk.'(laughing)
(56). Because there were many people down the hill where there was that beauty shop.
(57). So I asked him to go down the hill and talk,
(58). because, I saw one tea house there.
(59). There were many people down the hill. If I went there, there would be people, but here nobody would help even if I screamed.
(60). So, I asked him to go down the hill to a teahouse.
(61). But he said 'no'.
(62). He said that his friend was waiting for him over there.
(63). It was the middle of the hill.(Gesture)
(64). I was on the way to climb the hill and the other side was the descending road.
(65). He said that his friend was waiting for him on the top of the hill.
(66). I asked him 'where is he?' and he said repeatedly 'he is on the top.'
(67). He asked me to talk there.

(68). I told him 'let's go down to the tea house,' because there were many people there.

(69). If I could go to the tea house, of course I was not planning to go in.

(70). If I get there I could run away because there were many people.

(71). I wanted to go to the tea house, but he wanted go up.

(72). So, I asked him 'What on earth is that place?' and looked toward that
direction,

I can not forget. The sign in front of the house was written 'Golden inn.'

**Interviewer: He was crazy. What is next?

(73). He said his friend was waiting for him in front of that inn.

(74). At that moment, my heart began to pound.

**Interviewer: If I were you, same thing would have happened to me.

What time was it, it was daytime, right?

(75). It was no more than 1 p.m, about 1 p.m.

(76). But nobody was there during day time.

(77). I couldn't even find one ant.

(78). Goorenunde ne-ga goo yeondeokbaji joonganjoom ya-ss-nunde,
And then I-sm that hill slope about middle came-past-cm,

Geo yeondeokbajieseo nooga naereoo-nunde,
There from the top of the hill sombody coming down-cm

Yeottoon halmeongiga nereowa, Gagae-seo myeol-sagat-kko.
Some grandma come down, market-from something-buy-cm

(79). Goengjanghi hanokjip hanokjip jootek-i
Really Korean style house Korean style house house-sm

ma-nunde,(high tone)
many-cm
(80). Guresso, mak sorirulcheo-ss-eo. 
So, without care shout-past-ind

---

**Interviewer: Wow!**
Wow!

(81). 'i-saram moroonun saram-inde yeokwan-e
this-man do not know man-cm inn-to
dooreogajago gooreondago mak jom dowa-dala-go.'
let's enter ask really please help-please-quot m

(82). Chet, odaga i-halmeoniga doraseo goonyangga.
Oh boy! on the way of coming this-grandma turn back go away

**Interviewer: Yeomeona!**
Deo sangwhang-i nappa-jeo-ss-jjana?
Oh boy! more situation-sm bad-become-past-qm

(83). Gooraeseo ye-ga deo whaganan-geoya.
So. he-sm more angry-ind

(84). Geogiseo meo i-halmeoni nereogi jeone
At there what this-grandma come down before
meo hakseng-joong-ul boyeojuggetdanun-doong,
what student-ID-om will show-etc.,
meo sin-hante mengsehaketedanundung, meo 10bun
What god-to swear etc., what 10 minutes
ane bonaejundago na-l-bogo,
within let free I-om-seeing

(85). gooraedo nega geogi-rul dooreogagettseo?
But I-sm that place-om enter-Tag question?
(86). Goore, nega soriruljiruni-kka whagana-ss-eo.
So, I-sm shout-rm angry-past-ind

Eyeglasses-om abruptly take off-past-ind

(88). Gooreseo meorahanunamyeon, 'Ne-ga neo Sinchon-e
And then what (he) said was, 'I-sm you Sinchon-at

noogoon-ji ara?' ire.
who-is know? said

(89). Gooreomyeonseo, 'Neo ne mal han madi-myeon
And then you my word one segment-if

neo hakkyo-e dadanin-de.'
you school-at can not attend-he said

(90). Ahyu! arendori hoodul georindanunge
Oh my god! the lower part of the body trembling so called

gooreondeseo arendori hoodulgeorinda
right that moment the lower part of the body tremble-so called

gooreoodoo-rago.
it was right that case-ind

(91). Koonilnatteoroago, ye-ga whagana-ssteo-rago,
Big problem happened he-sm angry-past-ind

(78). At that moment, I was standing in the middle of the hill,
somebody was walking down the hill from the top,
A grandmother was coming toward us, she was holding some grocery in her hand.
(79). There were really really a lot of old Korean style houses.
(80). So, I shouted for help.
Interviewer: Wow!
(81). 'I really don't know this man. He asked me to go into the inn. Please help me.'
(82). But 'Shoot, she turned around and went back.'
**Interviewer: Oh my god!, It was worse than before right?
(83). So he got angrier.
(84). He said that he would show me his student I.D. or he could pledge to god, or he would release me within 10 minutes before the old lady came down.
(85). But I did not listen to him.
(86). So, he was angry because of my shouting.
(87). He abruptly took off his glasses.
(88). Then, he told 'Do you know who the hell I am in this area?'
(89). And said 'You cannot go to school if I say just one word.'
(90). I had never known before what the meaning of 'trembling legs', it was the right word for that situation.
(91). Jesus Christ! He was angry.

