

A Korean Grammar on Semantic-Pragmatic Principles by Keedong Lee. Seoul: Hankwuk Munhwasa (Korea Press), 1993. 565 pp.

Reviewed by Sung-Ock S. Sohn
University of California, Los Angeles

A Korean Grammar on Semantic-Pragmatic Principles is designed essentially for advanced students of Korean who would like an in-depth semantic-pragmatic account of Korean grammar beyond the level offered by Korean textbooks. However, this book will also be helpful for general readers who are interested in learning about the Korean language as well as for Korean linguists and language teachers since the author discusses a wide range of Korean grammatical structures in a simple and concise writing style. Until recently, no grammar book has been available in English for non-native speakers of Korean,¹ which has made the teaching and learning of Korean in the United States very difficult, especially in view of its relatively short history as a foreign language taught in the U.S., compared to other East Asian languages such as Japanese and Chinese. In this regard, this book is a pioneering work and Keedong Lee succeeds in accomplishing his goal for this book to serve as a guide for both learning and teaching Korean as a foreign language, although some of the terminology and concepts may be beyond the level of its intended audience.

The strength of this book lies in its discourse-pragmatic account of comprehensive Korean data involving verbal suffixes and particles which are essential in Korean for interactive communication since they express the speaker's various attitudes toward propositional content and toward the interlocutors. In contrast with the formal and syntactic approaches, which often provide an insufficient account of these grammatical items for linguists who view language as an instrument of communication, the author, with his deep knowledge of psycholinguistics, case grammar, and discourse-semantics, explores Korean from the perspective that language can only be understood in the context of communication. In fact, many grammatical constructions previously treated in-depth by formal syntacticians are discussed in this book in terms of their communicative functions and in the light of discourse-pragmatics. In particular, using this discourse-pragmatic approach, in which the consideration of context is extremely important, the author attempts to elucidate distinctions in the usages of various forms which are regarded as merely synonymous by traditional Korean grammarians—distinctions such as pre-verbal negation with *an* and postverbal negation with *-ci anh*. In this type of instance, context is crucial in order to determine the preference and motivations for using one form over the other in actual discourse. This is a useful tool for students learning Korean as a

foreign language, since most textbooks fail to provide these types of context-based contrastive accounts for grammatical forms which have seemingly similar functions.

The analyses and conception of grammar in this book are fundamentally based on the cognitive approaches proposed by Bolinger (1977), Langacker (1978), and Givón (1979). Underlying these approaches is the idea that successful communication is possible when the speaker is able to constantly assess what is in his/her mind and in the mind of his/her interlocutor. The author argues from the perspective that grammatical forms reflect these aspects of verbal communication. Thus, the various grammatical constructions in this book are explained in terms of the participants and their consciousness in a speech situation.

The book consists of nine chapters: Sentence-enders, Postpositions, Particles, Auxiliary Verbs, Passives, Negation, Nominalization, Tense-Aspect-Modality, and Verbal Connectives. Chapter One discusses sentence-enders in Korean such as *-ta* (declarative marker), *-tela* (noncommittal), *-kwuna*, *-ney*, etc. While these morphemes were traditionally analyzed in terms of speech levels and sentence-types, the author proposes discourse-pragmatic and cognitive principles which focus on the speaker's attitude toward the proposition and his/her assessment of the interlocutors. For example, the difference between the epistemic suffixes *-kwuna* and *-ney* is analyzed here in terms of the speaker's assessment of the information (e.g., unexpected discovery vs. contrary to expectation). Both sentence-enders denote the speaker's surprise at the discovery of some state of affairs; however, the source of the surprise is different: *-Kwuna* is used when the speaker discovers an unexpected situation, and *-ney* is used when the speaker is already aware of the situation, but later discovers something contrary to his expectation. This distinction can be illustrated by the following examples:

Chelswu-ka wa-ss-ney
'Chelswu has come!'

Chelswu-ka wa-ss-kwuna
'Chelswu has come!'

In the *-ney* marked utterance, the speaker believed that Chelswu was not present, but then, contrary to his own expectation, discovered some evidence that Chelswu had indeed arrived. In contrast, in the *-kwuna* marked utterance, the speaker has no preconceived belief with respect to Chelswu's presence, and then sees some evidence pointing to Chelswu's arrival (e.g., Chelswu's car in the driveway). This approach is in line with cross-linguistic studies on evidential categories. Recent research on evidentiality has revealed that human cognition is sensitive to the distinction between what the speaker already knows from past experience and what information the speaker has just learned or perceived (cf.

Akatsuka, 1985; Lee, 1991).

