A STUDY OF ICONICITY IN KOREAN:
WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO LONG AND SHORT FORMS

by
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December 1989
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Finally and most of all, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my beloved wife In-Hee for her love, endless patience, and constant encouragement.

September 27, 1989
ABSTRACT

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Supervising Professor: Robert E. Longacre

This study of iconicity in Korean has examined the iconic relationship (non-arbitrariness) between form and meaning in phonology, morphology, and syntax.

There are many pairs of linguistic expressions that carry roughly the same meaning. The two members of the pair exhibit different lengths or sizes: one of the pair is short (or small), i.e., the Short-Form, the other of the pair is long (or large), i.e., the Long-Form. The different lengths are focused upon in this study.

This study begins with the question: why are there two forms which exhibit different lengths (or size)? In order to answer this question, it has been assumed that in a pair of expressions the different surface sizes are
associated with different 'conceptual sizes' which the expressions connote (iconicity principle).

In general, the concepts which are indicated by the paired expressions reveal binary oppositions, such as certainty vs. uncertainty, directness vs. indirectness, completion vs. incompletion, autonomy vs. non-autonomy. The finding of this study is that the Short-Forms are associated with the first members of such pairs of binary oppositions, while the Long-Forms are associated with the second.

To categorize such concepts, a basic notion of Gestalt psychology, i.e., Figure and Ground, is employed (as discussed by various linguists, especially Wallace (1982)). The first members of the oppositions are characterized as the Figure, while the second members are characterized as the Ground.

Overall, this study shows that in paired expressions the Long-Forms are associated with the Gestalt Ground, while the Short-Forms are related to the the Gestalt Figure.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CComp</td>
<td>Causative Complementizer</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been said that language is essentially arbitrary in its coupling of form and meaning.¹ However, a significant number of examples show that language can in certain limited respects be non-arbitrary. The purpose of this study is to show iconic relationships (non-arbitrariness) between form and meaning, especially in Korean. To study iconicity, pairs of linguistic expressions that carry roughly the same meaning are examined. The two members of the pair exhibit different lengths or sizes:² one of the pair is short (or small), the other of the pair is long (or large).

The study begins with the assumption that such differences of form between the pair correspond to different concepts which the pair connote. A notion from Gestalt psychology will be borrowed to illustrate the differences in meaning. For a concise explanation of Figure-Ground distinction, Wallace (1982:213) cites the following from a popular modern introductory psychology textbook (Krech,
Crutchfield, andLivson 1974: 264):  

As we look at the parts of any differentiated field, we notice that almost invariably one part (the figure) stands out distinctively from the rest (the ground). Figure-ground differentiation is the simplest and most primitive form of perceptual organization. 

The notion of Figure and Ground of Gestalt psychology has been previously applied to linguistics. Wallace (1982: 214) outlines the characteristics of Figure and Ground as follows:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>GROUND</th>
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<tr>
<td>thing-like, solid, discrete</td>
<td>uniformed, diffuse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shapeless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-defined,</td>
<td>less defined,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tightly organized</td>
<td>unconstructed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contoured, surrounded,</td>
<td>loosely organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bounded, enclosed</td>
<td>boundless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>localized</td>
<td>unlocalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above, in front</td>
<td>below, behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more impressive color</td>
<td>less impressive color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greater contrast</td>
<td>lesser contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stable</td>
<td>unstable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symmetric</td>
<td>irregular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;meaningful,&quot; familiar</td>
<td>&quot;meaningless,&quot; unfamiliar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just some of them are adopted here. Furthermore, in order to study iconicity in Korean, some other characteristics of Figure and Ground are proposed:
It will be shown that the short form of the pair corresponds to the Gestalt Figure, while the long form of the pair is related to the Gestalt Ground.

1.1 Framework and Scope

That human language, in sharp contrast to various kinds of animal communication, is essentially a system of arbitrary symbols has been thought indisputable. Some linguists, notably, Hockett (1958), insist that even onomatopoeic forms have arbitrary elements:

A word which means sound made by a bell is onomatopoeic. Even in these instances, there is also often a large arbitrary element in the phonemic shape of the word. In English a bell says ding-dong; in German it says bim-bam. The difference between ding-dong and bim-bam represents the arbitrary elements. (Hockett 1958: 298)

Other linguists, however, have challenged this idea of an arbitrary relationship between form and meaning: Gregerson (1984, 1987), Bolinger (1982, 1985), Haiman (1980,
1983), and Givón (1970, 1980, 1985) are among them. First, Haiman (1980, 1983) has suggested that language is less arbitrary and less symbolic than has previously been assumed, and that some iconic relationships tie linguistic expressions (form) to the concepts (meaning) which they convey. Second, as is seen in the title of Givón’s (1985) article, "Iconicity, isomorphism and non-arbitrary coding in syntax" (emphasis added), Givón (1985:188) also suggests that there are some non-arbitrary connections between code (structure) and meaning (function) in language. The notion of non-arbitrary connection differs much from that of the linguistic symbol which implies an arbitrary relationship between form and meaning. It seems that such non-arbitrariness results from the different corresponding meanings between notionally similar simple forms and complex forms. In other words, the increased morphological and syntactic complexity is an icon of the increased semantic (or conceptual) complexity. For example, in English, the positive, comparative, and superlative degree of adjective forms show a gradual increase in the number of morphemes, i.e., adjective-Ø, adjective-er, and adjective-est. Haiman (1980, citing Peirce (1932)) suggests two kinds of iconicity ‘image’ and ‘diagram’:

In his taxonomy of signs, Peirce (1932:2.247, 277–82) made a crucial distinction between two types of iconicity, which we may call ‘imagic’ and ‘diagram—
matics. An iconic IMAGE is a single sign which resembles its referent with respect to some (not necessarily visual) characteristic: commonly cited examples are photographs, statues, program music and, in language, onomatopoeic words. An iconic DIAGRAM is a systematic arrangement of signs, none of which necessarily resembles its referent, but whose relationships to each other mirror the relationships of their referents. Any technical diagram, whether of a football line-up or of a radio circuit, may serve as a non-linguistic example. While conceding the arbitrary and unmotivated character of the individual linguistic sign in isolation, a number of grammarians, most notably Roman Jakobson, have explicitly drawn attention to the near universality of diagrammatic iconicity in the grammars of various languages. (Emphasis added)

Before going into detailed discussion, the terms, Long-Form and Short-Form\(^3\) should be explained. The Short-Form (hereafter SF) will refer to both a small number of phonemes, syllables, morphemes, or words and to narrow cavity size; the Long-Form (hereafter LF) will indicate both a larger number of phonemes, syllables, morphemes or words and wide pharyngeal cavity size (see 1 below). These terms, i.e., the LF and SF, have rarely been employed in linguistics. However, some linguists have addressed similar concepts.

Some such LF-SF pairs have been studied by transformationalists. They claim that the transformation itself does not change meaning. This argument is based on the Katz-Postal hypothesis (1964). However, this hypothesis has come under attack from linguists, including many of them transformationalists.\(^4\) Haiman (1980:517) points out that the Katz-Postal hypothesis is no longer a
requirement for transformationalists:

It seems to me, the Katz-Postal hypothesis has been tacitly abandoned by virtually everyone. For transformationalists, paraphrase is not a criterion for the existence of transformations; and others (e.g., Hudson 1976) have proposed that transformations do not exist.

In this study of iconicity, pairs of Korean expressions whose lengths vary, but whose meanings are roughly the same are examined. A number of such pairs are found in various linguistic areas, e.g., phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.\textsuperscript{5}

(1) **CAVITY SIZE**

- a. sayngkul vs. singkul
  "small smile" 'big smile'
- b. naymyyen vs. nampyen
  'husband with pejorative meaning' 'husband'
- c. na vs. ce
  'I' '(humble) I'

**LENGTH**

- d. mek-ta vs. capswu-ta
  eat-DE eat-DE
  'eat'(plain) 'eat'(respectful)
- e. kho -s mwul vs. kho -uy mwul
  nose-Gen water nose-Gen water
  'snivel' 'water on the nose'
- f. cwuk-i-ta vs. cwuk-key ha-ta
  die -Caus-DE die -Caus -DE
  'kill' 'cause to die'
- g. phwul-li-ta vs. phwul-e ci-ta
  solve-Pass-DE solve-Pass-DE
  'solve' 'manage to solve'
- h. hakkyo ka-ta vs. hakkyo-ey ka-ta
  school go-DE school-Loc go-DE
  'go to school' 'go to the school'
- i. an ka-ta vs. ka-ci an ha-ta
  Neg go-DE go-NComp Neg do-DE
  'not go' 'not go' (a bit more formal)
As a matter of fact, transformational rules cannot completely explain some of the pairs of expressions above. In order to explain such pairs, an iconic approach will be suggested, that is, an iconicity principle, defined as follows:

(2) **ICONICITY PRINCIPLE**

The size (cavity or length) of linguistic expression corresponds to the conceptual size (distance) which the expression connotes; in a pair (or sets) of linguistic expressions, the larger sized linguistic expression is associated with the Gestalt Ground, whereas the smaller sized one is associated with the Gestalt Figure.

