Inquiries into Korean Linguistics V

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Preface

In considering what I might convey in the preface to this volume, the fifth in the *Inquiries into Korean Linguistics* series, I find myself drawn to the Korean word 감사 (感謝) *kamsa*, which translates as “thankfulness, gratitude, appreciation.”

I am grateful for the leadership and membership of the International Circle of Korean Linguistics for entrusting me with the Presidency for the 2010-12 term. I also appreciate the trust that the organization placed in my efforts to take our biannual meeting to the People’s Republic of China – an ICKL first – thereby helping to forge new academic and intellectual ties between both China and Korea, as well among the nations of the other conference attendees.

I owe a tremendous谢谢! to my colleague and former student Tongyin Daniel Yang, Executive Dean at the International College at Jiangsu Normal University and Professor of Linguistics at JSNU’s Institute of Linguistics; Daniel not only proved himself to be an excellent partner but also a tremendous host for the 2012 meeting in Xuzhou. As his colleague, I am grateful; as his former professor and mentor, I am proud.

Words of 감사 must also be extended to the Academy of Korean Studies, which has continued to support the work of the ICKL, allowing us to connect with scholars of the Korean language around the globe. Without the financial assistance of the AKS, the 2012 meeting of the ICKL would not have been possible.

With respect to the current volume, I must thank several individuals from my home institution, each of which played role in process of bringing this work together: Justin Fuller, Maggie Dwyer, Ramona Holmes, and Rebecca Bichel, Dean of the UT Arlington Libraries. I am especially grateful to Dean Bichel’s unfailing advocacy of “creation” (in its myriad instantiations), her commitment to open access, and her efforts to bring UT Arlington more fully into the world of digital publication. This volume is, indeed, yet another “first” for the ICKL, as it represents the very first fully electronic publication of the organization’s conference proceedings. This electronic publication, which finds its permanent home in the UT Arlington research repository,
will be made fully available to those individuals and institutions who desire it, completely free of charge.

Finally, I would like to thank the authors of each paper presented in this volume. I appreciate your commitment to your research, your dedication to the publication process, and your patience as we have worked to bring this work to completion. (You will note that your papers appear in alphabetical order by the surname of the first author.)

To all of those who were part of this process, I say again, “thank you”: 충심으로 감사드립니다.

David J. Silva, Ph.D.
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Acknowledgement of Support

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Chinese Loan Words with Korean Sounds in Late Middle Korean: A Transition Period

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Abstract: The Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) marked a new era in the progress of Chinese loan words in Korean. During the 14th and the 16th centuries, there occurred a deliberate “incorporation” of Chinese loan words by the Koreans, affecting every aspect of their culture and society. At the same time, there is, paradoxically, a return to the “spoken” Korean that manifested itself primarily through the preservation of indigenous Korean sounds when borrowing Chinese words. It was the “evolution of language” during this period that produced a dual language system in Korean; one that was fundamentally oral and the other useful for writing. It was also during this time period that the progression of the language caused Koreans to begin to exclude Chinese words and to modify pronunciation of Chinese words in favor of their own developing linguistic style.

Keywords: Chinese Characters, Language Contact, Loan Words, Korean Sounds, Chosŏn Dynasty, Natives Words, Late Middle Korean and Modern Korean.

1. Introduction

The focus of this paper is to show how the Korean phonetic system took shape during the period between the 15th and 17th centuries. Secondly, the focus is to show that during this same time period the process of Chinese loan words, which comes out of traditional Chinese culture and dates back more than 1500 years, changed for both Koreans and Chinese, by virtue of an adjusted pronunciation by the Koreans of original Chinese words. It was this noticeable deviation in the borrowed word process by the Koreans during their quest towards a distinct cultural linguistic identity, that Chinese scholar Li Dŭk-Ch’un (리득춘李得春) referred to when he stated that “Chinese loan words must submit to the authority of the Korean phonetic system.” (Li, 1992)

2. Historical Background

The Chosŏn Dynasty, founded in 1392 by the Korean General Yi Sŏng-Kye (이성계李成桂; 1335-1408), overthrew the Koryŏ Kingdom (고려高麗 918-1392) and at the same time ended Mongol domination, which had lasted until 1259 AD. It was during this period, that a
centralized administration based on Confucianism was established. Since a well-established and dominant Chinese culture exhibited a strong influence in Asia coupled with the lack of a Korean written alphabet, it seemed only natural that China provided the foundation and development model of language for Korea. Throughout the continent Chinese characters were recognizable and held within their construction a versatility of meaning and power. Thus, it would not have been advantageous for the fledgling Korean language, still developing during that time, to work with a limited vocabulary or abbreviated alphabet as it would have been unrecognized and largely unknown.

Several other related changes happened during this time period that are of note to scholars and to those interested in the relationship between the origins of the Korean language and its use of Chinese loaned words. For instance, the implementation and use of written Chinese increased particularly among the ruling class further distinguishing it from the lower classes. This was followed by the education (including learning characters) of the Korean children of the ruling class, which began around age 5, while most common folk remained completely illiterate. Even after the creation and implementation of the alphabet Han’gŭl (한글) by King Sejong (세종世宗) in 1446, the Korean ruling class continued to devote their entire lives to the study of Chinese classics as well as to the writing of Chinese characters. The intensive study of the classics and continued use of the three writing systems Hyangch’al (향찰郷札), Idu (이두吏讀) and Kukyŏl, (구결口訣), by ruling class intellectuals produced a more in-depth understanding of existing texts written in Chinese, adding another layer of rich interpretation and contributing to the recognizable aspects of the Chinese language among Koreans. It can be strongly argued that it is during this time period of increased focus on writing and scrutiny on written Chinese texts that the complex relationship between the Korean language and the Chinese characters began (이중문자생활二重文字生活).

Another notable change and subsequent contributing factor to the development of the Korean language within the dynasty was the simultaneous existence of two language systems, both distinct in characteristics and complexity and both in conflict with each other for recognition and use. It was the juxtaposition of both of these languages, the formal system (Chinese Characters Hancha 한자漢字), primarily oral, with the emergence of a new writing system that is the Korean alphabet (Han’gŭl 한글), that provided fertile ground in the further development of what would ultimately result in the use of loaned and borrowed words3 The preference of one language over the other was now used to signify a clear line of demarcation regarding Korea’s intent to move forward in its independence from Chinese influence, written and pronounced. However, the necessary distinction between the common elements inherited and those acquired by contact is the major problem of comparative linguistics (Thomason & Kaufman, 1992).

3. Late Middle Korean and Modern Korean

Although contemporary scholars disagree as to the actual beginning and end of Modern Korean, most if not all identify the period between the early 17th and late 19th centuries as notable in the development of Korea and the inherent characteristics of its language during modern times (Shang, 2008). What is so significant about this time period? World events, most notably the war with the Japanese in 1592, altered the course of Korean language
development and thus caused the further development of their language to be non-existent. For example, prior to the war with the Japanese in 1592, Seoul Korea was a thriving city with a population of 80,000. It had begun to attract scholars from China and Europe during a sort of renaissance, who were ostensibly in search of enlightenment (i.e. policy, spiritual guidance, cultural rights and scientific and technical studies).

During the Japanese invasion of 1592, a massive migration of Korean people exhibited great influence on the development of contemporary Korean as the effects of the war were felt on economic and social levels. After the devastating effects of the war, Seoul lost approximately half of its population largely due to extensive migration to other parts of the world necessary to relieve personal economic and social pressure caused by the war effort. People sought relief from the effects of the war and moved all over, taking with them the common limited use of a developing Korean linguistic identity. However, as can be the case with massive migration, some elements of the culture—particularly language—were not sustainable. Losses and setbacks with respect to linguistic gains were experienced. For example, uneven accelerations in language development throughout the country happened as intellectuals began to influence various dialects, e.g. some dialects of the South seep directly into the dialects of the central region. This uneven growth threatened the written and oral aspects of a uniquely standardized Korean language and, unfortunately, thwarted its development.

As previously mentioned, there is a noticeable paradigmatic shift from a strictly cultural development focus, which encompassed language development, to that of economic recovery and securing the social situation. After the Japanese invasions of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the Kingdom of Korea became more introverted and wary of outside influence. It was during this time of national introspection that Korea re-established its relationship with China Manchu and rejecting any other contact with foreign countries, thus earning the nickname “Hermit Kingdom.” No longer with a focus primarily of cultural significance but of national survival, the development of the Korean language, indeed Korean society, experienced a painful time; slow technical progress devolution of reformists policies and institutions, a cultural drought and dangerous exposure to foreign powers. Korean society, already divided into rigid social classes, remained dormant. The effect on the further development of their own language was evident as Korea began once again to use linguistic borrowing from China.

Despite the important influence of the “Middle Kingdom” and civil unrest, a tendency to change the Chinese loans would grow gradually from among the ranks of the people as opposed to originating among the ruling class. Foremost among these new intellectuals after the 17th century is Hunmin jŏng’ŭm (훈민정음训民正音), “The Proper Sounds for the Instruction of the People,” who emerges from among the ranks of the common people and gains widespread respect among more established and traditional scholars. It is his type of novel and the writings of others combined with a grassroots approach that has a great influence on the development of contemporary Korean. Therefore, the war of 1592 has been generally agreed upon as the dividing line between the Late Middle Korean to Modern one. By so doing, the focus of the language switches from written to oral and with it a pronunciation that became distinctly Korean.
4. The Characteristics of the Phonetic System at the End of the 16th Century

Entering the 17th century, sounds borrowed from the Chinese language faced changes with the introduction of the Korean consonantal system during the Late Middle Korean. A key component of Korean linguistic change between the consonantal system of Modern Korean and Late Middle Korean is the attempted utilization of palatalization. The phonetic system of the Korean language took a more defined shape during that period, notably after the rise of the Korean alphabet. Inspections of Korean pronunciation and letters during the Middle and Modern era highlight some letters that were not yet palatalized. The introduction of palatalization begins to appear in Modern Korean. For instance, the word “sky” pronunciation used to be t'yŏn and it became ch'ŏn.

Table 1 shows the difference between the original publications in the Late Middle to Modern Korean, Ch’oe Sejin (崔世珍, 1525).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Late Middle Korean</th>
<th>Modern Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>다 tya</td>
<td>자 chya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>디 흑 yŏ</td>
<td>자 chyŏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>디 흑 ti</td>
<td>자 chi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the 18th century the push towards palatalization increased and it is during this time that much effort is made to integrate it into the linguistic style of the Korean language. We first find evidence of this integrated linguistic style in the south-west Korean Peninsula and then gradually into the central and north regions. However, to this day there is little or no evidence of palatalization occurring in the Northwest. This “gap” in the integration process, therefore, makes it difficult to say that palatalization was a successful national linguistic style. However, the vowel system of Modern Korean experienced noticeable linguistic style adaptations which are worthy of note.

The vowel · /ə/, (presumably) [ʌ]. (transcribed ə (arae-a 아래야 “lower a”): Presumably pronounced [ʌ], similar to modern ㅓ eo. It is written as a dot, positioned beneath (Korean for “beneath” is arae) the consonant. Korean words that were written with · long ago are now usually written with ㅏ pronounced [a] (the masculine male vowel). The contemporary Korean vowel harmony is a little different from Late Middle Korean due to the extension of the vowel · /ə/ in the Modern period. The rule of vowel harmony shows that in late Middle Korean we have a destruction of vowel harmony.

Other phenomena happened during the borrowing of Chinese loan words during that period. For instance, mid-ancient Korean language lacked triple vowel sounds comparing to early-modern Chinese. Therefore, triple vowel sounds were substituted by double and single vowel sounds. When Chinese words were borrowed, there were two tendencies going on in terms of the number of structuring vowel sounds and the phonological structure. One is that
the single vowel sounds and part of double vowel sounds were maintained. As a consequence, the original sound was consistent with the borrowed sound, so there was not any change to the number of syllables. The other is that a part of double vowel sound was reduced, so double vowel sounds were substituted to single vowel sounds and triple to double. After the birth of “The Proper Sounds for the Instruction of the People” until the late 16th century, Korean language seriously respects the phonetic rules of the new alphabet.

5. Two Types of Chinese Loan Words

During the same time Chinese loan words in Korean undergo important modifications. Up until the 15th - 16th centuries the Korean Language had simply borrowed the meaning and the pronunciation of the Chinese loan words. This is what is generally referred to as “Chinese loan words standard types” (Ch’ayongŏ 차용어借用語). For instance, examples of those types of words that have kept the original pronunciation of Chinese during the process of borrowing as mentioned below:

- kongsa 공사 (“affair of state”)
- saeng gye 생계 (“subsistence”)
- bunbyŏl 분별 (“discernment”)

Another category of borrowing appeared in the 15th century. Indeed, there existed some type of Chinese loans used only for the meaning of words while at the same time trying to preserve its original Korean linguistic pronunciation. Linguists call these Korean Chinese loan words “hanchaŏ (한자어漢字語)”. Other terms, namely ch’ayongŏ (차용어借用語), thus in turn preserved the sounds of Chinese. The linguist Li Dŭk-Ch’un of Yŏnbyŏn University has clearly showed in his book entitled “History of linguistic relationships of Chinese writing” the complex relationship between the Chinese and Korean language. According to Li (1991, p. 301) there existed two forms of Chinese loans words: The “ŭmdok hanchaŏ (음독한자어音讀 漢字語)” Chinese loans words that use Korean sounds; and “ŭmch’a hanchaŏ (음차한자어音借 漢字語),” Chinese loan words that use Chinese sounds. During that period, the Chinese loan words are “submitted” (pokchong 복종服從) or are increasingly incorporated in the 15th century to the structure of the Korean language and especially to the Korean phonetic system. Tables 2, 3 and 4 illustrate nicely the relationship of these two types of loan words.

Table 2: Two Types of Chinese Loan Words in Late Middle Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese loan words standards</th>
<th>Chinese loan words modified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Sounds: Ch’ayongŏ 차용어</td>
<td>Korean Sounds: Hanchaŏ 한자어</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŭmch’a hanchaŏ 음차한자어</td>
<td>ŭmdok hanchaŏ 음독한자어</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Examples of Chinese Loan Words Type 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronunciation in the 16th century</th>
<th>Pronunciation in the 17th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>黄货 huanghuo 황호 hwangho</td>
<td>황하 hwangha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>沙糖 shaotang 사탕 sat’ang</td>
<td>사탕 sat’ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白菜 baicai 빵취 baech’ui</td>
<td>배추 baech’u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Examples of Chinese Loan Words Type 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronunciation in the 16th century</th>
<th>Pronunciation in the 17th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>胸背 xiongbei 총뼈 hyongbŭi</td>
<td>총뼈 hyongbae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>汤水tangshui 탕쇠 tangsoe</td>
<td>탕수 you angsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>烧饼 chaobing 소병 syobing</td>
<td>소병 sobyŏng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Natives Words Replace Chinese Loan Words

A crucial step towards achieving a unique Korean linguistic identity was the realization of the need to exclude Chinese loan words that had a Korean equivalent. This was necessary so as not to cause confusion when speaking Korean or writing the language. The Chinese word chyup’i or “leather whip” (쥬피鞉皮) was used for example in the Pakt’onsa ŏnhae (박통사언해朴通事諺解) in 1667 and the yŏkŏlyuhae (역어류해譯語類解) in 1690.

Later, scholars identified a form of the native word hukŏli (후거리) in Dongmunlyuhae (동문류해同文類解) dating from 1748. After a relatively short period of time, the borrowed Chinese chyupi reappears as does hukŏli. In fact, the two terms–Aboriginal and Chinese loan–were noted to have appeared in several books at the same time. When they began to exist together, the Sino-Korean is eventually replaced by the pure Korean word hukŏli.

The same is true for the Chinese loan “bell” pronounced chong (종钟). When it was introduced for the first time in Korea, purists changed the Aboriginal term soebuk (쇠북) literally meaning “iron battery.” The practice of excluding Chinese words appeared for the first time in the early sixteenth century in the first edition nokŏldae Korea (노걸대老乞大; conversation manual to learn Chinese and published in China), namely bŏnyŏk nokŏldae (번역노걸대翻譯老乞大) and in the 17th century rokŏl daeŏnhae (노걸대언老乞大諺解) translated into Korean by Ch’oe Sae-Chin (최세진崔世珍). The practice to spread Korean Chinese words reinforced the idea that Korea wanted to establish a cultural linguistic identity of its own and as much as possible wanted to reduce its dependence on borrowing Chinese words and extricate itself from under Chinese influence. A few examples are highlighted below in Table 5 (Ch’oe Sae-Chin최세진崔世珍, 1667):
Table 5: Chinese Loan Words Replaced by Natives Words in Late Middle Korean (16th Century)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese loan words</th>
<th>Native words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>岁 “age” → swi 쇼</td>
<td>nah 나 기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>胸子 “chest” → hyongchŭ 홍즈</td>
<td>kasom 가술</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The practice found its beginning in the form of a vassal summarized through the concept of Sadae chuŭ “servility” (사대주의事大主義). This somehow foreshadowed what would become three centuries later the policy of maldadŭmki undong called “Movement for linguistic normalization” (말 다듬기 운동) launched by Kim Il-Sŏng (김일성金日成) in 1960s. This movement signaled the desire to progressively abolish Chinese loans in favor of Aboriginal terms. However well intentioned, the movement failed to do what it set out to do. According to research conducted on this issue there was little or no effect on the language policy towards wholesale removal of Chinese origin as was the case in North Korea. Despite a nascent nationalism, Koreans were still unable to completely remove themselves from China and thus remained dependent on it politically, culturally and militarily. As evidence of their dependence on the strength of China it was the Ming dynasty that came to the rescue of the Kingdom of Yi (이李) repeatedly against the Japanese invaders.

7. The Statement of Chŏng Yakyong (정약용丁若鏞)

The sounds of Chinese characters in Korean were formed through a long period of time and they have achieved their own in which they could be changed. Thus, there were significant differences in the Korean phonological system. At the end, loan words using Chinese pronunciation were no longer spoken nor were they popular. When people heard the words using the Chinese pronunciation, they were put in relation to the origins of the characters and then compared with the pronunciation of Chinese characters used in Korea. In this way, people began modeling and transforming spoken Chinese words with Korean sounds.

In the case of ŭmdok hanchaŏ, or loan words using Korean sounds, they were introduced mostly by means of the written language. Members of the government, as well as scholars, read every day in the great Chinese Confucian classics such as “Four books and five Classics” (사서오경 四書五經). Most scholars and schools only knew the Korean pronunciation of Chinese words, not their original pronunciation. In this way, the ŭmdok hanchaŏ began to grow and after their introduction a new vocabulary based on the Korean sounds. That is why many loans with Korean sounds are still used in modern Korean and many words of Chinese sounds originals were “converted” into Korean sounds. The famous scholar of Chosŏn dynasty, Chŏng Yagyong (정약용丁若鏞) was one of the first to criticize this phenomenon. He said, after he finished writing the aŏn kakpi (아언각비雅言覚非) the following:

There are a large number of words in this way. When those words are spoken, there were no problems because their pronunciation coincided with the Chinese one. But when they were delivered to the Korean way, it became different. In general, the names of things were invented by slaves while literary words were entirely created by intellectuals. This is undoubtedly a mistake scholar of high rank.
8. Chinese Loan Words in Contemporary Korean

This article has supported the idea that Chinese loan words in late Middle Korean faced a lot of changes. Some terms were deliberately eradicated; others systematically replaced by the Korean pronunciations type ŭmdok hanchaŏ, making it more adaptable to the Korean phonetic system. After five centuries, we could divide into categories the Chinese loan words found and in use in Contemporary Korean. (See Table 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese loan words categories during 16th century</th>
<th>Contemporary Korean:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Chinese loans words with Chinese pronunciation</td>
<td>봤최 ~ 白菜 → 배추 baech’u “Chinese cabbage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chinese loans words with Korean pronunciation</td>
<td>kyaki 가기 ~ 骄气 “arrogance” → Kyoki 교기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Chinese loan words replaced by other Chinese words</td>
<td>kammo 감모 ~ 感冒 kamki → 감기 ~ 感气 “cold”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Chinese loans words not replaced</td>
<td>chyubyŏ 주벼 ~ 酒鳖 “alcohol Turtle”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Chinese loan words replaced by natives words</td>
<td>hyongchú 홍조 kasom → 가슴 “chest”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has already been stated, the Korean Japanese war of 1592 had devastating results on the country in every aspect of daily Korean life. There was social strife, economic turmoil and cultural disruption as is evidenced by accounts of widespread Japanese looting in the cities accompanied by the indiscriminate burning of Korean historical texts, books and other documents (Delissen, 1998). The level of social and cultural disruption made the further development of the Korean language that much more challenging, indeed nearly impossible as priorities for maintaining order and meeting the needs of the people took center stage. Thus, without the ability and mechanisms necessary to reproduce these lost historically important Korean texts severely crippled any effort directed towards development.

To the extent possible supplemental documents that remained were used to begin the development effort. However, these sources were at best second and third hand writings, and were in some instances scholarly impressions and interpretations which would not have been as rich or as accurate as the original sources. Nevertheless, during the tumultuous late 15th century Korea continued to use borrowed Chinese words and also replace natives’ words. This category we did not mention above shows also the strong influence of China despite Korea’s will to keep distance with Chinese lexicon’s influence. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natives words</th>
<th>Chinese loan words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me 메 “mountain” changed into</td>
<td>san 산山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o rai 오래 “gate”</td>
<td>mun 문門</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Conclusion

The history of Chinese loan words in Korean extends over a very long period. This is why it is very difficult to standardize Chinese loan words while keeping their original sound.
Some words have been written, recorded because they were introduced before the system of the Korean alphabet was created. In addition, considering the fact that the system of Sino-Korean words was not established before the 10th century, there is a great chance for all previous loans had to submit to the law of Chinese loan sounds. Thus, it is possible that in a given period of time, the Sino-Korean words were mostly Chinese loans preserving Chinese sounds. However, even if they are mostly at the base of Sino-Korean words, we can imagine that some were delivered with the sounds of Korean at that time and could therefore, be considered as well as borrowings using Chinese Korean sounds.

Research provides a similar history of the same phenomenon in Japanese. The Kanji often have two possible readings, one Chinese and the other in Japanese. Another problem of historical time may arise. The difficulty remains in defining whether loans originated are from Chinese sounds or Korean sounds. This may be because their arrival is made by written or verbal manner. This is especially true for Middle Korean (10th to 16th century) after the sounds of the Chinese were established. There was also still some degree of consistency between the Korean sounds of that era and those of Chinese used during the fifteenth century. Although we are quite familiar with the phonological evolution of Korean from the 15th century and more specifically after the invention of the Korean writing system we are less familiar about the period that preceded it. This is partly due to the difficulties of reconstructing sounds transcribed only in Chinese characters (besides the use of these characters has large variations) and other documents to the lack of time.

In summary, we can distinguish two groups in this category of Chinese loan words. In the first group, there exist loans that have been changed very little in their pronunciation. The second group contains loans that have seen considerable change. The direction of the borrowing has hardly changed, but the phonetic Korean has replaced its Chinese. This is one of the important characteristics of the Korean language.

From the late 17th century until recently the development of a cultural linguistic Korean identity allows us to witness a new phenomenon in the Korean language: a massive influence of European culture in Asia. Chinese ambassadors who have lived abroad have introduced new terms from Western culture. These words are then translated into Chinese using Chinese characters before being again used by Koreans. This relatively new phenomenon marks the beginning of a new era in the process of borrowing Chinese loan words. While the terms are still considered as Chinese loan words, they are translating from existing foreign words. Previously, the loans were borrowed directly from Chinese, from Chinese culture. Some examples of this new generation of Chinese loans:

- sŏnggyŏng성경聖經: “Bible”
- ch’ŏnju’천주天主: “God”
- ch’ui星期日: “Sunday, the day of the Lord”
- pokŭm福音福音: “Gospel”
- sŏngt’an성탄聖誕: “Christmas”
- sŏngmo성모聖母: “The Virgin Mary”
Despite some reservations about Chinese loans in the sixteenth century, we can still say that the majority of words that have been borrowed persist even today in modern Korean. They entered the Korean language and it is impossible to exclude them. Moreover, they are not really considered nowadays as borrowing since their integration dates back hundreds of years.

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ENDNOTES

1 For this article, we will use the McCune Reischauer’s system.
2 The 4th King of Yi 이李 dynasty (1392-1910)
3 Chinese loan words process in Korean language is still a modern phenomenon. Korean Language Institute has published a few books called “New Words” (신단어新單語) where we can see the importance of the loan words coming from Chinese.
4 In linguistics, Palatization may refer to two different processes by which a sound, usually a consonant, comes to be produced with the tongue in a position in the mouth near the palate.
5 Hunmongjahoe (훈몽자회訓蒙字會) Chinese characters for teaching to ignorant published in 1525, written by Ch’oe Sejin 최세진. The author, the same as the Sasŏngt’onghae (사성통해四聲通解) “Understanding with 4 tons” wrote this book for teaching or learning Chinese characters in Korea. It contains 3360 Chinese characters, classified by themes. The introduction explains the Sasŏng (사성四聲) “4 tons” system and for each Chinese character is written his Korean translation and his (Sino-) Korean pronunciation.
6 Yŏnbyŏn University 연변대학교延邊大學校
7 Hanchaŏnŏmunchakwangsa 한자언어문자관계사漢字言語文字關係史
8 The Four Books and Five Classics (四書五經; Sìshū Wǔjīng) are the authoritative books of Confucianism in China before 300 BC.
9 Often simply known as ‘Dasan’ (다산 茶山; 1762-1836).
10 This book written by Dasan is a thorough research on the expressions of the Korean Language and its etymology.

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Abstract: The current study is concerned with cross-cultural speech act performance, specifically focusing on the performance of lying in situations where the speakers perceive or adopt a negative evaluation. The current study shows that more lies are found in the Korean native speaker group than the Chinese learner group. Also, lies are more frequent in situations where evaluations target people than in situations where evaluations target an entity. However, the number of lies is not directly correlated to the changes in the relative social distance and power between the speaker and hearer. Moreover, the fact that the preference of different lying strategies also differs between the two groups may imply some differences in terms of cultural awareness.

Keywords: Korean, speech act, lying, evaluation, Chinese learners of Korean

Introduction

1.1 Background

Pragmatic communication can vary from one person to another and from one culture to another, but it is always less than perfect simply because personal mind and cultural background are not completely transparent between interlocutors. We can say, in the pragmatic view, communication involves diverse strategies—even lying—to reach a rapport between speakers and actual or potential respondents. The current study is concerned with cross-cultural speech act performance, with the presence of lying expressions while the speakers perceive or adopt a negative evaluation towards either the entity or people related with the conversation.

Evaluation has been approached in a variety of ways. Expressing the standpoint of functional linguistics, Thomson and Hunston (2000) emphasized the nature of evaluation which is concerned with stance, attitude and emotion. They also made a distinction between
evaluation about entity, which involves positive and negative feelings, and evaluation about proposition, which is much more cognitive and involves a degree of certainty (cf. Martin and White 2005:38). Parallel with the global method of analyzing evaluation speech in functional linguistics, there is some decoding research on evaluative devices or components (e.g. Labov 1972, Bamberg & Damrad-Frye 1991, Künatay & Nakamura 2004). This flavor also dominates sentiment analysis on evaluation (e.g. Asher et al. 2009, Gabrys-Barker 2010), and admittedly it provides many useful ideas on the taxonomy of evaluation.

Pragmatics offered another means of analyzing evaluation as a speech act. Mey (2001) identified ‘evaluation’ as a ‘pragmatic act’ (including but not limited to speech acts) which is not just performing the act by utterance, but also involving personal agent in the performance. Blackwell (2010) obtains Mey’s concept and puts forward a qualitative study of evaluation utterances in Spanish film narratives. She views evaluation utterances as three divisions—negative, positive, and comparative; as well as contrasting subjective and objective opinions. Also, little attention has been paid to power, social distance, and element (context) causing the differences in evaluation.

Although the identity of evaluation is sometimes across other speech acts, as Boxer and Pickering (1995) take indirect complaints as a type of negative evaluation, the independence of evaluation as a sub-category of an expressive speech act can be verified by Searle (1979)’s three criteria for classification of speech acts: the illocutionary point, the direct of fit, and the expressed psychological states. In this sense, evaluation speech acts can be defined as expressing critical opinions for actions already done and the desire to change the world as a consequence. When this critical opinion is negative, people in collective cultures, which emphasize modesty as an important value, tend to lie in order to comply with the social norms, or the behaviors that can be expected of a good person (Linde 1997). The conclusion that lying is prevalent in negative evaluation also has been supported by our pilot study.

Lying has been widely researched from a number of angles in sociology, psychology, philosophy, as well as in some multidisciplinary fields such as pedagogy and psycholinguistics. However, “lying is primarily a linguistic act” (Meibauer 2011) though it cannot be treated as a separate type of speech act (Meibauer 2005) but may be a pragmeme (Blackwell 2010:2948). Few studies have involved an analysis of lying in certain speech acts; instead more emphasis has been put on its violation of Gricean Theory (e.g. Danziger 2010, Montminy 2006, Meibauer 2005) and bound lying to assertion (e.g. Meibauer 2005, Kolenda 1971).

Before further examination of this topic, it is worth discussing the identification of a lie. Following Bok (1978:13), a lie is a statement “intended to deceive a dupe about the state of the world, including the intentions and attitudes of the liar” (cf. Barnes 1994:11). Here, the intention is the most important thing in identifying the nature of lying as altruistic or as
serious. As far as this study is concerned, the lies told in our questionnaires should be taken as white lies in a sociological point of view, which aim to reach a social rapport. Apart from this definition and classification, the argument remains in the distinction between lying and deception as well as the relationship of lying and implicating. Thus the current study employs a relatively simple definition from Falkenberg (1982), given in (1), which is also adopted by Meibauer (2005).

(1) A lie occurs at a certain time $t$ if
   a) A asserts a propositional content $p$ at time $t$, and
   b) A actively believes at $t$ that not $p$.

However, we need to be cautious in taking this condensed definition, or other such definitions, as a standard to judge a lie. The standard to identify a lie differs from one culture to another and also partly depends on the diversity of realization patterns of different people. It remains controversial whether a lie can be identified only by the intended deception of a ‘liar,’ which Falkenberg’s definition comes to. Therefore, the current study employed opinions from five judges (see section 2.3 for details). It still cannot be denied that the gap between realization of lying fact and realization of lying intention may bring us some more arguments.