(92). Goote machim, Gooyeondeog-e woorinara yogurt
At that time fortunately that hill-at our country yogurt

guruma kkulgo daninun ajuma iss-janna-yo?
cart pull come & go woman is-you know-qm

(93). Goo ajummaga nereowa.
that woman-sm come down

(94). Gooreseo, inje halmeoni cheoreom myeolri issul-tte
So, now grandma like far when-was

soriirimyeon andegettanun senggak-i dool-deo-rago,
shout-if not good thought-sm enter-past-ind

(95). Ye-ga jinjja whanamyeon moogirado duride-myeon yeotteoke?
He-s really angry-if arm-if threaten-if what should (I) do?
(96). Ne-ga kjangpen-jul arra-nunde.
   I-sm street gang-as knew-ind

(97). Gunde yoroke neryeoda gakkai omyeon sori-jilur-yess-nunde,
But this way come down near come-if shout-planned-cm

ireoke neryeoda derijeom iturago golo ssak dureog-a.
this way come down agent store was to there thoroughly enter-ind

(98). Ya gooreseo yeotteokeheoseodunji goo derijeom
Aha then no matter what that agent store

kkajiman ga-myeon saram-i issulgeogat-a.
to go-if people-sm might be there-ind

(99). Gooreseo gye-ga whaganatta, anjatta, angyeongul gochyeo
So that he-sm angry, sit down eyeglasses-om change

sseoda gooreonunsai, Georumal nal-salryorahago goo
wear during that moment, Walking me-save that

derijeom-uro tyo dureoga-ss-ji meo!
agent-to ran ran into-past-ind well!

(92). At that moment, You know the woman who is pulling the cart of yogurt in my country.
(93). She was coming down the hill.
(94). I thought it was not a good idea to shout when she was far away.
(95). What if he gets really angry and takes out a weapon?
(96). I knew he was a street gang.
(97). I intended to shout when she approached near us,
but she entered the agency store on the way.
(98). Therefore, I thought if I could just get to that store, then there should be some people.
(99). Because of his anger, he was readjusting his eyeglasses, and sitting down and up, right that moment. I ran away to that the agency store desperately.

(100). Gannunde meo goo derijum-enun amudo yeop-kko,
After reached well that agent-at anybody do not-and
da bang-e innab-a.
all room-to might be-ind

(101). Guttega 4woldalira yakgan ssalssalha-jana-yo.
At that time April a little bit cold-you know-ind

(102). Gooreseo, bangmoon-ul whak-yeolgo sinbal-ul
So that, room door-om abruptly-open shoes-om
sinunchero mak ttyodooreoga-ss-ji meo.
on violently jumped into-past-nm well

**Interviewer: Wa yonggitta! Jal he-ss-eo.
Wow brave! Good act-past-ind

(103). Wa anboyeo, appi.
Wow can not see, front

(104). Goo ajummaga bapmeokko iss-teo-rago.
That wife-sm eat is-past-ind

(105). Wha nolegakko, goo ajeossi-rang nole-gakko,
Wow surprised, that husband-with surprised-and,
noogoonae noogoonae?
who are you who are you?
hoodelgeoreogakko mal-ul mot hagge-ss-eo,
trembling talk-om not do-past-ind
neomoo tteolyeo-gakko.,
too much trembled-and

(106). Gaman ittnunde jinjia aredoriga
Quiet was really the lower part of the body

(107). Goonde, yega bakke-seo meorana-myeon
But, he-sm outside-from what he said-if

annaomyeon jooinda-ko nalli-ya.
not came out-if kill-he said fuss-ind

(108). Ne-ga jagi chingoo eininde, goo ajeossihan-te, nega
I-sm his friend girl friend, that husband-to, I-sm

jagi chingoo eininde, jagi chingooga jeogi-seo
his friend girl friend, His friend there-from

gidarinunde nega angandago hande.
was waiting I-sm refused to go said

(109). Nega gooajeossihan-te, ireogo bireo-ss-eo.(jesture)
I-sm that husband-to, this way begg-past-ind

(110). Na-rul salyeodal-rago.
I-om save life-ind

(111). Na jeosaram jinjia moroonun saraminde, moroonun
I that man really know man, don't know

saram-i-rago.
man-sm-ind

(100). Nobody was in the store and everybody seemed in the room.
(101). It was April, so it was more or less cool.
(102). I opened the door abruptly and jumped into the room with my shoes on.
Interviewer: Wow, you were brave!

(103). I couldn't think about other things.
(104). The owner of the store was eating lunch.

(105). She was really surprised, her husband was also very surprised and asked me 'who are you?'
(106). I couldn't say anything because of my trembling.
(107). He threatened loudly outside 'If you do not come out, I am going to kill you.'
(108). He told to the agency owner's husband that I was a girl friend of his friend, I am a girl friend of his friend, and he continued to say that his friend was waiting for me there, but I did not want to go.
(109). I begged to that husband in this way, (Gesture) 'Please help me,'
(110). 'I really do not know him, do not know him.'