1.2. Organization of This Study

In the remainder of this chapter, some characteristics of Korean will be mentioned.

In chapter 2, several scholars who deal with iconicity will be outlined, even though some of them do not employ such a term. It will be observed that although their approaches are somewhat different from each other, their conclusions are very similar in terms of iconicity: the extended form, i.e., the LF, corresponds to the extended concept (or conceptually greater distance), while the bounded form, i.e., the SF, is associated with the bounded concept (or conceptually shorter distance).

Chapter 3 is devoted to illustrating what an iconic relationship is in phonology and how iconicity is manifested
in sound symbolism. In discussing iconicity in phonology, the focus will be on phonological phenomena such processes as vowel lengthening, intonation, and stress. These phenomena will provide additional proof that the conceptual characteristics of the referent, i.e., long or short, simple or complex, certain or uncertain, etc., are related to the different phonological phenomena that occur. In sound symbolism, it will be shown that the wide pharyngeal cavity expresses the augmentative, while the narrow one indicates the diminutive.

Chapter 4 deals with iconicity in morphology. First, reduplication will be discussed. Next, it will be shown how the pair of Korean case markers, vocative -a vs. -iye, selective -na vs. -lato, genitive -s vs. -uy, reflect the iconic relationship between form and meaning in Korean. First and second person pronouns will be discussed. Lastly, diglossia will be investigated on the basis of the notion of social distance. As with phonology, it will be argued that the notion of a single idea, minimal social distance, and closedness of choice, which are characterized as the Gestalt Figure, correspond to the SF, while more than one idea, great social distance, and openness of choice, which are characterized as the Gestalt Ground, are related to the LF.

In chapter 5, the syntactic areas will be discussed, i.e., a pair of conjectural constructions -keyss and -l kes, a pair of passives -hi and -e cil, and a pair of causatives
-i and -key ha-. Here also, it will be shown that the notions of new information, autonomous process, and completion, which are characterized as the Figure, are associated with the relatively short linguistic expression of the SF, and the notions of given information, non-autonomous process, and incompletion, which are characterized as the Ground, are associated with the relatively extended linguistic expression of the LF.

The results of this study are summarized in the conclusion.

1.3. Characteristics of Korean

The syntactic characteristics of Korean, at the level of the clause and the sentence, have been mentioned by Hwang (1987a:6): free word order and clause chaining.

Korean is an agglutinative language, i.e., particles showing grammatical relation postpose noun or verb stems. As such, it is basically an SOV (subject-object-verb) word order language. Case markers must be located after nouns; endings or pre-final endings must occur after verb stems; and two or more particles can occur on the same verb stem. For example, up to seven particles can be added:

\[(2) \text{cwuk-i -si -ess -keyss -sup -nai -ta}
\text{die -Caus-Hono-Past-Conje -Hono-Hono-DE}
\text{‘probably killed (someone)’}\]
Here, it must be noted that the order of the particles is iconic so that Bybee’s (1985:11) principle\(^7\) (i.e., the proximity of elements reflects some natural (iconic) principle whose result is that elements that go together semantically tend to occur close together) applies to Korean. In example 2, the past tense marker \(-\text{ess}\) never occurs before the causative \(-\text{i}\). The reason for this is that the causative \(-\text{i}\) is a derivational suffix which changes meaning or changes syntactic category, but \(-\text{ess}\) is an inflectional ending. This ending does not change meaning or category. Therefore, derivational suffixes tend to occur closest to the stem. In addition, the same principle can answer why the tense marker \(-\text{ess}\) occurs before \(-\text{keyss}\) which is considered a mood in example 2. Mood expresses the speaker’s attitude, such as possibility, probability, or certainty of the proposition. Thus, it does not have as direct an effect on the situation described by the verb as does tense marking. Tense affects the situation in time (i.e., utterance time or pre-established base time) whatever the situations modally. This correlated with the fact that tense occurs closer to the verb stem than mood.

Another characteristic of Korean is that the subject, object, or case marker is deleted in certain cases. The differences between the ordinary form and the deleted form, e.g., \textit{hakkyo kata} ‘go to school’ and \textit{hakkyo-ey kata} ‘go to the school’ are well worth noting in the study of iconicity.
A well-developed system of expressing honorification is also one of the characteristics of Korean. Depending on which one is the respected party (i.e., subject, object, or hearer), different honorific suffixes are employed. Of special interest in the study of iconicity is the fact that there are a number of pairs (or sets) of words in Korean which show different honorific levels. In other words, depending on the social distance between the speaker and addressee, one of the pairs (or sets) of words is selected.

(3)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF</th>
<th>LF</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. pap</td>
<td>cinci</td>
<td>'meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mek-</td>
<td>capswu-</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ne</td>
<td>caney</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, words in the first column (the SFs) are employed in the situation of minimal (or zero) social distance between speaker and addressee (which is characterized as the Figure), whereas words in the second column (the LFs) are used in the situation of great social distance between them (which is characterized as the Ground).

Agreement between animate subject and verb is another one of the characteristics of Korean. This is an area of Korean that needs further examination in terms of iconicity. For reasons of limited time and space, however, this study will not discuss animacy. 8
1.4 Segmental Phonemes of Korean

1.4.1 Consonants Phonemes of Korean

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1.4.2 Vowel Phonemes of Korean

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ey</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rather than actual phonetic symbols, Yale Romanization has been adopted to follow the use of computer. The basic frame is adopted from Hwang (1987a:7).
NOTES

1. According to linguists, several names are used: meaning carrier/meaning (Anttila 1972:13), signan/signatum (Haiman 1980:515), form/function (Borkin 1984), syntactic structure/semantic structure or code/coded (Givón 1980), signifiant/signifié (Saussure 1933), form/referent, form/concept, signifier/signified, and form/connnotation, and the like. In this study, I will use the term form/meaning very widely, i.e., form ranges from phoneme to sentence, and meaning includes referent, function, coded, concept, etc.

2. The term 'size' will be used somewhat broadly to indicate both cavity and length. For example, [e] employs a smaller pharyngeal cavity than [i], and 'kill' is shorter than 'cause to die.'

3. Since I use LF and SF very broadly, a wide pharyngeal cavity size is considered the LF, while a narrow pharyngeal cavity size is considered the SF.

4. For example, Fodor (1970) points out that 'kill' cannot be derived from 'cause to die'. Fodor's basic argument is that 'kill' is a word, while 'cause to die' is a phrase; and Fodor (1970) states that even where a phrase and a word are synonymous, the former will characteristicly exhibit degrees of syntactic freedom unavailable to the latter (1970: 437).

After reviewing Fodor (1970), Morreal (1976) points out that causing is not an action, whereas killing is an action. Killing can be done quickly or slowly, while causing cannot. His examples are given:

(a) John killed Mary slowly.
(b) *John caused slowly Mary to die.
(c) John caused Mary to die slowly.

5. There are many examples in English:

(a) kill vs. cause to die
(b) isn't vs. is not
(c) working vs. to work
(d) -in' vs. -ing
(e) let's vs. let us
(f) Sue and PETER vs. SUE and PETER
(one stress) (two stresses)

6. Gregerson (1987:36) focuses on only cavity size, especially pharyngeal cavity size. He does not consider other areas of language, e.g., morphology, syntax, or discourse. In this study, whole areas of language are considered. Gregerson’s pharynx iconism is that CAVITY EXTENDEDNESS IS ICONIC OF REFERENTIAL EXTENDEDNESS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIGN</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIGURE (Bounded)</td>
<td>narrow pharynx/RTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUND (Extended)</td>
<td>wide pharynx/ATR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, iconicity principle will apply to whole areas of language. Furthermore, the length of linguistic expression will be focused.

7. Bybee (1985:11-2) treats inflection in an iconicity frame work:

Verbal inflections differ with respect to the extent to which they are relevant to the verb, that is, the extent to which their meanings directly affected the lexical content of the verb stem. The different degrees of relevance of verbal categories that can be inflectional are reflected diagrammatically in three ways: (1) The more relevant a category is to the verb, the more likely it is to occur in a synthetic or bound construction with the verb; (2) The more relevant a morphological category is to the verb, the closer its marker will occur with respect to the verb stem; (3) The more relevant a morphological category is to the verb, the greater will be the morpho-phonological fusion of that category with the stem.