1.2 Research Questions and Aims

With two precedents—speech act research on evaluation and socio-linguistic study on lying—the current study compares the lying performance of Korean Native Speakers (KNS) and Chinese learners of Korean (CLK) in negative evaluation using a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), which is a typical tool for cross-cultural speech act investigation. According to our pilot study, lies told in negative evaluation are roughly divided into two groups: insincere talk and circumlocution, although these categories may have much larger subordinations as well as exceptions due to the variety of situations, societies, and cultures. Insincere talk is a direct lie that expresses a positive attitude instead of telling the negative truth. Circumlocution is an indirect lie (e.g. an excuse) which circumvents the question or the negative part itself. Further, the current study also inspects the reasons for lying by giving the participants of the DCT a chance to explain their performance. Other performance related to or in addition to lying performance will also be discussed. Like other pragmatics studies, the current study set three variables—power, social distance, and the target of evaluation—to investigate what triggered the relevant speech act performance (see section 2 for details of the setting). The research questions are as follows:

(1) What similarities and differences have been shown in lying in negative evaluation between KNS and CLK?
(2) What kind of combinations or changes of variables are leading to more lies than other situations?
(3) In which way are insincere talk and circumlocution distributed in different situations?
(4) What are KNS and CLK lying for?
(5) Is there any difference in the reason for lying between KNS and CLK?

There are three hypotheses regarding the research questions:

(1) Participants lie more in situations with judgment targeting people than in those targeting an entity.
2) The number of lies should decrease along with the change of the speaker’s power status from low to high.
(3) The possibility of lying should be higher with hearers who are unacquainted than who are well-acquainted.

The contributions of the current study are threefold. First, the current study makes an attempt to look at one certain phenomenon or strategy as a whole in relevant speech acts. This type of study is scarce compared with the traditional speech act analysis which scans different strategies or phenomenon at one time. Moreover, focusing on one phenomenon, lying, allows us to explore further where the difference of speech act performance between KNS and CLK stems from. Second, evaluation is a relatively ‘new face’ in speech act studies in contrast to requests, refusals, and the like. This study may give an insight into this ‘new’ speech act despite its brevity. Third, the comparison of the performance between KNS and CLK means that this study has some pedagogical implications. The outcome is expected to direct the Chinese learners in determining (a) whether it is appropriate to tell a white lie in a specific situation, (b) what type of lie Korean native speakers prefer to tell, and (c) what variable(s) they should be sensitive to when they perceive a negative evaluation. Teaching students ‘lying’ in the classroom may be controversial, but it may be beneficial to integrate this concept into the socialization process of students.

2. Methods
2.1 Instruments

The choice of instruments was not just made from a general standpoint of pragmatics but also due to the research questions at hand and the purpose of the study. The current study carried out a single-moment comparison between KNS and CLK and an attribution of lying to detailed socio-cultural reasons. Accordingly, a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and a Questionnaire For Explanation (QFE) have been employed. DCT was originally developed for comparing the speech act realization patterns of NS and NNS and was first introduced by Blum-Kulka (1982). The adaptation of this instrument is constantly led by various researchers (e.g. Beebe 1990, Rose 1992, Stadler 2011), and the format has appeared in at least three types: dialogue completion tasks with rejoinders, dialogue completion tasks without rejoinders (such as in the current study), and open questionnaires in which only the scenario is provided but no turns (Bardovi-Harlig 2002). In the current study, a DCT as a
kind of productive questionnaire is followed by a QFE which generates retrospective data. Triangulation of data can reduce the possibility of ambiguity in analysis (Kasper 1998).

The present DCT involves three variables: distance, power, and the target of evaluation to formulate the situational variation. Distance refers to the horizontal relationship between speaker and hearer, which can be treated in a binary system of acquaintance and non-acquaintance. Power indicates the vertical gap of social position between addressee, which might be better suited by a ternary system of higher, equal, and lower status. The target of evaluation is who or what is judged in context which includes the hearer, the third parties besides interlocutors and entities. In light of the combinations of the above variables, the current DCT is designed to have the following situation sets, given in Table 1.

Table 1: Contextual Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Target of Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &gt; S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H = S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>+distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-distance</td>
<td>H &lt; S</td>
<td>TE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* H is the abbreviation of hearer and S is that of Speaker.
* [+distance] means speaker and hearer are meeting for the first time or are not acquaintances and [-distance] is the opposite.
* TA, TO, TR and TE refers to the evaluation targeting addressee, others, relatives of hearer’s and entity respectively.
The Questionnaire for Explanation (QFE) uses the same situation sets as the DCT but asks the participants to explain the reasons for the situations in which they did not tell the truth. The so-called ‘truth’ is the content of negative evaluation given in the set scenes as the supposed opinion of the speakers. Thus, those answers with explanations indicate that the speaker thought s/he was lying and those without explanations indicate that the speaker had no intention of lying or did not recognize him/herself as lying.

2.2 Participants

A total of 30 participants comprised of an equal number of Korean native speakers and Chinese learners participated. However, one participant from each group has been excluded due to incompletion of the QFE. All participants are aged from 20 to 35, and the learner group consists of university students who are third year Korean majors.

2.3 Procedure

The first version of the DCT prepared by the authors was examined by two Korean native speakers with linguistics backgrounds and modified for contextual appropriateness. After three rounds of discussions and modifications, the final version was decided on and administered to the participants. Considering the learner group was intermediate level in Korean, they were allowed to explain their reasons in Chinese as an additional language in the QFE. This helped us to avoid the misinterpretation of learners’ answers in later discussion. After data collection, all the answers from the DCT were sorted according to the situation set. The typical answers, which range from 8 to 10 in each situation, were sent to five Korean native speakers to judge if they were lies and what type of lies they were. All five judges have Korean linguistic knowledge and are doing relevant research in Korean. According to the results of these judgments, the analysis is based on a coding scheme which we will present in the next section.

3. Discussion

3.1 Coding Scheme

Developing an appropriate coding scheme is always important and challenging in speech act research. Given the main purpose of the current study, the categories were defined around the pivot of lying.

The basic unit for analysis is the contrast of lies and truth, and both of them have been dichotomized depending on whether they have explanations or not. The lies have been further divided into direct lie and circumlocution. Besides lies and truth, there are two other possible answers within negative evaluations: No-Shown answers and equivocal answers. These two types have also been categorized in accordance with explanations or absence thereof. The coding formula has been presented in Table 2.
Table 2: Coding Scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct lies with explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumlocutions with explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct lies without explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumlocutions without explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth with explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth without explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-Shown answers with explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-shown answers without explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equivocal answers with explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equivocal answers without explanations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the perspective of “liars” intention, all the answers with explanations should be treated as lies due to the request of QFE which asked the participants to articulate on situations in which they did not tell the truth. However, not all the answers with explanations have been finally considered as lies as they have been judged as truth or other types of answers. This gap between the intention and the realization of lying might become a new controversial point in defining lies. Aside from this, some examples for No-shown and equivocal answers are given in (2).

(2) Situation 14: Staff A is recommending Staff B takes the new project. As a boss, you think staff B does not suit for this project because of his incautiousness and indecision on work. How would you answer staff A’s recommendation?

Staff A: Boss, B seems a good person to take this project.

You (Boss): Could you tell me why you are recommending him?

In this situation, the speaker neither lied nor told the truth. Instead, (s)he just asks for elaboration from the hearer, hence no critical opinion showed. On the other hand, it is hard to define whether the equivocal answer with some critical opinions is a lie or a truth. This kind of vagueness is allowed to show in between truth and lie and is partly supported by the judgments of the five judges. The judges were given instructions to mark the answers in terms of direct lie, circumlocution, truth, or not-sure answer. Some answers were considered as equivocal answers when interpreted differently by judges, and even the participant him/herself.
(3) Situation 1: After a get-together party, you went to a Karaoke with everyone. As a new employee, you just met your company president for the first time. The president sang a song. You think he is really a bad singer and did not catch the rhythm at all. Now the president is sitting by you. How would you answer to his following question?

President: I have not had such a good time at karaoke for a long time. Did you hear my singing? How was it?

You: It was amazing, but better not to sing in other places, hahaha~.

This answer got two judgments which took it as a circumlocution, one for direct lie, one for Not-sure, and one for truth from the five judges. According to the participant, “I need to concern the relationship with President. As a staff, I indirectly expressed my inconvenience in order not to hurt the President’s heart.” With this explanation, it becomes more controversial whether we should take this answer as a lie or a truth with explanation. Thus, answers with such a dilemma have been placed in the equivocal answer group.

Once an answer is defined as a lie, the reason for lying will be explored by referring to the QFE answers accordingly. The Questionnaire for Explanation (QFE) uses the same situation sets as the DCT but asks the participants to explain the reasons in the situations they think they did not tell the truth. Those explanations reflected the hidden reasons or social factor(s) speakers are sensitive to. It varies from sensitivity to single factors of power, distance, or context to the combination of these factors. Some personal reasons are grouped as other reasons.

(4) Example: Situation 1 [see translation in (3)]
Answer: 사장님이 정말 잘 부르셨습니다.

You sang really well.
Explanation 1: 제가 부하직원으로 사장님께 사실대로 말할 수 없습니다..
As a staff, I cannot tell the truth (about the performance) to President.

Explanation 2: 오늘 처음으로 사장님과 만나니까 사실대로 말할 수 없습니다..
I cannot tell the truth because I just met President for the first time.

Explanation 3: 한국에서 사회생활을 하기 위해 자주 외국 사람들과 잘 보여야 됩니다.
It is necessary to behave well (show good) to seniors to socialize in Korean society.

Explanation 4: 굳이 처음 만난 사장님께 나쁜 말을 해서 분위기를 망칠 이유가 없으니까.
There is no reason for me to talk bad to this first-met president and risk ruining the mood.
Under the same speech of lying, speakers in explanation 1 refer to their low status (power) and in explanation 2 some attribute it to the acquaintanceship (distance). Explanation 3 indicated the Korean socio-cultural rules as a context that speakers are supposed to comply with. Explanation 4 includes [distance] and [context] as two factors causing this lie.

3.2 Data Analysis and Discussion

As predicted in the first hypothesis presented in section 1.2, both KNS and CLK groups produced many more lies in the situations with people (including hearer self and others) as the target of judgment than in those with entities as the target of judgment (see Figure 1).

If we look at the Figure 1 closely, we can find the TA and TO situations have many more lies than TE situations. Actually a total 38 lies from KNS and 33 lies from CLK have been generated in 6 situations with TA (judgments targeting addressee). The figures are close to that in the 8 situations with TO (judgments targeting other people), with 42 lies from each group. However, the number of lies drops dramatically in situations with TE (judgment targeting entities) to 27 from KNS and 16 from CLK.

However, the second and third hypotheses are not completely matched by the outcome, as shown in Figure 2. [-D -P] situations, which are supposed to produce fewer lies than any other Distance and Power sets, exceed [-D P] and [+D -P] situations in number of lies. Moreover, more lies shown in [+D P] than in [-D +P] may indicate that the change of
social distance influence the output of lies more than power. This assumption can be partly supported by the marked decline of lies when comparing the number in [+D +P] with that in [-D +P] and comparing [+D P] with [-D P], but still the comparison between [+D -P] and [-D -P] is an exception. Situation 17 [+D P TE] and 20 [-D –P TE] will be discussed as an example of this exception below and some assumptions regarding the reasons for this will also be proposed after analysis.

Before going to the analysis in detail, the common problems in lying performance need to be mentioned. Basically, the KNS group generates more lies in both types of lies than the CLK group. However, more native speakers seem not to consider their circumlocution as a lie (19 circumlocution without explanation from total 48 circumlocutions in KNS group) while more Chinese may not realize their insincere talk is a lie (9 insincere talk without explanation from total 52 insincere talks in CLK). In TA situations, the similarity of performance between KNS and CLK is also reflected in the choice of lying strategy, where both two groups produce more direct lies than circumlocutions.
If the study stopped at this similarity, the outcome may be attributed to cultural similarities of Korea and China and thereby neglect the hidden differences in the real reasons for lying. In Table 3, only the situation with the most significant differences is presented, and other small discrepancies have also found in various situations. Before looking at this table, one more thing to be cautious about is the tables from the QFE only described the lies with explanations.

Table 3: Reasons For Lying in Situation 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Power + Distance</th>
<th>Power + Context</th>
<th>Distance + Context</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Other Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. +D+PTA</td>
<td>2/11</td>
<td>3/11</td>
<td>1/11</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>1/11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Situation 1 [+distance, H > S Target of Addressee]

오늘 회사 전체 회식을 하고 노래방에 갔습니다. 당신은 신입사원으로 오늘 처음 사장님을 만났습니다. 노래방에서 사장님께서 노래를 부르셨는데 정말 듣기에 곤혹스러울 정도로 노래를 못 부르셨습니다. 노래를 부르고 나서 당신 옆의 빈자리에 앉으셨습니다. 사장님의 다음과 같은 질문에 당신이 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

사장님: 허허, 오랜만에 노래방에 오니 좋은데. 자네, 내가 노래를 하는 거 들었어? 내 노래 실력이 어때?

당신: ________________________________________________________________

After a get-together party, you went to a Karaoke with everyone. As a new employee, you just met your company president for the first time. The president sang a song. You think he is really a bad singer and did not catch the rhythm at all. Now the president is sitting by you. How will you answer to his following question?

President: I have not had such a good time at karaoke for a long time. Did you hear my singing? How was it?

You: ________________________________________________________________

Notwithstanding the similar number of lies from KNS and CLK, 7 Chinese learners explained that they are lying only because of the realization of the power difference with the hearer whereas only 2 Korean native speakers are lying for the same single factor. The typical explanations of CLK are as follows:

(6) Examples of CLK’s explanations

사장님에게 사실대로 말할 수 없어요
I cannot tell the truth because he is President.
Chen and Yeon

회사 사장님이어서 실제로 말하면 화가 날까봐요.
He is President, so I am afraid he will be angry if I tell the truth.
우리 사장님의 자존심을 존경해야 돼요.
I need to respect the President’s pride.

Whereas KNS tends to be sensitive to the combination of power and other factors by mentioning some social rules of Korean companies and the realization of not wanting to ruin the party mood along with the identity of President. This flavor is also shown more or less in [-D +P TA] situation.

Coming to the second group of situations with judgment targeting others, circumlocution as a strategy of lying becomes slightly more popular than direct lie except Situation 7 which has a [+P +D] set. Another interesting thing is that KNS group is lying more for social distance between hearer and themselves. In other words, the degree of intimacy affects KNS more on deciding whether lie or not than Chinese learners. One exception is situation 10 where the target of judgment is a close relative of the hearer.

Table 4: Reasons For Lying in Situation 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Power + Distance</th>
<th>Power + Context</th>
<th>Distance + Context</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Other Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 +D+P TR</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 -D +P TR</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Situation 10

당신이 모 교수님 아들의 과외를 맡고 있는데 그 아이의 성격이 거만하고 수업시간에 자꾸 놀리고 했습니다. 오늘 과외가 끝난 후 거실에 나왔는데 그 교수님이 거실에서 당신을 기다리고 계십니다. 당신은 오늘 처음 그 교수님을 만났는데 아래의 질문에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

교수님: 우리 아들을 가르치느라고 수고가 많지요. 그런데 우리 아들 수업 태도가 어때요? 가르칠 만한가요?

당신:

You are giving private lessons to an unknown professor’s son. This child is very haughty and always wants to play in lessons. Today, after finishing the lesson, you found the professor is waiting for you. You just meet this professor for the first time and what would you answer to the following question?

**Professor:** Thank you for the effort you put into teaching my son. How is his attitude? Is it OK for teaching?

**You:**
Situation 11 adopted the same context with a slight change from an unknown professor to a well-known professor which means the distance between the speaker and the hearer changed. In both situations, power and context dominate the reasons for KNS’s lies. Even though Chinese learners told a similar number of lies in situation 10, they are more likely to lie due to social distance.

Compared with the number of lies in TA and TO situations above, the small figure in the TE group may indicate that people do not feel so obligated to keep a rapport by lying while judging some items as when judging people. Moreover, KNS and CLK groups reach a consensus in Situation 18 [-D P TE] and situation 19 [+D –P TE] so no lie with explanations has been produced. However, KNS lied more in other TE situations and also produced more direct lies than CLK. Further, Situation 17 [+D P TE] and situation 20 [-D –P TE] partly reversed the second and third hypotheses and are given as examples in Table 5.

### Table 5: Reasons For Lying in Situation 17 And Situation 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situations</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Power + Distance</th>
<th>Power + Context</th>
<th>Distance + Context</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Other Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. +D P TE</td>
<td>2/9</td>
<td>1/5</td>
<td>4/9</td>
<td>2/9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. +D P TE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. -D -P TE</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Situation 17

당신은 오늘 처음으로 선보는 상대를 만나 식사를 같이 하게 되었습니다. 시내에서 새로 문 연 식당에 갔는데 음식맛이 당신의 입맛에 맞지 않습니다. 선보는 상대의 다음과 같은 질문에 당신은 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

선보는 상대: 음식 맛이 어떻게요?

당신: You are having dinner with someone you are meeting for the first time in a blind date. You went to a newly opened restaurant with him/her, but the food is really not to your taste. How would you answer to his/her question as follows;
Dating partner: How is the food?

You:

(9) Situation 20

당신은 친한 후배가 새로 이사간 숙소에 놀러 갔습니다. 당신의 생각과 달리 후배의 방이 너무 좁아 불편해 보입니다. 후배의 아래와 같은 질문에 당신은 어떻게 대답하실 겁니까?

후배: 선배, 들어오세요. 제 방 어때요?

당신:

You are visiting your junior fellow and found his/her new place is really small and inconvenient. How would you answer to your junior’s question?

Junior: Seonpaenim, come on in. How is my room?

You:

According to the hypotheses presented in section 1.2, the number of lies should decrease along with the change of speaker’s power status from low to high and with the social distance from unacquainted to well-acquainted. However, Situation 17 [+D P TE] exceeds the supposed ‘higher’ sets, situation 15 [+D +P TE] in the number of lies. The same thing also happens in situation 20 [-D –P TE] when compared with situation 19 [+D –P TE]. It may be necessary to look at some typical reasons for the participants lying in these two situations;

(10) Explanations in Situation 17

Explanation 1 처음 본 사람이기에 직설적으로 말할 수 없었다

I cannot speak straight because I am meeting her/him for the first time.

Explanation 2 부정적인 대답은 상대방을 걱정하게 만들 뿐만 아니라 분위기를 어색하게 만들 것 같습니다.

It will not just worry my date but also ruin the mood if I tell the negative opinion.

Explanation 3 맛이 없지만 난 입이 짜지 않다라는 것을 의미하여 아무거나 잘먹는다고 인지시키고 또한 상대방에게 똑같이 물어보아 배려를 하는 동시에 상대방 생각이 나와 같은지 알아보려 하는것

Although it is not to my taste, I do not want my date to think of me as a picky person. Also I showed my kind consideration by asking my date back.

Situation 17 has been set with a trap where the people who chose the restaurant are not
known. In other words, the restaurant could have been chosen by the speaker him/herself, by the dating partner, or even by the matchmaker of the date. The initial intention of designing such a trap is to avoid speakers realizing their date’s face over other factors. We cannot deny that there is a possibility for the participants to suppose that the dating partner chose the restaurant because most of participants were female and because it is more common that males pay for the meal in a blind date in both Korea and China.

Situation 20 may examine this speaker’s assumption from another side. In situation 20, the speaker is in higher power status than the hearer and very intimate with the hearer in terms of distance but still 8 people from KNS group lied. The reasons are listed as below:

(11) Explanations in Situation 20

Explanation 1: 우리 집도 아니고 남이 사는 집을 낮게 평가할 이유가 없어서
Since it is not my home, I do not have reasons to give a negative opinion.

Explanation 2: 그래도 힘내라는 의미로 좋게 말했다
But I just want to cheer him/her up.

Explanation 3: 작은 방에 사는 것도 속상할텐데 솔직하게 말해 후배를 슬프게 하고 싶지 않습니다.
It is a sad thing to live in such a small room, so I do not want to upset her/him any more.

Therefore, lies in the above two situations are not necessarily from the standpoint that the target of judgment is the hearer’s item or choice. It could stem from the kind consideration of the hearer’s difficulties (e.g. explanation 2 and 3 in situation 20) and care for the first impression to the hearer (e.g. explanation 3 in situation 17). Instead, the traditional feature of Korean culture—배려 (paeryeo, care of others, including but not limited to saving others’ face), which has been mentioned many times in QFE answers, may contribute to the lying or truth-telling here. This can also be seen in situation 15 and in situation 19 where Korean participants told the truth the most.

From another perspective, this kind of 배려 (paeryeo) can infer the possibility of more lies in [-P -D] situations as mentioned at the start of this section. Paeryeo normally involves the concern of people in higher status for those in lower status positions and requires acquaintanceship of some extent between giver and recipient, but in China paeryeo is not as emphasized and influential as in Korean society. Thus, this may explain why Chinese learners produce fewer lies in situations 6 and 20, although we still need more evidence to examine this assumption. As for situation 14 [-P -D TO], 9 Korean native speakers chose not to present any critical opinion and 6 of them explained “I cannot just speak out at such a time” or “There must be some reasons for A to recommend B. It may be me who missed some
strength of B.” Faced with 6 lies from CLK and 4 with explanations such as “I told a lie to show how resourceful I am as a boss” or “I am saving the staff’s face”, it may be hard to say which answers show more concern for others.

4. Results

As presented in section 1.2, the first two research questions are related to the general outcome of comparison between KNS and CLK. This comparison is processed in two ways of categorizing by the target of evaluation and power-distance set. Some findings are listed below:

1. Basically the KNS group generated more lies than the CLK group, Even though the numbers of lies from the two groups are very close in some situations, the reasons why they are lying are different in many ways.

2. Lies are more frequent in situations with evaluation of people than in situations with evaluation of an entity.

3. However, lies do not decrease with the change of power and distance from + to -. Although [+D +P] situations are top in number of lies. [-D -P] is not the worst ‘producer’ of lies. The underlying reason that makes [-D -P] outnumber [-D P] and [+D -P] may be the Korean paeryeo culture.

4. Social distance seems more influential on lying performance than power.

We also adopted two approaches to look into specified similarities and differences between KNS and CLK. Those are approaches for different types of lies and from different reasons of lies.

5. Both groups produced more direct lies than circumlocutions but the preference of these two types differs by situations.

6. More Korean native speakers do not take their circumlocution as a lie while more Chinese learners do not realize they are making a direct lie.

7. The KNS group produced more lies of both direct and indirect types than CLK in evaluation of hearers (TA) and evaluation of entities (TE). However, a direct lie is preferred by both groups compared to other types of lies in TA and TE situations.

8. This tendency goes the other way slightly in evaluation of others(TO) where more circumlocutions have been generated than direct lie but this change is clearer in the KNS group than in CLK and thereby CLK outnumber KNS in direct lies.

9. Participants who lie with contextual reasons do so mainly out of the concern for bad consequence or the consideration of hearer’s difficulties in the past.
10. In TO situations, social distance affected the KNS on their decision to lie more than the CLK. But when the ‘others’ are close relatives of the hearer, power and context turn out to be the dominant factors for lying.

To sum up, KNS and CLK showed similarities in the number of lies used but the differences in choice of different types and different reasons for lying is still noteworthy. In a pedagogical view, lying as one phenomenon in socialization should be realized and utilized as a pragmatic strategy by second language learners. More specifically, Chinese learners of Korean may need to pay more attention to those situations in which they are acquainted with the hearer or targeting entities.

5. Further Steps

This study was initiated in an attempt to investigate lying performance in certain situations of a speech act with special emphasis on the comparison between Korean native speakers and Chinese learners of Korean. We would like to mention some other facets which could not be fully addressed in the current study and where subsequent research is needed.

Further studies should develop a rigorous classification for lies in Korean. This study only investigated insincere talk and circumlocution within lies but excluded other types of lies, of which the participants had intention and realization, such as truth answers with explanations and no-shown answers with explanations. As for lies without explanation, it may be in the opposite way that judges realize the answer as a lie whereas speakers do not think so. Should this gap between realization of the judges and of speakers be taken into account, the need to identify a lie becomes essential.

Even if the identity and categories of lies are clear, further investigation on the reasons of lying is needed. According to this study, we can say that people who chose the same types of lies can lie for different factors. This attribution requires more objective methods to analyze as the explanations also entail qualitative research in the current study.

This study reflects the authors and judges’ present understanding of lying in speech act and therefore cannot be regarded as an exhaustive description of this subject. Further research in lying phenomena and evaluation as a speech act is expected to deepen our understanding.
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A Revisit to the Semantic Referentiality and Syntactic Positions of the Third Person Pronouns in Mandarin Chinese

Xiaozhao Huang

University of North Dakota

Abstract: This study examines the claims made by Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981) regarding the restrictions on the semantic referentiality and syntactic positions of the third person pronouns in Mandarin Chinese. I argue against their claims, demonstrating that the subject position is the most frequently occupied sentential position by the third person singular neuter pronoun, that the third person plural neuter pronoun is frequently used to refer to inanimate entities without personification, and that the third person singular neuter pronoun refers to both animate and inanimate entities commonly—and especially to inanimate entities. The study also presents evidence dating back to over 2000 years ago.

Keywords: Chinese, third person pronouns, semantic referentiality, animate and inanimate reference, sentential positions

1. Introduction

Although linguistic analyses of different grammatical categories and structures in the Chinese language are abundant, the analyses of the third person pronouns, either singular or plural, are relatively rare. The studies on this topic by Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981) are among the few. While Li & Thompson (1981) looked at the third person pronouns in Mandarin Chinese from a semantic perspective, focusing on referentiality, Chao (1968) made his comment on the use of the third person pronouns from a syntactic point of view, focusing on sentential positions. Their studies, no doubt, have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the use of the third person pronouns in Mandarin Chinese; nevertheless, some of their key claims are not accurate, if not incorrect. For instance, Li & Thompson (1981) in their influential Mandarin Chinese: A Functional and Reference Grammar claim particularly that “the third person pronouns are rarely used to refer to animals and even more rarely to refer to inanimate entities, though such uses do occur because of the influence of English” (134). Chao (1968) maintained that “the third person singular pronoun ta is usually
Huang

equated to ‘he, she, it’, but as ‘it’ it occurs mostly in the object position, much less often in the attributive position, and very rarely as subject” (633) and that “the plural form *ta.men* is not used for inanimate things in any position, except, of course, when they are personified” (634). These claims deserve more discussion and should be looked into more closely, as not much evidence was provided by these studies.

This paper argues, on the basis of almost 3000 instances of the third person pronouns collected from varied sources, that neither claims above regarding the restrictions to the referentiality and the sentential positions of the third person pronouns in Mandarin Chinese is accurate. This paper will first demonstrate that the third person pronouns are frequently used to refer to both animate entities, such as animals, either domestic or wild, and inanimate entities, such as abstract concepts and physical objects. Second, this paper shows that the subject position in a sentence is actually the most frequent position occupied by the third person pronouns. Third, the paper will reexamine the example provided by Li & Thompson (1981:134) to support their claim and point out their inappropriate analysis. Finally, the paper will provide evidence from different historical sources dating back to over 2000 years ago to argue that use of the third person pronouns to refer to animate and inanimate entities is not due to “the influence of English” as claimed by Li & Thompson (1981:134).

2. Methods, Data Collection, and Some Basics

The forms of the third person pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are distinguishable by number (singular and plural) and by gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Table 1 shows the forms and the pronunciation of the third person pronouns. Though different in forms, the third person singular pronouns are all realized in the same pronunciation [ta]. The plural forms of each are all constructed by suffixing 们 [mən], a plural marker. The masculine plural pronoun 他们 ‘they’ is commonly used to refer to people of either gender. The subjective and objective forms and their pronunciations are all similar. The focus of this paper is on the third person neuter pronouns, 它 ‘it’ and 它们 ‘they,’ as other personal pronouns are generally reserved to refer to humans but not to animate or, especially, inanimate entities. The words animate and animateness used in the paper refer to any animate entities except humans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>他 [ta] ‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>她 [ta] ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>它 [ta] ‘it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The Third Person Pronouns in Mandarin Chinese
The data for this study were randomly collected from the following sources: novels, short stories, magazines, newspapers (mostly from *People’s Daily*, the official newspaper of the Chinese government), and instructional materials of Chinese, such as textbooks, dictionaries, and reference books. The data collected from these sources are considered valid and representative, as they all document official and authentic use of Mandarin Chinese in both oral and written styles. Each instance of the third person neuter pronouns occurring in a complete sentence structure from these sources was indiscriminately collected, analyzed, and included in the calculation presented in the following tables. The third person singular neuter pronoun 它 which occurs frequently as part of the phrase 其它 ‘other’ and in fixed expressions, such as 它山之石 ‘rocks from other mountains,’ has been excluded from the data.

3. Discussion and Analysis

3.1. The Sentential Positions of the Third Person Neuter Pronouns

When discussing the third person singular neuter pronoun in terms of sentential positions, Chao (1968) claims that “[T]he third person singular pronoun ta is usually equated to ‘he, she, it’, but as ‘it’ it occurs mostly in the object position, much less often in the attributive position, and very rarely as subject” (633). Chao (1968) also maintains that “[T]he plural form ta.men is not used for inanimate things in any position, except, of course, when they are personified” (634). This paper argues in this section that both of the claims made by Chao (1968) cannot be quantified by the data collected for this study. In 3.1.1 the paper demonstrates with examples that the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 ‘it’ can be used in different sentential positions, not only as objects and predicative nominals, but also as subjects frequently. Then it demonstrates in 3.1.2 that the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 ‘they’ can certainly be used in different sentential positions regardless of whether it is personified or not.

3.1.1. The Sentential Positions of the Third Person Singular Neuter Pronoun

The following examples from (1) to (4) show that it is common for the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 ‘it’ to occupy the object position in sentences, referring to either animate or inanimate entities. In (1) it refers to a horse, which is an animate entity. In (2) the third person neuter pronoun refers to a small box, an inanimate entity.