(112). Mak gooretteo-ni, mak bakke-seo annaomyeon
Throughly did-and, just outside-from not-come out

jugindago meo sorisorijirudeoni ga-de.
kill just shouted leave-ind

(113). Gooreseo, nega goo ajeossi bogo, ahue,
And then, I-sm that husband to, wow,

jom mangjom bwadalrago guretteoni, Jinjja
please a watch look out asked, Really

goo yeokwanuro dooreo ga-doo-reyo.
that inn's inside enter gp-past-he said

(114). Goonde goo yeondeokbaji tak jeil nopunde issuni-kka
Then that hills right most high-place is-RM

yeogi-seo boi-jana-yo.
from there can be seen-you know-ind
(115).  Jinjja geogi-seo chingoo-rang nawagakko ijikuro
Really from there friend-with came out this way
naeryeoga-sse-te.
came down-past-he said

(116).  Jinjja geogie chingooga isseo-teon-gaba.
Really there friend-sm be-past-must be

(117).  Ijjogguro neryeo gassunikka, nal-bogo ijikuro
This way went down-rm, me-to this way
neryeogaranikka, ongilro dasi neryeoga-re.
go down-rm, last road that I came again go down-(he) said

(118).  Goonde honja mooseoweo-seo neryeoga-lsoo-ka iss-na,
At that time alone afraid-RM came down-can-sm be-qm
dyijochaolggeot gata-seo.
followed looks like-because

**Interviewer: Gooreom, jibe jeonwha haji.
Right, home-to telephone do.

(119).  Gooregakko, gusenggak-do anna.
Then, that think-sm not

(120).  Goottenun neomoo jeongsiniyeoseogakko, ajeossihanate
At that time too much at a loss-rm, husband-to
ssakssak bireosseo. 'yogikkaajiman deryeoda dal-rago.'
really begged. 'only to that place take (me) please-ind

(121).  Gooredeoni Gu ajeossi-ga deryeoda jooodoorago, ahue!
And then that husband-sm took (me) to there, oh my god!
(122). Sinchon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sinchon</th>
<th>4 geori</th>
<th>nawannunde</th>
<th>meolri-seo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 crossing road</td>
<td>came out</td>
<td>far distance-from</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>wheseok</th>
<th>yangbok</th>
<th>ibun</th>
<th>saraman</th>
<th>bwado</th>
<th>mak</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>suit</td>
<td>wore</td>
<td>man-at least</td>
<td>saw</td>
<td>vigorously</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gasum-i</th>
<th>doogoongeoridoroo-rago.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heart-sm</td>
<td>was beaten-ind</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(123). Jinjja

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Really</th>
<th>gooreonil</th>
<th>chourn</th>
<th>gyeokkeo-ss-eo.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that kind of incident</td>
<td>at first</td>
<td>experience-past-ind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(124). Byeolil-i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What an odd event-sm</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>iss-eo!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>it is-ind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(112). He was shouting outside for a while and went away.
(113). I told that husband, 'Please look outside for me.',
and that husband said that he really entered Golden inn.
(114). That inn was at the top of the hill, so it can be seen from that store.
(115). That husband said he really came out with his friend from that inn and went
down the hill.
(116). He had a friend in that inn really.
(117). That husband said because he went down that way, I could go down this
way that I climbed before.
(118). But I was scary because he was chasing me from behind.
**Interviewer: That is right, Why didn't you call to your home?
(119). At that time, I couldn't think about that,
120. because I was too shocked, I begged to that husband 'Please take me down
hill where there is a beauty shop.'
(121). That husband brought me there.
(122). I got out to Sinchon crossing roads, but my heart pounded whenever I saw
a man who was wearing a gray suit.
(123). I never had had such an experience.
(124). That was really strange event to me.
Appendix II
Data Analysis

The followings are the data analysis of four texts. I studied whether the subject marker ka is used for the new information and the topic marker nun is used for old information or contrast. It was fully discussed in chapter 5. Also, if there is an overt participant occurring in a paragraph, whether it is because one of the four conditions in chapter 6 that are (6.a) when there is a subject participant change from the previous sentences. (6.b) when the speaker introduces a new participant, (6.c) and when the topic is changed inside a paragraph (6.d) in quotation formulas that occur as separate sentences after direct speech.

Text 1

'This is the story about the speaker's most memorable experience since he has come to America. He came to the States and started college when he was 20. So it was a little bit late already at his age. After graduation he could not find a job, thus he changed his major and continued his study two more years. His father lost his job, and he is the only son of his six member family. He was supposed to find a job as soon as possible and was expected to support his parents and younger sisters. However, he was fired from his first job after only three months of working and could not find a job for about one and half year. He was under heavy pressure and very depressed. Finally he gave up finding a job and decided to continue his study. He was on the way of going back home in Indiana. In the middle of this trip, when he was physically and mentally very tired, he has met God through his friend and that experience has changed his life entirely.

1. paragraph 1 [Line 1-9]

The speaker was talking about his experience of attending the American church and the pastor of that church in a small country town.

In line 1. na-to 'I-too' begins the story.
In line 2, saram-i 'this person' introduces a new participant. (6.b)
In line 4, na-n 'I-tp' appears. Topic marker is used because it is the same participant mention after the first introduction. and also samo-nun'pastor's wife-tp' and na-n 'I-tp' contrast. (6.a)
In line 6, *jungyukuptul-i* 'executives' and *i moksa-ka* 'this pastor' appear to introduce new participant and contrast, however *ka* appears instead of *nun*. (6.a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>NP1+also</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>zero</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>zero</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

2. **Paragraph 2** [Line 10-17]

The speaker was beginning to talk about his hardship. He wished he were an orphan, so that he can avoid the pressure from supporting his family.

In line 12, the participant *saram-i* 'people' is introduced and in the same sentence when the same participant is repeated, *saramtul-un* 'people' appears.