Chapter Two, a relatively short chapter, discusses the semantic function of the postpositions *-ey* and *-eyse* (locatives), *-eykey* (dative), and *-ulo* (instrumental). The distinction between *-ey* and *-eyse* which often causes confusion for English speakers is explained in light of the figure-ground contrast (Givón, 1978). Specifically, while *-ey* relates two entities in a figure-ground relation, *-eyse* denotes the general background for a situation. In the figure-ground contrast, the figure is smaller, weaker, nearer, and clearer than the ground. Also, the figure tends to be mobile, whereas the ground tends to be static as in the following illustration: *emeni-ka naympi-ey/*-eyse pap-ul cis-nun-ta* 'Mother cooks rice in the pot' vs. *emeni-ka pwuek *-eyl-eyse pap-ul cis-nun-ta* 'Mother cooks rice in the kitchen'

Chapter Three deals with various particles (e.g., *-cocha* 'even', *-lato* 'or', *-man* 'only,' etc.) which reflect the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content. While most Korean textbooks do not provide a contrastive analysis for particles with apparently similar functions, the author compares and contrasts these types of particles whenever possible. For instance, the author shows that the particle *-lato* 'or,' used in expressing a choice of something, stands in contrast with the particle *-(i)na* in that *-lato* is not appropriate when the primary choice item is not available and multiple second-best choices exist. This can be illustrated by the following example:

- A: *maykcwu cwu-sey yo*
'I'll have a beer'
- B: *maykcwu-nun ops-ko kholla-hako cengcong-man iss-eyo*
'We don't have beer. We only have cola and sake'
- A: *kulem, cengcong (i)na cwu-sey-yo*
'Then, I'll take sake'

In a case such as this, when multiple second-best choices are available, *-(i)na* would be the appropriate particle.

Chapter Four, 'Auxiliary Verbs,' examines the semantic expansion from prototypical to figurative meanings of the various verbs. This chapter is the highlight of the book. There are many verbal constructions in Korean in which auxiliary verbs may follow main verbs in a syntactic sequence. Semantically, these auxiliary verbs are very unique in that their original meanings as lexical verbs are figuratively extended or completely modified in their uses as auxiliary verbs. The author examines what aspects of the prototypical meaning of the original lexical verb are expressed in the auxiliary verb by discussing twelve of these auxiliary verbs: *cita* 'to become,' *cwuta* 'to give,' *hata* 'to do,' *issta* 'to be,' *nayta* 'to take out,' *nohta* 'to put,' *ota* 'to come,' *pelita* 'to throw away,' *pota* 'to see,' *ssahta* 'to pile,' *tayta* 'to hold, to put,' and *twuta* 'to put; to leave.'

The semantic shift from the meaning of the main verb to that of an

auxiliary verb can be explained in terms of grammaticalization theory (cf. Traugott, 1989), although the author did not discuss this in his book. Specifically, according to the theory of grammaticalization or 'subjectification' (Traugott, 1989; Akatsuka & Sohn, 1994), the semantic change follows a unidirectional path, shifting from a concrete meaning to an abstract one; and also involves a shift in function from a propositional one (i.e., expressing propositional content) to an interactional one and finally to the expression of the speaker's subjective attitude. For instance, the verb *pelita* 'to throw away' is used both as a lexical verb and as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary, *pelita* expresses two major substances—the speaker's relief and/or the speaker's regret. These meanings are derived from the original meaning of the lexical verb 'to throw away,' whereby the speaker's subjective evaluation toward the propositional content has been strengthened.²

Chapter Five examines passive constructions. There are two types of passive constructions in Korean: One is expressed by a verbal infix (i.e., *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, and *-ki*) and the other, by the auxiliary verb *cita* 'to become.' The author compares these two types of passives in terms of spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous processes. Specifically, the infix passives are used to denote a spontaneous process and the *cita* passive, a non-spontaneous process, which the following pair of examples illustrates: *haswukwu-ka mak-hi-ess-ta* (infix *hi*) 'The drain is clogged.' (a spontaneous, accidental, and unintentional occurrence) vs. *haswukwu-ka maka-ci-ess-ta* (with *cita*) 'The drain is clogged' (the process was an intended one).

Chapter Six, 'Negation,' discusses the difference between two types of negation in Korean—short-form (*anh*) and long-form (*-ci anh-*) negation. Traditionally, these two forms were considered to be synonymous. However, the author illustrates various cases in which the two forms are not interchangeable. This analysis demonstrates that the long-form negation involves more semantic and pragmatic presupposition given that it is commonly used to deny a statement or opinion of the interlocutor.

Chapter Seven, 'Nominalization' examines the cognitive meaning of the two nominalizers *-ki* and *-um*, which have been a popular topic for formal syntacticians, and which is, as the author states in the preface of this book, inadequately described in all existing Korean textbooks. It is analyzed that the *-ki* nominalizer reflects a temporal category, whereas *-um* indicates an abstract category (cf. Givón, 1979).³ Hence, in the following example, *-ki*, and not *-um*, would be the appropriate nominalizer: *na-nun ku-ka o-ki/*-um-ul kitali-n-ta* 'I wait for him to come.'