1. zaohong ma zai ta shen hou siming. Zhaofu gan guoqu you chou ta.
   红马在它身后嘶鸣。赵福赶过去又抽它。
   purplish red horse in 3sg body behind neigh Zhaofu run over again lash 3sg
   ‘The purplish red horse behind him is neighing. Zhaofu runs over to lash it again.’

   (Cheng 1990:553)
2. wo dakai ta, limian de yixie qingshu yijing yinwei rijoutianchang de chaoshi
   我打开 它, 里面的一些情书 已经因为日久天长的潮湿
   I open 3sg inside ASSSO some love letters already because a long time ASSSO damp
   kongqi de xunran er meilan.
   空气 的熏染 而霉烂。
   air ASSSO erode so mildew
   ‘I opened it [a box]. The love letters inside already became mildewed due to the long
   exposure to moisture.’

   (Chi 1995:88)

   In examples (3) and (4), the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 ‘it’ is used as a
   predicate nominal in the predicative position. It refers to a stove in (3) and to society in (4).

3. Sanhuzi kanjian luzi, mengran jiaoqilai. wo shuo de shi ta.
   三胡子看见炉子猛然叫起来 我说的是它。
   Sanhuzi see stove suddenly shout I talk (AM) be 3sg.
   ‘When he saw the stove, Sanhuzi shouted suddenly, “What I’m talking about is this [it].”’

   (Cheng 1990:78)

4. women ganxie shenghuo. shi ta ciyu zhongguo funu zhe duojiede mingyun.
   我们感谢生活是它赐予中国妇女这多劫的命运。
   we thank life be 3sg grant Chinese woman this difficult fate
   ‘We are thankful for our life. It is the life [it] that has granted this difficult fate to Chinese
   women.’

   (People’s Daily, 1993/2/2:7)

   In the next three examples, the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 is used as the
   subject. In both (5) and (6) it refers to animate entities. In (5) it refers to a dog, a domestic
   animal. In (6) it refers to a tiger, a wild animal. In (7) it refers to water, an inanimate entity.

5. haobu kuazhangde shuo, ta zhang de bi zhu hai kuai.
   毫不夸张地说, 它长得比猪还快。
   in the least exaggerate say 3sg grow more than pig even fast
   Not exaggerating at all, it [a dog] grows faster than a pig.’

   (Tao 1995:28)

6. ta kanjian le Yun guniang. ta jidong le.
   它看见了云姑娘, 它激动了。
   3sg see PEV Yun girl 3sg agitated PEV
   ‘It saw Miss Yun. It became agitated.’

   (Cheng 1990:794)
7. dan ta gei renmen dailaide shushi he bianli shi qiansuoweiyoude.

   但 它 给 人民 带来 的 舒适 和 便利 是 前所未有的
   but 3sg give people bring comfort and convenience be unprecedented
   ‘But the comforts and convenience it has brought to people is unprecedented.’

   (Zhao 1999:3)

Table 2 shows the percentages of the sentential positions of the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 in 2400 sentences. We can see from the table that not only can it occupy the subject position but also that it is used in this position very frequently—over three times more often than in object position. Contrary to Chao’s claim (1968), the data from this study prove that the subject position is actually the one that is most frequently occupied by the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 in Mandarin Chinese. Thus, it shows that Chao’s claim (1968) that “the third person singular pronoun ta . . . occurs mostly in the object position . . . and very rarely as subject” (633) is not correct.

3.1.2. Personification and Sentential Positions of Third Person Plural Neuter Pronoun

   Chao (1968) also maintains that “[T]he plural form ta.men is not used for inanimate things in any position, except, of course, when they are personified” (634). The information in this section shows that Chao’s observation (1968:634) is incomplete. The examples below demonstrate that not only can the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 ‘they’ refer to inanimate entities in the subject and object positions when personified as observed by Chao, they can also commonly refer to inanimate entities in both the subject and object positions when not personified. In (8) and (9) the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 is used both as the subject referring to inanimate entities that are personified. In (8) it refers to villages. In (9) it refers to two rocks.

8. tamen shongdong chenshu zhe zhonghua wenming yuanyuanliuchang de lishi.

   它们 生动 陈述 着 中华 文明 源远流长 的 历史。
   3pl vivid tell DUR Chinese civilization since ancient time ASSO history
   ‘They [villages] are vividly telling the long history of Chinese civilization.’

   (Wu 2010:15)
9. tamen liangwei huhuan zhe feng, huying zhe yu, yingchen zhe
   它们两位呼唤着风，呼应着雨，映衬着
   3pl two call DUR wind echo DUR rain reflect DUR
   riyuexingchen
   日月星辰。
   the sun the moon the stars
   ‘Both of them [rocks] are echoing winds and rains, and glittering against the shining stars in the sky.’ (Xiao 2012:7)

   In (10), 它们 is used as the object referring to inanimate entities such as flowers, grass, trees, dewdrops, and raindrops, which are all personified.

10. huacao shumu, luzhu yudian, ye henbude, yong tamen ru hai
   花草 树木，露珠 雨点，也恨不得拥它们入怀，
   flower grass trees dewdrop raindrop also how one wishes embrace 3pl into bosom
   xixi ganshou wanwu.
   细细感受万物。
   detailed feel all things
   ‘Regardless of flowers, trees, dewdrops, or raindrops, I can’t wait to embrace them all and feel everything in the nature exquisitely.’ (Sun 2010:12)

   In examples (8-10), the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 refers to inanimate entities which are personified. Although these examples may seem to be in support of Chao’s claim, the following ones are certainly counter-examples to what Chao maintains. In (11) and (12), 它们 is used three times as the subject without personification. In (11) 它们 ‘they’ occurs twice referring to airplanes, and it refers to windows in (12).

11. dang tamen yuelaiyue bijin shi, zihong you cheng le juhong
   当它们越来越逼近时，紫红又成了桔红。
   when 3pl more & more approach time purplish red also change PEV reddish orange
   tamen zai yangguang de zhaoshe xia, jiu xiang shi jiu ke pailie zhengqide
   它们在阳光的照射下就象是九颗排列整齐的
   3pl in sun light ASSO shine down as if BE nine CL arrange uniformly
   xiao taiyang.
   小太阳。
   small sun
   ‘When they [the airplanes] are approaching, the purplish red color changes to reddish orange. In the sun light, they [the airplanes] look like nine small suns arranged in good order. (Guo 1995:11)

12. zai xiangdai zhuzhai jianzhu zhong, chuangzi de xingshi duo zhong duo
   在现代住宅建筑中 窗子的形式 多种多样
   in modern residential architecture window the form of variety
In modern residential buildings, windows vary in different shapes. Regardless of their sizes and shapes, they [the windows] can all enhance room appearance. (Huang 1999:8)

In the next two examples (13) and (14), the third person plural neuter pronoun它们 is used as the object referring to inanimate entities without personification. In (13), it refers to food coupons, and in (14) it refers to the world heritages.

13. ta zhuangyandi fankai na posun er fabaide fengmian, guoqu ta conglai wei
   他庄严地翻开那破损而发白的封面，过去他从来未
   3sg solemnly open that worn-out and whitish over past 3sg ever not
   rang erzi pengguo tamen.
   让儿子碰过它们。
   let son touch 3pl
   ‘He solemnly opened that worn-out and whitish cover solemnly. In the past, he never let his son touch them [the food coupons].’ (Cheng 1990:720)

14. dan zui zhuyao mudi, haishi weile genghaodi baohu tamen.
   但最主要目的还是为了更好地保护它们。
   but most main goal still for better protect 3pl
   ‘The ultimate goal is still to protect them [the world heritages] well.’ (Xie 2010:1)

Table 3 summarizes the percentages of the sentential positions of the third person plural neuter pronoun它们 according to personification from 527 instances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Person Plural Neuter Pronoun</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personified Instances</td>
<td>8.7% (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>78.3% (36/46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>8.7% (4/46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>13.0% (6/46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-personified Instances</td>
<td>91.3% (481)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>58.2% (280/481)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>17.9% (86/481)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>23.9% (115/481)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*including instances in associative phrases, ba constructions, and other positions
First, we can observe in Table 3 that contrary to Chao’s claim (1968:634), the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 ‘they’ can certainly be used in either the subject position or the object position regardless of personification. Second, it is typically used as the subject whether personified or not. It occurred 78.3% of the cases when personified and 58.2% without personification when used as the subject.

Third and more importantly, the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 without personification was actually used much more frequently than those with personification. We can see that the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 occurred only 8.7% with personification, but as much as 91.3% without personification either as the subject or the object, which shows that Chao’s claim (1968) that “[T]he plural form ta.men is not used for inanimate things in any position, except, of course, when they are personified” (634) is obviously not appropriate.

3.2 Semantic Referential Restrictions on the Use of the Third Person Neuter Pronouns

Li & Thompson (1981) made the following claim that in Mandarin Chinese “the third person pronouns are rarely used to refer to animals and even more rarely to refer to inanimate entities, though such uses do occur because of the influence of English” (134). They present the following example, given in (15), to illustrate that the utterance (15b) is not grammatical because the third person pronoun 它 ‘it’ is used in the reply.

15. ni xihuan nei ben shu ma?
   you like that CL book Q
   ‘Do you like that book?’

   a. wo xihuan.
      我 喜欢。
      I like
      ‘I like it.’

   b. ?? wo xihuan ta
      我 喜欢 它。
      I like it
      (Li & Thompson 1981:134)

   This section argues against Li & Thompson’s claim (1981:134) above and demonstrates that the third person neuter pronoun 它 ‘it’ can actually be used frequently not only to refer to animate entities either domestic or nondomestic, but also to refer to inanimate entities either with personification or without personification in Mandarin Chinese. The discussion in this section concentrates on the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 only, as Li & Thompson’s example (1981:134) only concerns this pronoun in their discussion.

The following examples show first that the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 is commonly used to refer to animate entities, either domestic or wild. In (16) 它 refers to an old
dog that just fatally bit the man who assaulted its mater several years ago. In (17) it refers to a cat.

16. dang queding zhege ren zaiye buneng zhanqi shi, ta cai manmande
   当确定这个人再也不能站起时，它才慢慢地
   when make sure this person again unable stand up then 3sg then slowly
   ceshen dao le xiaqu.
   侧身倒了下去。
   sideways fall PFV down
   ‘When making certain this man could no longer stand up, it [a dog] then fell down slowly on its side.’
   (Qu 1988:135)

17. ruo you ren mo ta, ta jiuhi xianchu hen shufude yangzi
   若有人摸它，它就会显出很舒服的样子。
   If there person touch 3sg, 3sg then show very comfortable look
   ‘Whenever someone touches it [a cat], it looks very content.’
   (Huang 2011:5)

   In the next two examples, the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 is used to refer to nondomestic animate entities. In (18) it is used to refer to a wolf and in (19) a rattle snake.

18. na zhi lang he yi zhi bi ta geng gaodade lang tongshi
   那只狼和一只比它更高的狼同时
   that CL wolf and one CL than 3sg more large wolf same time
   zhongzhongdi shuaidao zai le houhoude xiedi shang.
   重重地摔倒在了厚厚的雪地上。
   heavily fall down at PEV thick snow ground on.
   ‘The wolf together with another much bigger one fell heavily on the snow at the same time.’
   (Cheng 1990:379)

19. raner ta queneng kuai ru shandianban zhuozhu tianshu.
   然而它却能快如闪电般捉住田鼠。
   but 3sg can quick like lightening catch vole
   ‘But it [a rattle snake] can catch a vole lightening fast.’
   (Yin 2010:15)

   Moreover, the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 is commonly used to refer to inanimate entities either concrete or abstract without personification in Mandarin Chinese, contrary to what Li & Thompson maintain. These inanimate entities include concrete objects, abstract concepts, and other nonliving entities. For example, in (20) 它 refers to a brand of golf clubs. In (21) it refers to a small box in which some love letters were kept.
20. ta shi hang cai ren de jiaoao, ye shi zhongguo minzu
   它是航材人的骄傲，也是中国民族
   3sg be aeronautical material people ASSO pride also BE Chinese nation
   gongyie de jiaoao.
   industry ASSO pride

   ‘It is the pride of the employees of the [Beijing Institute of] Aeronautical Materials as well as the Chinese national industry.’
   (BIAM 1999:8)

21. wo dakai ta, limian de yixie qingshu yijing yinwei rijoutianchang de
   我打开它，里面的 一些 情书 已经 因为 日久天长 的
   I open 3sg inside ASSO some love letters already because a long time ASSO
   chaoshi kongqi de xunran er meilan.
   damp air ASSO erode so mildew
   ‘I opened it [a box]. The love letters inside already became mildewed due to the long exposure to moisture.’
   (Chi 1995:88)

   Additionally, the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 can also be used to refer to inanimate entities, either concrete or abstract, through the process of personification, so that nonliving entities have the attribute of animateness or human qualities. For example, in (22) 它 is used to refer to the moon, an inanimate entity, as an animate entity through personification. In (23) it refers to time as an animate entity.

22. tianshang jiu gaoxuan le yi lun yueliang. ta qiaoqiaodi kan taiyang
   天上就 高悬 了 一轮 月亮。它 悄悄地 看 太阳。
   sky already hang highly PEV one CL moon 3sg quietly look at the sun
   ‘The moon is already high in the sky. It [the moon] looks quietly at the sun.’
   (Cheng 1990: 627)

23. shijian zoudong zhe, que you ningzhi zhe, ta zui xihuan guanggu wode yanjiao
   时间 走动 着 却 又 凝滞 着，它 最 喜欢 光顾 我的 眼角
   time move DUR but also crawl DUR 3sg most like visit my eye corner
   he etou.
   and forehead
   ‘Time moves but also crawls. It [time] likes to visit my eye corners and forehead the most.’
   (Chi 1995:88)
Table 4 summarizes the percentages of the third person singular neuter pronoun ‘it’ referring to animate and inanimate entities.

**Table 4: Semantic Referentiality of the Third Person Singular Neuter Pronoun ‘It’ (N = 2082)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person Singular Neuter Pronoun</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate Entity*</td>
<td>11.0% (228)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate Entity*</td>
<td>89.0% (1854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personified</td>
<td>4.6% (86/1854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-personified</td>
<td>95.4% (1768/1854)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*including instances in associative phrases, ba constructions, and other positions

We can see in Table 4 that unlike Li & Thompson’s claim (1981) that “the third person pronouns are rarely used to refer to animals and even more rarely to refer to inanimate entities” (134) it is common for the third person singular neuter pronoun ‘它’ to refer to both animate and inanimate entities. Actually, the data in Table 4 show that it was used to refer to inanimate entities as much as eight times more often than animate entities. In addition, the data also show that most of the inanimate entities are not personified (95.4%).

What is the evidence from which Li & Thompson (1981) made their generalization? Let’s reexamine the example offered in their discussion. In their example, given in (15) and repeated in (24), they argue that (24b) is not grammatical because ‘它’ refers to a book, an inanimate entity.

24. *ni* xihuan nei ben shu ma?
   你 喜欢 那 本 书 吗？
   ‘Do you like that book?’

   a. *wo* xihuan.
   我 喜欢。
   ‘I like it.’

   b. ?? *wo* xihuan *ta*
   我 喜欢 它。
   I like *it* \( \text{(Li & Thompson 1981:134)} \)

Although they are right to point out that (24b) is not grammatical, the ungrammaticality is not simply because of the animate or inanimate reference of the third person singular neuter pronoun ‘它’. The primary reason for the ungrammaticality is the discourse structure of their example, which is interactive and constructed by adjacency pairs. In this case, the interlocutors base their verbal interaction on a shared situation. The structure of adjacency pairs in this shared situation makes the topic continuity flow smoothly without any
misunderstanding or misinterpretation. Thus, it is redundant or infelicitous in Mandarin Chinese to repeat the topic overtly in (24b), which is represented by the third person singular neuter pronoun 它. Li & Thompson’s generalization (1981), thus, cannot be applied to linguistic structures of Mandarin Chinese which are non-interactive and not constructed by adjacency pairs in discourse.

3.3. Historical Evidence of the Third Person Singular Neuter Pronoun in Classical Chinese

When discussing the third person singular neuter pronoun 它, Li & Thompson (1981) also claim that its use to refer to animate and inanimate entities in Mandarin Chinese is “because of the influence of English” (134). However, they neither elaborate further nor provide any evidence in their discussion. It therefore calls for investigation. In order to demonstrate that their claim is invalid and baseless, in this section I provide evidence of the third person pronoun neuter pronoun referring to either animate or inanimate entities from two perspectives found from the historical sources as early as more than two thousand years ago.

In classical Chinese, there were a few words which, apart from other functions, also played the role of the third person neuter pronoun to refer to both animals and inanimate entities. One such form is 之 zhi. In (25) 之 zhi occurs twice, both referring to a cow, which is animate. In (26) 之 zhi also occurs twice, both referring to “everything” which could be either animate or inanimate. The source of both examples dates back to more than two thousand years ago.

25. wang yue, “she zhi. yi yang yi zhi.”

王曰舍之。以羊易之。

emperor say abandon 3sg use sheep substitute 3sg
‘The Emperor said, ’Abandon it. Use a sheep to substitute for it.’

(Meng 372-289 B.C.)

26. kun yi nei zhe, guaren zhi zhi, kun yi wai zhe,

阃以内者寡人制之，阃以外者

town at inside thing I handle 3sg town at outside thing
jiangjun zhi zhi.

将军制之。

general handle 3sg
‘For everything concerning the royal government, I (= Emperor) handle it, and for everything outside the royal government the General handles it.’

(Si 91 B.C.)

The second form is 其 qi as shown in (27). 其 qi in classical Chinese was used as a personal pronoun and its trace can still be found in Mandarin Chinese (Wang 1985:202; Zhang 1980:70). Here其 qi refers to wind power, which is inanimate. The source is more than 2000 years old.
27. feng zhi ji ye bu hou, ze qi fu da yi ye wu li.
风之积也不厚，则其负大翼也无力。
wind of accumulate yet not thick then 3sg support large wing also not strength
‘The wind accumulates, but not strong, so it cannot support large wings of birds.’
(Zhuangzi, 369-286 B.C.)

The third form is 渠 qu. In (28) 渠 qu refers to a mosquito, an animate entity.

28. wenzi ding tienu, wu qu xiazui chu.
蚊子叮铁牛，无渠下嘴处。
mosquito sting iron bull no 3sg eat place
‘When a mosquito tries to sting an iron bull, it cannot find a place to start.’
(Hanshan: before 793 A.D.)

The form of 渠 qu was used mainly before the Tang Dynasty (from 618 - 907) and it was gradually replaced by the form which is similar to the present form of the third person singular masculine pronoun 他 (Lü 1985:15).

Another source of supporting evidence to demonstrate the existence of the third person singular neuter pronoun in classical Chinese is from two written symbols. According to Shuōwén Jiězì ‘Explaining and Analyzing Characters’ (Xu 121 A.D), a Chinese character dictionary written in Dong Han Dynasty (25 -220 A.D.), the character 它 (Xu 121:285) already existed then, originally referring to insects and snakes, later used as a pronoun referring to any non-human entities. The other written symbol is an old character 牠, which is no longer used in Mandarin Chinese, but can still be found in some dialects today. According to Xinhua Cidian ‘New Chinese Dictionary’ (660), this character, also pronounced as ‘ta’, was used in classical Chinese referring to a nonhuman entity either animate or inanimate. The radical of this character 牝 means ox, referring to animals literally.

On the basis of the above evidence, we can see that the third person pronoun 它 ‘it’ has been used to refer to nonhuman entities in the Chinese language since ancient time as early as more than two thousand years ago. Given the fact that Old English originated around 450 A.D. (Millward 1996:16) and on the basis of the evidence presented in this section, it seems that Li & Thompson’s (1981) claim that the use of the third person singular neuter pronoun to refer to animate and inanimate entities in Mandarin Chinese is “because of the influence of English” (134) is merely an impressionist opinion of theirs.

4. Conclusions

This study has analyzed 2927 instance of the third person singular and plural neuter pronouns collected from different sources in Mandarin Chinese in order to shed light on the previous claims regarding the restrictions on the syntactic positions and semantic
referentiality of the third person neuter pronouns made by Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981), and it has reached the following conclusions. First, the subject slot is found to be the most frequently occupied sentential position, as much as three times more often than the object position, by the third person singular neuter pronoun 它, contrary to Chao’s claim (1968) that “the third person singular pronoun ta is usually equated to ‘he, she, it’, but as ‘it’ it occurs mostly in the object position, much less often in the attributive position, and very rarely as subject” (633). Second, the third person plural neuter pronoun 它们 is found to refer to inanimate entities without personification as much as eight times more often than inanimate entities with personification, showing that Chao’s claim (1968) that “the plural form ta.men is not used for inanimate things in any position, except, of course, when they are personified” (634) is invalid. Third, the data have demonstrated that it is common for the third person singular neuter pronoun 它 to refer to both animate and inanimate entities, and especially to inanimate entities in as much as 87.9% of the cases, which proves that the claims made by Li & Thompson (1981) that “the third person pronouns are rarely used to refer to animals and even more rarely to refer to inanimate entities” (134) are inaccurate at least, if not wholly incorrect. Finally, the paper has presented three different historical forms of the third person singular pronoun 之 zhi, 其 qi, 渠 qu and the written forms 牠 ta and 它 ta that were used in classical Chinese to refer to animate and inanimate entities as early as more than 2000 years ago, which shows that Li & Thompson’s (1981) claim that the use of the third person pronoun in Mandarin Chinese to refer to animals and inanimate entities is “because of the influence of English” (134) is certainly not true but merely a baseless speculation. Given the fact that the above claims made by Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981) cannot be corroborated by the evidence presented in this study, it would certainly be wise to suggest that more research needs to be done in the study of the Chinese language, even in those well-documented areas, so that the description of the structures and use of the Chinese language can be more accurate.

References


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A Syntactic and Pragmatic Analysis of Subject Honorification

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Abstract: This paper argues that subject honorification is another example showing that agreement exists in Korean syntax. Here, in order to explain the so-called “optional” realization of both the verbal and nominal suffixes we evoke the following two principles: (1) ‘Strong Uniformity Principle’ proposed by Miyagawa (2010), which is a strong version of the Uniformity Principle proposed by Chomsky (2001) that all languages share the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features; (2) ‘Silence Principle’ suggested by Sigurðsson (2003) that any given language shares the universal set of features with all other languages but does not pronounce all of them. We hypothesize that the interaction of these principles yields the difference in the agreement phenomenon between the so-called ‘agreement languages’ and ‘discourse-configurational languages.’ Specifically, in the latter type of languages the ‘Silence Principle’ takes precedence over the ‘Strong Uniformity Principle.’ This results in the production of sentences with apparent lack of agreement in honorification, whereas the parametric difference, which places the ‘Silence Principle’ in a relatively lower hierarchy, derives the strictly observed agreement phenomenon in agreement languages.

Keywords: Subject Honorification, honorific, speech protocol, Strong Uniformity Principle, Silence Principle, agreement languages, discourse-configurational languages, pragmatic constraints, hyper-honorification

1. Introduction

Korean and Japanese share a typologically uncommon characteristics containing an elaborate honorific system, in which finely-defined interpersonal relationships are linguistically coded. The word ‘honorific’ is ambiguously used: on the one hand it refers to the whole system of speech protocol, which Koreans call kyeng’e-pep ‘lit. the principle of the language of respect’ or taywu-pep ‘lit. the principle of treating/addressing others’; therefore it includes both “talking down,” “talking more or less equally,” and “talking up” styles. The other meaning, called contay ‘honorification,” expresses deference to the high social status of the subject—and to a limited extent that of the object—of a sentence and/or the hearer. Honorific markers, therefore, are not just a matter of something extra to make one’s speech
more elegant, but an integral part of Korean speakers’ linguistic competence. A set of lexical, morphological, and syntactic forms convey the speaker’s attitude toward a particular person, including the speaker, and situation. The strict hierarchy in traditional Korean society has minutely prescribed all aspects of every kind of interpersonal relationship, which is clearly reflected in the language. These relationships are more or less determined by the axes of ‘power’ and ‘solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960),’ but Korean honorific forms are not a matter of choosing between a simple V(ous) and T(u), or nin and ni, and the constantly evolving Korean society is bringing about very interesting language change involving honorifics.

In Kim-Renaud & Pak (2010), it was argued through an analysis of a number of constructions in which the subjects can only have restricted interpretation that an agree relation holds between the subjects and a functional projection whose head has person features in Korean.

This paper argues that subject honorification is another example showing that agreement exists in Korean syntax. Here, in order to explain the so-called “optional” realization of both the verbal and nominal suffixes and other honorific markers, and there we evoke the following principles:

1. ‘Strong Uniformity Principle’ proposed by Miyagawa (2010), which is a strong version of the Uniformity Principle proposed by Chomsky (2001):
   All languages share the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

2. ‘Silence Principle’ suggested by Sigurðsson (2003):
   Any given language shares the universal set of features with all other languages but does not pronounce all of them.

The “silence” is governed by two crucial constraints: one stylistic and the other pragmatic, which include the following:

3. ‘Avoidance of Repetitive Expressions’ Forms:
   Avoid overly repetitive expressions for the elegance of speech.

4. ‘Avoidance of Overly Adulating Behavior’ Speech Protocol:
   Avoid appearing overly eager to please.

5. ‘Hyper-honorification’ Phenomenon.
   Show respect by attaching the honorific suffix to any verb.

In this paper it is hypothesized that it is the interaction of these principles that yields the difference in the agreement phenomenon between the so-called ‘agreement languages’ and ‘discourse-configurational languages.’ Specifically, in the latter type of languages the ‘Silence Principle’ takes precedence over the ‘Strong Uniformity Principle.’ This results in
the production of sentences with apparent lack of agreement in honorification, whereas the parametric difference which places the ‘Silence Principle’ in a relatively lower hierarchy derives the strictly observed agreement phenomenon in agreement languages.

2. Korean Honorification

Two focal concerns in Korean honorification are the referent and the addressee in terms of relative power and intimacy as compared with the speaker mainly but sometimes also with the listener. The referent honorification expresses the speaker’s attitude toward the subject or object of the sentence, while the addressee honorification concerns the hearer of the enunciated sentence. In either case honorific markers are directly associated either to a referent or to the expressed honor attached to a hearer and/or the referent.

In (6) are some examples showing the way to show respect to either some part of the sentence or to the address out of the more complete honorific system, including speaking down, with or without respect, or indifferently, formally, or informally, or unguardedly, etc.

6. Kinds of Honorification

a. ku salam-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon Past-Decl
   ‘That person gave my child money.’

b. ku salam-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl

c. ku pun-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl

d. ku pun-kkeyse nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl

e. ku pun-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-supnita
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl (Def-Formal)

f. ku pun-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-eyo
   that person(Hon)-Nom my-child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl(Pol-Informal)

g. ku pun-kkeyse nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom(Hon) mayor-person(Hon)-to(Hon) money-Acc
tuli-si-ess-ta
give(Hon)- SubjHon –Past-Decl

h. ku pun-i nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-supnita
   that person(Hon)-Nom my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl

i. ku pun-kkeyse nay ai-eykey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-eyo
   that person(Hon)-Nom(Hon) my child-to money-Acc give-Hon-Past-Decl

j. ku pun-kkeyse sicang-nim-kkey ton-ul cwu-si-ess-ta
   that person(Hon)-Nom(Hon) mayor-person(Hon)-to(Hon) money-Acc
tuli-si-ess-ta
give(Hon)- SubjHon –Past-Decl
Kim-Renaud

k. ku pun-kkeyse sicang-nim-kkey ton-ul
   that person(Hon)-Nom(Hon) mayor-person(Hon)-to(Hon) money-Acc
tuli-si-ess-supnita
give(Hon)-Past-Dec(Def-Formal)

l. ku pun-kkeyse sicang-nim-kkey ton-ul
   that person(Hon)-Nom(Hon) mayor-person(Hon)-to(Hon) money-Acc
tuli-si-ess-eyo
give(Obj-Hon)-Hon-Past-Dec (Pol-Informal)

The examples in (6) shows that there are essentially two distinct types of honorification: one is by adding a suffix, -usi at the end of the verb stem and –nim at the end of the human noun, and the other is by suppletion, i.e., using different honorific morphemes.

(6a) is an example of a sentence which is neutral in terms of honorification. Therefore, it could be used in a newspaper or other impersonal reports, diaries, or to people with whom one has an intimate, unguarded relationship such as a to a child or childhood friends, although some people change after they become older and perhaps socially prominent, etc. The other examples in (6) show various ways to show honor to the referent or to the addressee.

Kim & Sells (2004, 2007), following Harada (1976), see broadly two different types of honorification: a « performative » type for addressee-oriented honorification and a « propositional » type for clause-internal ones. However, even clause-internal honorification can take into consideration the relative power status of the addressee, as the example in (7) shows:

7. yay, insa-hay-la. imo-ka-si-n-ta
   (Lit.) this kid greeting-do-Imp aunt-go-Hon-Pres-Dec
   ‘Hey, say bye. Your aunt(Hon) is leaving.’

In this case the ‘aunt’ could be a younger sister of the speaker, but she is still honored as the speaker takes the position of the child to whom the sentence is addressed.

The particular part of the Korean grammar showing deference toward the subject of a sentence, called Subject Honorification, has long attracted the attention of many linguists. In the past the Korean referent-honorific marker, -usi, attached to the verb stem was studied mainly in the context of discussing the subjecthood of a sentence. It is indeed the case that the presence of the affix –usi indicates the presence of an honored subject. Thus, the presence of –usi in the verb is co-indexed with a nominal honorific suffix attached to the subject noun such as -nim ‘an honored/respected person’ and the honorific subject particle -kkeyse of the noun in a sentence such as puche-nim-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta ‘Buddha come-HON-Pst-Dec.’ Subject honorification, therefore, has often been treated as an agreement comparable to the subject-verb agreement in Indo-European languages.
However, both in Korean and Japanese, the lack of a typical concordance relationship in their morphology between the subject the the verb in terms of person, number, and genera, the nonobligatory nature of the co-indexing, and the non-binary nature of the presumed feature [HON] as well as various speech “errors” caused many linguists (e.g., Choe 2004; Sells & Kim 2008; Kim & Sells 2012) to question the view that there is agreement in Korean, one of the languages referred to as “discourse-configurational” by É. Kiss (1995)—at least comparable to true agreement languages showing for example the subject-verb agreement as in Indo-European languages.