In line 13 and 14, *na-nun* 'I-tp' appears, in this case, not *ne-ka* but *nanun* because to emphasize the difference of his opinion with others. This is the contrast between two NPs.

In line 16, *ne-ka* 'I-sm' is from quotation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
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<td>10</td>
<td>interviewer question</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>NP2+sm</td>
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</table>
3. **Paragraph 3** (Line 18-25)

The speaker mentions about his experience of confessing the faith in front of people.

In line 20 has **na-to** 'I also' to introduce the speaker.

4. **Paragraph 4** (Line 26-56)

[The speaker started college at age 20, and he did not know about job interviews because nobody advised him, and he was too much involved having fun upon graduation. The interviewee was in an excited state and repeated himself because this was the starting point of his painful experience.]

In line 27 and 28, **je-ka** 'I-sm' introduces the speaker. However, in line 32, **ne-ka** appears again, not **na-nun** although it is old information. The possible explanation for this is the time expression **kutte** 'when'. According to Shin-ja Hwang (1987 p.118), time expressions condition an obligatory overt participant reference and topic marker in narratives. Here however, the subject marker occurs instead of the topic marker. Another possible explanation is that the preceding line 40 has zero reference subject which is not 'I' but 'they' or 'people', so the speaker needs to clarify the subject of the sentence and thus employs overt participant reference **ne-ka**. However it does not explain why there is **-ka** instead of **nun**. This is an exception of 'old' and 'new' information theory.

In line 35, the first **ne-ka** can be explained as occurring in a conditional clause. Haiman (1978) and Sang-chul Shin (1987) observe that the conditional **myun'if** and the topic marker **nun** have common characteristics. They do not occur together. Thus **nun** is not preceded by **-myun'if**. The second **ne-ka** also can be accounted for by the fact that the following topic marker on **kurenjiti-un** 'that kind of doing' blocks the appearance of **nun** before it. The Korean speaker avoids the two topic markers in one semantic unit. In line 36, **nanun** appears again. In line 46, 'nu-ka (somebody)' appears to introduce new participant. In line 47, 'ne-ka' appears because the subject is different from the previous sentence. In line 48, because of plural participants, 'ne-ka' and 'saram-i' and 'ne-ka' appear.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>29-31</td>
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</table>
5. Paragraph 5 [Line 57-64]

[The speaker got fired from his first job and could not tell his parents that he lost his job.]

This is not an common paragraph because there is no mention of the speaker. In line 59, umma-ka 'mother-sm' introduces a new participant. In line 61 and 62, umma-ka and umma-nun occur in that order.

<table>
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<th>Line</th>
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<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>NP2+tp</td>
<td>old information and 3rd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-64</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Paragraph 6 [Line 65-84]

[The speaker talked about his father. His father had a problem with his supervisor, and consequently he got fired.]

In line 68, uri apeoji-ka 'my father' introduces the participant. In line 72, jenetul-i 'those guys' ikuttul-i 'these guys' introduce another participant.
In line 79, *uri apeoji-ka* 'my father' reappears because it is a different subject from that of the previous sentence.

In line 83, *umma-nun* 'mother'

In line 84, *ne-ka* 'I'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65-67</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-71</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>NP4+sm</td>
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<tr>
<td>73-78</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
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<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-82</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>NP2+ tp</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. **Paragraph 7** [Line 85-94]

[The speaker was so frustrated after he got fired and did any kind of job with a low payment]

In line 86, *nanun* appear.

In line 94, *ne-ka* 'I' occurs because it is a different subject from that of the previous sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
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<td>Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87-93</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. **Paragraph 8** [Line 95-110]

[The speaker still had a lot of trouble in finding a job and was frustrated a lot. He decided to continue his study, but on the road to go back home, he met a Christian friend and the speaker believed in God through him. After that everything went well.]
In line 95, samchon-i 'uncle' appears to introduce the new speaker. In line 109 and 110, na-nun and ne-ka appear because it is myun 'if' clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>NP5+sm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>96-108</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>NP1+ tp</td>
<td>(6. a), myun 'if' clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6. a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. paragraph 9 [Line 111-126]
[The speaker talked about his very difficult time of traveling from Seattle to his home when he met God. It was a hot summer day and there was no air conditioner in his car, and a terrible toothache compounded the problem even more. He was dead tired. Suddenly he realized he did not have to struggle with himself.]

In line 123, ne-ka appears from quotation.

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>123</td>
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<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124-126</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Paragraph 10[Line 127-141]
[The speaker keeps talking about his difficult time of the travel and his realization of God's will.]

In line 127, ne-ka appears to signal a new paragraph. Line 134-135, ne-ka 'I-sm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>127</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>128-133</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.c) Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>? Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136-41</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. **Paragraph 11** [Line 142-161]

[The speaker finished his trip safely with God's help, he finally found a job, and his parents reconciled.]

In line 143, **ne-ka** introduces the speaker again in a new paragraph.
In line 152, **eotton nom-i** 'some guy' appears to introduce the another participant.
In line 159, **tubun-i** and **ne-ka** appear to clarify the subject because of the plural subjects.
In line 160, **nanun** appears to clarify the subject again.
In line 161, **nanun** appears twice because of the break and to show the contrast with **saram-i** 'people'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>142</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144-151</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>NP6+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153-158</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>NP7+sm, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a) and (6.c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, zero reference are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP+sm</th>
<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ratio of an overt NP occurrence in discourse according to (6.a), (6.b), (6.c), or (6.d) or none of them is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.a)</th>
<th>(6.b)</th>
<th>(6.c)</th>
<th>(6.d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Text 2

This is the story about the speaker's most memorable incidents since he has come to the U.S. One time accidentally he was on T.V. He had hard time mostly because of his poor English ability. He admired his advisor who is Greek speaking such good English. The speaker's wife also talked about her difficult time as a T.A. when she began her study.