8. Unlike in English, kacita ‘possess, have’ must have an animate subject. Korean speakers would never say the following:

(a) * uyca -ka neykay-uy tali-lul kac -ess -ta
    chair-SM four -Gen leg -OM have-Past-DE
    ‘The chair has four legs’

In such cases, in general, the existential verb is used with inanimate subjects:

(b) uyca-ey neykay-uy tali-ka iss-ta
    chair-Loc four-Gen leg-SM exist-DE
    ‘There are four legs in chair’
Furthermore, depending on animate or inanimate nouns, one of the two dative case markers which differ in length is employed, i.e., -ey or -eykey ‘to’. The former occurs with inanimate nouns, and the latter with animate ones.

(c) ton-ul cel-ey ponay-la
    money-OM temple-to send-IE
    'Send money to the temple'

(d) ton-ul Kim-eykey ponay-la
    money-OM Kim-to send-IE
    'Send money to Kim'

A temple is inanimate, while Kim is animate. All characteristics are not discussed here. Other characteristics of Korean are introduced and investigated in the following chapters.

In addition to animacy, Brian (1979) points out that the Cree language has a particular suffix for non-living objects. According to Brian (1979:351), in Cree, the subject marker -ipan means former or absent and indicates that the denotation of the noun no longer exists.

kiseyiniw  'old man'
kiseyinipan 'old man no longer alive'

Likewise, Comrie (1981:181) points out that in Finnish han should be the pronoun to refer to humans and se the pronoun to refer to non-humans. (Comrie does not propose the data.)

In iconicity framework, it is to be expected that inanimate nouns are related to the LF markers, while animate nouns are associated with the SF markers. Contrary to this expectation, however, these markers (-ey/-ekey in Korean, -iw/-ipan in Cree, and se/han in Finnish) show the opposite. At present situation, I am not ready to explain why.

Animacy in Korean will not be discussed in this study. This will remain a subject for further investigation.
CHAPTER 2

THE ICONIC APPROACH OF SOME LINGUISTS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the work of several linguists who have dealt with iconicity but who, for the some part, have not employed this term directly. According to their findings, in a pair of linguistic expressions, the concepts (or referents) which are characterized as the Gestalt Figure are expressed by the SFs, while those which are characterized as the Gestalt Ground are expressed by the LFs.

2.2 Gregerson: Pharyngeal Effects in Language

Employing the three notions, iconism, Gestalt Figure and Ground, and pharyngeal effects in language, Gregerson (1987) observes that there is a motivated relationship between a sign (form) and its referent (meaning) in a variety of natural languages. In other words, linguistic form reflects by some analogy in its physical make-up a corresponding conceptual feature of meaning (Gregerson 1987:29).
One of the characteristics of natural language is that it is to a large degree arbitrary in its sign functions. The contrast, for example, between ə and a is in the words *tang* 'ponder' vs. *tang* 'substitute' in Rengao is completely arbitrary serving merely to differentiate two semantically unrelated forms. An equally valid fact of language, however, is that a significant portion of language also reveals non-arbitrary characteristics. Gregerson points out, for example, that a number of Rengao ideophones demonstrate that there is an iconic relationship between form and meaning in one subset of the lexicon. Gregerson's (1987:32) analogical principle of extendedness is the following:

\[(1) \quad E_C = E_f\]

This shows that the extended concept \((E_C)\) is associated with the extended form \((E_f)\).

Specifically, Gregerson has studied pharynx width as a case of physical form whose *wide* vs. *narrow opposition* is employed iconically to yield extended (groundish) vs. bounded (figural) referents, respectively. Thus, words containing vowels articulated with a wide pharyngeal cavity correspond to the augmentative referents, while words containing vowels articulated with a narrow pharyngeal cavity are associated with the diminutive referents. Gregerson (1987:36) proposes
the following iconism:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{SIGN} & \text{REFERENCE} \\
\text{FIGURE (Bounded)} & \text{narrow pharynx/RTR} \\
\text{GROUND (Extended)} & \text{wide pharynx/ATR}
\end{array}
\]

DIM AUG

In discussing Rengao, a North Bahnaric language of Vietnam, Gregerson (1987:31) depicts the following vowel sets based on the position of tongue root specified both in terms of oral cavity space (height and advancement) and pharyngeal space (advancement):

(2) A T R Register
(wide pharynx)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{i} \\
\underline{e} \\
\underline{ε}
\end{array}
\]

R T R Register
(narrow pharynx)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\underline{u} \\
\underline{ou} \\
\underline{ou}
\end{array}
\]

Thus, vowels in both Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) and Retracted Tongue Root (RTR) sets reflect the expected front vs. back and high vs. low features. In addition, and more importantly, the ATR vowels are higher and generally more fronted as a class than are the RTR vowels. Gregerson (1987:31) shows that "this is true for the sets as a whole and for each vocalic counterpart pairwise between the two sets
(e.g., ø is higher and fronter than a)."

Consider first Gregerson's (1987:32) examples of ideophone pairs involving oral cavity size contrasts (front-back, high-low):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRONT/BACK</th>
<th>DIM/AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prəw praw</td>
<td>very tightly/tightly woven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəhik/rəhuk</td>
<td>small/large nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chahəh/chahəh</td>
<td>small/large lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagək /tagak</td>
<td>small/large hole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH/LOW</th>
<th>DIM/AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tahrouy/tahroy</td>
<td>small/large group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qbrei/qbre</td>
<td>small/large red object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chəhuh/chəhoh</td>
<td>small/large mouth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His interpretation is that the forms above [in 3] reflect the familiar sound symbolic use of front (small oral cavity) vowels to model diminutive (DIM) referents and back (large oral cavity) vowels for augmentative (AUG) ones (Gregerson 1987:12).

In addition to oral cavity, Gregerson (1987:33) points out that pharyngeal cavity size variation is semantically employed to distinguish DIM from AUG ideophones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RTR/ATR</th>
<th>DIM/AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ei/i: qbrei/qbre</td>
<td>small/larger red object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaweik/kawik</td>
<td>small/larger creature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqə /taqe</td>
<td>small/large hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chagrə/chagrə</td>
<td>small/large prone body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahrot /həhrot</td>
<td>small/large man running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chahout/chəhut</td>
<td>small/large black animal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following explains the above examples:

In these sets the inverse of oral cavity iconism in some sense obtains, for the narrow pharynx (RTR) counterpart vowel (e.g., ei in qbreǐ) is at the same time a lower (wider, oral) vowel than the wide pharynx (ATR) vowel (e.g., i in qbreǐ). And in pharynx symbolism, it is the narrow pharynx vowel that signals DIM while its wide pharynx counterpart is AUG. The principle of cavity size as an analog to referent size is, however, a consistent one. (Gregerson 1987:33)

There is a difficulty, because, for some examples, oral cavity is employed, and for other examples, pharyngeal cavity is used. In fact, it is not clear in which cases the former are employed, and in which cases the latter are used. Gregerson mentions that pharyngeal cavity and oral cavity are in interlocking relationship. He states as follows (1987:33):

Given two apparently conflicting ways for creating cavity analogs for ideophones, one might expect a generally chaotic picture among this class of words. However, quite the opposite is the case, as reflected in the following array of Rengao vowels along the interlocking continuum from DIM to AUG iconism:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{NARROW PHARYNX} & \text{WIDE PHARYNX} \\
\text{Narrow Oral} & \text{Wide Oral} & \text{Narrow Oral} & \text{Wide Oral} \\
ei & ou & i & u \\
\varepsilon & \sigma & e & o \\
a & a & & \\
\hline
\text{DIMINUTIVE} & \text{<----------------------------->AUGMENTATIVE}
\end{array}
\]

Thus, language is not absolutely arbitrary in the
relation between form and meaning. In some domains of language, there exists non-arbitrariness, that is, an iconic relationship between form and referent. Gregerson’s findings within Rengao demonstrate this relationship, in which narrow pharyngeal cavity form corresponds to diminutive meaning, while wide pharyngeal cavity form corresponds to augmentative meaning.

2.3 Chafe: Phonological Manifestation of Given and New Information

Chafe (1974) focuses on the notion of consciousness to explain in English such linguistic phenomena as pronominalization, intonation, and word order. Depending on what the speaker thinks is in the addressee’s consciousness, a different form of expression is employed by the speaker. Chafe (1974:111) states:

The notion of consciousness is important to linguistics as well as psychology. In particular, I want to discuss the relevance of consciousness to the linguistic distinction I have written of elsewhere in terms of ‘new and old information’ (Chafe 1970:210-33). My suggestion will be that this distinction is based precisely on a speaker’s assumptions as to what is in his addressee’s consciousness at the time of speech. Such well-known linguistic phenomena as intonation, pronominalization, and to a lesser extent word order are governed in a crucial way by these assumptions.

Within iconicity theory, it appears that English
intonation and pronominalization are kinds of iconically different expressions of consciousness. Thus, given material, which the speaker assumes is already in the addressee's consciousness, and the new material, which he assumes is not, are given different intonations. Chafe (1974:113) points out that low pitch and pronominalization are the surface structure indices of 'givenness'.¹

Taking Chafe's observations, it can be proposed that givenness corresponds to the Ground, while newness to the Figure. The reason is that given information is related to two systems of consciousnesses (i.e., speaker and addressee), and new information is related to only one system of consciousness (i.e., speaker only). In general, singularity is characterized as the Figure, plurality is characterized as the Ground.