3. Is Subject Honorification Optional or Obligatory?

As the first argument against an “agreement” analysis of Subject Honorification, Choe (2004) observes that Korean Subject Honorification is different from a typical subject-verb agreement in languages like English, where the concordance between the subject and the verb is obligatory. Indeed, there is a clear agreement between the subject and the verb in each of the French sentences shown in (8):

8. a. Je mange      d. nous mangeons
   b. tu manges     e. vous mangez
   c. il/elle mange f. ils/elles mangent

However, Korean does not seem to be, as the examples in (8) indicate (adapted from example (1) and (2) of Choe 2004):

    Kim-teacher-Hon-Nom  come-Hon-Past-Decl
    “Teacher Kim came.”


c. Kim-sensayng-nim-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta
   Kim-teacher-Hon-Nom(Hon) come-Hon-Past-Decl

d. kwacang-i  o-si-ess-ta

e. kwacang-i  o-ass-ta

f. ai-ka  o-ass-ta
   child-Nom  come-Past-Decl
   “A child came.”

  g. *ai-ka  o-*si-ass-ta

h. wuli *kay-ka o-*si-ass-ta

While the presence of –usi in the verb clearly indicates the honorification of the person subject of the sentence, linguists like Choe (2004), Sells & Kim (2006) and Kim & Sells (2007) point out that no overt honorific marking seems to be required.
However, when the honorific sense of the subject is very strong, the present of –usi is more natural than not. Therefore, a sentence like (9b) is considered perfectly acceptable by Choe (2004), but it certainly sounds a bit rude to most other people, just as the sentence of the comparable expression shown in (10a) and the sentence with even more overtly honorific subject (10b) would:

10. a. Kim-sensayng-*nim-i *mek-ess-ta
   Kim-teacher-Hon-Nom eat-Past-Decl
   ‘Mr. Kim ate (it)’
   
   b. Kim-sensayng-*nim-*kkeyse *mek-ess-ta
   Kim-teacher-Hon-Nom(Hon) eat-Past-Decl
   (10b) is categorically out, and (10b) might be possible only if the honorific morpheme has become more or less just a title-like form a bit removed from the original meaning, and even then when it is used by an angry person to “de-honorify” the subject.

Kim & Sells (2007) argue that Korean honorification has nothing to do with agreement but rather a case of a “privative specification” in that only the positive values are mentioned. They thus claim that there is no such thing as “non-honorific” form, as there are no “unaspirated” or “untense” obstruents in Korean phonology as some proponents of private features have argued (Lombardi 1991). Kim & Sells view honorification essentially an expressive derivative, with a characteristic of increasing the degree of honorific strength with incremental honorific marking. They thus quote from Martin (1992: 298, 637) to illustrate this “honorific strengthening” (Kim & Sells 2007: (4) and (5)):

11. a. coh-un sayngkak-i-pni-ta
    good-Mod idea-Cop-Pol-Decl
    
    b. coh-un sayngkak-i-si-pni-ta
    good-Mod idea-Cop-Hon-Pol-Decl
    
    c. coh-usi-n sayngkak-i-pni-ta
    good-Hon-Mod idea-Cop-Pol-Decl
    
    d. coh-usi-n sayngkak-i-si-pni-ta
    good-Hon-Mod idea-Cop-Hon-Pol-Decl
    ‘That’s a good idea you have there.’

Kim & Sells point out that in (11), the (a) example is not honorific; (b) and (c) are honorific, and (d) is very honorific. In general, the more honorific forms are used, the more honorific is the whole expression. More examples are offered by them to make a similar point of increasing honorification, shown as (12) below:
12.a. ka-ci anh-ass-ta
    go-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
b. ka-si-ci anh-ass-ta
    go-Hon-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
c. ka-ci anh-usi-ess-ta
    go-Comp Neg-Hon-Past-Decl
d. ka-si-ci anh-usi-ess-ta
    go-Hon-Comp Neg-Hon-Past-Decl

However, the idea of honorific strengthening does not refute the idea of agreement in different parts of the elements in a sentence and sentences. The problem remains how we explain the ungrammaticality of the sentences like the one in (13):

13. *sacang-nim-kkeyse cwuk-ess-ta
    company president-Hon-Nom(Hon) die-Past-Decl
    ‘The company president (Hon) died(-Hon).

My analysis in fact is the underlying form is the maximally strong honorification, given the subject is a person the speaker wants to show his/her respect to. The forms with fewer numbers of honorific marking are results of deletion of one or more forms in view of other considerations in the Korean speech protocol. And there is an agreement relation between the subject and the honorific verb suffix –usi. This is not fundamentally different from the Indo-European subject-verb agreement in terms of the matching of the subject’s information and the verb’s information, though the decision to use honorification and the degree of its strength are largely pragmatically conditioned. Schematically the sentence given in (13) has the structure shown in (14):

14. puche-nim-kkeyse o-si-ess-ta
    Buddha-Hon-Nom(Hon) come-Hon-Past-Decl
    ‘Buddha (Hon) came.

Agreement in Subject Honorification
Without going into the internal structure of the subject DP, this paper argues that not the noun *puche* ‘budda’ but the honorific noun affix *nim* and the nominative marker *kkeyse* carry the honorific feature [+Hon]. This feature percolates up to the DP and it enters into AGREE relation with the verb complex *o-si-ess* ‘come-Subj.Hon.-Past’ in the head of TP position.

The main difference between this structure and other agreement types lies in the fact that the feature [Hon] is scalar in its nature. We could possibly use a formalism such as an upward arrow (↑), but the main point is that they should be “matching” or “harmonizing” with each other by being similar than not, rather than fighting each other.

4. What about the “deficient” forms then?

Rather than regarding omission of honorific forms in certain sentences as evidence of the optional nature of honorific marking, I would evoke Sigurðsson (2003)’s notion of sub-vocalization” of certain universal features, in this case [+Hon], which is repeated in (15):

15. ‘Silence Principle’ by Sigurðsson (2003):
Any given language shares the universal setoff features with all other languages but does not pronounce all of them.

The “silence” is governed by two crucial constraints: one stylistic and the other pragmatic, which include the following:

16. ‘Avoidance of Repetitive Expressions’ Forms:
Avoid overly repetitive expressions for the elegance of speech.

Except in the cases of intentional repetition for the effect of emphasis, rhythm, cheerfulness, etc., repetition is not stylistically appreciated in most literary traditions. In fact the very common and universal Obligatory Contour Principle is based on this notion. When a certain amount of respect and deference has already been shown in another part of the sentence, the speaker may delete the redundant sounding repetition here and there.

17. ‘Avoidance of Overly Adulating Behavior’ Speech Protocol:
Avoid appearing overly eager to please.

Many linguists including Lee & Ramsey (2000), Yoon (2005), and Kim & Sells (2007) rightly observe that the honorific subject marker, -kkeyse, requires –usi in the verb, but not vice versa.

Some use this as a piece of evidence that what is involved is not an agreement relation. However, one could equally hypothesize that –kkeyse is not realized on the surface, because it is possibly undergoing language change, exactly because this suppletion gives an impression of “overdone honorification. Lee & Ramsey in fact say that kkeyse has the “function of showing an extreme level of deference on the speaker’s part.” (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 242)
Finally a great deal of “speech errors” involving the “wrong” use of the honorific suffix –usi results from the hyper-correction phenomenon. This is a common practice when the speaker is worried about not being careful enough in the linguistic or any other human “correct” behavior.

The hyper-honorification phenomenon can be summarized as in (18):

18. ‘Hyper-Honorification’
   It is safe to show too much respect than too little. Make sure to attach –usi somewhere in the verb.

   The most common “error” in the process is self-honorification, as some of the examples from Kim-Renaud (2000) shown as (19) below:

19.  
   a. cikum-to po-si-myen, twu-pun-i ta pappu-si-ntey …
       now-also see-Hon-if two-person(Hon)-Nom all be busy-Hon-Conj
       ‘As I observe it even now, you (two) are busy but . . .
   b. mian-ha-si-ciman, . . .
       I am sorry-but
       ‘I am sorry but . . .’
   c. cal molusiki-nun hay-to . . .
       well not knowing-Top do-even
       ‘I do not know very well, but . . .’

   It is of course convenient to regard all these examples as performance errors, but rarely do people apper to notice such errors. When attention is directed to such examples, they draw laughter from people including the speakers themselves, as avoiding self-honorification is universally not appreciated.

   This type of so-called errors do not seem to happen randomly. It usually happens when the speaker is concerned about not showing enough respect to the person of social status. It could be viewed as a kind of floating honorific marker as an overgeneralizatio of the subject honorification into any verb position. However, a more systematic study is needed to see whether a restructuring in this aspect of the Korean grammar.

5. Conclusion

   Subject honorification is a crucial part of Korean syntax, and Koreans use it productively and there is rarely any disagreement whether a particular honorific expression is grammatical or not. I have tried to provide an explanation for such systematicity. I have argued that an agreement relation holds between the subject and the subject honorific marker.
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--usi. A certain amount of variation exists and some common speech efforts are due to various pragmatic factors surrounding the specific speech forms.

The investigation of honorification and the honorific system in the Korean language is a sub-branch of the study of appropriate social behavior. It is one important piece of evidence that language maturation has taken place to speak properly, according to the linguistic protocol of a particular time and space. Just like other parts of the grammar, honorifics is bound to reflect the change a society goes through and grammaticaliation could be expected. However, it would be a long, long time that Korean becomes a non-honorific language

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The Spelling Morpheme in Modern Korean

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Abstract: Graphemics deals with written language as a linguistic system apart from phonemics. The purpose of this study is to investigate the principle of the writing system in Modern Korean. Until recently, we have considered morphophonemic writing systems as the rule. However, this is a linguistic notion in relation to morphemics and phonemics and should be replaced by a morphographemic writing system in terms of graphemics. The morphographemic writing system is concerned with the graphological variations related to grammatical structure. Consequently, this study presents a cross-linguistic analysis of the phonology-morphology-orthography in Modern Korean.

Keywords: Korean, spelling morpheme, logographic writing system, phonetic writing system, morphophonemic writing system, morphographemic writing system

1. Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that the written language is no more than a mirror, the transcription of spoken language. In particular, spoken language has been dominant in linguistics since Chomskyan generative linguistics in the 1970s. There has been very little consideration of rules which describe orthographic representation of words. The emphasis has been on spoken language and on the rules which define phonological and phonetic variation rather than on accidents of spelling. For this reason, little attention has been given to graphemics as an object of linguistics. Relatively little research has been carried out on graphemics in contrast to phonemics. I think the research on graphemics in Korean linguistics is still in its early stages.

In phonemic systems such as English and Korean, the correspondence between phoneme and grapheme is ideally one-to-one. But this correspondence is always problematic in alphabetic writing systems. In modern Korean, the remarkable difference between phoneme and grapheme makes an appearance in the codas of syllables and the final position of characters. There are seven phonemes which can be pronounced in coda position, whereas there are 28 graphemes which can be written in final position, including a null grapheme. The linguistic analysis of this correspondence is very important in the study of writing systems.
There are some rules when the spelling form of final position is pronounced: neutralization, simplification of consonantal clusters, palatalization, etc. For example, when the graphic form is represented as a phonetic form in neutralization, the correspondence between grapheme and phoneme is many-to-one. Although the phonetic form is the same, the graphic forms are different. We have two norms: phonological and graphological rules (Vachek 1989).

The phonological rule is a spoken norm when Langue is uttered by phonic organs, whereas the graphological rule is a written norm when Langue is represented by hand or computer. The Langue, which is also called an underlying form, has been considered to be a set of phonemes, which have a set of one or more distinctive features. Actually, the underlying form is closely related to the grammatical and morphological descriptive levels of the abstract linguistic model (Ritchie et al. 1982).

I think there is a need for a mechanism to segment words into their component morphemes, taking into account any orthographic variations which occur between the surface form and the lexical form. This study is concerned with the interface of phonemics, morphemics, and graphemics in Korean.

2. Background

Until now, the main concern has been on spoken language rather than on written language. In particular, Saussure (1959:23-24) said, “Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first. The linguistic object is not both the written and the spoken forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object.” In addition, through the influence of Chomsky and Halle’s monumental book The Sound Pattern of English (1968), the dominant focus in linguistics in the 1970s was spoken language and the expression of linguistic competence. Therefore, the mainstream in linguistics has been mainly restricted to spoken language in the last century.

Because of this focus on spoken language, numerous studies have attempted to find and explore the rules which define phonetic variations. There have been very few considerations of rules which describe orthographic representation of words. The emphasis has been on morphophonemes, i.e., the rules which define phonological and phonetic variation rather than graphological variation. However, the morphophoneme is a linguistic concept which refers to the interface between morphemics and phonemics.

3. Purpose

The starting point of this study is the assumption that written language has its own domain and linguistic system. For this reason, we should make a difference between spoken and written language, especially in the linguistic terms. Hence, the morphophonemic rules in the writing system should be replaced by morphographemic rules.
The purpose of this study is (a) to take into account orthographic variations that occur between the surface and lexical form and (b) to perform a cross-linguistic analysis of the interface of phonology, morphology, and orthography in modern Korean.

4. Morphographemes

Graphemics was coined by analogy with ‘phonemics,’ and several phonological notions have also been applied to the study of graphemics. Thus, just as phonemics is made up of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, so graphemics is to be defined as a writing system consisting of a spelling system as well as a non-spelling system expressed by visual means, besides the letters. The grapheme, the smallest unit in graphemics, corresponds to a phoneme in the level of phonemics and could be defined as the smallest unit of the writing system of a given language which differentiates a meaning and includes the spelling and non-spelling graphemes.

Table 1: Classification of the Grapheme (Kim 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Logographic</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Figural</td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>Syllabic</td>
<td>Phonemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Punctuation</td>
<td>Symbolic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Numeric</td>
<td>Prosodic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prosodic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows the classification of the grapheme. The grapheme is largely divided into primary and secondary graphemes. These terms are analogized with phonemics. In phonemics, the segmental phoneme is called the primary phoneme, whereas the suprasegmental phoneme is called the secondary phoneme.

The primary grapheme is a spelling grapheme which forms the word. The spelling grapheme is divided into the logographic and the phonetic grapheme. The phonetic grapheme is subdivided into syllabic and phonetic. The secondary grapheme is classified into figural and zero. The figural grapheme includes punctuation, symbolic, numeric, and prosodic. The prosodic is marked by dot in middle Korean. This grapheme has disappeared. The space is called zero. This grapheme is very important in deciphering the sentence in Korean.

In (1) let us review the logographic writing system. The Chinese character is included in logographic.
1. 數
   form: 數
   sound: [shù]
   meaning: ‘number’

   The Chinese character is composed of internal and external components. The internal component is meaning, and the external component is form and sound. I think this composition has many implications for human language, especially written language.

   ![Figure 1: Classification of the Spelling Grapheme.](image)

   The form coincides with meaning in a logographic writing system, whereas both the form and sound are in agreement with meaning in phonetic writing systems. Also, I think this model has many implications for morphemics, phonemics, and graphemics.

   Based on this, Vachek (1980) shows the relation between spoken and written language.

   ![Figure 2: The Relation between Spoken and Written Language (Vachek 1980).](image)

   Figure 2 shows that when Langue is pronounced by phonic organs, the form of Langue is achieved by a spoken norm, that is, a phonological rule. And when Langue is represented by hand or computer, the form of Langue is achieved by a written norm, a graphological rule. In other words, we have two norms and two utterances.
In phonemic grapheme systems such as English and Korean, the correspondence between phoneme and grapheme is ideally one-to-one. But this correspondence does not always exist. The phenomenon is always problematic in alphabetic writing system. For example, the graphemes <s>, <th>, <ss>, <c>, and <t> are all neutralized to [t] in ‘nas’, ‘nath’, ‘nass-’, ‘nac’, ‘nat’, and ‘nach’. In this case, each different graphemes represent the same phoneme. And then, the grapheme <ch> becomes [ch], [n], and [t], respectively in ‘kkoch.i [k’o.chi]’, ‘kkoch.man [k’on.man]’, and ‘kkoch.kwa [k’ot.kwa]’. In this case, one grapheme corresponds to many phonemes. This has been caused by the change of the system of phonemes over time.

The current practice, since the enactment of the Unified Spelling System (1933) by Korean linguists, is the binding of letters into morpheme-based, or morphophonemic, syllables. For example, the form kiph is realized phonetically as [kip], [kim], and [ki. phi.], respectively. It is dependent on environment. Since the current spelling conventions allow only kiph, disregarding the other sound variations, the Hangeul spelling can be called morphemic or morphophonemic (Sohn 1999).

However, as previously mentioned, this term signifies a relation between morphemics and phonemics. I think this term should be replaced by morphographic, with regard to morphemics and graphemics. Although we deal with the same phenomena, we should make a distinction between linguistic terms of spoken language and linguistic terms of written language, as we differentiate between spoken and written language.

Let us look at the plural morpheme in English. The morphophoneme is /-s, -z, -əz/ as in cats, dogs, and foxes. And, the morphographeme is <-s, -es, -ies> as in cats, foxes and flies. Thus, the forms of the morphophoneme are applied by a phonological rule, whereas the forms of the morphographeme are applied by a graphological rule.

Hence, morphophonemes refer to phonological variations related to grammatical structure; morphographemes refer to graphological variations related to grammatical structure. That is, morphographemics is a mechanism to segment words into their component morphemes, taking into account orthographic variations between the surface form, i.e. the spelling or printed form, and underlying form, i.e. the standardized spellings of the various morphemes (Ritchie 1992).

5. Cross-Linguistic Research: Spelling, Lexicon and Morphology

In this study, the theoretical background is based on Ravid (2010)’s theory. In this section, I investigate how morphology mediates the grapheme-phoneme interface in the lexicon. This section reviews the domains of spelling and morphology and the interaction of phonology, orthography, and lexical knowledge.
As you know, morphology is the linguistic domain concerned with the internal structure of words and the ways in which words are related via their internal components, i.e. their morphemes. Phonology is the linguistic domain representing knowledge about the sound system of a language, dealing with language-distinctive sound units (phonemes), unit combinations (syllables), and patterns of combinations which play a role in the lexicon and grammar of a language. Spelling, as a linguistic system, serves to express two essential components of human language: sound and meaning. In alphabetical systems, the grapho-phonetic code expresses the crucial relationship between orthography and phonology.

The principle that organizes an alphabetical writing system is the grapho-phonemic relationship, that is, phonological units are represented by graphic symbols. Alphabetical spelling systems represent two kinds of relationships with phonology: one type is the regular and transparent phoneme-grapheme relationship. The other type is the irregular, less consistent and less transparent relationship.

Figure 3: Morpho-orthographic Patterning: Orthography, Phonology and Morphology in Words (Ravid 2011)

Figure 4 shows the relationship between orthography, phonology, and morphology in words. For example, the English adjective suffix –ic, has three different phonetic values in electric, electricity, and electrician: /k/ in the adjective, /s/ in the nominal, and /sh/ in the noun. All three phonological variances are spelled uniformly by the letter sequence, signifying the adjective suffix, –ic.
Let us apply this rule to Korean. For example in modern Korean, the morpheme {kiph} has three phonetic forms, [kip], [kim], and [ki.phi.]. And it has only one graphic form kiph. In case of this, the morphophoneme of {kiph} is [kip], [kim], and [kip], whereas the morphographeme is <kiph>. In this case, the morphographeme of {kiph} corresponds to a morpheme.

Also, spelling plays an important role in disambiguating homophones and homographs. Therefore, precision in spelling is important. Homophones have many meanings and different spellings.

2. / nat/  →  nath, nach, nat, nas, nass-

The homograph has many meanings and one spelling: for example in Korean, nwun.

Consequently, morphological awareness is important to spelling accuracy in modern Korean. And morphologically motivated representations can be assumed to exist in the linguistic cognition of mature spellers, and they can serve to facilitate spelling in case of disrupted phoneme-to-grapheme mapping. The ability to spell morphemes cannot be explained by phonological knowledge alone, and morphological representations are enhanced as a result of spelling morphemes. Therefore, spelling knowledge is learned and processed in interaction with morphological and phonological knowledge.

6. Conclusion

In this study, the main point is that written language should be differentiated from spoken language, which has its own linguistic system consisting of graphological rules.
For many years, the mainstream investigation in linguistics has been restricted to spoken language. In the development of language, spoken language is primary, and written language is secondary. However, written language is not subsidiary to spoken language. Rather, it has its own domain and linguistic system.

We can draw the conclusion that when a morpheme is realized phonetically, the morpheme is realized by phonological rule. However, when the morpheme is realized graphically, the morpheme is realized by graphological rule: a morphographeme. This study presents a cross-linguistic analysis of the phonology-morphology-orthography in modern Korean.

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Irregular Labial Lenition in Korean: An Optimality-theoretic account

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Abstract: This study investigates irregular labial lenition in Korean from Optimality-theoretic account, arguing that chain shift (Łubowicz 2003) in synchronic phonology is also applicable to diachronic phonology. In this study, following Vovin (2010), I propose that irregular lenition in Korean is a consequence of counterfeeding relationship that forms push chains. Three sets of constraints are proposed to account for the counterfeeding relationship, well-formedness (*Nasal), contrast preservation constraints (PC_in[Cont]) and faithfulness constraints (Max-C, Ident-[cont] and Dep-IO-C). Through the interaction of the three sets of constraints, push chain in history can also be represented in Optimality Theory.

Keywords: Korean, Irregular lenition, Optimality theory, Contrast preservation

1. Introduction

This study investigates irregular labial lenition in Korean from Optimality-theoretic account to argue that chain shift in synchronic phonology is also applicable to diachronic phonology. In this study, I incorporate chain shift (Łubowicz 2003, 2012) to account for the irregular sound change. Following Vovin (2010) who suggests that irregular labial lenition should be due to consonant cluster simplification and intervocalic lenition in history, I propose that irregular labial lenition in Korean is a consequence of counterfeeding relationship that intervocalic lenition precedes consonant cluster simplification.

Irregular lenition in Korean defined by Sohn (2001: 188) refers to the situation that when verbs and adjectives with coda consonants are followed by another vowel, the coda consonants undergo phonological changes where p becomes w, t becomes l, and k becomes ZERO. Some verbs with the same coda consonants, however, do not follow the path, and they remain intact as the default forms. The regular and irregular changes are illustrated by two adjectives in (1).
In (1), adjectives, tep- ‘hot’ and cwop- ‘narrow’, have similar coda consonant [p] in the plain-level construction ending in -ta. The two adjectives however behave differently when suffix -ese ‘provided that, if’ is attached to the stem. The coda consonant -p in adjective tep- ‘hot’ becomes -w-, while the coda consonant -p in adjective cwop- ‘narrow’ does not undergo such lenition and remains intact as -p at the surface level. This difference is also found in nominalizer –um when it is attached.

The irregularity of Korean lenition has drawn many scholars’ attention either from synchronic perspective (Silva 1992, Lee 1997, Lee 1998), or from diachronic viewpoint (Oh 1981, 1988, Martin 1996, Vovin 2010). In the literature, it has been proposed that the alternation of labial lenition synchronically results from two different underlying forms, -p and -w (Lee 1997). From diachronic aspect, there are at least three hypotheses. First Oh (1981, 1988) suggests that the underlying form of labial consonant is voiced /b/ and the phonological environment determines the surface form. Unlike Oh’s hypothesis, based voiced obstruents, Martin (1996) proposes lenition theory to explicate the asymmetrical distribution in (1). Vovin (2010) however suggests that different ordering of phonological rules yields the alternation. In this study I follow Vovin’s hypothesis and the historical development is discussed in detail in section 2 and 3, respectively.

The paper is organized as the following. Section 2 reviews Oh’s (1988) voiced-consonant hypothesis and Martin’s (1996) lenition theory. Section 3 is concerned with Vovin’s (2010) consonant cluster simplification. In section 4, following Vovin’s (2010) hypothesis and Łubowicz’s (2003, 2012) chain shift, I propose OT constraints to account for the irregular labial lenition in Korean. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Oh’s (1988) and Martin’s (1996) hypotheses

This section reviews Oh’s (1988) and Martin’s (1996) hypotheses concerned with lenition, p → w from diachronic viewpoint. The hypothesis proposed by Oh (1988: 112, 114) emphasizes two phonological changes, devoicing and lenition (weakening), as summarized in (2).
According to Oh, the underlying form of labial consonant is voiced /b/, which has different surface forms depending on two phonological conditions. Within a syllable, the voiced /b/ is devoiced when it is in initial or final position. Devoicing also takes place when the preceding or following segment is a voiceless consonant, regardless of the boundary. On the other hand, voiced /b/ undergoes lenition when it is in intervocalic position or when the preceding segments are [v, y, l, η, z] and the following segment is a vowel.

The second hypothesis is proposed by Martin (1996: 3), suggesting that lenition is predictable when it is in the environment *… Cu/o-, which has been proposed earlier by Ramsey (1975). This hypothesis aims to explicate lenition from tonal changes. Based on Martin (1996: 24), verbs with lenition are often associated with a rising tone, whereas verbs without lenition lack a rising tone. This hypothesis originates from the tonal changes in Middle Korean that when the final vowel in a disyllabic word CVCV, which is marked by a low-high tone, is deleted and then the word becomes monosyllabic, the low-high tone in a disyllabic word often renders a rising tone. For instance, modern Korean sem ‘island’ in Middle Korean is :syem (the two dots refer to a rising tone) and the older form of :syem is sema (cf. modern Japanese sima ‘island’). The sound change is portrayed as *sema > :syem > sem. The tonal changes of *sema is presented in (3).
The two adjectives in (1) confirm Martin’s (1996) hypothesis because they have distinctive tonal realization in Middle Korean. According to Liu (1964), tep- ‘hot’ is marked with two dots as :tep- (the two dots refer to a rising tone), so the earlier form of tep- ‘hot’ should be *te.pu. In contrast, cwop- ‘narrow’ does not have a rising tone and the early form is cwop-. In other words, verbs with lenition are underlyingly disyllabic, whereas verbs without lenition are monosyllabic.

Although the two hypotheses discussed above can account for labial lenition in Korean in some aspects, there are some problems. First of all, Oh (1988) and Martin (1996) only explain why lenition takes place, but they do not explain why lenition do not occur. Secondly, although Oh (1988) provides all possible phonological conditions for lenition, it is unusual to devoice the voiced /b/ in all positions, and voiced /b/ in Oh’s phonological conditions only exists in underlying level and the surface form is always [p]. The third problem, as Vovin (2010) indicates, is that Martin’s (1996) lenition theory is not satisfactory because lenition theory is limited to vowels [u] and [o]. This limitation contradicts the general assumption that lenition usually occurs intervocalically, and the types of vowel should have nothing to do with lenition.

3. Vovin’s (2010) hypothesis


\[(4) \quad \text{kwpúmyén ‘if [he] bends’} < *\text{kwpú-Cpú-} \]
\[\quad \text{kwpúWúmyén ‘if [he] bakes’} < *\text{kwpú-C-}\]

Vovin assumes that the original forms of the two verbs in (4) are disyllabic, which structurally differ from Martin’s dichotomy that verbs with lenition are disyllabic and those without lenition are monosyllabic. Verb kwupu- ‘to bend’ has an unclassified consonant C before coda consonant -p, whereas verb kwupu- ‘to bake’ does not have that unclassified consonant C. The proposed consonant C in Vovin’s hypothesis is a nasal, so it could be written as *NC where the C refers to consonants /p, t, s, k/.

Vovin bases his arguments on two aspects. First of all, Middle Korean seldom has consonant clusters starting with nasals, -m-, -n- and -ŋ- in medial position. Instead, clusters like -ks-, -ps-, -lm- and -ph- are common in Middle Korean. The skewed distribution in Middle Korean results from nasal deletion, a prevalent phenomenon in Central Korea (Vovin
2010: 24). Nasal deletion not only leads to the skewed distribution that Middle Korean seldom has nasal clusters, but also blocks intervocalic lenition. Verbs with the underlying nasal like kwuNpu- ‘to bend’ undergo nasal deletion so that lenition does not occur. On the other hand, verbs without nasal as in kwupu- ‘to bake’ undergo lenition.

The second argument is based on internal evidence of Proto-Korean that whether Proto-Korean has voiced consonants. As suggested by Lee (1972: 82) and Lee and Ramsey (2011: 64), it seems that Proto-Korean does not have voiced consonants (cf. Oh 1988). In addition, it is unlikely that, as Oh (1988) suggests, Korean has voiced consonants, which however never surface in the output.

In this study, I follow Vovin’s (2010) hypothesis that verbs without lenition have *NC consonant cluster, which later undergoes nasal deletion, and verbs with lenition have no *NC consonant cluster. In the next section I will incorporate chain shift by Łubowicz (2003, 2012) in terms of Optimality theory to account for the irregular labial lenition in Korean.

4. Optimality-theoretic account

As discussed above, the orderings of two phonological rules, consonant cluster simplification and lenition, contributes to the discrepancy of the irregular lenition in Korean. Here I propose that the two phonological rules are in a counterfeeding relationship where consonant cluster simplification follows lenition, exemplified in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>VNPV</th>
<th>VpV</th>
<th>VNPV</th>
<th>VpV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simplification</td>
<td>VpV</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>Lenition</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenition</td>
<td>VwV</td>
<td>VwV</td>
<td>Simplification</td>
<td>VpV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Output</td>
<td>VwV</td>
<td>VwV</td>
<td>VpV</td>
<td>VwV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merger</td>
<td>Distinct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1, the orderings of the two phonological rules render different results. When consonant cluster simplification precedes lenition, the two inputs eventually merge. When the ordering is reversed, the two inputs are distinct in the outputs.

Following Łubowicz’s (2003, 2012) chain shift concerning a new type of constraints, namely, contrast preservation constraints, I propose five constraints to account for the counterfeeding relationship. The constraints are listed in (5).
(5) a) Markedness constraints:
*Nasal: No nasal is allowed

b) Faithfulness constraints:
Max-IO-C: A consonant in the input must have a correspondence in the output
Ident-IO-[cont]: The continuity of the output must be identical to that of the input correspondent
Dep-IO-C: A consonant in the output must have a correspondence in the input

c) Contrast preservation constraints:
PC_{in}[Cont]: Do not merge inputs distinct in feature [continuant]

There is only one markedness constraint, *Nasal, which rules out any nasal at the surface level. This markedness constraint competes with three faithfulness constraints, Max-IO-C, Ident-IO-[cont] and Dep-IO-C. Max-IO-C avoids deleting any consonant in the input, and Dep-IO-C requires the output to be faithful to the input without inserting any other segment. Ident-IO-[cont] maintains the continuity in the output. Contrast preservation constraint, PCin[Cont], demands the outputs to be distinct in continuity. In other words, PCin[Cont] prevents the pair from merging as [w].