1. Paragraph 1 [line 1-15]
[The speaker was once on TV by accident. He went to the Korean Consulate in L. A. and met a friend who worked at some T.V. station, and suddenly he got interviewed about studying abroad. And the interview was broadcast on T.V. He was perplexed but did not feel bad about it.]

In line 2 and 3, je-ka]I-sm' introduces a new speaker.
In line 3, eotteon jasik-i 'some guy' introduces a new speaker.
In line 6 ku saram-i 'that guy' introduces a new speaker.
In line 10, jaki-ka 'he-sm'
In line 13 na-nun since it refers to old information.
In line 13, eomeon-i 'mother' introduces a new speaker.
In line 14, chongak-i 'bachelor'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>interviewer's question</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>NP1+sm, NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>NP1+tp, NP4+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), (6.b), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Exception means the exceptions of 'old' & 'new' theory of topic and the subject marker.)
2. **Paragraph 2** [Line 16-20]
[The speaker still explains to the interviewer why he could not escape from the situation of such interview. There was only one exit and the rest was closed.]

In line 20, **ku saram-i** 'that guy' introduces a new speaker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>interviewer's question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Paragraph 3** [Line 21-25]
[The speaker does not feel good about the content of what he talked about because he thinks he said it too obnoxiously. He said the students who study in abroad nowadays live too luxuriously and do not study hard. Thus, if someone wants to study abroad, he has to think beforehand why he is studying.]

In line 22, **ne-ka'i-sm'** marking a quotation.
In line 24, **saramtul-i** 'people-sm' introduces a new speaker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Paragraph 4** [Line 26-33]
[The speaker regrets that he did not study hard enough and could not improve his English much when he was a graduate student since he was too busy having fun.]

In line 29, **saram-j'people-sm'** introduces a new speaker.
In line 33, **saram-j'people-sm'** introduces a different participant from line 34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>interviewer's question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Paragraph 5 [Line 34-56]
[The speaker tells his experience of learning difficult English vocabularies before he came to America. He was very much impressed by the instructor.]

In line 35, saram-i 'people' and ne-ka' I-sm'
In line 37 jeo-nun 'I-tp' occurs since line 35 already introduced the speaker. and wekukin-i 'foreigner' functions to introduce a new speaker.
In line 42 jaki-ka 'he' occurs to introduce a new speaker.
In line 45 jeo-nun'I-tp' appears since it represents old information and the temporal expression kute 'at that time' requires overt participant reference. In this case topic marker nun occurs, not the subject marker ka.
In line 47, ku-chinku-ka 'that guy-sm' introduces a new speaker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>interviewer's question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>NP1+sm, NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>NP1+tp, NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.c), (6.b), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38-41</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
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<td>(6.b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>43-44</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.c)</td>
</tr>
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<td>46</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48-66</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Paragraph 6 [Line 57-77]
[When the speaker wrote his dissertation, he had a hard time because of his English. His Greek advisor was not happy with the speaker's writing and asked him to correct his writing by an American. Thus the speaker consulted with an American student and she corrected it for him. However, the advisor corrected it again.]
In this paragraph, there are many exceptions of the 'old' and 'new' theory of the topic and subject marker, because one of the participant is the third person.

In line 58, jeo advisor-ka 'my advisor' introduces an advisor.
In line 59, je-ka 'I-sm' introduce the speaker.
In line 61, je-ka 'I-sm' recurs, but in this case the subject marker ka is used in the place of the genitive case marker, the result is very colloquial.
In line 63, seonseng-i 'teacher' occurs, not seonseng-un 'teacher-tp'
In line 67, T.A. tul-i 'teaching assistants-sm' introduces a new speaker.
In line 72, jaki-ka 'she-sm' and ne-ka 'I-sm' and je-ka 'I-sm'
In line 73, jaki-ka 'she-sm' and jeo-ka 'I-sm'
In line 74, seonseng-un 'teacher-tp', jaki-ka 'he-sm'
In line 75, mikuk saram-i 'American-sm'.
In line 76, uriseonseng-i 'my teacher-sm'
In line 77, na-nun 'I-tp' and seonsengnim-i 'teacher-sm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.d), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68-69</td>
<td>zero</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>NP4+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>NP4+sm, NP1+sm, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>NP4+sm, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>NP3+sm, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>NP4+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>NP1+sm, NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Paragraph 7 [Line 78-89]
[The speaker has a foreign advisor who is Greek. However, although they are both
foreigner, his advisor's English is excellent and the speaker's English is not that good.
The speaker and his advisor had a presentation at some company and the speaker did not do
well, while his advisor did good job.]

In this paragraph again, there are many exceptions of the 'old' and 'new' theory of the topic
and subject marker, because one of the participant is the third person.