Furthermore, with respect to iconicity, Chafe's (1974) conceptual unity gives good insight to study an iconic relationship between form and meaning in English. According to Chafe (1974:114), in a phrase consisting of conjoined nouns, Wendy and Peter, if a high pitch falls only on Peter, Wendy and Peter are thought of as a unitary couple.² If they are not a couple, each would receive a high pitch. Consequently, it can be said that the single idea (couple) is associated with one pitch, while two ideas (separate people) with two pitches. (This will be discussed further in chapter 3.)
2.4 Haiman: Linguistic Distance to Conceptual Distance

Haiman (1983) emphasizes the relationship between what he calls the distance of linguistic expressions and the conceptual distance of the terms or events which the expressions denote. In other words, Haiman (1983:781-2) attempts to show that one linguistic dimension corresponds directly to a non-linguistic (or conceptual) dimension:

Linguistic distance is easy to define. In fact, if an utterance were nothing more than a string of sounds, the linguistic distance between two expressions could be defined simply as the number of syllables (or even the number of seconds) between them. But since language is hierarchically structured, the linguistic distance between two expressions depends on the nature and the number of the non-segmental boundaries between them, even where they are physically contiguous. Where X, A, and Y are morphemes, the linguistic distance between X and Y diminishes along the following scale (# is word boundary, + is morpheme boundary):

a. X#A#Y
b. X#Y
c. X+Y
d. Z

Thus, according to Haiman (1983:783), "the linguistic distance between two elements is least when they are fused in a morph Z; greater when they are distinct but bound morphemes; and still greater when they are separate words." The result is that the conceptual distance of Z is least, and that of 'X#A#Y' is greatest. To support this claim, Haiman (1983:783) discusses what has been termed here, the LF
causatives and SF causatives in many languages, for example in English, 'cause to die' vs. 'kill':

If two causatives contrast within a given language, such that they correspond to structures given in 1a-d [a-d above], and they contrast semantically with respect to the conceptual distance between cause and result, then the conceptual distance between cause and result will correspond to the formal distance between cause and result.

According to iconicity theory, Haiman's idea (1983) can be paraphrased as follows: semantically similar but linguistically different expressions are icons of different conceptions. Finally, Haiman (1983:782) concludes with three claims:

(6) a. The linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them.
   b. The linguistic separateness of an expression corresponds to the conceptual independence of the object or event which it represents.
   c. The social distance between interlocutors corresponds to the length of the message, referential content being equal.

2.5 Kiparsky and Kiparsky: Gerund and Infinitive Complement Corresponding to Factivity vs. Non-Factivity

In a slightly different way than Chafe (1974) and Haiman (1983), Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) focus on factivity in relation to English infinitive complements and gerund...
complements, which are quite similar to the LF and the SF respectively. Although Kiparsky and Kiparsky never mention the notion of iconicity, their approach to discussing the infinitive and gerund complement in English is quite similar to the iconicity framework.

Kiparsky and Kiparsky observe that syntactic differences are correlated with semantic differences. Here, using the iconicity concept the syntactic difference might be understood as size (or length) of linguistic expressions, and the semantic difference as conceptual distance. They find many differences between factive verbs and nonfactive verbs. According to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), factive verbs presuppose the truth of their complement sentences. They divide factive verbs into two groups: verbs with sentential subjects (i.e., be significant, be relevant, be odd, bother, make sense, etc.) and verbs with sentential objects (i.e., regret, resent, realize, find out, etc.).

Kiparsky and kiparsky (1970:144) point out that only factive predicates allow the noun, ‘fact’, with a sentential complement consisting of a that-clause or a gerund to replace the simple that-clause:

\[ (7) \quad \text{a. the fact that the dog barked during the night} \]
\[ \text{b. the fact of the dog's barking during the night} \]

Examples 7 can be continued by factive predicates ‘is
significant' and 'bothers me', but not by the non-factive predicates 'is likely' and 'seems to me'. One of Kiparsky and Kiparsky's (1970:144) findings is that factive predicates take gerunds (which are, as one word, considered the SF in this study) as an object, while non-factive predicates take infinitive constructions (which are, as two words, considered the LF). In other words, on the basis of the lengths of gerunds and to-infinitives, it can be seen that the expressions which have factive predicates are generally shorter than those which have non-factive predicates. More examples from Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970:146) are given below:

FACTIVE
(8) I regret having agreed to the proposal.
   *to have

(9) I avoided getting caught.
   *to get

NON-FACTIVE
(10) I believe Mary to have been the one who did it.
    *Mary's having

(11) I plan to enter the primary.
    *entering

Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) do not explain why factive predicates take the SF, i.e., a gerund complement, and why non-factive predicates take the LF, i.e., an infinitive construction. They describe only surface phenomena. However, by investigating the deep-seated notional differ-
ences between factivity and non-factivity, the explanation of why certain predicates take certain complements can readily be found. Factivity implies certainty, staticity, and decisive result, all of which are characterized as the Gestalt Figure. Non-factivity implies the opposite, i.e., uncertainty, fluidity, and non-decisiveness, which are characterized as the Gestalt Ground. In other words, factivity is somewhat equivalent to conceptual certainty, while non-factivity is equivalent to conceptual uncertainty (or distance).

As mentioned before, Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970:147) claim that factivity depends on presupposition. It seems that this presupposition is closely related to Chafe’s notion of given information. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970:147) present the following examples:

(12) a. It is odd that the door is closed.
    b. I regret that the door is closed.

In the above sentences, the speaker presupposes 'the door is closed' and furthermore asserts something else about that presupposed fact. In other words, the embedded sentence 'the door is closed' is given information on the part of the speaker. Therefore, as has been seen, the sentence having a factive predicate can be stated with a gerund complement (SF):
(13) I regret the door's closing.

It can be assumed that the relative contraction of the linguistic expression reveals conceptual obviousness, truth, or concreteness, while the longer form (i.e., the full form) shows conceptual obscurity, falsity, or abstractness. The following examples of Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970:164) support this assumption.

(14) They reported the enemy to have suffered a decisive defeat.

(15) They reported the enemy's having suffered a decisive defeat.

The surface differences between 14 and 15 are that sentence 14 has a 'to-infinitive' complement and sentence 15 has a gerund complement. It can be asked here why different forms are used even though the meanings of both are almost the same. The answer is that a conceptually close distance may be expressed with relatively shorter forms, while a conceptually greater distance may be expressed with longer forms, as was seen in Haiman (1983). According to the iconicity concept, it can be seen that 15 exhibits the speaker's relative certainty, and that sentence 14 does not. According to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970:164), sentence 15 implies that the report was true in the speaker's opinion, while sentence 14 leaves open the possibility that the
In summary, the gerund complement, i.e., the SF, corresponds to factivity and certainty which are characterized as the Figure, while the infinitive complement, i.e., the LF, is associated with non-factivity and uncertainty which are characterized as the Ground.

2.6 Ross: Linguistic Manifestation of Immediateness

A very insightful explanation of the LF and SF is shown in Ross's (1978, cited by H.M. Sohn 1978) discussion. Ross (1978) focuses on immediateness. He attempts to figure out how immediateness is encoded in the length of linguistic expression. According to H.M. Sohn (1978:142), Ross' hypothesis (Ross 1978) is the following:

When there are two ways of saying something in roughly the same words, the shorter one is the more immediate semantically. (Emphasis added)

It appears that immediateness is identical to conceptual or physical closeness. Ross (1978, cited by H.M. Sohn 1978:142) defines immediateness as follows:

(16) a. closeness vs. remoteness to the speaker in terms of time and space
b. contact necessary vs. no contact necessary
c. proximate causation vs. mediate causation
d. permanent predication vs. temporary predication.
Here, it should be recalled that the linguistic distance corresponds to the conceptual distance which Haiman (1983:783) observes. In 16, the first of each pair shows more immediateness than the second of the each pair. In order to support this, according to H.M. Sohn (1978:143), Ross (1978) suggests the following examples:

(17) a. He arrived (*on) this morning.
   a'. He arrived (on) that morning.
   b. Sheila galloped the horse.
   b'. Sheila made the horse gallop.
   c. Billy is in prison.
   c'. Billy is in the prison.

In 17a and a', it is acceptable to prepose 'on' before 'that morning', whereas it is not grammatical before 'this morning'. The reason is that 'this' is spatio-temporally close to the speaker in the language situation. In other words, the shorter form, 'arrived this morning', shows the closeness to the speaker in terms of time, whereas the long form, 'arrived on that morning', exhibits remoteness.