Chapter Eight analyzes the Korean tense-aspect-modality system from the perspective that each grammatical morpheme has one basic prototypical meaning from which inferential meanings can be derived (cf. Langacker, 1978). This approach is illustrated in the analysis of the modal marker *-keyss*. Traditionally *-keyss* was treated as a single morpheme, but in this book it is analyzed as a combination of three morphemes: *kes* 'fact' + *i* 'be' + *-ess* (remote tense).

Though insightful, this analysis poses a problem in that it conflicts with the argument presented in Huh (1984) and H. Sohn (1994b) that *-keyss* has been derived historically from the causative construction *-key ha-* followed by the past marker *-ess* through syntactic restructuring and phonological reduction.

The final chapter, 'Verbal Connectives,' discusses the function of various subordinate clause markers in Korean from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The connective *-ni/-nikka* 'because' or 'when' is compared and contrasted with a similar connective *-ese*. According to the author, *-ese* is used when the relationship between two events is definite and well-established; *-nikka* is used when the speaker is not sure about the relationship and only suspects a tentative one. While this comparison provides us with some important semantic features of the two forms, S. Sohn (1992) further elaborates the differences between them in terms of speaker-oriented (*-nikka*) vs. hearer-oriented (*-ese*) causality.

While insightful and revealing, the findings in this book could be further elaborated through the analysis of actual discourse and interactional data. All of the examples presented are invented with particular contexts in mind. A semantic-pragmatic account for the various grammatical forms could be more clearly elucidated through the examination of spontaneous interactional discourse (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In addition, a more coherent thematic and methodological relationship among the different chapters would make the book more cohesively unified and better organized.

Although this book is somewhat limited in that it lacks a concrete theoretical framework with which to account for many of the syntactic analyses, it contributes to the existing literature by providing an immensely useful description of Korean grammar. It is also an especially great contribution to the teaching and learning of Korean as a foreign language.

NOTES

¹ H. Sohn (1994a) is an excellent comprehensive reference for Korean grammar including syntax, morphology, and phonology.

² Strauss (1994, to appear) compares and contrasts Korean *-a/e pelita* with a similar Japanese construction, *-te shimau*.

³ The distinction between the temporal and abstract category is based on Givón (1979, pp. 314-316). Givón classifies the semantic features of the noun universe into 'concrete,' 'temporal,' and 'abstract.' The implicational relations between the three are as follows:

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------|
| Concrete exist in space | > | Temporal exist in time | > | Abstract exist |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------|

The implicational hierarchy indicates that what exists in space must perforce also exist in time, but not vice versa. Also, the *-ki* nominalization corresponds to what Lyons (1977) calls the second-order nominals, and *-um* nominalization to what he calls the third-order entities.

REFERENCES

- Akatsuka, N. (1985). Conditionals and the epistemic scale. *Language*, 61 (3), 625-639.
- Akatsuka, N. & Sohn, S. (1994). Negative conditionals: The case of Japanese *-tewa* and Korean *-taka*. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, 4, 203-219.
- Bolinger, D. (1977). *Meaning and Form*. London: Longman.
- Givon, T. (1979). *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- Huh, W. (1984). *Kuwkehak (Korean linguistics)*. Seoul: Sam Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (1978). The form and meaning of the English auxiliary. *Language*, 54, 853-882.
- Lee, H. S. (1991). *Tense, aspect, and modality: A discourse-pragmatic analysis of verbal suffix in Korean from a typological perspective*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics II*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50, 696-735.
- Sohn, H. (1994a). *Korean*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sohn, H. (1994b). Complex constructions in Korean and restructuring Talk delivered at the fifth Japanese/Korean linguistics. University of California, Los Angeles, November.
- Sohn, S. (1992). Speaker-oriented and event-oriented causals: A comparative analysis of *-nikka* and *-ese*. *Korean Linguistics*, 7, 73-83.
- Strauss, S. (1994). A cross-linguistic analysis of Japanese, Korean, and Spanish: *-te shimau*, *-al-e pelita*, and the Romance reflexive *se*. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, 4, 257-273.
- Strauss, S. (to appear). Metaphors of total enclosure grammaticizing into middle voice markers. *Proceedings of the 19th LAUD Conference on Language and Space, Duisburg, Germany*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Traugott, E. (1989). On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language*, 65 (1), 31-55.

Sung-Ock S. Sohn is a lecturer in Korean in the department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at UCLA. She received her Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Hawaii. Her interests include Korean linguistics, syntax, pragmatics, discourse analysis, and teaching Korean as a second language. Her recent research involves the development and grammaticization of sentence-final particles in Korean.