In line 78, jaki-ka 'he-sm'
In line 79, advisor-ka 'advisor-sm', i-chinku-ka 'this man-sm', and saram-i 'person-sm'
In line 82, ku advisor-ka 'that advisor-sm' appear.
In line 83, jec-nun 'I-tp'
In line 84, jaki-nun 'he'
In line 85, jaki-ka 'he-sm'
In line 86, seonseng-i 'teacher-sm', seonseng-i 'teacher-sm' and je-ka 'I-sm', saramtul-i
'people-sm'
In line 87, isaram-i 'this guy-sm'
In line 88, ne-ka 'I-sm', and ne-ka 'I-sm'
In line 89, seonseng-un 'teacher-tp'

<table>
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<tr>
<td>80-81</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>82</td>
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<td>Exception</td>
</tr>
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<td>83</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>NP2+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>NP2+sm, NP2+sm,</td>
<td>Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP1+sm, NP4+sm</td>
<td>Contrast between participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
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<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>NP2+sm,</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. **Paragraph 8** [Line 90-99]

[The speaker's advisor use some difficult vocabulary like 'doable'. He also said Greek root of some vocabulary like 'Latech'.]

In line 92, **jeo-nun'I-tp'** and **jeosaram 'that guy'**
In line 94, **ne-ka**
In line 98, **jaki-nun 'he-tp'**
In line 99, **saramtul-i 'people-sm'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
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<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95-97</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>NP2+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>NP4+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. **Paragraph 9** [Line 100-114]

[The speaker is talking about the experience of a new vocabulary 'gable' from the T.V. program. He had a different concept of the meaning of 'gable' before he saw channel 8 T.V. program.]

Extremely few pronoun reference occurring actually only once.

In line 101, **jeo-nun 'I-tp'**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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</tr>
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<td>101</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>102-114</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. **Paragraph 10** [Line 115-133]

[The speaker is talking about her difficult experience as a T. A. during her first year at American university. Because of her English, she could not lecture so she graded a lot of tests. One time she overslept because she spent too much time for grading and could not attend the class as a proctor. A student complained about that.]
In line 117, `haksengul-i 'students-sm'
In line 126, `hakseng-i 'students-sm'
In line 127, `na-nun I-tp'
In line 131, `hakseng-i 'students-sm'
In line 133, `seonsengnim-i 'teacher-sm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>117</td>
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<td>127</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>128-130</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>NP6+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>NP6+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. **Paragraph 11** [Line 134-158]
[The speaker is talking about the difficulty of listening in English. He thought he could understand almost all the lecture in his first year in America, but after two years later, he realized he had not understood the lecture. Therefore when the juniors come to study and say they can understand almost everything, he says "You can understand now, but later you will realize that you did not understand."]

In line 134, `na-nun I-tp'
In line 136, `ku saram-i 'that guy-sm'
In line 137, `na-nun I-tp'
In line 141, `na-nun I-tp'
In line 143, `saram-un 'people-tp'
In line 144, `ku seonsengnim 'that teacher'
In line 150, `seonseng-i 'teacher-sm'
In line 151, `iyangban-i 'this teacher-sm'
In line 155, `ku saram-i 'that guy-sm'
In line 156, `saramtul-i 'people-sm' and `hubetul-i 'juniors-sm'
<table>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>135</td>
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</tr>
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<td>136</td>
<td>NP2+sm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138-140</td>
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<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td>142</td>
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<td>143</td>
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<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>NP3</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>145-149</td>
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<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
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<td>152-154</td>
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<td>155</td>
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<td>(6.a) Exception</td>
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<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>NP4+sm, NP4+sm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>157-158</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Paragraph 12 [Line 159-176]

[The speaker can not understand English if he does not concentrate, although he can understand Korean without concentration. He had a student who speaks in a difficult manner and could not understand him easily.]

In line 159, na-nun 'I-tp'
In line 161, ne-ka 'I-sm'
In line 162, na-nun 'I-tp'
In line 167, nom-i' guy-sm'
In line 169, chinku-ka 'guy-sm'
In line 173, ye-ka 'that guy' and ne-ka 'I-sm'

<table>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>NP1+tp, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.c), (6.c), Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>163-167</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, zero reference are as follows:

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<th>NP+sm</th>
<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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The ratio of an overt NP occurrence in discourse according to (6.a), (6.b), (6.c), or (6.d) or none of them is as follows:

<table>
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<th>(6.b)</th>
<th>(6.c)</th>
<th>(6.d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text 3

This is the story about the speaker's dating with a guy. They went to a party together once, and the speaker's partner asked for a date, but she refused. He gave her 20 roses on her birthday and a music note that he composed. However, they did not become involved in a relationship, and he went to the army. Later on the speaker heard that he met another girl.

1. **paragraph 1** [Line 1-10]

[The speaker was introduced to a guy through his friend. They went to the party together, but she did not like him.]

In line 5 *je chinku-ka* 'my friend' introduces a new participant, and *namja* 'guy' introduces a new participant.

In line 7, *i-namja-ka* 'this guy'

In line 10, *je-ka* 'I-sm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>2-4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>(6.b), (6.b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Paragraph 2  [Line 11-40]
[On the speaker's 20th birthday, she got a phone call from the guy and they met. He gave her 20 roses and an orchestral music that he composed. She was so surprised and happy.]