According to Łubowicz (2003, 2012), the schema for contrast preservation is that markedness constraints outranks contrast preservation constraint. As for the faithfulness constraints, they are ranked lower than contrast preservation constraint. Thus the ranking of the constraints in (5) is proposed as Markedness >> PC >> Faithfulness. Regarding the three faithfulness constraints, Max-C, Ident-[cont] and Dep-IO-C, they share the same significance. The ranking is proposed as in (6), based on which a tableau is shown in (7).

(6) *Nasal >> PC_{in}[Cont] >> Max-C, Ident-[cont], Dep-IO-C

(7)
Violation of the undominated constraint, *Nasal, rules out six scenarios, 7a, 7b, 7e, 7f, 7g and 7g. Scenarios 7c and 7d, without violating the markedness constraint, are further evaluated by contrast preservation constraint, PC_in [cont]. Scenario 7c, however, fails to maintain the distinction in continuity in the output, and it is eliminated. Therefore, scenario 7d is the optimal output.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to investigate the irregular labial lenition in Korean from historical and theoretical perspectives. The previous hypotheses by Oh (1988) and Martin (1996) do not suffice to account the irregularity. Vovin’s (2010) proposal enables us to correctly capture the irregularity. Based on Vovin (2010), I propose counterfeeding relationship and incorporate chain shift (Lubowicz 2003, 2012) by three sets of OT constraints. The ranking of the constraints accounts for the scenario of irregular labial lenition in Korean.

In Korean, other lenitions such as t → l, s and h → ZERO, should be taken into consideration when it comes to a more general scenario of irregular lenition in Korean. The other two types of lenition, t → l, s and h → ZERO, behave differently from labial lenition in their phonological condition (Oh 1988). The two other types of lenition will be investigated in the future.

REFERENCES


Lin

ŁUBOWICZ, ANNA. 2012. The Phonology of Contrast. UK: Equinox Publishing Ltd.


Dictionary

ENDNOTES


2 Verb an-ta (앉다) ‘to sit’ in Modern Korean is a counterexample, because its Middle Korean is anc- and the nasal is not deleted. However in Early Middle Korean, verb anc- ‘to sit’ is also transcribed as ac-, as acakala ‘sit’ in Kyeylim #317 (Vovin 2010: 21). This alternation might indicate that nasal deletion also occurs in anc- ‘to sit’, but this process does not complete and anc- becomes the modern form.

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A Study on the Evaluating Concept of “Politeness” in Chinese and Korean Verbal Communication

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Abstract: This study tries to clarify the features of evaluating concept of “politeness” in Chinese and Korean verbal communication from the standpoint of cross-cultural communication in modern Chinese society and Korean society because they provide a fascinating look at differences in human relations in these neighboring cultures. Based on the results, it examined similarities and differences in evaluating concept of “politeness” between the two countries. It discusses cultural and linguistic diversity on the polite manner of speaking. Furthermore, the results were analyzed from the standpoint of gender. The research of this field will be very important today during contact of Chinese people and Korean people in order to prevent the obstacle of communication beforehand.

Key words: politeness, cultural and linguistic diversity, intercultural communication, psycholinguistics, pragmatics

1. Introduction

With a speedy increase in the extent of cultural exchanges and business cooperation between the Chinese and Korean in the past two decades, it is necessary to clarify the similarities and differences between the cultures with regard to traditional ideas, values, beliefs, and behavior in order to prevent misunderstandings from arising.

There are concepts of communicative virtues that have been developed over a long period of time and undergo continual transformation in social interactions. They are concepts to which members of a society refer in evaluating the social behavior of others as well as themselves (Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita, 1996). Many researchers are now studying this subject. For example, Hermanns (1993) and Yamashita (1993) have researched concepts for evaluating communicative behavior in German, and Nishijima (1996) has done the same for Japanese. Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino and Kawasaki (1992) wrote about the concept of politeness in an empirical study of American English and Japanese. Many
researchers (Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt, & Yamashita, 1996; Nam, Nishijima & Saiki, 2006; Nishijima, 2007; Nishijima & Tao 2009; and Tao 2008, 2010, among others) have done comparative research in this field. However, there has been little study on native-speaker beliefs about politeness or on a number of important questions:

- What is people’s understanding of the concept politeness in communicative behavior in different cultural contexts?
- What differences are there between Chinese and Korean “politeness” concepts of communicative virtues?
- How do Chinese and Korean differ in perceiving polite behavior?
- What differences are there between the Chinese and Korean university students understanding of politeness?

Interviews and questionnaires focusing on native-speaker beliefs about (im)politeness are another valuable source of insight into the emic perspective (Haugh, 2007:661). The aims of this study are (a) to provide useful insights into the ideas and traditional moral values of young people on which politeness behavior is based in both countries, (b) to analyze actual data from questionnaires, and (c) to analyze the results from the standpoint of gender. The specific purpose of this study was to discover how the emic concept of politeness differs between Chinese and Korean.

2. The Concept of Politeness

In the past three decades, politeness phenomena have been widely observed by many researchers and scholars since Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness was first published in 1978, which has engendered energetic, continuous research in this area.

Kasper (1990) summarized the work of Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and Leech (1983) as follows: “Politeness is viewed as a rational, rule-governed, pragmatic aspect of speech that is rooted in the human need to maintain relationships and avoid conflicts.” By being mutually supportive and avoiding threats to face, according to the standard argument, speakers maintain smooth relations and sustain successful communication. The underlying rational, motivation, and functional foundations of politeness are assumed to be, to some extent, universal, and are assumed to influence, and be reflected in, various modes of speech in many different language and cultures (Brown and Levinson 1987). Linguistic politeness, then, reflects cultural values. Correctly identifying polite behavior in a culture involves understanding the society’s values (Holmes, 1995). Different cultural and linguistic groups express politeness in different ways. That is, the range of behaviors deemed polite in American or British society, for example, may be quite different from the behaviors described by the expression “you limao” (politeness) in Chinese and the word “공손(恭遜)”(politeness) in Korean.
There is a growing awareness that the term “politeness” needs to be defined more precisely and consistently if more fruitful cross-cultural research on politeness is to be pursued (c.f. Watts, Ide, & Ehlich, 1992a). Using native-speaker judgments, Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino, and Kawasaki (1992) demonstrated that among groups of American English and Japanese speakers, the seemingly corresponding terms “polite” and teineina differ in their conceptual structure. According to their study, “for the American subjects, the adjectives ‘polite’ and ‘friendly’ correlate highly when applied to certain behaviors in specific situations. For Japanese subjects, however, teineina and shitashigena fall into different dimensions when applied to the same cross-culturally equivalent situations.” (p.292-293)

Mao (1994) stated the relationship between Chinese face and politeness (*Limao*):

More specifically, to be polite, that is, *you Limao* (有礼貌) in Chinese discourse is, in many respects, to know how to attend to each other’s mianzi and lian and to enact speech acts appropriate to and worthy of such an image. Otherwise stated, mainland Chinese speakers can be seen as being polite if they demonstrate with words their knowledge of mianzi and lian, such a demonstration tends to epitomize politeness in the eyes of their discourse partners.

The closest Chinese equivalent to the English word “politeness” is “Limao.” Gu (1990) pointed out that there are basically four notions underlying the Chinese conception of limao: respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement. In the last three decades or so, the “Beautification of Speech” campaign has tried to revive the four elements, which are part of Chinese heritage, and has explicitly appealed to the nation to abide by them. Deference is an important element of modern limao. Its social function is to maintain harmony, eliminate conflict, and promote cooperation between people.

General politeness phenomena in Korea was explained by Alan Hyun-Oak Kim: (p.176).

“Interestingly, native speakers of Korean may conceive the notion of ‘politeness’ as a concept that is intricately associated with a linguistic entity known as ‘honorifics’-a system that encodes one’s deference towards speaking partners who are viewed as superior in age or in social standing. A Korean speaker will translate the English word politeness as *yey’ui-palu-m* (예의바름) ‘to be deferential’, or *kongson-ha-m* (恭遜) ‘to be deferential/to be reverent’. In other words, native Korean speakers appear to perceive the notion of ‘politeness’ largely through honorification.”

To elucidate the differences in the perception of polite behavior between the Chinese and Korean cultures, a study employing a 28-question questionnaire was carried out on basic features of politeness concepts for communication behavior. This paper reports some of the findings.
Research in this field is needed to break down communication barriers between Chinese and Korean who come into daily contact with each other. Although politeness may be expressed both verbally and non-verbally, this study focused on polite and impolite verbal communication, that is, on the use of words to express politeness and impoliteness. However, we also consider the influence of personal psychology in intercultural communication. An opinion poll was given to Chinese and Korean university students to collect data for a comparative study of perceived politeness in Chinese and Korean verbal communication. Based on the results, the similarities and differences between the concept of politeness in Chinese and Korean verbal communication are examined. This study provides insights into the traditional moral values on which polite behavior is based in both countries and also analyzes the results from the standpoint of gender. The specific purpose of this study was to discover how Chinese and Korean differ in perceiving polite behavior.

3. Methodology

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 200 respondents. They were college students living in China and Korea. Data were collected from these 200 respondents. 100 Chinese students (50 males, 50 females) were enrolled at universities in Beijing (March 2009) and 100 Korean students (49 males, 51 females) were enrolled at East Asia university in Pushan (November 2010). The ages of the participants ranged from 17 to 28 years.

Material and Procedure

This study employed written questionnaires. The Japanese questionnaire surveyed current conceptualizations of what constitutes teinei, according to university students, and was taken from Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita (1996). It was translated into Chinese and Korean. Thus, Chinese and Korean versions of the questionnaire were prepared. In order to avoid the distortions of direct translation, bilingual and bicultural speakers discussed the translation and verified the accuracy of the final form. Some of the questions on the questionnaire were multiple-choice, but most allowed the students to respond freely. This paper concerns findings based on three of the 28 questions. These three questions allowed the respondents to respond freely.

Question 1: What would be more careful in your choice of words (you pay attention to) if you speak to an intimate acquaintance (a closest friend about the same age)? Please select some words apply to this case.

Question 2: What would be more careful in your choice of words (you pay attention to) if you speak to a not-so-intimate acquaintance about the same age? Please select some words apply to this case.
Question 3: What would be more careful in your choice of words (you pay attention to) if you speak to a person at some social distance (e.g., a not-so-intimate professor advanced in age)? Please select some words apply to this case.

To find out how the concept of “politeness” is perceived in present-day Chinese and Korean society, we made an inquiry into the ways in which various semantic components of this general concept are evaluated according to the psychological distance and relative social position of the interactants. In this study, we presented three possible speech situations consisting of informant in interaction with three different types of interlocutors according to the study of Marui, Nishijima, Noro, Reinelt & Yamashita (1996, pp. 389-390):

(A) an intimate acquaintance (e.g., a closest friend about the same age)
(B) a not-so-intimate acquaintance (e.g., a not-so-intimate fellow student about the same age)
(C) a person at some social distance (e.g., a not-so-intimate professor advanced in age)

We made an investigation of what concepts to be specially considered by them when they talk to these persons (cf. Marui et al. 1996).

We looked into eight kinds of evaluating concepts in communicative virtues: ‘frank’; ‘polite’; ‘friendly’; ‘conforming to norms’; ‘easy’; ‘knowing one’s place’; ‘avoid causing injury’; and ‘without distance’.

For each of these types of concepts of communicative virtues, we asked 200 informants from Chinese and Korean universities if they pay attention to them when they speak with interlocutors of types A, B, or C. The relationships of the informants to interlocutors A and B vary on a cline of intimacy, whereas the relationship of the informants to interlocutor C differs from their relationship to A and B on the plane of social distance. For each type of concepts of communicative virtues, we observed variation in the degree of which they were referred to by informants, the values of which frequencies were seen to depend upon the varying levels of intimacy and social distance. These eight evaluating concepts will be selected differently. According to rough estimates of the difference between psychological distance and relative social position, difference in age, difference in social standing, a generation gap of the interactants, we assume that mutual relationship with evaluating concepts of three situations make possible the following five types.

Hypotheses of mutual relationship with evaluating concepts of three situations:

Type 1: intimacy to be specially considered, not take social distance into account
Type 2: pay a special attention to social distance, but not take intimacy into account
Type 3: intimacy, not-so-intimacy and social distance make no different consideration
Type 4: by antagonism between situation 1 and situation 2, 3, standards depend on intimacy

Type 5: by antagonism between situation 1, 2 and situation 3, standards depend on social distance

As we expected, the eight evaluating concepts will be classified in former three groups:
Type 1: ‘frank’ ‘friendly’ ‘easy’ ‘without distance’

Type 2: ‘polite’ ‘conforming to norms’ ‘knowing one’s place’

Type 3: ‘avoid causing injury’

According to the results of investigation, we conduct a further examination of what consciousness and sense of values of polite concepts the Chinese and the Korean students have for communication behavior in present-day human relation.

4. Results and Discussion

In order to examine differences between Chinese and Korean males and females, the analysis of the data obtained from the written questionnaire involved first separating the responses by gender. Below, similarities and differences in polite concepts of communicative virtues described by Chinese and Korean students are examined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluating Concepts (nationality)</th>
<th>To Person A (intimate)</th>
<th>To Person B (not intimate)</th>
<th>To Person C (socially distant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frank (Chinese)</td>
<td>67.00%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>18.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>솔직하게 (Korean)</td>
<td>95.00%</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
<td>31.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite (Chinese)</td>
<td>44.00%</td>
<td>90.00%</td>
<td>98.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>정중하게 (Korean)</td>
<td>34.00%</td>
<td>90.00%</td>
<td>98.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly (Chinese)</td>
<td>70.00%</td>
<td>77.00%</td>
<td>63.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>친근하게 (Korean)</td>
<td>96.00%</td>
<td>56.00%</td>
<td>34.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conforming to norms (Chinese)</td>
<td>38.00%</td>
<td>82.00%</td>
<td>96.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>예의바르게 (Korean)</td>
<td>37.00%</td>
<td>90.00%</td>
<td>98.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>easy (Chinese)</td>
<td>87.00%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>편안하게 (Korean)</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>45.00%</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowing one’s place (Chinese)</td>
<td>56.00%</td>
<td>86.00%</td>
<td>90.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>입장을 구별하려 (Korean)</td>
<td>74.00%</td>
<td>83.00%</td>
<td>96.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 shows the statistical results of our investigation. The patterns of variation exhibited can be grouped into five types. As an instance of the first type we present the example of ‘easy’: 87.0% of the Chinese informants and 100.0% of the Korean informants answered that they speak “轻松” “편안하게” with interlocutors A, 25.0% and 45.0% with interlocutors B and only 12.0% and 14.0% with interlocutors C. In a word, the value of ‘easy’ decreases proportionately to decreases in familiarity or social proximity to the interlocutor. Thus the first appears with greatest frequency in communication with intimates, but is not adequate for cool or distant relationships: ‘easy’, ‘without distance’ (both Chinese and Korean), and ‘frank’, ‘friendly’ (only Korean) fall under this type.

For an example of the second type, we present ‘polite’: 44.0% of the Chinese informants and 34.0% of the Korean informants reported that they speak ‘很有礼貌’ ‘정중하게’ with interlocutors A, while the figures increased to 90.0% of the Chinese informants and 90.0% of the Korean informants with interlocutors B, and to 98.0% of the Chinese informants and 98.0% of the Korean informants with interlocutors C. To sum up this pattern, the value of ‘polite’ increases with less intimacy and greater social distance. Thus the concepts of communicate virtues exhibiting the second type of variation pattern are appropriate for interaction with distant people, but not for close relationships: ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’, and ‘knowing one’s place’ (only Korean) fall under this type.

According to Marui et al. (1996, p.391), the third type was reported to occur in all three possible relationships, but overwhelmingly in the case where the relationship of the informant to the interlocutor was describable neither as canonically intimate nor as canonically socially distant, but rather as being as vague with respect to these two clines; namely the case of interlocutor B. In a word, the concept of communicative virtues of ‘avoid causing injury’ was most operative as a method of managing and indexing social relations in those cases where the appropriateness of invoking either of the canonical relationships became problematical. The concept of communicative virtues ‘不伤害对方’ (avoid causing injury) ‘平易近人’ (friendly) of the Chinese informants are the token representing this third type. But we did find that the Korean informants reported this type.

We didn’t find type 5, but we found two cases of type 4 on the basis of our investigation. One case is an example of ‘without distance’: 55.0% of the Chinese informants reported that they speak ‘不保持距离’ with interlocutors A, only 14.0% with interlocutors B and
11.0% with interlocutors C. The Chinese students pay more attention to intimacy than social distance. Another case is an example of ‘avoid causing injury’: 82.0% of the Korean informants reported that they speak ‘상처를 주지 않도록’ with interlocutors A, 98.0% with interlocutors B and only 96.0% with interlocutors C. We also present ‘knowing one’s place’: 56.0% of the Chinese informants reported that they speak ‘知道自己身份’ with interlocutors A, 86.0% with interlocutors B and only 90.0% with interlocutors C. Here there is no great difference with interlocutors B and interlocutors C, but there is different from interlocutors A. Based on our observation on our investigation, this case is against the former case. Intimacy is not to be specially considered.

There is a further point which needs to be clarified. For an example of ‘frank’: 67.0% of the Chinese informants reported that they speak ‘直言不讳’ with interlocutors A, only 10.0% with interlocutors B but 18.0% with interlocutors C. There is one other thing that is important for the Chinese informants.

The first two types of communicative virtues are distributed diametrically, and clearly show inverse dependence on the social relationships that interactants have to each other.

Table 1 classifies the results of an investigation of Chinese students and Korean by nationality. We underlined the conspicuous difference between the Chinese students and the Korean students in order to express clearly. As observed in the results of the survey, over ten points difference between the Chinese students and the Korean students are divided into the following:

Situation 1 (an intimate acquaintance): ‘frank’ ‘polite’ ‘friendly’ ‘easy’ ‘knowing one’s place’ ‘without distance’

Situation 2 (a not-so-intimate acquaintance): ‘frank’ ‘friendly’ ‘easy’

Situation 3 (a person at some social distance): ‘frank’ ‘friendly’ ‘avoid causing injury’

Table 2 shows the results of certification on analysis of variance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>NF</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>x²</th>
<th>MCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>220.7</td>
<td>*C:CF&gt;P&gt;NCF,K:CFN&gt;CF/P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>*CF/NCF/P:K&gt;C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>248.8</td>
<td>*K/C:P&gt;NCF&gt;CF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>*K:CF&gt;NCF&gt;P,C:NCF&gt;P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>*CF:K&gt;C,NCF:C&lt;K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conforming to norms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>*K/C:P&gt;NCF,CF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Results of Certification
As to ‘conforming to norms’ ‘avoid causing injury’ in Situation 1 and Situation 2, and ‘polite’ ‘knowing one’s place’, moreover ‘polite’ ‘conforming to norms’ ‘easy’ ‘knowing one’s place’ ‘without distance’ in Situation 3, the percentage considered by Chinese students and Korean students are almost the same. But there is a clear distinction between the two. As for Situation 1, ‘frank’ ‘friendly’ ‘without distance’ approval percentage (95.0%, 96.0%, 81.0%) of Korean students is over 20 percent higher than one (67.0%, 70.0%, 55.0%) of Chinese students. Moreover, ‘easy’ ‘knowing one’s place’ approval percentage (100.0%, 74.0%) of Korean students is over 10 percent higher than ones (87.0%, 56.0%) of Chinese students. Especially, it is clear that Korean students have strongly conscious of concept of ‘easy’. About ‘polite’ concept, the percentage considered by Chinese students is 10 percent higher than Korean students. On the whole, Korean students have higher conscious ratio than Chinese students. This point shows the difference between them.

As for Situation 2, both of Chinese students and Korean students have higher common consciousness on concepts of ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’ ‘knowing one’s place’, ‘avoid causing injury’, and both of them have lower consciousness on concept of ‘without distance’. Moreover, ‘frank’ ‘easy’ approval percentage (40.0%, 45.0%) of Korean students is over 20 percent higher than 10.0%, 25.0% of Chinese students. But ‘friendly’ approval percentage (77.0%) of Chinese students is over 20 percent higher than 56.0% of Korean students. It shows an obvious fact that Korean students do not warm up to a not-so- intimate acquaintance and give a distance to him or her.

As for Situation 3, both of Chinese students and Korean students have higher common consciousness on concepts of ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’ ‘knowing one’s place’, ‘avoid causing injury’, and both of them have lower consciousness on concept of ‘easy’ and ‘without distance’. Besides, ‘frank’ and ‘avoid causing injury’ approval percentage (31.0%, 96.0%) of Korean students is over 10 percent higher than 18.0%, 86.0% of Chinese students. But ‘friendly’ approval percentage (63.0%) of Chinese students is over 20 percent higher
than 34.0% of Korean students. It shows an obvious fact that Chinese students and Korean students do not warm up to a person at some social distance by ‘easy’ and ‘without distance’. They have the values of which frequencies were seen to depend upon the varying levels of intimacy and social distance. Chinese students have a tendency to attach greater importance to kinship than to difference in age from the difference between Chinese students and Korean students.

Moreover, they have a sense of distance to not-so-intimate acquaintance and are conscious of ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’ ‘knowing one’s place’, ‘avoid causing injury’ by a higher percentage. This point is different from that there is a little consideration of distance with intimate relation (AIHARA 2008). There is room for further discussion. Besides, it needs to analyze from a different view.

Table 3 puts statistical results of types of concepts by nationality and gender in order. ‘Easy’ is a concept that shows no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Chinese and Korean students of both sexes in three situations. Moreover, ‘friendly’ ‘conforming to norms’ ‘avoid causing injury’ are also concepts that shows no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Korean students of both sexes in three situations. On the other hand, ‘without distance’ is a concept that shows no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Chinese students of both sexes in three situations. Besides, ‘polite’ is a concept that show no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Chinese and Korean students of both sexes in situation 2 and situation 3. ‘knowing one’s place’ is a concept that show no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Korean students of both sexes in situation 2 and situation 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluating Concepts</th>
<th>nationality</th>
<th>To Person A (intimate) Male/female</th>
<th>To Person B (not intimate) Male/female</th>
<th>To Person C (socially distant) Male/female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frank</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>(80.0 / 54.0) (97.6 / 92.2)</td>
<td>(16.0 / 4.0) (44.9 / 35.3)</td>
<td>(22.0 / 14.0) (36.7 / 25.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>(38.0 / 50.0) (40.8 / 27.5)</td>
<td>(88.0 / 92.0) (91.8 / 88.2)</td>
<td>(96.0 / 100.0) (98.0 / 98.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conforming to norms</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>(64.0 / 76.0) (91.8 / 100)</td>
<td>(70.0 / 84.0) (57.1 / 54.9)</td>
<td>(68.0 / 58.0) (36.7 / 31.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>easy</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>(42.0 / 34.0) (40.8 / 33.3)</td>
<td>(76.0 / 88.0) (89.8 / 90.2)</td>
<td>(92.0 / 100.0) (98.0 / 98.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowing one’s place</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>(88.0 / 86.0) (100 / 100)</td>
<td>(28.0 / 22.0) (46.9 / 43.1)</td>
<td>(14.0 / 10.0) (18.4 / 9.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, ‘frank’ ‘without distance’ are concepts that show no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Korean students of both sexes in situation 1. ‘avoid causing injury’ is a concept that show no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Chinese students of both sexes in situation 2. And ‘frank’ ‘conforming to norms’ are concepts that show no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Chinese students of both sexes in situation 3. Furthermore, ‘without distance’ is a concept that shows no remarkable difference of the common consciousness in Korean students of both sexes in situation 3. Except for these, we consider concepts in almost situations to have difference of the consciousness in Chinese and Korean students of both sexes. We divide these differences into two parts.

Part 1. Distribution of difference of both male and female show a trend to be different concepts between Chinese and Korean:

Situation 1 (intimacy)

‘knowing one’s place’ → Korea: males have a higher trend
→ China: females have a higher trend
‘polite’ → China: females have a higher trend
→ Korea: males have a higher trend

Part 2. Distribution of difference of both male and female show concepts considered by one of Chinese and Korean:

Situation 1 (intimacy)

‘frank’ → China: males have a higher trend
‘friendly’ → China: females have a higher trend
‘avoid causing injury’ → China: females have a higher trend

Situation 2 (an not-so-intimate acquaintance):

‘frank’ → China: males have a higher trend
‘friendly’ → China: females have a higher trend
‘knowing one’s place’ → China: females have a higher trend
‘avoid causing injury’ → China: females have a higher trend
‘without distance’ → Korea: males have a higher trend

Situation 3 (a person at some social distance):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avoid causing injury</td>
<td>(64.0 / 88.0)</td>
<td>(90.0 / 96.0)</td>
<td>(80.0 / 92.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(81.6 / 82.4)</td>
<td>(95.9 / 100)</td>
<td>(98.0 / 94.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without distance</td>
<td>(60.0 / 57.8)</td>
<td>(16.0 / 12.0)</td>
<td>(14.0 / 8.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(77.6 / 84.3)</td>
<td>(28.6 / 17.6)</td>
<td>(18.4 / 9.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘frank’ → Korea: males have a higher trend
‘friendly’ → China: males have a higher trend
‘knowing one’s place’ → China: females have a higher trend
‘avoid causing injury’ → China: females have a higher trend

Chinese students behave politely and put a distance on a cline of intimacy, on the other hand, Korean students are showing a tendency to speak ‘frank’, ‘friendly’, ‘conforming to norms’ with interlocutor A on a cline of intimacy. But both of Chinese students and Korean students are showing a tendency to speak ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’, ‘knowing one’s place’ and ‘avoid causing injury’ with interlocutor B on a cline of less intimacy and distant people. At the same time, both of Chinese students and Korean students have a recent trend that the value of ‘polite’ increases with less intimacy and greater social distance, Thus the concepts of communicate virtues exhibiting the second type of variation pattern are appropriate for interaction with distant people, but not for close relationships: ‘polite’, ‘conforming to norms’, and ‘knowing one’s place’ fall under this type.

5. Conclusion

A questionnaire was used to collect data for a comparative study of evaluating concepts of politeness in Chinese and Korean verbal communication. This research investigated the opinions of Chinese and Korean students regarding cultural awareness and evaluating concepts of politeness. It provides insight into the traditional moral values of intimacy and social distance embodied in polite behavior in both countries and also analyzes the results from the standpoint of gender. It explores cultural similarities and differences in the politeness-evaluating concepts in verbal communication between Chinese and Korean. China and Korea have a common cultural background from historical divorce. There is clearly a need for much more empirical research in this area. It is also useful to try to understand the polite expressions of two cultural groups to promote intercultural communication. It will be necessary to do a similar analysis of the politeness-evaluating concepts of other societies in the future to examine how to improve cooperation through an understanding of communicative behavior. Further research on the politeness-evaluating concepts in Chinese and Korean verbal communication should more fully explore gender differences, cultural and linguistic differences, and other issues, perhaps by using a different methodology or a different group of informants (that is, non-students) to confirm the findings of this study.
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Constraints for Compliments to Superiors:
Based on the Questionnaire to Chinese University Students

Yilin Yang

Kanazawa University

Abstract: The paper discusses whether and how compliments can be made to people in higher social position (superiors). The aim of the present paper is twofold: 1) to examine the hypothesis on the basis of a survey conducted in at universities in 2 Southern and 2 Northern cities in China and 2) to show what constraints exist in giving compliments to superiors. The results confirmed the hypothesis and revealed that each type of superiors has preference for particular types of targets for compliments, for example, to the “intimacy & interest” type of superiors, the “ability” is selected as target frequently.

Keyword: compliment, superiors, constraints, intimacy, interest.

1. Introduction

In general, giving a compliment plays a role in establishing or maintaining a smooth relationship with the interlocutor because of expressing understanding of or admiration to the partner. According to Holmes (1988), a compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some ‘good’ (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer. Wolfson (1989) has argued that the relationship between addressers and addressees is relevant for compliment behavior. Therefore, it is pointed out that giving a compliment is regarded as one of the important strategies for politeness in a communication in recent studies. However, compliments cannot be always used to whomever because they have evaluation in their basic meaning. Yu (2005) shows that Chinese speakers tend to give many fewer compliments to higher status addressees than do American English speakers. For example, in general, if the partner is superior to the speaker in Chinese society, the use of compliments is constrained or needs more attention. In this respect, a question arises: What kinds of constraints are there in using compliments to superior interlocutors? In the present paper, it is hypothesized that compliments can be given differently depending on both
different types of relationships with superiors and different types of targets for compliments. Furthermore, the results could promote more efficient teaching of Chinese language and culture.

2. Background

Previous studies on compliments can be divided into two groups: The first group is compliments in a particular language, including compliment topics (Knapp, Hopper, and Bell, 1984; Ye, 1995; Wolfson, 1983; Holmes, 1988), formulas (Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Holmes, 1986), function (Manes, 1983) and responses (Holmes, 1986; Chen, 1993; Tao, 2009). These studies have contributed greatly to our understanding of the speech event of compliments. The other one is comparison of compliments between different languages; for example, Korean and Japanese (Kim, 2005), Chinese and American English (Yu, 2005), Japanese and American English (Matsuura, 2004; Tanaka, 2007. Dean & Araki, 1985), and so on. They show that compliment acts are different from language to language.

2.1. Compliment topics

Knapp, Hopper, and Bell (1984) found that Americans were most likely to make compliments when giving credit to other’s appearance and performance. Other attributes often praised in American society include personality and possessions. Holmes (1988) defined compliments as a direct speech act that was given to someone for his/her appearance, ability or performance, possession, and personality or friendship. Despite the fact that there are some general topics upon which people from different cultures compliment or comment, we also find that different cultures may have different preferential topics for compliments. In American English, appearance and performance are the two most frequently complimented topics (Wolfson, 1983). According to Holmes and Brown (1987), New Zealanders comment far more frequently on appearance than on ability. Herbert’s (1989) found that in Poland, people paid about 50% of compliments on others’ possessions. Ye (1995) found that in China, 80.9% of the respondents paid compliments, either explicitly or implicitly, on performance while only 44% on appearance.