Examples 17b and b' represent so-called direct causation and indirect causation (Shibatani 1973). Sentence b presupposes that Sheila rides on the horse, while sentence b' does not. 17b assumes direct contact with the horse, but 17b' does not. Therefore, when Sheila uses a loud voice to make the horse gallop when she is not on it, 17b' is more
natural. Similarly, the relationship between 'kill' and 'cause to become not alive' is much the same as that between 17b and b' in terms of proximity.

In 17c, it can be presupposed that Billy is a prisoner. On the other hand, 17c' has no such presupposition. Rather, in 17c', Billy is in the prison temporarily, i.e., for visiting or for repairing something. The conceptual distance between a prisoner and prison is much closer than that between a non-prisoner and prison.

In relation to the Figure and Ground, closeness, necessary contact, and proximate causation are characterized as the Figure, while remoteness, no necessary contact, and mediate causation are characterized as the Ground. Thus, it can be found that the SF is associated with the Figure, whereas the LF is associated with the Ground.

2.7 Givón: Syntactic Structure and Binding Hierarchy

Givón (1980:333) states that a number of systematic correlations exist between the semantic structure of complement-taking verbs and the syntactic structure of their complements. This is equivalent to Haiman's (1983) claim that the linguistic distance between two elements corresponds to the conceptual distance. In other words, Haiman's linguistic distance is roughly equivalent to Givón's syntactic structure, and the conceptual distance to the semantic
structure.

In discussing the complement structure of verbs, Givón focuses on 'binding'. His (1980:335) definitions of 'binding' and 'independence' are as follows:

(18) Binding: The stronger the influence exerted over the agent of the complement clause by the agent of main-clause verb, by whatever means, the higher is the main-clause verb on the binding scale.

(19) Independence: The higher a verb is on the binding scale, the less is the agent of its complement clause capable of acting independently.

Givón (1980:337) states that the higher a main-clause verb is on the binding scale, the less its complement would tend to be syntactically coded as an independent/main clause. Although Givón does not discuss the length of the expression, it can be expected that a sentence having a verb at the top of the binding scale would be shorter in length than a sentence having a verb at the lower end of binding scale. The reason for this is that strong binding can be characterized as the Figure, while weak binding can be characterized as the Ground. A Krio language example illustrates the binding strength of verbs (Givón 1980:338):

(20) a tɛl am fɔ lɛf
    I tell him for leave
    'I told him to leave'           (strongest command)
(21) a tēl am mēk i lēf
  I tell him make he leave
  'I told him that he must leave'  (weaker)

(22) a tēl am se i fō lēf
  I tell him that he for leave
  'I told him that he should leave'  (weaker yet)

(23) a tēl am se mēk i lēf
  I tell him that make he leave
  'I told him that he may/could leave'  (weakest)

As can be seen here, depending on the binding strength of verbs, the length of sentences differs, i.e., fō < mēk i < se i fō < se mēk i. Sentence 20 which contains the strongest binding verb is the shortest sentence, while sentence 23 which contains the weakest binding verb is the longest sentence.

Another example of the correlation between binding strength and length of expression is found in causative structures. Givón (1980:336) explains the position of causative verbs on the binding scale:

(24) Verbs of intended/controlled causation will tend to be higher on the binding scale than verbs of unintended/uncontrolled causation.

(25) Controlled-causation verbs that involve direct causation will tend to be higher on the binding scale than those involving indirect/mediated causation.

Because direct causation verbs are at the top of binding scale, a direct causation sentence is shorter than an
indirect causation sentence.

Givón (1980) observes that the relative positions of 'cause', 'have', and 'make' in English on the binding scale would be predicted as follows:

(26) make > have > cause.

Thus, the sentence having 'make' is shorter than the sentence having 'cause'. The short and long sentences are based on having naked-stem forms or to-infinitive constructions, respectively. Givón (1980:356) mentions that 'make' and 'have' take the naked-stem form of the verb/complement, which is as close as one may get in English to lexicalization, while 'cause' takes the to-V infinitive complement:

(27) She made him work hard.
(28) She caused him to work hard.

Givón also uses a binding hierarchy to explain nominalized complements. In many languages, it can be found that verbs at the top of the hierarchy take the more nominalized complement-verb form, while verbs at the lower part of the hierarchy take the less-nominal infinitive. In other words, depending on the binding strength, either the gerund form (SF) or the infinitive form (LF) is employed. Consider the following examples:
(29) a. He wanted to leave the school.  
    b. *He wanted leaving the school.

(30) a. He avoided reading.  
    b. *He avoided to read.

As seen earlier in Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), factive verbs take the gerund form, which is the same as Givón’s nominalized complement-verb form. Conversely, non-factive verbs take to-infinitive forms, which are much the same as Givón’s less nominalized forms. In relation to binding strength, factive verbs are higher on Givón’s (1980) binding scale, and non-factive verbs are lower.

In discussing complements, Givón (1980:367) suggests several criteria. One of them is epistemic certainty, which reflects the LF and SF. As will be seen later, in order to express stronger epistemic certainty, the SF is employed. Conversely, for epistemic vagueness, the LF is employed. Givón (1980:367) states that:

Cognition verbs in English, on the epistemic-certainty range, allow a variation between a nominal complement and a more sentential one, the latter with the subordinator ‘that’. The nominalized one tends to be interpreted as ‘presupposed’ and in that sense expressing stronger certainty, which characterizes the higher portion of the epistemic-verb continuum. (Emphasis added)

Givón (1980:367) suggests the following examples to support his finding.
(31) a. He knew of her coming. (always factive) 
   b. He knew that she came. (sometimes 
      non-factive)

(32) a. He suspected her coming. (more certain or 
   even factive) 
   b. He suspected that she came. (less certain, 
      less factive)

Note how the different lengths of each sentence are related to the different degrees of certainty. The sentences which imply more certainty and factivity are short, i.e., the SF. The sentences which show uncertainty and non-factivity are long, i.e., the LF. In fact, in 32, the length of 'her coming' is shorter than that of 'that she came'. Even though Givón (1980) does not refer to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), the observations are quite parallel. Therefore, it can be said that the observations of Kiparsky and Kiparsky and Givón reflect iconicity.

Note that certainty and factivity are characterized as the Figure, and uncertainty and non-factivity as the Ground. Although Givón (1980) does not mention iconicity, his (1985) work focuses on iconicity. Givón (1985:187) does cite C.S. Peirce (1940): "In the syntax of every language there are logical icons of kind that are aided by conventional rules."

Givón (1985:188) claims that a reasonable sense of 'iconicity' must presuppose the notion of 'isomorphism', so that an iconic code is 'an isomorphically constructed code'. In addition, he (1985) restates his own (1980) 'binding
hierarchy' according to iconicity. He (1985:201) provides the following iconic principle:

(33) **The proximity principle:** The closer together two concepts are semantically or functionally, the more likely they are to be put adjacent to each other lexically, morpho-tactically or syntactically.

One very interesting example of the iconicity principle, which Givón terms the proximity principle, is the placement of the negative marker in Russian. Givón (1985:208) points out that the semantic closeness of the operator to the operand corresponds to syntactic proximity:

(34) The more relevant the operator is to the operand, and the more specific and exclusive it is to the operand, the closer to the operand it will be placed.

Givón's (1985) Russian examples of proximity principle are as follows:

(35) a. Ivan jego ne-ubil
    Ivan him Neg-killed
    'Ivan didn't kill him' (neutral or V-focus)

    b. Ivan ubil ne-jego
    Ivan killed Neg-him
    'Ivan didn't kill him' (object-focus)

    c. jego ubil ne-Ivan
    him killed Neg-Ivan
    'Ivan didn't kill him' (subject-focus)
Depending on the semantic closeness between negative ne and what is being negated, the position of negative ne differs, i.e., before the verb, before the object, or before the subject. The linguistic expressions in 35 reveal the closeness between Neg and what is being negated. Thus, the examples 35 are consistent with the proximity principle above.

Givón (1985) also deals with another concept related to iconicity: agent deletion in passivization. Total agent deletion, the most common cross-linguistic strategy, is iconic in a very concrete and obvious fashion (Givón 1985: 204):

If a piece of information is communicatively either unimportant, irrelevant, or should not in the speaker’s judgement be communicated, for whatever reasons, that piece is not mentioned.

Givón (1985:206) mentions that the more important the item is in the communication, the more distinct and independent a coding expression it receives. This is quite parallel to Bolinger (1985). According to Bolinger (1985), in pragmatic use of intonation, new and important information is given a more prominent stress, pitch, or contour. In a certain sense, this is somewhat similar to Chafe (1974): given information, which the speaker assumes is already in the addressee’s consciousness, receives low pitch, because
given information is less important than new information.