In line 17, i-namja-ka 'this guy-sm' occurs since the new paragraph starts.
In line 23, na' and jaki-nun 'this guy-tp'
In line 25, jaki-nun 'this guy-tp'
In line 29, jaki-ka 'this guy-sm' in the quotation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-22</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>NP1, NP3+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>NP3+tp</td>
<td>(6.c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-28</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Paragraph 3  [Line 41-65]
[The speaker decided to return the guy's sheet music gift. She returned it to him, and he as was upset he burned the paper.]

In line 41, i-namja-ka 'this guy-sm' since it is new paragraph.
In line 43, je-ka 'I-sm'
In line 45, na-nun 'I-tp'
In line 46, ne-ka'I-sm' and na-nun' I-tp'
In line 47, ne-ka'I-sm' occurs again because there is a temporal expression kutte 'at that time' forces the overt participant reference.
In line 49, i-namja-ka 'this guy' occurs because there is the temporal expression kutte (at that time) forces the overt participant reference.
In line 50, jaki-ka 'he' appears because it is the quoted sentence.
In line 55, i-namja-ka 'this guy' occurs because there is the temporal expression kutte (at that time) which forces the overt participant reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
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<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>NP1+tp</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>NP1+sm, NP1+tp</td>
<td>subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>time expression</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>time expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>51-54</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>NP3+sm</td>
<td>time expression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Paragraph 4** [Line 66-89]
[The guy joined the army and she sent him off. He called from the army to see her on a date but she turned him down. Then that guy never called again.]

In line 67, chinku 'friend', e-ka 'she'
In line 77, i-saram-i 'this guy'
In line 80-87, ne-ka'I-sm', jaki-ka 'he-sm', ne-ka'I-sm', Unhi-nun 'name-tp', jaka-ka 'she-sm' and jeo-nun'I-tp'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>69-76</td>
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<tr>
<td>77</td>
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<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Paragraph 5 [Line 90-101]

[The speaker heard the news from her friend that the guy met another girl.]

In line 90, ne-ka'I-sm'
In line 92, saram-i' people-sm' from the direct quotation.
In line 93, ku namja-ka 'this guy'
In line 100, na-nun'I-tp'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>zero</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

6. Paragraph 6 [Line 102-106]

[The speaker is describing about the man a little bit more. The man has majored in English literature and the speaker does not like a guy who has majored in literature.]
In line 102, kye-ka 'he'
In line 105, je-ka'I-sm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
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<td>106</td>
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The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, zero reference are as follows:

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<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero reference</th>
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</thead>
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<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
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The ratio of an overt NP occurrence in discourse according to (6.a), (6.b), (6.c), or (6.d) or none of them is as follows:

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<th>(6.a)</th>
<th>(6.b)</th>
<th>(6.c)</th>
<th>(6.d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
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<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4. Text 4

This story is about the speaker's meeting with a street gang when she was a junior in the university, and her narrow escape from that situation.

1. Paragraph 1 [Line 1-20]

[The speaker starts the story. When she was a junior in college, she went to have a hair cut with a friend. That friend left first and she walked alone to go to a bus stop. She took a short cut that she has never been before.]

In line 1, ne-ka'I-sm' occurs to set the story.
In line 3, ne-ka'I-sm' occurs to set the story again after the interruption.
Lines 4, 5, 6 have zero reference.
In line 7, woorikkwae hana-ka'one of our classmate' occurs to introduce a new participant.
Line 8 has zero reference.
In line 9, **woori ses-i** 'we three' occurs to refer to the speaker and the new participant (She was introduced in line 7).

In lines 10 and 11, **gae-nun** 'she-tp' and **ge** she' occurs because line 9 already introduced the referent using **ge-do** she also'.

and line 12, 19, and 20, **na-nun**'I-tp' occurs because since line 3, 'I' is introduced and it is an old information.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>4-6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>NP+tp</td>
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2. **Paragraph 2** [Line 21-47]

[The interviewer asked why she took that road. The speaker was explaining that she took that road because it seemed like a short cut to the bus stop. On the way to the bus stop, she came upon a strange guy. The strange guy grabbed the speaker's arm and asked to go to a party together.]

In line 33, **nooka**'somebody is' and **narul**'me' are used because from this line the important 'event' happens and new paragraph starts.

Lines 34-42 have zero reference.

In line 43, **ve-ka**'this boy-sm' appears because the preceding line's interruption of the interviewer forces the speaker to make it clear who she is talking about again.

In Line 43, the occurrence of **ni-ka**'you-sm' is obvious because it is a direct quotation, Lines 44-47 have zero reference
3. Paragraph 3 [Line 48-54]
[The speaker tried to ask for help from others, however, there was nobody on the street. Thus she was agonizing]

In line 48 i-e-ka 'this boy-sm' appears because it is the beginning of the new paragraph and the predicate part of the sentence 48, 'is strange' can be applied to any body, not only 'that boy' so the speaker wanted to clarify the content of her message. Line 49-54 have zero reference.

4. Paragraph 4 [Line 55-77]
[The speaker tried to negotiate with the guy. She asked him to go down to the restaurant to talk and tried to ask for help. The guy wanted the speaker to go up to the motel to talk. They did not agree with each other.]