2.2. Compliment formulas

Research studies show that compliments are “remarkably formulaic speech acts” (Holmes and Brown 1987:529).

Manes and Wolfson (1981) found that the compliment is characterized by the formulaic nature of its syntactic and semantic composition. They also found in their compliment corpus of 686 expressions that 85% of their data fell into one of the following 3 syntactic formulae:

1. NP is/looks (really) ADJ (e.g., That shirt is so nice.);
2. I (really) like/love NP (e.g., I really like those shoes);
3. PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (e.g., This was really a great meal.).
They also found that two thirds of all adjectival compliments they collected made use of only five adjectives: nice (22.9), good (19.6), pretty (9.7%), beautiful (9.2%), and great (6.2%). They discovered that compliments are characteristically formulaic both in terms of syntax and semantics.

Ye’s (1995) data of Chinese compliments, to some extent, replicate the previous findings. She indicates that the positive semantic carrier in a Chinese compliment can be realized by either an Adjective/ Stative Verb, an Adverb, a Noun or a Vern. Each of these, in turn, accounts for 54.5%, 27.4%, 15.8% and 2.3% of her data. The most frequently occurring Adjectives/ Stative Verbs are Piaoling 漂亮 (pretty), Bucuo 不错 (not bad); Adverbs, Hao 好 (well); Nouns, Liangxiazi 两下子 (know-how), Haoshou(good-hand); Verbs, Xihuan 喜欢 (like).

2.3. Compliment function

Research has shown that complimenting involves a variety of linguistic functions. It is argued that the main function of compliments is to establish solidarity between speaker and addressee (e.g., Holmes, 1988; Manes, 1983; Wolfson, 1989). For example, Manes (1983) maintains that praise in American English functions to both establish and reinforce solidarity between speaker and listener. Another possible function compliments may serve is to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting, reprimanding, or thanking, or to soften acts such as criticism, or even to serve as sarcasm or as a conversation opener (Wolfson, 1983). Like all variation in linguistic behavior, variation in speech act behavior may be affected by socio-cultural parameters. Studies have shown that the function of compliments in one society can be very different from that of another (e.g., Herbert, 1989).

2.4. Compliment responses

Considering compliment responses, several researchers have indicated that American speakers exhibit great ingenuity in avoiding the simple acceptance of compliments (Herbert, 1989). Holmes (1988), with Zealand data, identified 12 strategies and classified these into three broad types: Accept, Reject, and Deflect/Evade. Her analysis showed that Accept was the most preferred response type (61%).

Chen (1993) compares and analyzes American and Chinese compliment responses. 96% of the Chinese compliment responses are categorized as Rejecting, with three sub-categories- Disagreeing and denigrating (51%), Expressing embarrassment (26%), and Explaining (19%). “self-denigration maxim: denigrate self and elevate others” (Gu, 1990:245) can be used to account for most of the Chinese compliment responses in his data.
3. Research Questions

The present study attempts to answer the following research questions. There are two main focuses:

(1) Is it possible in Chinese society to give a compliment to a superior interlocutor?

(2) What kinds of constraints are there in giving compliments to superior interlocutors in Chinese society?

4. Method

4.1. Participants

Students from four Chinese universities were involved in this study: Shanghai, Suzhou, Beijing and Tianjin. The average age was 22. Table 1 shows the information on the research place, date and number of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>Sept. 2011</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzhou</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>Oct. 2011</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Analysis of data

The relationship between addresser and addressee is an important factor affecting compliment behavior. The following table shows the relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social distance</th>
<th>Representatives</th>
<th>Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interlocutor is in a socially higher position</td>
<td>superior</td>
<td>intimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From my experience, if the recipient is higher in status, like a superior, and has a different “intimacy” and “interest” relationship with the speaker, the compliment varies in strategy, topic, and frequency.

The reason is that “intimacy” and “interest” factors constitute the most valuable component of speech acts in China.
Table 2  Type of superiors and four targets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Superiors</th>
<th>Targets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Prof. A:</em> intimacy &amp; interest</td>
<td><em>Ability</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex: a good lecture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prof. B:</em> intimacy &amp; non-interest</td>
<td><em>Possession</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex: a new bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prof. C</em></td>
<td><em>Appearance</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-intimacy &amp; interest</td>
<td>ex: a new hairstyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prof. D</em></td>
<td><em>Performance</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-intimacy &amp; non-interest</td>
<td>ex: generous personality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 presents four types of superiors and four targets were given to the students. It is notable that the superiors are their 40s’ and the same gender as the participants. Here are some basic introductions of the concepts. For example, Prof. A has an “intimacy and interest” relationship with the student. An “Intimacy Prof.” is someone with whom you may have friendly communication twice or three times a week. On the other hand, a “non-intimacy Prof.” might be someone you seldom meet and with whom you speak formally. An “Interest Prof.” might be someone whose class you currently attend right now and will be giving you a grade. A “Non-interest Prof.” might be someone whose class you previously attended and will not be giving you any sort of grade. Then the four targets are ability, possession, appearance and performance. An example to explain “ability” target might be a good lecture, “possession” target is a new bag, “appearance” target is a new hairstyle and “performance” target is generous personality.

To keep this study objective, the four professors are presumed as intimacy and interest types only in our questionnaires. In the questionnaires, the students were encouraged to answer the questions in 4 hypothetical situations between themselves and their Superiors. The questionnaire is presented in both Chinese and English at the end of the article.

Here I would like to introduce some compliment strategies and examples. There are three strategies, which are explained separately in table 3, 4 and 5.
### Table 3 Strategy One

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>The example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>Laoshi, ni de ke hen bucuo. ‘Prof., your lecture is really great.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>Laoshi, nin pinwei zhenhao. ‘Prof., you have a great taste.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Laoshi, nin de faxing haoku. ‘Prof., your hairstyle is so cool.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Laoshi, nin de yingyu haobang. ‘Prof., your English is excellent.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 presents strategy one: A compliment about addressee, which means Prof., is to be mentioned as topic.

### Table 4 Strategy Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>The example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>Laoshi, wo cong ni de kezhong xuedao le henduo dongxi. ‘Prof., I learnt a lot from your lecture.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>Laoshi, wo ye hao yihuan zhege pibao de yanse a! ‘Prof., I really love the color of your bag too.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Laoshi, wo ye yao qu zhao ni jiantou de faxingshi. ‘Prof., I will search your hairstylist.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Laoshi, zhen xianmu nin de yingyu. ‘Prof., I extremely admire your English.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 presents strategy two: A compliment about the speaker, which means oneself, is to be mentioned as topic.

### Table 5 Strategy Three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>The example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>Dajia dou shuo nin de ke henhao. ‘Others are saying that your lecture is excellent.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 presents strategy three: A compliment about third person, which means someone, is to be mentioned as topic.
Strategy One is defined as a “direct compliment”. It is a direct communication between the student who gives the compliment and the professor who is being complimented, and the subject of the compliment is explicit. Strategy two and three are defined as an “indirect compliment”. It is still a direct communication between the student and the professor, but the subject of the compliment is implicit. The next section is the analysis of the survey results.

5. Results

The results of the questionnaire of compliments to superiors are as follows.

Figure 1 Percentage of compliment targets per Superior

![Bar Chart]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Performance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof. A</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. B</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. C</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. D</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prof. A: intimacy & interest/ Prof. B: intimacy & interest/ Prof. C: non-intimacy & interest/ Prof. D: non-intimacy & non-interest

Figure 1 shows Percentage of compliment targets per Superior. The first conclusion about this figure is that regardless of the level of relationships (intimacy or interest), most people would use the compliment as a way of expressing admiration for their superiors. The figure also indicates that people gave the most compliments for the target’s ability and the least for the target’s appearance. The second conclusion is that Profs. A & B, who have a much closer relationship with the students, received more compliments than Profs. C & D.
Table 6 Result of the test in comparison with Superior “Intimacy& Interest”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prof. C&amp;D</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Non-interest group</th>
<th>Prof. B&amp;D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intimacy group</td>
<td>Prof. A&amp;B</td>
<td>&lt;0.0001 Ability</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;0.0001 Possession</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1028</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;0.0001 Appearance</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.3850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;0.0001 Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0207*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* *p*<0.05

Table 6 shows Compliment representation to Prof. A&B has been used significantly better than Prof. C&D. However, it was found that there is a significant difference in only target of performance, Prof. A&C usage percentage is high compliment representation than Prof. B & D. Based on these findings, we may reach the following objective conclusion. For Chinese native speakers (here referring to the university students), “intimacy” has a more affective impact on compliment behavior than “interest”. Students tend to proactively compliment their “intimacy” type professors.

Table 7 Percentage of Compliment strategies per Superior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prof. A</th>
<th>Prof. B</th>
<th>Prof. C</th>
<th>Prof. D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>About addressee</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About speaker</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About third person</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 shows Percentage of Compliment strategies per Superior. As shown in the table, strategy one “About addressee” is most likely to be used, averaging more than 80%. Therefore, we can conclude that for Chinese native speakers, a “direct compliment” is more widely used.

6. Discussion

Compared with non-intimacy Prof. C&D, the percentage of compliment expressions of the intimacy Prof. A&B accounted for more than 85%. It was found to be higher in per targets. Moreover, there is very little difference between Prof. A and Prof. B. If the relationship between the professor and the student is considered “intimacy”, “interest” will have little effect on the compliment behaviors. In contrast to the groups Prof. A and B, the
main factor in deciding the compliment behavior in groups Prof. C and D is “interest”. The study also shows that compared to “interest”, “intimacy” has greater influence on the compliment act for the superior. In other words, people tend to use more compliment language to the superiors with whom they have “intimacy” relationships than with those whom they have an “interest” relationship. In addition, the study shows that Prof. A, B, C and D received more compliments on their abilities than on their appearances. Therefore, we can conclude that native Chinese speakers tend to emphasize more on one’s ability, rather than appearance. This conclusion is also supported by Ye’s research (1995).

The results show the following: Firstly, compliments are given among Chinese even to superiors. Compliments ‘about addressee’ are selected frequently as a direct compliment strategy. Finally, compliments are given differently depending on ‘intimacy & interest’ relationships with superiors, the great majority of compliments being given to the superior who is the ‘intimacy’ category.

7. Conclusions and Implications

The paper discusses whether and how compliments can be made to people in higher social position (superiors). Compliments cannot be always used to whomever because they have evaluation in their basic meaning. In general, if the partner is superior to the speaker in Chinese society, the use of compliments is constrained or needs more attention. A question arises what kinds of constraints are there in using compliments to superior interlocutors? The present study has shown that compliments can be made to people in a higher social position in China. Moreover, ‘intimacy & interest’ constraints exist in giving compliments to superiors. As shown in the study intimacy in a relationship is more important than social status. Furthermore, it does not show gender difference in compliments to superiors. It is also showed that compliments can be given differently depending on both different types of relationships with superiors and different types of targets for compliments. For example, to the “intimacy & interest” type of superiors, “ability” is selected as target frequently.

Asian socio-culture convention, since ancient times, has always placed importance on hierarchical relationships, so the language of evaluating and commenting that are used with one’s superiors are restricted. These restrictions are reflected in Chinese Confucianism and honorific behavior in Japan and Korea. On the other hand, in western culture, the language usage between superiors and their subordinates are not as restricted, and casual compliments are not unusual. Nowadays, due to globalization, the influence of foreign cultures and languages has significantly affected the traditional Chinese language culture. Our research has proved that the usage of the compliment in modern Chinese has changed gradually due to the influence of western culture, which has caused the awareness of the superior-subordinate relationship to disappear. However, intimacy continues to be an important factor.
in constraining the interpersonal relationship. In terms of the target of the compliment, people tend to compliment on the ability rather than the appearance.

However, because the participants in the investigation are university students, ‘interest’ constraints are not obvious. Consequently, a study about how “interest” affects the compliment behavior should be conducted separately. Since the participants were university students, regional differences were not significant. Participants from specific regions were selected in order to explore whether regional difference might have an influence on compliments.

This study will hopefully promote more efficient teaching of Chinese language and culture, and also prevent potential misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication.

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REFERENCES


Yilin Yang
Kanazawa University
Japan
关于语言表达方式的问卷调查（中文版）

感谢您在忙碌的学业中能抽空填写本问卷，您的协助对我的研究非常的重要。这是一份纯学术性的问卷，主题是想了解一下大家在日常生活中对某些特定的语言表达持有怎样的印象。您填写的答案没有“对”与“错”之分，所以请根据您真实的想法作答。此外，本问卷仅供学术研究分析，绝不对外公开，并采用匿名方式填写。

首先，请写下您的年龄，性别，出生地，现在居住地及年数。
年 龄：_______ 周 岁 性 别： 男 ・ 女 出 生 地： _______ 现住地： _______ 年 数： _______

为了保持友好的师生关系，在下列场景中，您对这位40多岁的同性老师会采用什么样的语言表达方式。根据熟悉程度和利害关系，又具体分A、B、C、D四位老师：
A老师：每个周见2,3次面，经常轻松的进行交谈，并且现在正在上该老师的课。
B老师：每个周见2,3次面，经常轻松进行交流的老师，过去曾上过该老师的课。（现在不上）
C老师：每个周见1次面，不经常交谈，现在正在上该老师的课。
D老师：每个周见1次面，不经常交谈，过去曾经上过该老师的课（现在不上）。

对上述的4位老师，在以下4种场景中，您会怎样表达自己的想法。请想象该场景并写下您的真实想法。（如果是不能说或是不说的情况，请如实的写下[不能说]或是[不说]）。

场景1. 想表达老师的课很棒。

对 A老师：
对 B老师：
对 C老师：
对 D老师：

场景2. 想表达老师的拿的皮包很适合他/她。

对 A老师：
对 B老师：
对 C老师：
对 D老师：

场景3. 对老师的新发型的评价。

对 A老师：
对 B老师：
对 C老师：
对 D老师：

场景4. 你看到几位外国人在向老师问路，老师的专业并非英语，但是用很流利的英语为他们做了说明。对此你会怎样表达。

对 A老师：
对 B老师：
对 C老师：
对 D老师：

感谢您的协助！
Survey about the language usages (English)

First of all, I would like to thank you for taking time to answer this questionnaire. Your answer is very helpful to my research. This is an academic research questionnaire. The purpose of this questionnaire is to understand language usage in specific situations. There is no right or wrong answers. This questionnaire is for academic study only, so it will not be released to the public. Also, you do not need to disclose your name on the questionnaire.

Basic information:
Age: _____________ Gender: male / female Birth place: _____________
Current place of residence: ________ Years in current place of residence:___________

Background:
There are 4 professors, with whom you have different levels of interest and intimacy, as described below.

Prof. A: You meet with him/her two or three times a week. You often have casual conversations with him/her, and you are now taking his/her class.

Prof. B: You meet with him/her two or three times a week. You often have casual conversations with him/her, and you took his/her class before (you don’t take his/her class now).

Prof. C: You meet with him/her only once a week. You don’t usually have conversations with him/her, and you are now taking his/her class.

Prof. D: You meet with him/her only once a week. You don’t usually have conversations with him/her, and you took his/her class before (you don’t take his/her class now).

Based on the relationship you have with each professor, how would you express yourself verbally in the 4 scenarios below? Please write down your answers below. If you do not think you would express anything verbally, please write down “N/A”.

Scenario 1. How would you express to each professor about how excellence his/her lecture is?

To Prof. A :
To Prof. B :
To Prof. C :
To Prof. D :

Scenario 2. How would you express to each professor about how the bag is very suitable to him/her?

To Prof. A :
To Prof. B :
To Prof. C :
To Prof. D :

Scenario 3. How would you express to each professor about his/her new hairstyle?

To Prof. A :
To Prof. B :
To Prof. C :
To Prof. D :

Scenario 4. You saw some foreigners asking your professor for directions. Even though English is not your professor’s mother tongue, he/she gave the directions fluently in English. How do you express to each professor about his/her English ability?

To Prof. A :
To Prof. B :
To Prof. C :
To Prof. D :
How to Give an Opinion in Korean and Japanese: I think VS You think

Sumi Yoon
Kanazawa University

Abstract: This study examines the differences in the responsibility for understanding utterances between Japanese and Korean, especially when the speaker is giving an opinionated answer to a question posed by the listener. According to Hinds’ typology of languages on discourse level, Japanese and Korean are both considered listener-responsible languages (Hinds, 1987). However, in conversation, Yoon (2012) pointed out that Korean is a speaker-responsible language, while Japanese is a listener-responsible language since Korean speakers utter more semantic formulas compared to Japanese speakers to help listeners’ understand the utterances in apologies. The present study verifies the claim of Yoon (2012), and also defines the features of giving opinions in Korean and Japanese.

Keywords: Korean, Japanese, opinion discourse, speaker-responsible, listener-responsible.

1. Introduction

It has become a daily scene that Korean people and Japanese people meet each other especially after Korean TV dramas, pop music, idols, and stars started riding a wave of popularity in Japan: the Korean wave. It is well known that one of the reasons for the dramatic increase of Japanese learners of the Korean language since the early 2000s is the wave (Nam 2009). Therefore, it is expected that communicative misunderstandings will increase between Korean and Japanese people even though Japan and Korea share many similarities linguistically, culturally, geographically, economically, and historically. Indeed, many researchers, especially Korean and Japanese researchers, have been dealing with the differences in conversation styles between Korean and Japanese for the past two decades.

The purpose of this study is to show that there are different communication styles
in terms of responsibility for understanding utterances between Korean and Japanese in opinion discourse, in which Korean speakers utter their own opinion to an interlocutor clearly compared to Japanese speakers. In other words, Korean is a speaker-responsible language and Japanese is a listener-responsible language at the conversational level while giving opinions.

2. Previous Studies

Hinds (1987) claimed that languages can be categorized as reader/listener-responsible languages or writer/speaker-responsible languages, and pointed out that English is a writer/speaker-responsible language and Korean and Japanese are both reader/listener-responsible languages because of the similarity of writing patterns. However, Yoon (2012) criticized the Hinds’ theory in terms of his methods, terms, and simplistic typology of Korean without any experimental consideration.

In terms of responsibility for understanding utterances, Yoon (2012) pointed out that Korean and Japanese should be categorized separately by comparing request discourse between Korean and Japanese (Korean is a speaker-responsible language while Japanese is a listener-responsible language) even though both are categorized as listener-responsible languages(Hinds 1987). According to Yoon (2012), Korean speakers gave the listeners more information and uttered direct expressions which match the speech act request directly, compared to Japanese speakers to convey their intentions clearly in requests.

The speech act of giving an opinion is a discourse which is not only important but also delicate especially if the participants of the conversation have different cultural and language backgrounds. In other words, uttering one’s own opinion should be considered important in the field of intercultural communication because the degree of imposition changes depending on the language. However, little attention has been paid to the field of Korean and Japanese contrastive linguistics since it is easy to assume that there is less conflict between Korean and Japanese in communication because both languages are very similar.

With regard to the intercultural communication in terms of giving an opinion, there is some research which compared Japanese and English. Watanabe (1993) claimed that the frames (Gumperz 1982, Tennen 1993) of argument are different between Japanese and American speakers in a group discussion. According to Watanabe (1993), Japanese use the multiple accounting argumentation strategy that a speaker utter agreed and opposite opinions, while American speakers try to keep uttering the same opinion which is described as the single accounting argumentation strategy.

Ueda (2008) compared the differences in how opinions are expressed between Japanese and Americans. Ueda (2008) showed the differences in how Japanese and American speakers approach discussion with the figure shown below.
Due to conflicting and inconclusive research results, a closer examination of opinions uttered by Korean and Japanese speakers is needed to determine the responsibility for understanding of these utterances. Therefore, this study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. Is Korean a speaker-responsible language and Japanese a listener-responsible language?
2. How different are the ways that Korean and Japanese give opinions?

3. Methods

3.1. Participants

In the present study, 182 participants took a survey. Survey participants of this study were divided into two groups depending on their native languages: a Korean group and a Japanese group. The Korean group consisted of 71 Korean university students who lived in the capital sphere of Seoul. Forty-two were females and 29 were males. The number of Korean female university students was more than that of Korean male university students. However, female and male participants were analyzed separately, and the statistical analysis took those differences into account.

Their average age was 19.5 years old and ranged from 18 to 24 years old. Korean participants were requested to write how old they would be in Japan on the survey sheet because the way that age is calculated is different in Korea and Japan. Also, in Korea, men...
are enrolled in the military for about two years after they turn 18 years old, and many male university students enter military service after finishing their freshmen year. All the male Korean university participants of this group had not joined the military service yet to control for age variances. Being in the military for about two years may influence Korean males’ verbal communication. The Japanese group consisted of 101 Japanese university students who lived in the capital sphere of Tokyo. Forty-six were females and 55 were males. Their average age was 18.7 years old and ranged from 18 to 24 years old.

3.2. Design of Conversation Situations

The Discourse Completion Test (DCT) was conducted by the author to collect utterances from participants so that the way of giving an opinion between Korean and Japanese could be quantitatively compared. The author set up an original corresponding situation. The DCT was originally developed to compare the speech act realization of native and non-native Hebrew speakers. The test consists of scripted dialogues that represent a socially differentiated situation (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989:13). The merits of the DCT are that it is possible to gather a large amount of data and compare different languages objectively. The DCT, which is used in the present study has been translated from Korean and Japanese into English, and is shown below. The participants were asked in his/her native language to read and fill out the survey with what they felt would be a natural response to the prompt. The DCT was conducted in the classroom for Korean university students and Japanese university students, respectively.

Prompt:
You are shopping for clothing with your friend. Your friend can’t decide on the color (red or yellow) of the shirt which he (or she) is going to buy for him (or her) self. You think the red shirt looks better on your friend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friend: Which color do you like better?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You: ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend: Really? I think the yellow one is good too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You: ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend: Umm, I think so too. I am going to buy the red shirt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3. Results

All the results in the present study are expressed in percentage because the number of participants is different in each group. In addition to the statistical analysis, a two-way ANOVA was used to show whether or not there are significant differences in terms of utterances by informants depending on the informants’ language or gender. Also, the MCT (Multiple Comparison Test) was used if there was a significant difference of interaction using Ryan’s Method.

3.1. Keep insisting on opinions

Table 1 shows the rate of giving their own opinions in the first and second turn of Korean and Japanese.

**Table 1: The rate of giving opinions in the first and second turn by Korean and Japanese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turn 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>92.86</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>91.11</td>
<td>92.60</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>97.62</td>
<td>92.31</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>73.20</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no significant difference for giving their own opinions at the first turn between Korean and Japanese. More than 90% of speakers gave their own opinions to the interlocutors both in Korean and Japanese. It is noticeable that 100% of Koran female speakers tried to convey their honest opinion about the color of the shirt which their friends are going to wear. At the second turn, however, Koran speakers gave their own opinions significantly more than Japanese speakers. 97.6% of female and 92.3% of male speakers kept insisting on their own opinions at the second turn which are almost same as the rate of giving their own opinions at the first turn in Korean. However, only 73.2% of female and 60% of male speakers uttered their own opinions at the second turn in Japanese. In other words, Korean speakers tend to keep insisting on their own opinions to their interlocutors even if the interlocutors expresses different opinions. No significant difference was found between female and male speakers in both Korean and Japanese.

3.2. I think VS You think?

Table 2 shows the rate of use of “I think” and “You think” in the first turn in both Korean and Japanese to show what kind of sentences are used to convey the opinions of the
participants who gave their own opinions of the present study. The sentences were divided into two groups which can be translated into English “I think” and “You think” from Korean and Japanese, respectively. For example, answers to a friend’s question “Which color of shirt do you like better?”, the utterances “I think the red shirt is better.” or “The red shirt is better on you” joined the group “I think”. On the other hand, the utterances “Don’t you think the red shirt is better?” or “Is the red shirt better?” are categorized as the group “You think” in the first turn of the DCT.

As shown in table 2, the ANOVA revealed that both female and male Korean speakers used the type “I think” significantly more than Japanese speakers and Japanese speakers used the type “You think” significantly more than Korean speakers. For the “You think”, 31.7% of female and 36% of male speakers used this type of sentence in Japanese, while only 2.4 % female and 7.7 % of male Korean speakers used this type.

### Table 2: The rate of use sentence of “I think” and “You think” in the first turn by Korean and Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>Multiple Comparison Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I think</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>97.62</td>
<td>92.31</td>
<td>24.34*</td>
<td>Korean &gt; Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>68.29</td>
<td>64.00</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>You think?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>24.34*</td>
<td>Japanese &gt; Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>31.71</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.3. Persuade the interlocutor by uttering reasons

Table 3 indicates the rate that Korean and Japanese speakers uttered the reasons in the second turn, which supported their opinions.

### Table 3: The rate of uttering reasons at the second turn of Korean and Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>Multiple Comparison Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reason</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>68.29</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>9.10*</td>
<td>Korean &gt; Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in table 3, Korean speakers uttered the reasons why they think that the listeners have to choose the red shirt significantly more than Japanese speakers. About 68.3% of females and 75% of males uttered some reasons at the second turn in Korean. On the other hand, only 50% of females and 40% of males gave some reasons in Japanese. There is no significant difference in regards to gender in either Korean or Japanese.

4. Discussion

The results of this study indicate that Korean and Japanese have different features in regards to their conversational styles associated with uttering opinions, though there are similarities in language structure, grammar, honorific system and culture. Based on a comparison of both languages, Korean is a speaker-responsible language while Japanese is a listener-responsive language on the conversational level in opinions. The results of this study support the claims of Yoon (2012) who pointed out that Korean is a speaker-responsible language and Japanese is a listener-responsible language in requests because Korean speakers give more information to help the listeners’ understanding of the utterances and use direct sentences compared to Japanese speakers.

In terms of language behavior, the ANOVA revealed that Korean speakers continue to insist on their own opinions significantly more than Japanese speakers even after the listeners uttered opposite ideas. The types of utterances are different between Korean and Japanese when the interlocutor, a friend, said she or he thinks, “the yellow shirt is good too”, after the speakers said that, “the red shirt is good” as shown in the following example (1).

(1) Friend: Really? I think the yellow one is good too.
→ Korean: No, the red one is much better on you.
→ Japanese: You should choose the color that you like because you are gonna wear it.

In addition, the Korean speakers say “No” or “But” at first to clearly show that they have different ideas than the listeners in the example (1). However, the phenomena were not found in Japanese utterances.

In this study, the utterances of the first turn were divided into two types depending on the type of sentence to show how different the ways of giving opinions are between Korean and Japanese. The first type is the “I think” type which includes the utterances that giving their own opinions directly. The second type is the “You think” type which is framed as a question to the listeners as shown in the following example (2).

(2) Friend: Which color of shirt do you like better?
→ Korean: I think the red one is better.
→ Japanese: Don’t you think the red one is better?
More than 90% of Korean speakers used the “I think” type of sentence to convey their opinion to the interlocutors at the first turn while only about 66% of Japanese used the “I think” type. It is interesting that many Korean speakers tend to use the subject “I” in the answer even though it can be omitted in both Korean and Japanese. Using the word “I” as a subject seems similar with the American speakers in Ueda (2003) i.e., giving their opinions individually. It is also assumed that Korean speakers stress that the opinions are their own and show that of course the interlocutors who are going to wear the shirt could have different ideas and the ideas are important too. Japanese speakers, however, seem to consider giving opinions about the color of shirt, which their friends are going to wear more carefully by using interrogative sentences.

With regard to the ways of uttering an opinion, the results of Japanese participants are similar with the claim of Ueda (2008) that Japanese speakers do not give an opinion individually, but draw conclusions in cooperation with the group by agreeing with other peoples’ opinions and/or asking about their own opinions to other group members. In other words, the Japanese listeners had considerably more difficulty understanding the speakers’ real ideas or intentions.

Finally, the present study shows that the ways in which Korean speakers and Japanese speakers defend their opinions. Korean speakers uttered the reasons for their opinions significantly more than Japanese speakers as shown in this example (3).

(3) Friend: Really? I think the yellow one is good too.

➔Korean: No, the red one is much better on you. It will be easy to match the clothes you already have.

➔Japanese: You should choose the color that you like because you are gonna wear it. (No reasons are mentioned)

The ‘reason’ is information which helps the listeners understand the utterance. Lee (2003) compared the reputation behavior between Korean and Japanese and pointed out that Korean speakers utter reasons to persuade the interlocutor more than Japanese even if no the listener is older or younger than the speaker. It was also found that Korean speakers uttered reasons in requests more than Japanese (Yoon 2012).

5. Conclusion

This study investigated the differences in the ways that Korean and Japanese give an opinion associated with responsibility for the understanding of utterances. The utterances of both Korean and Japanese were analyzed to compare the behavior, sentence types, and the strategy of persuasion. The results provide evidence for the argument that there are
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difference between Korean and Japanese in terms of responsibility for the understanding of utterances in opinions. One possible explanation for the observed phenomena would be the different frame of the speech act, giving an opinion between Korean and Japanese. For further study directions, the findings of the present study indicate that large-scale replication studies are needed. Various opinion situations and interlocutors should be explored to provide more generalized comparisons between Korean and Japanese.

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Abstract: Studies on Chinese numeral classifiers, quantifiers or measure words were carried out predominantly in Mandarin or Cantonese. However, this paper aims to investigate the semantic and syntactic features of numeral classifiers/measure words in another dialectal Chinese, Shanghainese in order to find out whether classifier system in Shanghainese conforms to the prototype of Mandarin Chinese. The article provides the evidence of semantic and syntactic relation and variation between Shanghainese and Mandarin. It is argued that categorization of classifiers is based on human perception both in Shanghainese and Mandarin. In addition, the overriding “zhi” as general classifier is prominent in Shanghainese. Moreover, Shanghainese can syntactically license the omission of demonstrative pronouns within a CL-phrase in a sentence. Finally, evidence shows that Shanghainese classifiers can substitute “de”, a particle in Mandarin Chinese, when classifiers act as possessive particle.

Keywords: Classifiers, semantic and syntactic features, Mandarin, Shanghainese

1. Introduction

Classifiers are morphemes employed to imply the semantic classes of nouns or noun phrases (Alan, 1977). Tai & Wang (1990) put forth, “a classifier categorizes a class of nouns by picking out some salient perceptual properties” (p.38). Languages with numeral classifiers include Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Sino-Tibetan languages, Southeast Asian languages, etc. Two examples are shown as below (1).