2.8. Studies of Iconicity in Korean Linguistics

Most Korean linguists who study in the West, especially in the United States, have contributed to the development of Korean linguistics. The transformational-generative (T-G) framework is the prominent method of study used in Korea. However, because Korean T-G grammarians generally focus on transformation, and emphasize the Katz-Postal hypothesis, they typically have not considered the iconic relationship between linguistic expression (form) and its referent (meaning). For example, as seen in causation, there are two forms in Korean: one form is a suffixal causative (SF) which is made by adding a causative affix, the other form is a syntactic causative which is made by adding the causative ending, -key, to the verb stem and using the causative pro-verb ha-. The Korean T-G grammarians’ main concern is whether the underlying forms of both causatives are the same or not. However, they have not paid attention to the different lengths between two causatives, i.e., the directness of causer’s activity is expressed by the SF, while indirectness of causer’s activity is related to the LF. Very few of them have treated the non-arbitrariness between form and meaning.
K.O. Kim (1977) is perhaps the first scholar to focus on iconicity in Korean, even though he has never employed this term. For sound symbolism in Korean, Kim finds that within the same vertical series high vowels connote augmentative, and low vowels indicate diminutive. One of Kim’s (1977:67) examples is the pair, pingkul and payngkul. The former, having the vowel /i/, means ‘(turn) round and round’, but the latter, having the low vowel /ay/, means ‘round and round with smaller circle’.

K.O. Kim, however, has not explained why high vowels indicate augmentative meanings or why the low ones express diminutive meanings. Rather than the feature [height], which is employed by K.O. Kim, other properties of vowels in order to grasp the concept of iconicity must be found. It should be noted that high vowels maintain a relatively wider pharyngeal cavity; low vowels maintain a narrow pharyngeal cavity (Gregerson 1987). In the iconicity principle, the extended form corresponds to the extended concept, i.e., a wider cavity is associated with the broad augmentative concepts. Conversely, a narrow cavity is associated with the narrow diminutive concepts. The concept of wide vs. narrow pharyngeal cavity offers a better explanation than K.O. Kim’s idea of high-low vs. augmentative-diminutive.

In the vowel harmony section of his dissertation, Y.S. Kim (1984:171-82) makes observations similar to K.O.
Kim's, i.e., high vowels express augmentative, and low vowels express diminutive. Unlike K.O. Kim (1977), Y.S. Kim (1984: 177) employs the psychoacoustic feature, 'deep voice resonance' (DVR). However, like other scholars, he does not use the term, iconicity, to express this relationship.

Another scholar who has touched on iconicity is H.M. Sohn (1978, 1986). In studying long and short forms, he focuses on two causative forms in Korean. He argues that the LF causative expresses indirectness; the SF causative indicates directness. Although H.M. Sohn (1978) does not employ the term 'iconicity', one of his findings reflects the iconicity principle. He shows (1978) that the social distance between solidarity and length of linguistic expression is directly proportional, i.e., the closer the social distance the fewer morphemes in the expression.

As has been seen thus far, although some Korean linguists recognize a link between form and meaning for a pair of expressions, none of them conceptualizes this as iconicity. It appears that the iconic approach is still not considered to be one of the prominent issues among Korean linguists.

2.9 Summary Remarks

Thus far, the findings of some scholars who have treated a pair of linguistic expressions in which the
expressions differ in length have been outlined. Although Gregerson (1987) focuses on only phonology, i.e., the physical cavity size in discussing ideophones, his findings appear to be in line with the others' findings, i.e., the extended form (wide cavity size) is related to the extended concept (augmentative), while the bounded form is related to the bounded concept (diminutive).

With the exception of Gregerson (1987) Haiman (1980) and Givón (1985), the term iconicity is not employed. The findings presented in this chapter reflect the iconicity principle. These are summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF/LF</th>
<th>FIGURE/GROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gregerson (1987)</td>
<td>Narrow cavity/Wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cavity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diminutive/Augmentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chafe (1974)</td>
<td>One stress/Two stresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close /Loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conceptual unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiman (1983)</td>
<td>Small number of/Large number of morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close distance/Great distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiparsky/Kiparsky (1970)</td>
<td>Gerund/To-infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gerund/That-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factivity/Non-factivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross (1978)</td>
<td>Deleted form/Full form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximity/Remote,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct/Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Givón (1980)</td>
<td>Small number of/Large number of morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gerund/That-clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong binding/Weak binding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in the above table, the first members of the pairs of oppositions which are characterized as
the Figure are associated with the SF, whereas the second members of such pairs which are characterized as the Ground are associated with the LF.
NOTES

1. I want to distinguish given information from old information. Old information is, as Chafe (1970) claims, anything the addressee’s mind already contains. However, given information means something which the speaker (Chafe’s term, same as speaker) assumed to be in the addressee’s consciousness, whether or not the material is at the time of the utterance (Chafe 1974:112). For further discussion, see Price (1979), Chafe (1970, 1976), Ariel (1985).

2. Chafe (1974:114 fn. 6) points out that "...even if the entire phrase [Wendy and Peter] presented new information, high pitch would be likely to fall only on Peter. This pronunciation evidently depends on Wendy and Peter forming a conceptual unit (being thought of as a unitary couple). Otherwise, each would receive high pitch."

Longacre suggests, contrary to Chafe, that to express a couple Wendy has to receive high pitch. I agree with Longacre. These conjoined nouns can be considered a compound word, such as ‘chalk board.’ In this compound word, the first unit receives the high pitch. Therefore, Wendy has to receive the high pitch.

3. Similarly Givón insists that depending on the degree of factivity of complement, gerund or that-clause complement is employed:

(a) He thought of her coming.  (factive and more certain)
(b) He thought that she came.  (non-factive and less certain)

4. In Korean, the difference between permanent and temporary is expressed by maintaining particles or deleting particles. Some examples are given as follows:

(a) Kim-un hakkyo ka-ass-ni?
   -TM school go-Past-Q
   ‘Did Kim go to school?’
(b) Kim-un hakkyo-ey ka-ass-ni?
   -TM school-Loc go-Past-Q
   ‘Did Kim go to the school?’
In the above examples, the only difference is that (a) deletes the locative case -ey, whereas (b) maintains it. Deleting -ey or maintaining -ey makes a difference in Korean. In sentence (a), we presuppose that Kim is a school boy, whereas, in sentence (b), we are not sure whether he is a school boy or not. If Kim is not a school boy, and he goes on an errand to a school, (b) is very natural.
CHAPTER 3

ICONICITY IN PHONOLOGY AND SOUND SYMBOLISM

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has been seen how some linguists treat iconicity, whether they directly use the term or not. Iconicity is coded in linguistic expressions in various ways, phonologically, morphologically, syntactically. In this chapter, the linguistic evidence of iconicity in Korean phonology and sound symbolism (including phonetics) will be discussed. In certain cases, phonological phenomena, such as length of pronunciation, intonation, and stress, can be explained by non-phonological approaches. It will be shown that the iconicity approach is one of these non-phonological approaches.

In the phonology section of this chapter, the length of pronunciation will be discussed first. The increased length is associated with a connotation shift. Secondly, a pair of intonations will be explained in terms of the notion of new/given information. Also, pairs of stresses will be investigated on the basis of conceptual closeness.

In the sound symbolism section of this chapter, vowel
and consonant alternations will be discussed in relation to the iconicity principle. In vowel alternation, words containing wide-pharyngeal-cavity vowels correspond to the Gestalt Ground, while words containing narrow ones correspond to the Gestalt Figure. Consonant alternation will be discussed on the basis of degree of tenseness. Furthermore, it will be shown that pharynx narrowing indicates pejorative connotation.

3.2 Iconicity in Phonology

3.2.1 Length of Pronunciation

A word or a sentence is pronounced quickly or slowly on the basis of the situation. In English, as is heard in daily conversation, the word hurry is typically pronounced quickly and repeatedly in imperative constructions. However, the word slow is pronounced very slowly to add descriptive emphasis. In relation to iconicity the speed of pronunciation corresponds to the conceptual meaning of the word or sentence. This also applies to Korean, where the speed of pronunciation is slowed down in order to reflect farther distance. Some examples from adverbs in Korean are given below:

(1) a. melli tenci-ess-ta
    far  throw-Past-DE
    'threw far away'
b. me--lli tenci-ess-ta
   farther throw-Past-DE
   'threw farther'

(2) a. khu-n san
    big-M mountain
    'big mountain'

b. khu---n san
    bigger-M mountain
    'bigger mountain'
    (--- stands for the length of pronunciation)

Unlike English, Korean has no comparative and superlative suffixes for adverbs and adjectives. To express the comparative and superlative meaning, Korean employs particular adverbs te 'more' and kacang 'most'. On the other hand, instead of these adverbs, a longer pronunciation than the ordinary one is used very often. me--lli (LF) in 1b indicates a farther place than melli (SF) in 1a. Consider the following examples:

(3) a. melli    'far'
    b. me-lli    'farther'
    c. me--lli    'farthest'

As seen in 3, the longest pronunciation is related to the farthest place, while the shortest pronunciation is related the closest place. 3c is considered the LF, while 3a is considered the SF. Thus, it can be said that the LF in 3 corresponds to the farthest place, while the SF in 3 is associated with the nearest place.
Interestingly, when the adverbs, te and kacang, cannot be used grammatically, the lengthening of pronunciation is essentially employed. Some examples are given below:

(4) a. ce-ki ka-n-ta
    that place go-Prog-DE
    '(someone) is going there'

b. ce--ki ka-n-ta
    that place go-Prog-DE
    '(someone) is going farther place from here'

c. ce---ki ka-n-ta
    that place go-Prog-DE
    '(someone) is going farthest place from here'

Korean does not use *te ceki 'more there' nor *kacang ceki 'the most there'. What can be found in 4 is that the different lengths of pronunciation is an icon of the different distance. Thus, iconically speaking, 4c, the longest pronunciation, indicates the farthest place from here. It can be said that the mark ~ (this mark will be used tentatively in this study) is an icon of the increased distance between here and there.