From 55 new paragraph starts and from 55 through 65, pronouns are used to show the contrasting opinions of the speaker and the street gang. Speaker uses ka instead of nun. There are many exceptional cases of overt pronoun reference and using ka instead of nun. It is probably due to the speaker's emotional ascendance. At 62, and 65 reflexive reference jaki 'self' (which does not have to have an antecedent in the same sentence and whose antecedent should be the subject of the sentence.) appears. In line 68, nun appears since the contrast again between the speaker and the street gang.
57  NP1+sm   (6.a) Exceptions
58  NP1+sm   Exceptions
59  NP4+sm, NP4+sm Exceptions
60  zero
61  NP4+sm   (6.a)
62  NP4      (6.d)
63  zero
64  NP1+tp   (6.a)
65  NP4      (6.a)
66-67 zero
68  NP1+tp   (6.a)
69  zero
70  NP4+sm   (6.a)
71-77 zero

5. Paragraph 5 [Line 78-91]
[The speaker tried to get help from somebody and there was a grandmother coming down the hill. She yelled for help, but the grandma turned away. The guy was angry and the speaker was in worse situation.]

There are many exceptional cases of using ka instead of nun. It is again probably due to the speaker's emotional ascendance. From line 78, the new event starts, so ne-ka'I-sm' is used again, and in line 78, a new participant noo-ka'somebody-sm' and halmeoni-ka'grandma-sm' is introduced.

In line 81, i-salam'this- person' is from a direct quotation;
In 82, that new participant reacts so unexpectedly that the speaker used full indication once more i-halmeoni-ka'this grandma-sm'.
In line 83, the subject changes from that of the previous sentence 82, so the speaker marks the switch reference.
The occurrence of pronouns in Lines 85 and 86 have the same reason as in line 83, subject switch, therefore, zero reference is not enough to convey the meaning, so pronouns appear again.
Line 88, and 89 are from direct speech quotation. In Line 91, there is also a subject change.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>NP2</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>NP8+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>NP8</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.d), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.d), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>NP1, NP7, NP1</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Paragraph 6** [Line 92-99]

[ The speaker saw one sales woman entering a store, so she got an idea and ran into that store when the guy does not paying attention.]

From line 92, new paragraph starts.
Line 93, *ku ajumma-ka* 'that man-sm' signals new paragraph and new participant is introduced.
Lines 95, and 96 *i-ae-ka* 'this boy-sm' is a subject change from the previous sentences.
Line 99, *ge-ga-he-sm* appears because it is a subordinate clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>NP9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>NP9+sm</td>
<td>(6.b), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>NP10+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), Exceptions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Paragraph 7 [Line 100-111]
[The speaker ran into the room of the store because there was nobody in the store. The guy was threatening and yelling outside. The speaker pleaded for help to the owner of the store.]

From line 100, new paragraph starts, so da'all ' appears. It introduces a new participant. Line 104, 107, and 108 Gu-ajumaga' that woman' and ye-ga'he-sm', nega'I-sm' jagi' he' appear because of a subject change from the previous sentence. Line 108 jagi'he', ne-ga' I-sm' appears to distinguish the subject of the coordinate sentence. Line 109 ne-ga'I-sm' appears because a subject different from the previous sentence. Line 110 na-rul'I-om' appears to emphasize 'me' because it is a very urgent situation. In line 111, na'I appears because it is from direct speech quotation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>NP11</td>
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<tr>
<td>101-103</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>NP12+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105-106</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>NP7+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>NP7, NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a), subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td>(6.a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>NP1</td>
<td>(6.d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Paragraph 8 [Line 112-124]
[The gang left and the owner of the store accompanied the speaker to a safe place. She was relieved]

Line 112, new paragraph starts. In line 113, neka'I' appears to signal new paragraph and it is different subject from the previous sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Overt NP belongs to whether(6.a-6.d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113-120</td>
<td>NP1+sm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>NP13+sm</td>
<td>(6.b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122-124</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, zero reference are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP+sm</th>
<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ratio of an overt NP occurrence in discourse according to (6.a), (6.b), (6.c), or (6.d) or none of them is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.a)</th>
<th>(6.b)</th>
<th>(6.c)</th>
<th>(6.d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Conclusion.

In these texts, whenever a new paragraph begins, there is an overt participant reference at the beginning, and if the subject is the same in subsequent utterances, zero reference occurs. The conditions are: (1) when a paragraph breaks (2) when there is a switch reference from the previous sentences. (3) when the speaker introduces a new participant, (4) when the topic is changed inside a paragraph (4) and when in quotation formulas occur as separate sentences after direct speech. The total ratio of an overt NP occurrence in discourse according to the condition (6.a), (6.b), (6.c), or (6.d) or none of of four is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6.a)</th>
<th>(6.b)</th>
<th>(6.c)</th>
<th>(6.d)</th>
<th>none of four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above data, the topic marker nun occurs infrequently. When nun occurs (1) in the same paragraph, after the participant has been introduced. The second mention of same participant usually is marked by nun instead of ka, or nun is used to show the contrast between the speaker and another participant. There are many exceptions to this. In my data, 85% of all the uses of the topic and subject markers follow the pattern 'old' and 'new' theory of topic and the subject markers. That is the introductory sentences use ka and the rest of paragraph uses nun in the first person case. In the third person case 50% of all the data follows the pattern of paragraph introductory sentence use ka and the rest of the paragraph use nun. Therefore, the 'old' and 'new' information theory has many
exceptions in real discourse data because 15% "na'T" does not follow the pattern and 50% of the third person singular does not follow the pattern.

The total number of occurrences of NP+sm, NP+tp, NP, zero reference are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP+sm</th>
<th>NP+tp</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>zero reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>