(1) a. yi  ben  shu (Mandarin Chinese)
    one CL book
    ‘one book’

b. i  satsu  no  hon (Japanese)
    one CL PART book
    ‘one book’
Classifiers are an obligatory and outstanding linguistic feature in modern Chinese, which are associated with nouns/noun phrases (Gao, 2010; Wang, 2008). By and large, in Mandarin Chinese, a noun phrase with numeral modifiers would contain nominal classifiers.

As an obligatory linguistic category/marker in Chinese, classifiers generally cannot be omitted within a numeral noun phrase. Nevertheless, other languages like Japanese might not have an explicit classifier marker in a noun phrase.

(2) a. yi ge ren (Mandarin Chinese)
   one CL person
   ‘one person’

   b. hitori (Japanese)
   one person
   ‘one person’

Previous studies mainly focus on numeral classifiers in the aspect of semantic/syntactic features (Cheng and Sybesma, 1999, 2005; Yang, 2001; Wu, 2008) and pragmatic function (Li, 1998; Wu 2008). Tai (1994) puts that Chinese classifier system has considerable variation in different dialects of Chinese. Wang (2008) applauds that dialectal variants in Chinese will have an impact on the usage of classifiers. Research on Chinese classifiers predominantly copes with the issue in Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese or Southern Min dialect. Few studies systematically tackle the usage of classifiers/measure words in dialects of eastern regions in China (Wu dialects). Apparently, the dominate characteristics of classifiers in Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese cannot exclude specific syntactic and semantic features in other regional dialects. Thereupon, it is a breakthrough to look into the semantic and syntactic features of Shanghainese, a dominant dialect of Wu Chinese. It is indispensable for us to see if there are any overlooked semantic/syntactic patterns of classifiers from a regional dialect of Chinese.

2. Semantic features of classifiers in Shanghainese

2.1 Semantic classification based on human categorization

Greenberg (1977) points out that the semantic function of classifiers is to classify and quantify. This process of classification and quantification not only individuates a specific unit for objects, but also demonstrates a certain semantic classification to which the head nouns/noun
phrases belong (Yang, 2001). Moreover, Allan (1977) argues that classifiers can be divided into seven categories (material, shape, consistency, size, location, arrangement, quanta). Semantic implication will be demonstrated when a certain classifier is attached to a noun phrase. Tai (1994) puts forward that Chinese classifier systems are not arbitrary but organized by this internal and conceptual properties. For example, a frequent shape classifier “tiao” is often used in Mandarin Chinese (also known as “diɔ²³” in Shanghainese) in order to indicate “long-shaped” objects/creatures. (3)

Mandarin
(3) a. yi  tiao  yu
one  CL  fish
‘one fish’
b. yi  tiao  he
one  CL  river
‘one river’

Shanghainese
(3) c. iɪˀ⁵⁵  diɔ²³  zo²³
one  CL   snake
‘one snake’
d. iɪˀ⁵⁵  diɔ²³  bi²³dx²³
one  CL  quilt
‘one quilt’

Thus, from the data above, Mandarin Chinese and Shanghainese share the similar categorization or perception of numeral classifiers. For example, in the aspect of “long shape”, both of them use “tiao” and “gen”. And also, in the aspect of “roundness”, both of them use “ke” and “li”. Classifiers are interrelated with internal properties of noun/noun phrases in both Mandarin and Shanghainese.

2.2 Dominant usage of “zhi” as general classifier in Shanghainese

General classifier is a compelling issue in Chinese. Wang (2008) mentions that general classifiers could be employed when specific classifiers are not available. It is common to treat “ge” as general classifier in Chinese, which could index simply existent entities (Tai, 1994). (4)

Mandarin
(4) a. yi  ge  pingguo
one  CL  apple
‘one apple’
"ge" is certainly used as a general classifier in Mandarin and most dialects of Chinese. Nevertheless, in some dialects, "ge" is not the most popular general classifier. Wang (2008) puts forth that in southern Min (Haikou) dialect, the most prevailing general classifier is “mo” (“mei” in Mandarin). Some different objects are proceeded by the classifier “mei”, for instance, “ren” (person), “shan” (mountain), “ma” (horse), “niu” (cow), “yu” (fish), etc.

In Shanghainese, neither “ge” nor “mei” is the most dominate classifier. “ʦə[5]” (also known as “zhi” in Mandarin), which is a general classifier for animals in Mandarin Chinese, acts as the role of the general classifier of objects in Shanghainese. (5)

(5) a. yi zhang zui (Mandarin)
   ʦəˀ ʦɿ³ po⁵ (Shanghainese)
   one  CL mouth
   ‘one mouth’

b. yi tiao gou (Mandarin)
   ʦəˀ kɤ³ (Shanghainese)
   one  CL dog
   ‘one dog’

c. yi tou zhu (Mandarin)
   ʦəˀ ʦɿ lu²³ (Shanghainese)
   one  CL pig
   ‘one pig’

d. yi gen kuaizi (Mandarin)
   ʦəˀ kʰuɑ³ ʦɿ⁴ (Shanghainese)
   one  CL chopstick
   ‘one chopstick’

As is shown above, as opposed to the precise categorization of numeral classifiers in Mandarin Chinese, “ʦə[5]” plays a “sovereign” role in Shanghainese. Regardless of shape, height and size, “ʦə[5]” acts as the most prevailing classifier followed by various objects. “zui” (mouth), “gou” (dog), “chuang” (bed), “yizi” (chair), “niu/zhu” (cow/pig), each of which is proceeded by a specific classifier in Mandarin Chinese, however, are all bound with “ʦə[5]” in Shanghainese.

3. Syntactic features of classifiers in Shanghainese

3.1 Omission of demonstrative pronouns
Croft (1994) analyzes the numeral and classifier as one constituent to explore the syntactic behavior of Chinese classifiers. Wu (2009) argues, “Chinese classifiers are the syntactic markers of countability with which numerals are supposed to occur” (p.491). Yang (2001) collects the data to support that the numeral is optional in Mandarin Chinese when a demonstrative or a quantifier is present in a sentence. (6)

Mandarin

(6)a. Na (yi) tiao xianglian hen piaoliang.
That one-CL necklace very beautiful.
‘That necklace is very beautiful.’
b. Xiaoming gei le wo (yi) zhi qianbi.
Xiaoming gave-PRF me one-CL pencil.
‘Xiaoming gave me one pencil.’

Qian (1992) proposes that both a demonstrative/quantifier and numeral can be omitted in Shanghainese when the noun phrase is a single object. Classifiers not only function as tool to quantify and categorize, but also syntactically replace the function of demonstrative pronouns like “zhe” (this), “na/nei” (that). (7)

Shanghainese

(7) a. tsɿ⁵³ kʰɛ⁵³piɪˀ⁵⁵ lɔ²³ pʰiɔ³⁴liɑ̃²³.
CL pencil very beautiful.
‘This/that pencil is very beautiful.’
In Shanghainese, the head word starts with “classifier” in a sentence is permitted as illustrated in (7)a and (7)b. Nonetheless, in Mandarin, a sentence initiated by a classifier is syntactically inappropriate. Henceforth, in this context, a noun/noun phrase with classifier in Mandarin cannot exist without demonstrative or numeral quantifier while a demonstrative (this or that) could be omitted before a noun/noun phrase in Shanghainese at the beginning of a sentence.

3.2 Replacement of particle--possessive “de”

Classifiers in most languages, as mentioned before, take the role to categorize and quantify a certain object. However, classifiers could go beyond its boundary of classification to be a multifunctional syntactic marker in a sentential structure in Shanghainese. Syntactic model of Shanghainese (Wu dialects) was investigated by Zhao (1956) and Qian (1992). Classifiers in Shanghainese can syntactically replace the particle-possessive “de” (Zhao, 1956; Qian, 1992) (8), whereas Mandarin Chinese, in that case, syntactically blocks the diversified usage of numeral classifiers.
As examples are shown above, in Shanghainese, classifiers and possessive-de can be interchangeable when classifiers are preceded by possessive nouns/pronouns.

4. Further Discussion

First of all, classifiers are defined as morphemes to make semantic implication. In Chinese, human perception/categorization of classifiers was proposed from the cognitive view (Kuo & Sera, 2009; Tai & Wang, 1990; Tai, 1994). It is true that Mandarin Chinese shares some common features with other regional dialects including Shanghainese. For instance, the semantic features of classifiers in both Mandarin and Shanghainese follow the shape categorization of Tai (1994).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages/features of N/NP</th>
<th>Long-shape</th>
<th>flatness</th>
<th>roundness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin classifiers</td>
<td>tiao; gen</td>
<td>kuai, zhang, ba</td>
<td>li, ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghainese classifiers</td>
<td>tiao (phonetically “diɔ²³”); gen</td>
<td>kuai (phonetically “kʰuɛ³⁴”*)</td>
<td>li, ke (phonetically “kʰu⁵³”*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, there are overlapping usage of classifiers between Mandarin Chinese and Shanghainese. In addition, both of them share similar semantic implication about the internal properties (longness, flatness, or roundness) of the following nouns/noun phrases.
Second, some classifiers denoting specific features of adjacent noun/noun phrases in Mandarin are assimilated to a general classifier “ʦəˀ⁵⁵” (zhi) in Shanghainese. Usage of “ʦəˀ⁵⁵” in Shanghainese is prominent. Detailed examples are summed up as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>Shanghainese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yi zhang zui/zhuizi/chuang (one mouth/desk/bed)</td>
<td>yi- ʦəˀ⁵⁵ (zhi)+objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi tiao gou (one dog)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi zhi mao (one cat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi tou niu/zhu (one cow/pig)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi ba yizi (one chair)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi ge dianshiji/pingguo/boluo/xigua (one TV set/apple/pineapple/watermelon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi gen kuaizi (one chopstick)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, from the perspective of syntactic features, usage of classifiers in Shanghainese varies from that in Mandarin Chinese.
In the foregoing Venn diagram, omission in NP with classifiers is analyzed between Shanghainese and Mandarin Chinese. Licensing omission of demonstrative word (this, that) within CL-noun phrase in Shanghainese is the syntactic feature that Mandarin Chinese lacks. However, in Mandarin, the only element could be eliminated in a CL-noun phrase is a single numeral.

Finally, classifiers in Shanghainese take the role beyond the general feature of categorization and quantification and act as the particle (“de” possessive) in sentential structure of Shanghainese. Comparison between Mandarin and Shanghainese is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>Shanghainese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jiejie de shubao</td>
<td>tɕiʌ⁴ tɕiʌ⁴ tɕ⁵⁵ sɨ¹ pɔ⁵³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister DEP schoolbag</td>
<td>sister CL schoolbag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poss-DEP+N</th>
<th>Poss-DEP+N</th>
<th>Poss-CL+N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘sister’s schoolbag’</td>
<td>‘sister’s schoolbag’</td>
<td>‘sister’s schoolbag’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Closing Remarks

The function of classifiers in Shanghainese can be argued through the lenses of the semantic and syntactic features varied from those in Mandarin. In this paper, the evidence is provided to demonstrate the specific semantic and syntactic implication in Shanghainese. From the semantic perspective, classifiers in both Mandarin and Shanghainese are fundamentally based on human perception and categorization. Nevertheless, Shanghainese employs a general classifier “ʦɔ⁵⁵” to simplify some complicated and feature-based usage of classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. From the syntactic perspective, Shanghainese can license the omission of the demonstrative pronouns (like this, that) within CL-phrase and permit interchanging particle “de” with classifiers.

Regarding the analysis of this paper, we may find our paths to investigate Chinese dialectal variation in the usage of classifiers and establish linguistic analytical model or typological correlation about classifiers in Chinese dialects. In-depth analysis of dialectal variants and comparison studies in Chinese classifiers, however, are necessary to be carried out to explore specific dialectal relations and variations of classifiers.
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**ENDNOTES**

1 PART: Particle
2 “In archaic Chinese, or in colloquial, poetic and idiomatic expressions in Mandarin Chinese, classifiers may be omitted” (Yang, 2001, p.56)
3 Dialects are spoken in the area of municipality of Shanghai, Zhejiang Province, southern Jiangsu Province.
4 Nearly 14 million people are native speakers of Shanghainese.
5 All Shanghainese data are converted to IPA format.
6 PRF: Perfective Marker
7 “De” is a particle in Chinese. Generally it can act as the role of De-Modifier and De-Possessive.
   De-Modifier: meili de nühai (Mandarin)       De-Possessive: Yuehan de gege (Mandarin)
   beautiful DEM girl                                                John DEP older brother
   ‘beautiful girl’                                                        ‘John’s older brother’
8 Liu (2008) provide evidence/data to demonstrate semantic and syntactic difference of classifiers among Mandarin, Cantonese and Taiwanese.

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The Complement Constructions of Resultative V-de and Extent V-dao in Mandarin Chinese

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Abstract: This paper offers a uniform syntactic analysis in the complement constructions of Chinese resultative V-de and extent V-dao. Following Huang’s (1997) Lexical Decompositional Theory and Lin’s (2001) Light Verb Approach, I propose that resultative V-de and extent V-dao have different decompositional structures. Resultative de represents [BECOME], and extent dao represents [TO]. This difference results in distinctions of their complement constructions, semantic interpretations and selection restrictions on V1 and complement. Moreover, their aspectual properties display the bounded-range and degree-equality relations. Finally, the light verb analysis brings implications on the theory of Chinese argument structure.

Keywords: Resultative V-de, extent V-dao, light verb, lexical decomposition.

1. Introduction


(1) a. Lisi pao de/dao hen lei le.
   Lisi run DE/DAO very tired CRS
   ‘Lisi ran so much that he became tired.’
   ‘Lisi ran to the extent that he was very tired.’
b. Lisi ku de/dao shoupai dou shi le.
Lisi cry DE/DAO handkerchief all wet CRS
‘Lisi cried the handkerchief wet.’
‘Lisi cried to the extent that the handkerchief was wet.’

This alternation is explained by Chao (1968) and A. Li (1990) that V-de is a phonologically reduced form of V-dao, or by Liu (2006) that V-de diachronically replaces V-dao, or by Wang (2008) that semantically both de and dao are properly licensed in the environment where the degree of the V-de or V-dao phrase is equal to the referential degree determined in the context.

In addition, syntactically, Huang (1988, 1992) claims that V-de act as an intransitive predicate with a subject-control relation between the subject Lisi and the Pro², as in (2a), or a transitive predicate with an object-control relation between the object shoupai ‘handkerchief’ and the Pro, as in (2b). Moreover, Lin (2001) and N. Zhang (2001) propose that de is a light verb and takes a result clause (RC), as in (2). Also, Huang (2006) indicates that de represents the light verbs [BECOME] and [CAUSE], paraphrased as bian-de ‘become’ and shi-de ‘cause’, respectively, as in (2).

(2) a. Lisii pao de (BECOME) [RC Proi hen lei le].
Lisi run DE very tired CRS
‘Lisi ran so much that he became tired.’

b. Lisi [ku de (CAUSE)]j [VP shoupai [V’ tj (BECOME) [RC Proi dou shi le]].
Lisi cry DE handkerchief all wet CRS
‘Lisi cried the handkerchief wet.’

Nonetheless, the syntactic identity of the RC in (2) is not clear. On the other hand, the complement structure of extent V-dao is not mentioned before. Therefore, three research questions arise. Firstly, what are the complement constructions of resultative V-de and extent V-dao? Secondly, how do we derive their syntactic structures via a unified approach? Thirdly, how do we explain their distributional differences and alternation phenomena in some examples under our analysis?

To answer these questions, in Section 2, I review literatures to describe their distributions and properties. In Section 3, I compare them in terms of syntax and semantics. In Section 4, I combine Huang’s (1997) Lexical Decomposition Theory with Lin’s (2001) Light Verb Approach to resultative V-de and extent V-dao constructions. Both of them are decomposed into a verbal root and several light verbs. The verbal root is raised to be incorporated into light verbs to license complements. Next, this verb combines with the light verb de [BECOME] or the light verb dao [TO] to specify the aspectual property “become a resultant state” or “reach to a certain point”, respectively. Finally, both V-de and V-dao are incorporated into a subject-selecting
light verb to take a subject. Under this analysis, I explicate the properties and comparisons of resultative V-de and extent V-dao. In Section 5, I extend this analysis to morpho-syntactic V-de and V-dao constructions. In Section 6, I conclude this paper and indicate some implications on the theory of argument structure and the typology of Chinese language.

2. Literature Review

Early linguistics such as Chao (1968) and A. Li (1990) consider resultative V-de is a phonologically weakening form of extent V-dao, as shown in (3).

(3) Wo zhan de/dao tui shuan.
    I stand DE/DAO leg sore
    ‘I stood (so long) that the legs are sore.’

Moreover, Liu (2006) indicates that extent V-dao can alternate with resultative V-de in some diachronic examples, as in (4), and that the former implicates the degree ruci shenyuan ‘the very profound degree’ of the result which the action shuo ‘say’ reaches to and the latter describes the state or degree.

(4) …shuo de/dao ruci shenyuan, … (Zhu-zi Yu Lei, vol. 32)
    say DE/DAO very profound
    ‘say something to the very profound degree’

Liu (2006) concludes that V-de and V-dao have similar meanings and that V-de is more widely used than V-dao.

The organization of this section is as follows. Section 2.1 defines resultative V-de construction based on Huang (1988) and reviews its researches, such as Control Structure Analysis (Huang 1992), Small Clause Analysis (Sybesma 1999) and Bi-clausal Analysis (Wang 2010). Since no previous syntactic researches analyze extent V-dao construction, I will apply these three analyses to it. Section 2.2 defines extent V-dao construction based on Lü (1980) and introduces its studies, including Lexical Conceptual Structure Analysis (Chen 2003), Cognitive Analysis (Hsieh 2007) and Lexical Semantic Analysis (Wang 2008). Section 2.3 summarizes these two parts to list the properties of resultative V-de and extent V-dao.

2.1 Previous Researches on Resultative V-de Construction

According to Huang (1988), resultative V-de construction contains a main verb and a secondary predicate composed of resultative de and a RC. The resultative de acts as an adverbal modifier and is suffixed to V1 tiao ‘jump’ to introduce the RC Pro hen lei ‘very tired’, as in (5a), or it acts as a complementizer (Comp) and is attached to ku ‘cry’ to elicit the RC shoupa dou shi le ‘the handkerchief even got wet’, as in (5b).
(5) a. Zhangsan [v tiao de [RC Pro hen lei]].
   Zhangsan jump DE very tired
   ‘Zhangsan jumped till he got tired.’

   b. Zhangsan [v ku de [RC shoupa dou shi le]].
   Zhangsan cry DE handkerchief all wet CRS
   ‘Zhangsan cried so much that even the handkerchief got wet.’

2.1.1 Huang’s (1992) Control Structure Analysis

Huang (1992) further indicates (5a, b) as Control structures. In their deep structures, V selects and theta-marks the RC as result or goal and VP compositionally theta-marks the subject Zhangsan as Agent. However, (6b) differs from (6a) in that the V’ compositionally selects and theta-marks the external object shoupa ‘handkerchief’ as Patient or Theme. This difference shows that the complex predicate in the subject-control sentence (6a) is intransitive, whereas it is transitive in the object-control sentence (6b). Besides, the Control relation follows Rosenbaum’s (1970) Minimal Distance Principle (MDP). According to the MDP, the subject Zhangsan in (6a) controls the Pro of the RC, while in (6b) the external object shoupa ‘handkerchief’ controls the Pro of the RC.
Furthermore, the verb *ku-de* ‘cry-DE’ undergoes head-movement to the left of the external object *shoupa* ‘handkerchief’ and case-marks it, as in (7).

(7) Zhangsan [ku-de] [vp shoupa] [v' t] [RC Proi dou shi le]].

Zhangsan cry-de handkerchief all wet CRS
‘Zhangsan cried so much that even the handkerchief got wet.’

I agree that the SP hypothesis, the Control relation and the verb movement derivation are involved in resultative V-de construction (see more discussion in Huang 1988, 1992). However, the syntactic category of de is not discussed in detail. Also, the phrasal category of RC is not determined. I will adopt Huang (1997) and Lin (2001) to deal with these two questions in Section 4.

Now, I turn to extent V-dao construction, as exemplified in (8) and (9). It seems that the alternation between V-de and V-dao is plausible and that they share the same properties, such as the SP hypothesis, Control structures, and verb movement.

(8) Zhangsan tiao dao [cl Proi hen lei].

Zhangsan jump DAO very tired
‘Zhangsan jumped to the extent that he was tired.’

(9) Zhangsan ku dao [cl shoupa dou shi le].

Zhangsan cry DAO handkerchief all wet CRS
‘Zhangsan cried to the extent that even the handkerchief got wet.’

Nevertheless, in (9), the Control relation does not exist. Its deep structure is (10b) instead of (10a). This claim can be supported by the replacement of the NP *zhe zhong dibu* ‘this extent’, as shown in (11).

(10) a. *DS: Zhangsan [VP shoupai [V’ ku dao [CL Proi dou shi le]].

Zhangsan handkerchief cry DAO all wet CRS

b. DS: Zhangsan ku dao [CL shoupa dou shi le].

Zhangsan cry DAO handkerchief all wet CRS

(11) Zhangsan (juran) ku dao [NP zhe zhong dibu].

Zhangsan unexpectedly cry DAO this kind extent
‘Unexpectedly, Zhangsan cried to this extent.’

The substitution shows that the clause (CL) of V-dao is a complete unit and further indicates that Zhangsan is the embedded subject of the RC rather than the matrix object. Thus, Control relation is involved in (8), but not in (9). Some tune-up is needed to illustrate such a disparity.
2.1.2 Sybesma’s (1999) Small Clause Analysis

Sybesma (1999) provides the underlying structures of “non-locative resultatives”, as shown in (12-14). They are transitive degree form with a matrix subject, intransitive degree form without it, and causative degree form with a Causer.

(12) a. Lisi ku de shoujuan shi le.
Lisi cry DE handkerchief wet CRS
‘Lisi cried such that the handkerchief became wet.’

b. Transitive degree structure
Lisi [VP ku [ExtP de [SC shoujuan shi le]]]

(13) a. Lisi leng de fadou le.
Lisi cold DE shiver CRS
‘Lisi shivered with cold.’

b. Intransitive degree structure
e [VP leng [ExtP de [SC Lisi fadou le]]]

(14) a. Zhe ping jiu zui de Lisi zhan-bu-qi-lai.
this CL wine drunk DE Lisi not-able-to-stand-up
‘This bottle of wine got Lisi so drunk that he could not stand up.’

b. Causative degree structure
Zhe ping jiu CAUSE [VP zui [ExtP de [SC Lisi zhan-bu-qi-lai]]]

In (12-14), de is an extent marker rather than a result marker, functioning as a telic marker and heading the extent phrase (ExtP). Semantically, its insertion does not affect the original meaning, but its projection ExtP closes off the unbounded range of the degree of the matrix predicate. Syntactically, the ExtP is a SC structure composed of the embedded subject NP and the predicate XP.

I believe that resultative de functions as a telic marker to delimit the degree of the unbounded-range predicate. Yet, its following CL may not be a SC. In (15), since the NP yanjing ‘eyes’ can be moved into a topic position located in a CP layer (Tsai 2010), the CL is a CP.

(15) Lisi lei de/dao [CP yanjing_1 Pro,j zhang-bu-kai tj].
Lisi tired DE/DAO eyes cannot open
‘Lisi was so tired that he could not open his eyes.’

Turning to extent V-dao, I replace V-de in (12-14) by V-dao in (16-18). The replacement shows that all extent V-dao sentences are grammatical and may be a transitive, intransitive and
causative degree structures. Besides, they have boundedness function like resultative V-de. This property will be discussed later. Last but not least, their clausal complements are CPs rather than SCs, as evidenced in (15).

(16) Lisi ku **da**o shoujuan shi  le.
    Lisi cry DAO handkerchief wet CRS
    ‘Lisi cried to the extent that the handkerchief became wet.’

(17) Lisi leng **da**o fadou le.
    Lisi cold DAO shiver CRS
    ‘Lisi felt cold to the extent that he shivered.’

(18) Zhe ping jiu zui **da**o Lisi zhan-bu-qi-lai.
    this CL wine drunk DAO Lisi not-able-to-stand-up
    ‘This bottle of wine got Lisi drunk to the extent that he could not stand up.’

2.1.3 Wang’s (2010) Bi-clausal Analysis

Wang (2010) argues that phrasal resultatives involve the Comp de and have bi-clausal structures. For example, in (19), the main verb da ‘hit’ takes the CP de zhanglang si le ‘cockroach died’. In (20), the unergative verb si ‘die’ is first moved from V to v. Since it cannot assigns Case to the NP zhanglang ‘cockroach’, the NP rises to the SpecIP position for Case assignment. Next, de is a Comp and introduces the IP composed of the embedded subject zhanglang ‘cockroach’ and the verb si ‘die’. Finally, its CP projection merges with the matrix verb da ‘hit’.

(19) Lisi da [cp [c de] zhanglang si le].
    Lisi hit DE cockroach die CRS
    ‘Lisi hit the cockroach (and as a result) it was dead.’

(20) ... V’
    V
da
    CP
    C
    de
    NP
    zhanglang
    I
    vP
    v
    si
    I’
    vP
    VP
    V’
The existence of the CP projection headed is proved by de through the coordination test. In (21), the connective word *erqie* ‘and’ does not coordinate two CPs but two IPs. Likewise, in (22), the embedded clausal complement with de is also excluded but is accepted if it involves no de. Thus, de is a Comp and introduces an IP.

(21) a. *[[CP Lisi xihuan Ahua ma] erqie [CP Zhangsan taoyan Amei ma]]?*
   Lisi like Ahua Q and Zhangsan hate Amei Q

   b. [[IP Lisi xihuan Ahua] erqie [IP Zhangsan taoyan Amei]] ma?
   Lisi like Ahua and Zhangsan hate Amei Q
   ‘Did Lisi like Ahua and did Zhangsan hate Amei?’

(22) a. *Lisi da [[CP de zhanglang si le] erqie [CP de chong ye si le]].*
   Lisi hit DE cockroach die CRS and DE bug also die CRS

   b. Lisi da [IP zhanglang si le] erqie [IP chong ye si le]].
   Lisi hit DE cockroach die CRS and bug also die CRS
   ‘Lisi hit (so that) the cockroach was dead and the bug was also dead.’

Furthermore, he argues that the postverbal argument is the embedded subject instead of the matrix object via the four pieces of evidence. Here I only illustrate one of them – focus sequence *lian … dou* ‘even also’. In (23a), Gu and Pan (2001) argues that *lian … dou* ‘even also’ cannot modify the postverbal object *na ben shu* ‘that book’, and thus (23a) is ungrammatical. In contrast, (23b) is grammatical because it modifies the embedded subject NP *na zhi da laoshu* ‘that big rat’.

   Lisi buy PFV even that Cl book also
   Intended: ‘Lisi bought even THAT BOOK.’

   b. Lisi da [CP de lian [NP na zhi da laoshu] dou si le].
   Lisi hit DE even that Cl big rat also die CRS
   ‘Lisi hit that big rat (and as a result) even that big rat was dead.’

I abide by Wang (2010) to indicate that resultative V-de is a bi-clausal structure whose embedded CL is a CP and whose postverbal argument is an embedded subject. Nonetheless, de may not be a Comp because it is impossible for verbs, such as da ‘hit’, to select a CP as its argument. Besides, the ungrammaticality of (22a) does not result from the conjunction constituent but result from the bound morpheme de. It must be attached to a verb adjacently, as in (22b). Therefore, we do not consider de to be a Comp but belong to other categories, as discussed in Section 3.

I apply the Bi-clausal Analysis to V-dao construction. The NP *na zhu da laoshu* ‘that big
rat’ following da-dao ‘hit-DAO’ is the embedded subject rather than the matrix object because it can be modified by the focus sequence lian … dou ‘even also’, as in (24).

(24) Lisi da **dao** lian [\_[NP na zhi da laoshu] dou si le].
Lisi hit DAO even that CL big rat also die CRS
‘Lisi hit that big rat to the extent that even that big rat was dead.’

However, there are four questions with respect to the Bi-clausal Analysis in V-dao construction. Firstly, **dao** cannot be viewed as a Comp because it can introduce the relativized NP **wufa kongzhi de dibu** ‘the extent of being out of control’ as its complement, as in (25).

(25) Bingqing yi jing yanzhong **dao** [\_[NP \_[CP Proi wufa kongzhi] de dibu]].
illness already serious DAO can’t control NOM degree
‘Illness has already been serious to the extent of being out of control.’

Secondly, it is argued that not **dao** but V-dao takes the clausal and NP complements, as captured by the conjunction **erqie** ‘and’ test in (26).

(26) a. Lisi [[\_[VP da **dao** zhanglang si le] erqie \_[VP da **dao** chong ye si le]].
Lisi hit DAO cockroach die CRS and hit DAO bug also die CRS
‘Lisi hit to the extent that the cockroach was dead and the bug was also dead.’

b. *Lisi da [[\_[VP **dao** zhanglang si le] erqie \_[VP da **dao** chong ye si le]].
Lisi hit DAO cockroach die CRS and DAO bug also die CRS
‘Lisi hit to the extent that the cockroach was dead and the bug was also dead.’

c. Lisi da **dao** [[\_[CL zhanglang si le] erqie \_[CL chong ye si le]].
Lisi hit DAO cockroach die CRS and bug also die CRS
‘Lisi hit to the extent that the cockroach was dead and the bug was also dead.’

In (26a, b), da-dao ‘hit-DAO’ instead of **dao** can elicit the clausal complements zhanglang si le ‘the cockroach died’ and chong ye si le ‘the bug also died’, and thus (26a) is grammatical while (26b) is not. Thirdly, **dao** form a constituent with the matrix verb rather than the complement, as compared in (26b) and (26c). Finally, in (26c), V-dao takes a CP as its complement, as evidenced in (15). Therefore, the Bi-clausal Analysis is partly adequate for V-dao construction because the NP following V-dao is the embedded subject but **dao** is not a Comp and does not take its complement to form a constituent.