3.2.2 Rising Intonation and Falling Intonation

Intonational patterns vary from language to language. However, there may be some universal tendencies. It seems that intonation is iconic, and that all grammatical uses of intonation in a language reflect its fundamental iconism."
For example, high pitch symptomizes a condition of high tension in the organism, low pitch the opposite. As a matter of fact, a special status can be granted to intonations that accompany exclamations or other obvious manifestations of heightened emotion, which seem to be more or less universal (Bolinger 1985:99).

To paraphrase Bolinger (1985), the primitive meaning of intonational contours is both an icon and an index of a state of mind. This claim is parallel to Liberman (1979). Liberman (1979:147) says that the intonational lexicon has a fundamentally ideophonic structure, and that an intonational pattern is more or less frozen.

As far as iconicity is concerned, the relationship between information and intonation can be expected. Korean negation shows this type of relationship. Korean has two types of negation. One is a so-called short-form negation, an ‘not’; the other is a long-form negation, -ci an ‘not’. Depending on whether the speaker presupposes a proposition, the long-form negation employs one of the two intonation patterns. Consider the following examples:

(5) na-nun Seoul-ey an ka-ass-ta'. (SF)  
    I -TM -Loc Neg go-Past-DE  
    'I didn’t go to Seoul'

(6) na-nun Seoul-ey ka-ci an-ass-ta' (LF)  
    I -TM -Loc go-NCom Neg-Past-DE  
    'I did not go to Seoul'
Now, the structure of the two types of negation showing their different lengths will be briefly explained. In 5, Neg an precedes verb ka- 'go'. However, in 6, Neg an is postposed to the verb ka-. In this case, the verb ka- is always accompanied by the negative complementizer -ci. In terms of the length, the former an ka- is a SF, and the latter ka-ci an is a LF. In terms of usage, 5 is less formal than 6 which, therefore, indicates greater social distance (see section 4.5).

Within long-form negation (not with the short-form), -ci an, there can be two distinct intonations, i.e., rising and falling:

(7) palam-i pwul-ci an-ni? / (\ is rising)
    wind-SM blow-NCom Neg-Q
    'Isn't it windy?'

(8) palam-i pwul-ci an-ni? \ (\ is falling)
    wind-SM blow-NCom Neg-Q
    'It is windy, isn't it?'

Here, Chafe's notion of givenness is adopted. The above sentences 7 and 8 are different from each other in terms of intonation. The difference between them is based on whether the proposition palam-i pwul-ta 'it is windy' can be presupposed or not. Following Chafe's (1974) notion of 'givenness', in 8, palam-i pwul-ta, due to falling intonation, is a presupposition, and it is considered given information. In 7, palam-i pwul-ta, due to rising inton-
ation, is not presupposed, and it is considered new inform-
ation. To support this, the addressee’s reactions to 7 and 8
must be investigated. It is expected that the reactions to 7
and 8 differ because the former implies new information, but
the latter implies given information.

**Answer of 7**
(9) a. moll-ayo
   not know-infE
   'I don’t know'

   b. *kulay-yo?
      that like-Q
      'Is that right'

**Answer of 8**
(10) a. *moll-ayo
   not know-infE
   'I don’t know

   b. kulay-yo?
      that like-Q
      'Is that right'

As seen above, 10a is not acceptable. The reason is
that, because the speaker has presupposed that the addressee
has already known ‘it is windy now’, the speaker expects the
answer ‘Yes’. However, because the speaker does not answer
‘Yes’, 10a is not acceptable in this context. If the
addressee reacts with 10b when he hears 8, it shows that the
speaker’s assumption is not correct.

Furthermore, sentence 8, which has ‘given
information’, can be reduced. That is, -ci an contracts
-cyan, from two syllables to one syllable:
(11) palam-i pwul-cyan-ni \ wind-SM blow-not-Q‘It is windy, isn’t it?’

It can be concluded that rising intonation is related to new information, falling to given information.

3.2.3 One Stress and Two Stresses

As seen in chapter 2, Chafe (1974) predicts that, in English, different stress patterns display conceptually strong unity or loose unity. Since the surface stress pattern might be iconically associated with the conceptual unity which the stress pattern connotes, the following can be assumed in terms of iconicity:

(12) The stronger the conceptual unity which a conjoined phrase displays, the simpler will be its stress pattern.

As will be seen below, this principle is valid in Korean as it is in English. If many linguistic units, such as morphemes, syllables, and words, are in loose conceptual combination, then the stress pattern of the combination will be complex. On the contrary, if they are put together in close conceptual combination, the stress pattern is simpler. Consider the following conjoined noun phrase from Korean:
(13) a. PARK JEONG-Hee YWUK YEONG-Soo
   'Jeong-Hee Park and Yeong-Soo Ywuk'
b. PARK JEONG-Hee Ywuk Yeong-Soo
   'Jeong-Hee Park and Yeong-Soo Ywuk'
   (Capital letter means stress)

These stress patterns are depicted as the following:

(13') a. / / 
b. / / 

Both phrases show different stress patterns, i.e., 13a reveals two stresses, while 13b employs only one stress. In 13a two people are represented without close conceptual unity in the speaker's mind, i.e., 13a refers to a certain man and a certain woman. Unlike 13a, 13b represents Jeong-Hee Park and Yeong-Soo Ywuk as a couple with strong conceptual unity in the speaker's mind. In other words, 13a shows two ideas which correspond to two stresses, while 13b exhibits one idea which corresponds to one stress.

In order to examine this finding, let us add pwupwu 'couple' to 13. 13a does not allow addition of pwupwu, whereas 13b does. The following shows this relation:

(14) a. *PARK JEONG-Hee YWUK YEONG-Soo pwupwu
couple
   b. PARK JEONG-Hee Ywuk Yeong-Soo pwupwu
couple
This notion of conceptual unity is applicable to a pair of nominal compounds and its corresponding phrase. An example is given below:

(15) a. SAKWA CEPSI (two stresses)
    apple plate
    'apple and plate'

    b. SAKWA.cepsi (one stress)
    apple.plate
    'plate with apple slices'

The stress pattern in 15a indicates that apple and plate exist separately. There is no conceptual unity in 15a. However, 15b means the plate upon which there are apples or apple slices. In other words, 15a reveals the conceptual looseness between the apples and the plate, while 15b shows the conceptual closeness between them.4

Quite similarly, a pair of adjective-noun compounds also demonstrates different stress patterns on the basis of the conceptual unity. Consider the following:

(16) a. CAK-un APECI (two stresses) (phrase)
    small-M father
    'father who is small'

    b. CAK-un apeci (one stress) (compound)
    small-M father
    'younger brother of father'

Despite the presence of the same constituents in 16a and 16b, the degree of conceptual unity determines the
different stress patterns, which are employed. Example 16a, which receives two stresses, does not mean the younger brother of father. On the other hand, example 16b, which receives one stress, does mean 'the younger brother of father'. cak- 'small' in 16a maintains its own meaning, while cak- 'small' in 16b does not maintain the meaning. That is, in 16b, 'the younger brother of father' is tall or small, while in 16a, the father is small. Thus, it can be said that 16a shows one idea, whereas 16b shows two ideas.

Such relationships between stress pattern and concept are discussed by Chafe (1974). Chafe (1974:115) presents the following data with the accompanying explanation in terms of conceptual unity. (Note that two stresses can be considered the LF, and one stress is considered the SF.)

(17) a. My SISTER is DYING
   b. The BUTTER MELTED

(18) a. My SISTER died
   b. The BUTTER melted.