### 2.2 Previous Studies on Extent V-dao Construction

Lü (1980) sorts V-dao construction into four types by meaning and category of its complement. The complement conveys location, time, thing and extent, and is categorized as an NP or a SC. We only exemplify extent V-dao, as in (27).
(27) a. Shiqing yijing fazhan dao [n_p shifeng yanzhong de dibu].
   thing already develop DAO very serious NOM degree
   ‘The thing has already developed to the very serious degree.’
   b. Lisi lei dao [sc zheng-bu-kai yanjing].
   Lisi tired DAO can-not-open eyes
   ‘Lisi was tired to the extent that he could not open his eyes.’

2.2.1 Chen’s (2003) Lexical Conceptual Structure Analysis

Chen (2003) classifies V-dao sentences into four groups based on the trait of V1. We only concentrate on extent V-dao construction, as illustrated in (28). It is exemplified in (29), which involves the state verb leng ‘cold’ and denotes the degree of coldness as shi du yixia ‘under the ten degree’.

(28) V1 involves state verbs (e.g. mang ‘busy’ and leng ‘cold’) or psyche verbs (ai ‘love’ and hen ‘hate’). V-dao takes an extent complement to indicate that a state or an action reaches to a certain degree.

(29) Danshui de dongtian hui leng dao shi du yixia.
   Danshui GEN winter will cold DAO ten Cl under
   ‘It will be cold under the ten degree in the winter of Danshui.’

Chen (2003) adopts the lexical conceptual structure (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) to describe the example in (29), as in the template (30). It conveys that an entity x moves along a path and becomes to be at a state.

(30) [x MOVE [BECOME x [ BE AT-y]]]
   {pao ‘run’/deng ‘wait’/ai ‘love’} dao
   x = Entity; y = State

I think that Chen (2003) clearly indicates the type of V1 in extent V-dao construction and the meaning composition of extent V-dao construction. However, he does not mention how an extent complement can be categorized into an NP or a CL, as in (27a) and (27b), respectively. Thus, we will select another approach to explaining the semantic composition and its equivalent syntactic structure.

2.2.2 Hsieh’s (2007) Cognitive Analysis

Hsieh (2007) unifies Poteet’s (1987) four classes of dao via pragmatic inferencing mechanisms, i.e. metaphor and metonymy (Traugott 1988). Here we do not discuss these two mechanisms in detail and all of four classes, but merely observe extent V-dao forms. In (31), dao is an extent marker to profile the extent of the action kan ‘watch’ and the state chou ‘ugly’, and metaphorically conceptualizes its path as a linear scale of positive or negative quality on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) concept “LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS”.

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(31) a. Wo kan **dao** shui zhao.
I watch DAO sleep ASP
‘I watched and eventually fell asleep.’

b. Wo chou **dao** mei ren yao.
I ugly DAO no people want
‘I am so ugly that nobody wants (me).’

I find that dao in (31) possesses the basic meaning “the action or state reaches to some point” based on Hsieh (2007) and Liu (2007). In (31a), the action kan ‘watch’ reaches to the degree shui zhao ‘fell asleep’, and in (31b), the state “ugliness” reaches to the degree mei ren yao ‘nobody wants’. This manifests that V-dao forms with an action or state verb share a basic property – “reach to some point”.

2.2.3 Wang’s (2008) Lexical Semantic Analysis

Wang (2008) distinguishes two types of resultative particles – de and dao – in semantics via following von Stechow’s (2006) assumption that “various measure functions can map an event onto a scale as some degree.” He (2008: 71) provides their semantics in (32) to define dx as the degree of the resultative predicate onto the contextual scale and ds as the contextually determined standard degree.

(32) Resultative de and dao are licensed under the circumstance in which there are two eventualities linked with a causal relation where the predicate of the result plays as a measure function that maps the degree of the result onto the scale as dx by a homogeneous analogy. When the value of the dx is at least as mush as the referential degree ds (i.e., dx ≥ ds), the use of resultative de is licensed. When the value of the dx is exactly as much as the referential degree ds (i.e., dx = ds), the use of resultative dao is licensed.

He exemplifies their semantic distinction in (33). In (33a), the degree dx of the flying height is equal to the standard degree ds, so both resultative de and dao are used in the environment. By contrast, in (33b), the degree dx of the flying height is higher than the standard degree ds, so only resultative de is used in such an environment.

(33) a. Lisi neng fei **de/**dao he laoying yiyang gao.     (dx = ds)
Lisi can fly DE/DAO as eagle identical high
‘Lisi can fly as high as an eagle.’

b. Lisi neng fei **de/**dao bi laoying gao.     (dx > ds)
Lisi can fly DE/DAO compare eagle high
‘Lisi can fly higher than an eagle.’
I argue with Wang (2008) that the resultative de allows $dx$ to exceed or be equal to $ds$ while the resultative dao must require $dx$ to be equivalent to $ds$. The latter can be further proved by the comparison of extent V-dao sentences with an NP, as in (34).

(34) a. Lisi bing dao $[_{np}\text{hen yanzhong de dibu}].$
Lisi sick DAO very serious NOM degree
‘Lisi was sick to the very serious degree.’

b. *Lisi bing dao $[_{np}\text{chaochu hen yanzhong de dibu}].$
Lisi sick DAO over very serious NOM degree
Intended: ‘Lisi was sick over the very serious degree.’

In (34a), the specific degree $dx$ ‘hen yanzhong de dibu’ ‘the very serious degree’ of the state bing ‘sick’ is equal to the referential degree $ds$, so the sentence is accepted. By comparison, in (34b), $dx$ ‘chaochu hen yanzhong de dibu’ ‘over the very serious degree’ is more than $ds$, and thus the sentence is ruled out. However, the name “resultative” for dao may not be suitable since it does not always occur with a resultative complement but with the extent complement $bu-xing$ ‘to the extreme’, as in (35).

(35) Zhe zhang zhuozi zang dao $bu-xing.$
This Cl table dirty DAO not-permit
‘This table was dirty to the extreme.’

Furthermore, resultative particle does not belong to any general category of UG but acts as a special identity. Hence, we give up this name but call V-dao sentences in this paper extent V-dao. The difference between result and extent and the categorial status of de and dao will be illustrated in Section 3.

2.3 Summary

After we reviewed literatures with respect to resultative V-de and extent V-dao, we generalize several properties in terms of morphological, syntactic and semantic viewpoints, as in (36-38), respectively.

(36) Morphological characteristics
a. Both resultative de and extent dao cannot stand alone. Rather, they are attached to the matrix verb as a constituent.

b. Both resultative de and extent dao can be attached to action and state verbs.

c. Both resultative de and extent dao are not an extent marker, a Comp or a resultative particle.

(37) Syntactic characteristics
a. Both resultative V-de and extent V-dao take a CP rather than a SC as its complement, but only extent V-dao can take an NP complement.
b. Both resultative V-

-de and extent V-

-dao constructions with a CP complement follow the SP hypothesis.

c. Both resultative V-

-de and extent V-

-dao have Control and Causative structures. For Control structures, they obey the MDP, but V-

-dao neither has an object-control structure nor has the external object. For Causative structures, they involve verb movement to [CAUSE] to license a Causer.

d. Both resultative V-de and extent V-dao sentences can be a transitive, intransitive or causative degree structure.

(38) Semantic characteristics
a. Resultative V-

-de construction specifies ‘become a resultant state’ and extent V-

-dao construction specifies ‘reach to a certain extent’.

b. Both resultative V-

-de and extent V-

-dao phrases comply with the boundedness constraint.

c. Resultative de is licensed in the environment where the degree of the resultative predicate is equal to or more than the referential degree, while extent dao is licensed in the environment where the degree of the extent predicate is equivalent to the referential degree.

3. Comparison between Resultative V-de and Extent V-dao Constructions

We not only delve into their characteristics based on literatures but also compare resultative V-de with extent V-dao to observe their similarities and differences in terms of syntactic and semantic aspects. Firstly, we examine their constituents, as shown in (39). Both xiao-

-de ‘laugh-

-DE’ and xiao-

-dao ‘laugh-DAO’ disallow the intervention of the perfective aspect marker le because they are constituents. Specifically, de is a bound morpheme and is merged with V1 (Huang 1988, 1992, Lin 2001, Lim 2005, Shen and Ting 2008, etc.), so is dao.

(39) Lisi  xiao (*le) de / dao  duzi  teng.

‘Lisi laughed so much that his stomach ached.’
‘Lisi laughed to the extent that his stomach ached.’

Secondly, according to Sybesma (1999), resultative de is attached to an open-range predicate, such as zui ‘drunk’, rather than a stative predicate, such as zhidao ‘know’, as shown in (40). This boundedness property for V1 is also respected by extent dao.

(40) a. Zhe ping jiu   zui  de / dao  Lisi  zhan-bu-qi-lai.

‘This bottle of wine got Lisi so drunk that he could not stand up.’
‘This bottle of wine got Lisi drunk to the extent that he could not stand up.’
b. *Ta zhidao de/dao wo zhen peifu ta.
   He know DE/DAO I really admire him
   Intended: ‘He knows such that I really admire him.’

Thirdly, extent V-dao is different from resultative V-de in terms of c-selection and s-selection. The former can c-select a CP and NP in (41) while the latter only c-selects a CP in (42). In addition, extent V-dao can s-select an extent or result complement, whereas resultative V-de only s-selects the latter, as shown in (43) and (44), respectively.

(41) Bingqing yijing yanzhong dao [NP [CP Pro1 wufa kongzhi] de dibu].
   illness already serious DAO can’t control NOM degree
   ‘Illness has already been serious to the extent of being out of control.’

(42) a. Bingqing yijing yanzhong de [CP Pro1 wufa kongzhi].
   illness already serious DE can’t control
   ‘Illness has already become serious to being out of control.’

b. *Bingqing yijing yanzhong de [NP [CP Pro1 wufa kongzhi] de dibu].
   illness already serious DE can’t control NOM degree
   ‘Illness has already become serious to being out of control.’

(43) a. Lisi xiao dao duzi teng.
   Lisi laugh DAO stomach ache
   ‘Lisi laughed to the extent that his stomach ached.’

b. Lisi kao dao neng mo-dao tianhuaban.
   Lisi tall DAO can touch-arrive ceiling
   ‘Lisi is tall to the extent that he can touch the ceiling.’

(44) a. Lisi xiao de duzi teng.
   Lisi laugh DE stomach ache
   ‘Lisi laughed so much that his stomach ached.’

b. *Lisi kao de neng mo-dao tianhuaban.
   Lisi tall DE can touch-arrive ceiling

Fourthly, both extent V-dao and resultative V-de involve a Control or Causative relation. In (45), the matrix subjects Lisi or xijun ‘bacteria’ control the embedded subject or object Pro. In (46), they express the causative meanings in which Lisi’s crying makes me not to sleep all night. Besides, Huang (1992, 2006) argues that the NP wo ‘I’ of V-de in (46) is the external object in the Spec,VP and thus the sentence is an object-control structure, and I argue that the NP wo ‘I’ of V-dao in (46) is the embedded subject and no Control relation is involved, as evidenced in Section 2.1.1.
(45) a. Lisi ku $\text{dao/de}$ [Pro₁ yizheng wan dou mei shui].
Lisi cry DAO/DE whole night all not sleep
‘Lisi cried to the extent that he did not sleep all night.’
‘Lisi cried so much that he did not sleep all night.’

b. Xijun xiao $\text{dao/de}$ [lian ren dou kan-bu-jian Pro₁].
bacteria small DAO/DE even people also can-not-see
‘Bacteria are small to the extent that even people can not see them.’
‘Bacteria are so small that even people can not see them.’

(46) Lisi ku $\text{dao/de}$ [wo yizheng wan dou mei shui].
Lisi cry DAO/DE I whole night all not sleep
‘Lisi cried to the extent that I did not sleep all night.’
‘Lisi cried so much that I did not sleep all night.’

Fifthly, the two meanings “cause to become a result” and “become a result” are necessary for resultative $V$-$\text{de}$, but not for extent $V$-$\text{dao}$. In (47a), there is no such two meanings between the adjective ganjing ‘clear’ and the following complement, so $V$-$\text{de}$ is prohibited (Huang 2006: 18). In contrast, it can occur in (47b) because the action $\text{ca} ‘\text{wipe}’$ brings about the change of state from an original state to the new state shan-shan-fa-liang ‘shining’. On the contrary, $V$-$\text{dao}$ has no such requirement, so its use is possible in (47a) and (47b).

(47) a. Zhe zhang zhuozi kanjing *$\text{de/dao}$ [CP Pro₁ shan-shan-fa-liang].
this Cl table clean DE/DAO shining
‘This table was clean to the extent of shining.’

b. Zhe zhang zhuozi ca $\text{de/dao}$ [CP Pro₁ shan-shan-fa-liang].
this Cl table wipe DE/DAO shining
‘This table was wiped so much that it was shining.’
‘This table was wiped to the extent of shining.’

Therefore, resultative $V$-$\text{de}$ may convey result or degree meanings, but its degree meaning must involve the two senses “cause to become a result” or “become a result”. The result sense requires it to take a resultant state. However, although extent $V$-$\text{dao}$ may express result or degree meanings, its degree meaning does not necessarily include these two senses. Yet, its degree meaning requires it to take a complement with a certain degree instead of an unlimited degree, as in (48). According to Wang (2008), $\text{dao}$ requires the predicate degree $dx$ is equal to the contextual degree $ds$ of V1, whereas $\text{de}$ requires $dx$ to be at least as much as $ds$. In (48a), the semantics of $\text{hen ziran} ‘\text{very natural}’$ has an open scale and makes the degree $dx$ (i.e. the naturalness of the girl’s beauty) exceed the referential degree $ds$. As a result, $\text{dao}$ cannot occur with it but $\text{de}$ can. In (48b), the maximal value of the referential degree is restricted, so it is
impossible for it to exceed the degree of *shoupa dou shi le* ‘even the handkerchief got wet’. Hence, both *dao* and *de* can occur with it.

(48) a. Zhe ge nyhai mei *dao/de* hen ziran.
   This Cl girl beautiful DAO/DE very natural
   ‘This girl is beautiful in the way of being natural.’

   b. Abi ku *dao/de* shoupa dou shi le.
   Abi cry DAO/DE handkerchief all wet CRS
   ‘Abi cried (so much that) even the handkerchief got wet.’

Finally, V-dao can select a bare verb and a modal as its complements while V-de can not, as shown in (49) and (50), respectively. In (49), wan-dao ‘play-DAO’ can select lei ‘tired’ and hen lei ‘very tired’, whereas wan-de ‘play-DE’ only selects the latter. This diversity comes from the modifier hen ‘very’. Given that resultative V-de construction alternates with V-V compound construction (Hoekstra 1988, Sybesma 1999, Zhang 2001)⁹, the verb lei ‘tired’ raises to V1 wan ‘play’ to form a compound verb wan-lei ‘play-tired’ if there is no hen ‘very’ in the embedded clause, as in (49a). By contrast, if hen ‘very’ exists, as in (49b), then this modifier can not be left behind. Therefore, verb-raising is impossible, and de-support is obligatory. As for V-dao, it does not have such the derivation between V-de construction and V-V construction, so both lei ‘tired’ and hen lei ‘very tired’ are possible. Likewise, jiao-dao ‘teach-DAO’ allows a bare modal in (50a) or a modal phrase in (50b) as its complement, while jiao-de ‘teach-DE’ only permits the latter in (50b) because the bare modal hui ‘can’ in (50a) will be raised to V1 jiao ‘teach’ to form a V-V compound jiao-hui ‘teach-can’ rather than be left behind and saved by the support of de.

(49) a. Lisi wan *dao/de* [lei] le, cai hui jia.
   Lisi play DAO/DE tired CRS until return home
   ‘Lisi did not return home until he played to the extent of being tired.’

   b. Lisi wan *dao/de* [hen lei] le, cai hui jia.
   Lisi play DAO/DE very tired CRS until return home
   ‘Lisi did not return home until he played to the extent of being very tired.’
   ‘Lisi did not return home until he played so much that he was very tired.’

(50) a. Lisi *hwa shi fen zhong* ba wo jiao *dao/de* [hui].
   Lisi spend ten Cl minute BA I teach DAO/DE can
   ‘Lisi spent ten minutes teaching me to learn it.’

   b. Lisi *hwa shi fen zhong* ba wo jiao *dao/de* [hui tan na shou ge].
   Lisi spend ten Cl minute BA I teach DAO/DE can play that Cl song
   ‘Lisi spent ten minutes teaching me to learn playing that song.’
To conclude, extent V-dao construction is similar with resultative V-de construction in some aspects though they differ in some ways, as illustrated below:

(51) Syntactically

a. Both extent dao and resultative de are syntactically merged with V1 to form a complex verb.

b. Both extent V-dao and resultative V-de are c-select a clausal complement. Yet, only the former c-selects an NP, but the latter does not.

c. Both extent V-dao and resultative V-de sentences with a clausal complement may involve a Control structure or a Causative structure. However, the former does not have an object-control structure.

(52) Semantically

a. Both extent dao and resultative de are attached to an open-range predicate.

b. Both of them s-select a result and degree complement, but resultative V-de requires its degree complement with the two senses “cause to become a result” and “become a result”, while extent V-dao does not have such requirement. Instead, it requires its complement to be a specific degree.

c. Extent V-dao can take a complement represented by a bare verb or modal, but resultative V-de can not.

4. Light Verb Analysis for Resultative V-de and Extent V-dao Constructions

4.1 Theoretical Frameworks

I adopt the Lexical Decomposition Theory (Huang 1997) and the Light Verb Approach (Lin 2001) to analyze complement construction of V-dao. I cite Huang’s (2010) definition, as in (53).

(53) Lexical Decomposition Theory (Huang 2010: 1)

The lexical decomposition hypothesis indicates that an apparent simplex or mono-morphemic X⁰ category encompasses a larger structure with one or more silent X⁰ heads above or below it.

According to (53), da yu ‘do fish’ in (54) is decomposed into the light verb [DO] and da-po ‘hit-break’ in (55) into [CAUSE] and [BECOME]. Since da ‘hit’ is a semantically bleached or empty verb, it is incorporated into the light verbs [DO] in (54) or [CAUSE] in (55).
(54) a. da yu
da fish
‘to do fish’
b. [VP [V DO (da)] [NP yu]]

(55) a. da po
da break
‘to cause to break’
b. [VP [V CAUSE (da)] [VP [V BECOME] (po)]]

Lin (2001) adopts the notion of light verbs to deal with Chinese phrase structures and the licensing of arguments.

(56) Light verbs (Lin 2001: 77)

Light verbs are predicates of aspects of eventualities. Syntactically they are verbs with or without phonetic realization; semantically they are predicates of aspects that compose eventualities.

(57) Licensing mechanism (Lin 2001: 235)

All arguments in a Mandarin Chinese sentence are specifiers of VPs, licensed by subject-predicate relationship.

Moreover, Chinese verbs are pure verbs without their own arguments and thematic roles in L-syntax but with them in S-syntax after incorporation into event predicates. Specifically, the subject is selected by the light verbs, such as [BE], [DO], [BECOME] or [CAUSE], and the adverbial object is selected by [AT], [FOR] or [USE]. Yet, the logical object is not selected by any light verb but is merged with V’ of the transitive verb since it is the internal argument.

4.2 Analysis

Firstly, I adopt the light verb approach (Huang 1997 and Lin 2001) to indicate that resultative de and extent dao are light verbs because they are semantically light and only specify the aspectual properties of verbs. Besides, Huang (1997, 2006), Lin (2001) and Zhang (2001) indicate that resultative de is a light verb [BECOME] or [CAUSE] and takes a CP as its result complement. It specifies the aspectual properties “cause to become a resultant state” or “become a resultant state”. On the other hand, I propose that extent dao is a light verb [TO] and takes a VP as its extent complement. It specifies the aspectual property “reach to a certain extent” (Zhou 2012).

Moreover, following Huang’s (1997) Lexical Decomposition Theory and Lin’s (2001) Light Verb Approach, I decompose resultative V-de construction into [BECOME] and subject-
selecting light verb [DO] or these two light verbs plus [CAUSE]. I decompose extent V-dao construction into [TO], [BE] and subject-selecting light verb [DO] or these three light verbs plus [CAUSE].

Furthermore, verb movement complies with the Head Movement Constraint defined by Radford (2004: 163a) that movement from one head position to another is only possible between a given head and the closest head which asymmetrically c-commands it. Verb incorporation abides by Baker’s (1988: 64) Government Transparency Corollary in which a lexical category which has an item incorporated into it governs everything which the incorporated item governed in its original structural position.

Now, we start to construct the syntactic structure of resultative V-de and extent V-dao sentences through verb movement and incorporation, and interpret resultative V-de and extent V-dao constructions based on their decompositional structures and the aspectuality of resultative de and extent dao. In (58), resultative de is the realization of [BECOME] and takes a CP complement as its result. It is attached to the pure verb PAO ‘run’, and then pao-de ‘run-DE’ is incorporated into [DO] to license the Agent subject Lisi. The interpretation of (58) is that Lisi did a running action and as a result he became very tired.

In (59), the empty light verb [BECOME] takes a CP complement as its result, and licenses the Theme subject shoupa ‘handkerchief’. The resultative de is the realization of [CAUSE] and licenses the Pro co-indexed with Lisi. It is attached to the pure verb KU ‘cry’, and then ku-de ‘cry-DE’ is incorporated into [DO] to license the Agent subject Lisi. Finally, these decomposed light verbs together make up one verb. The interpretation of (59) is that Lisi did a crying action and he caused the handkerchief to become all wet.
In (60), I assume that the empty light verb [BE] licenses the CP complement (Zhou 2012). Extent dao is the realization of [TO] and takes VP1 as its extent complement. It combines with PAO ‘run’ and pao-dao ‘run-DAO’ is incorporated into [DO] to take the Agent subject Lisi. Lastly, all of these light verbs are consolidated into a verb. The interpretation of (60) is that Lisi did a running action and this action reached to the degree of being tired.

In (61), the empty light verb [BE] licenses the CP. Extent dao selects VP1 as its extent complement and is incorporated into [CAUSE] to take the Causer subject Pro coindexed with...
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Lisi. Then, it is attached to KU ‘cry’ and incorporated into [DO] to introduce the Agent subject Lisi. Finally, these light verbs are combined together into a complex verb. The interpretation of (61) is that Lisi did a crying action and he caused the handkerchief to be the degree of being all wet.

\[
(61) 
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VP4} & \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{V4'} \\
& \quad \text{Lisi}_i \\
& \quad \text{V4} \quad \text{VP3} \\
& \quad \text{[DO]} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{V3'} \\
& \quad \text{KU} \quad \text{Pro}_i \quad \text{V3} \\
& \quad \text{[CAUSE]} \quad \text{VP2} \quad \text{VP1} \\
& \quad \text{[TO]} \quad \text{DAO} \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{V1'} \\
& \quad \text{shoupadoushi le} \quad \text{[BE]} \\
& \quad \text{The handkerchief is all wet.'}
\end{align*}
\]

In (62), [BE] licenses the NP complement. DAO is the light verb [TO] and takes VP1 as its extent. It is attached to the pure verb LIAN ‘practice’, then incorporated into [DO] to take the Agent subject Lisi, and finally consolidated into a complex verb. The interpretation of (62) is that Lisi did a practicing action and the action reached to the degree that nobody could compete with.
4.3 Explanation of Comparisons between Resultative V-de and Extent V-dao

We illustrate the comparisons between resultative V-de and extent V-dao constructions under the light verb analysis. First, syntactically, both resultative de and extent dao are attached to the matrix verb (the SP hypothesis) to form a complex verb via verb movement and incorporation. Second, due to verb movement, resultative V-de phrases, but not extent V-dao, can alternate with resultative V-V compounds. Thus, bare verbs and modals cannot serve as V-de complements since they will be raised to be combine with V1. Third, both resultative V-de and extent V-dao constructions may have Control or Causative structures. For extent V-dao construction, the object-control structure is impossible since no light verb can license the external object. For Causative structures, verb movement and incorporation into [CAUSE] are required to achieve the licensing of the Causer. Fourth, resultative de is the light verb [BECOME], while extent dao is the light verb [TO]. This leads to the differences of licensing arguments and meanings. For the former, [BECOME] in resultative V-de construction licenses the result CP complements, while [BE] in extent V-dao construction licenses the extent CP and NP complements. For the latter, in resultative V-de construction, de [BECOME] specifies a resultant state, while in extent V-dao construction, dao [TO] specifies a certain degree. Fifth, the sense ‘become a result’ is required in resultative V-de, not extent V-dao, because of the light verb [BECOME]. In contrast, the sense ‘reach to a certain extent’ is optional for resultative V-de. Sixth, both resultative de and extent dao are attached to an open-range predicate because they close off the unbounded property by the following result or extent complements. Seventh,
resultative *de* [BECOME] requires the degree of the resultative predicate to be equal to or more than the degree of the contextual determined standard, whereas extent *dao* [TO] and [BE] requires the former to be equivalent to the latter. Last but not least, the alternation between resultative *V-de* and extent *V-dao* is possible when the syntactic requirement of light verb licensing and the semantic requirement of degree equality are met.

5. Concluding Remarks

Both resultative *V-de* and extent *V-dao* constructions are illustrated in the Light Verb Analysis. Syntactically, they are first decomposed into several light verbs, then their verbal roots and light verbs *de* and *dao* undergo verb movement and incorporation into other light verbs to license the complement and subject. Finally, all of them are combined together to make up a complex verb. Semantically, they are interpreted based on their decompositional structures and the aspectuality of the light verbs *de* [BECOME] and *dao* [TO]. Most importantly, lexical decomposition distinguishes resultative *V-de* from extent *V-dao* in syntax and semantics, and light verb movement and incorporation explain their similarities and differences in distributions and the phenomenon of alternation. Besides, complement constructions of resultative *V-de* and extent *V-dao* are analyzed by a light verb analysis. Finally, this analysis indicates that Chinese verbs are incorporated into different light verbs to select appropriate arguments via a subject-predicate relationship.

**References**


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VON STECHOW, ARNIM. 2006. Times as Degrees: früh(er) ‘early(er)’, spat(er), ‘late(r)’, and phase adverbs”, Draft.


**Endnotes**

1The glossary used in this paper is as follows: CRS: currently relevant state, GEN: genitive, Cl: classifier, NOM: nominalizer.

2Huang (1989) argues that in Chinese sentences, it is hard to determine whether a covert NP is PRO or pro since the finiteness of sentences is unclear.

3Here we adopt Larson’s (1991) version of MDP: an infinitive complement of a predicate P selects as its controller the minimal c-commanding noun phrase in the functional complex of P.
As far as I know, the bi-clausal approach to V-de construction is first proposed by Huang (1988) and is also adopted by H. Liu (2004), Shen and Ting (2008), among others.

The verb si ‘die’ is an unergative verb, so it is based-generated in V and takes an external argument (Tang 2002). The movement from V to v is motivated by the word order.

Chao (1968), Zhu (1982) and Liu et al. (1996) also adopt this criterion to classify V-dao forms. Chao (1968) further indicates that extent V-dao can be weakened to become V-de. Zhu (1982) considers that the complement of V-dao is optional in directional and phase V-dao while it is obligatory in time and extent V-dao. Moreover, he mentions that the clausal complements of phase, time and extent V-dao, except for directional V-dao, can be replaced by an NP, such as na hui er ‘that time’, na jian shi ‘that thing’ and zhe yang ‘this kind of degree’, or relativized with de and the following NP shihou ‘time’, shishi ‘fact’ and chengdu ‘degree’. Liu et al. (1996) describes phase V-dao as achievement of an action, time V-dao as expressing the time that an action lasts to, extent V-dao as the degree that the change of a thing or state reaches to, and directional V-dao as the location that a thing arrives through an action.

Hsieh (2007: 163) suggests that “the image-schema of dao is that a Trajector moves along a conduit (path) and arrives at a Landmark.” Besides, Liu (2007: 297) indicates that “the conceptual structure of dao would be AGENT/THEME MOVES TO A GOAL.” and that the goal prototypically refers to a concrete location, and later metaphorically extends to abstract time and state, and finally becomes an excessive structural particle as in the example lei dao si ‘extremely tired’.

Huang (2006: 18) proposes that resultative de has the inchoative use meaning change-of-state and the causative use meaning causation. Therefore, the following counterexamples can be explained since they are not resultative de.

(i) a. Wo deng dao /de tian dou  hei  le.
   I  wait DAO/DE day even dark CRS
   ‘I waited until day was dark.’
   ‘I waited so long until even day was dark.’

   b. Woi deng nimen deng  dao /de Proi hao xinjiao.                 (Huang 2006: 28)
   I  wait  you  wait DAO/DE     so anxious
   ‘I waited for you to the extent of being so anxious.’
   ‘I waited for you to the point of being so anxious.’

In (ia), deng-de ‘wait-DE’ takes a time clause without the meaning “change-of-state” or “causation”, and hence de is not resultative. Likewise, (ib) is not a resultative construction but an extent construction since hao xinjiao ‘so anxious’ expressing the extent of the action V1
rather than the result that the action brings about. Thus, we leave it for further researches.

9Zhang (2001: 198) claims that v is realized by either de or a head-raising to project the vP in the structure of secondary predication. Hence, the insertion of de can bar the raise of the verb pao ‘run’ to avoid stranding the degree word hen ‘very’, as shown in (i). Also, the de-support rather than verb-raising follows the constraint on head movement that a modifier can not be stranded (Hoekstra 1988, Sybesma 1999).

(i) a. Lao Wang pao de hen lei.
   Lao Wang run DE very tired
   ‘Lao Wang run so that he got very tired.’

   b. *Lao Wang pao lei hen.
   c. *Lao Wang pao hen lei.

10Huang (2006: 23) believes that “a Chinese verb does not undergo conflation as a lexical operation, and enters into syntactic computation as a pure verb with only a conceptual structure, but no argument structure.” In (i), the verb qie ‘cut’ acts as a pure verb and enters into syntactic computation. It first moves to a covert instrumental light verb [USE] to take the Instrument zhe-ba dao ‘this knife’, then moving to [DO] to take the Agent ta ‘he’.

(ii) [vP [DP Ta] [v’ [v DO] [VP [DP zhe-ba dao] [V’ [V USE] [VP [V qie]]]]]]
   he this-Cl knife cut
   ‘He cut [with] this knife.’

11Hale and Keyser (1991: 16) distinguish “l-syntax” as syntax in the lexical items from “s-syntax” as the syntax which relates the deep-structure and surface-structure.

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