In the above examples two types of stress patterns are employed. Chafe (1974:115) explains the difference between 17 and 18 as follows:

It seems likely that the verb-noun combinations of 6 [18] form for the speaker a conceptual unity which is not present in the combinations of 5 [17]. E.g., we compare 5b [17a] and 6b [18a], the relationship of 'my sister' to 'death' has not been established as a unit in
the speaker's mind at the time she is dying; but after her death, he will have come to think of the event as a single idea. In 5c [17b], as a rather different kind of example, the concepts 'butter' and 'melt' have not coalesced to form a conceptual unit; but in 6c [18b] one might say that there is a single concept 'butter-melt,' an instance of which is said to have occurred. This notion of conceptual unity, although it obviously needs further investigation, may prove useful in explaining a variety of linguistic phenomena.

In summary, the conceptually close unit, i.e., conceptually one idea, takes a simple stress pattern, while the conceptually loose unit, i.e., conceptually two or more ideas, employs the complicated stress pattern. As far as iconicity is concerned, it can be predicted that the close unit will correspond to the SF (which is one stress), whereas the loose unit will be related to the LF (which is two stresses). In addition, new information can be characterized as the Figure, whereas given information can be characterized as the Ground. It can be said that rising intonation reflects the Figure, while given information reflects the Ground. Thus, the linguistic expression is iconic with the concept which the expression connotes. The following illustrates this relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(19)</th>
<th>SF</th>
<th>LF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>One stress</td>
<td>Two stresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept</td>
<td>Single idea</td>
<td>Two ideas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Iconicity in Sound Symbolism

Hockett's claim (1958:10) has been already cited; that is, among the various characteristics of language, the essential one is arbitrariness: the relation between a meaningful element in language and its denotation is independent of any physical or geometrical resemblance between the two. Although this statement is substantially correct and important, there are a number of linguistic examples which show non-arbitrariness, e.g., sound symbolic words bear a systematic, motivated relation to meaning. Martin (1962:177) states that the psychological universality of connotations is associated with vowel qualities\(^5\) ('little things' represented by closed vowels, and 'big things' by open vowels).

Generally speaking, the differences in vowel quality can usually be described in terms of variations in the degree of height, backness, and lip rounding. Besides these qualities, the oral cavity and pharyngeal cavity size are very important qualities, especially in discussing sound symbolism.

In this section (3.3), the relationship between sound and meaning in a pair of Korean sound symbolic words will be discussed in terms of iconicity. First, by employing Gregerson's (1987) notion of pharyngeal cavity, wide pharynx vowels correspond to an augmentative referent, while narrow
pharynx vowels are associated with a diminutive referent. Secondly, in consonant alternations, the tense and unaspirated consonant corresponds to powerful, dynamic meaning or extremity. Lastly, in pairs of sound symbolic words, a word whose vowel has a narrow oral or pharyngeal cavity signals a pejorative meaning.

3.3.1 Vowel Alternation

Traditionally, Korean vowels have been divided into two classes in terms of their vocalism: dark and light. The connotations associated with vowel qualities between a pair of expressions may be depicted roughly as the diminutive (hereafter Dim) for light vowels, and the augmentative (hereafter Aug) for dark vowels⁶ (S.N. Lee 1978, Y.S. Kim 1984, Martin 1962).

As a way of illustrating this distinction about the vocalism of Korean sound symbolic words (Martin’s (1962:180) ‘impresionistic adverb’), some of examples are presented from Y.S. Kim (1984:173-4), who deals with sound symbolism to explain vowel harmony:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(20) [AUG] DARK</th>
<th>[DIM] LIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. e / a tetek</td>
<td>tatak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eceng</td>
<td>acang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'In clusters' 'with toddling steps'
b. u / a  kutuk  katuk  'full'
       hunul  hanul  'in an airy manner'
c. i / ay  pipi    paypay  'twisting'
       singkul  sayngkul  'with a gentle
               smile'
d. ey/ay  teykwul  taykwul  'rolling, rumbling'
       teyngkeng  tayngkang 'at a stroke'
e. wu/o  swukwun  sokon  'in whispers'
       pwugul  pokul  'hubble-bubble'
f. uy/oy  huyhuy  hoyhoy  'round about'
       khuykhuy  khoykhoy  'foul-smelling'

After investigating the above symbolic words, Y.S. Kim (1984:179) proposes the following system for the harmonic classes of present-day Korean:

(21) $\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{uy} & \text{u} & \text{wu} \\
\text{ey} & \underline{\text{oy}} & \underline{\text{e}} & \underline{\text{o}} \\
\underline{\text{ay}} & \underline{\text{a}} & \text{LIGHT} & [+DVR] \\
\end{array}$

Instead of the feature such as Dark and Light, Y.S. Kim (1984:179) suggests the psycho-acoustic feature of 'deep voice resonance' $[\text{DVR}]$.

The psychoacoustic basis for DVR can be seen as residing in the relative sonority with each of the four vowel sets defined by features of tonality (front-back) and rounding, that is, the $[+\text{DVR}]$ vowel is the one with maximum sonority within its sets.

Y.S. Kim's (1984:177) claim is incomplete, because some counter-examples can be found. For example, as far as
iconicity is concerned, it can be expected that the relatively high sonority corresponds to the augmentative, while the relatively low sonority should correspond to the diminutive. For instance, khwung 'plunking' can be pronounced with different degrees of sonority. That is, if pronounced with high sonority as in 22b, the feeling of falling down is heavier than that of 22a:

(22) a. ~~~~~
b. ~~~~~~~~~~~~ (-- stands for sonority)

Y.S. Kim's (1984) sound symbolic feature [DVR] is not sufficient to explain Korean symbolic words. His system 21 which results from the data in 20 shows that all four diminutive vowels are the lowest vowels in each of the four vertical series. Contrary to 21, the contrast between Dark and Light can take place between the different vertical series. In other words, the boundaries between the vertical series cannot be absolute constraints in discussing sound symbolism. Some examples which deviate from 20 are given below:

(23)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUGMENTATIVE</th>
<th>DIMINUTIVE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i / ya</td>
<td>kilum</td>
<td>kyalum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i / yo</td>
<td>ikes</td>
<td>yokes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i / a</td>
<td>simsim</td>
<td>samsam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o / oy</td>
<td>cokum</td>
<td>coykum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23 shows that /i/ in the first vertical series in 21 can contrast with /a/ in the third vertical series. In addition to 23, the striking counter-example to Y.S. Kim's (1984) claim is the contrast between /oy/ and /o/ which belong to [+DVR] in 21. In the example, cokum 'a bit' and coykum 'a very little bit'. The word cokum indicates AUG, while the word coykum indicates DIM.

The change /o/ -> /oy/ can be explained by umlauting (vowel fronting). In this case, however, this umlauting is quite different from the phonological umlauting. There is a common agreement that phonological umlauting does not result in the meaning change, e.g., soncapi -> soncaipi 'knob' and madi->maydi 'node'. On the contrary, the vowel alternation from /o/ to /oy/ results in meaning change, i.e., from the diminutive to much more diminutive. 'Vowel front-lowering', 'pharynx narrowing', or pejorative umlauting can be proposed for this umlauting that produces pejorative meaning. This will be discussed further in pejorative section later.

Thus, examples in 23 lead us to propose an alternative to [DVR], because contrary to Y.S. Kim's (1984) framework the contrast in sound symbolism can take place within the same area of [+DVR]. Thus, instead of Kim's [DVR], pharynx iconism (which is proposed by Gregerson (1987:33) as 'pharynx symbolism') can be employed, i.e., in a pair of words the one whose vowel contains a wider pharyngeal cavity is related to the augmentative, whereas the other one whose
vowel contains a narrower pharyngeal cavity corresponds to the diminutive.

To express a connotation shift in Korean, vowel or consonant alternation is employed. K.O. Kim (1977:67) states that alternation between certain vowels or consonants in sound symbolic adjectives and adverbs is regularly correlated with a connotation shift in these words. In discussing vowel alternation, K.O. Kim (1977:67) gives the following examples:

(24) a. /pingkul/ 'round and round'
   b. /payngkul/ 'round and round (the circle involved is smaller and the movement faster)'

K.O. Kim (1977:67) shows that the alternation between /i/ and /ay/ in the above examples brings about a connotation shift in the speed of the movement and in the size of the moving object and of the circle made by the circular movement.

K.O. Kim (1977) does not provide an answer to the question of why 24b containing /ay/ indicates a smaller size, and why 24a containing /i/ signals a bigger size. After reviewing K.O. Kim (1977), the question can be answered on the basis of the iconic relationship between wide pharynx and a referent of bigger size.

K.O. Kim (1977:68) lists the following examples which represent the most typical vowel alternation causing a regular connotation shift:
(25) a. /i/ /singkul/ 'smiling'
   /ey/: /ay/ /sayngkul/ 'smiling brightly and affectionately'
   /meysukkepta/ 'nauseating'
   /maysukkepta/ 'a little nauseating'

   b. /u/ /kulkcek/ 'scratching successively'
      /a/ /kalkcak/ 'scratching with a small and quick movement'
      /e/ /helttek/ 'panting'
      /halttak/ 'panting in weak and short gasps'

   c. /wu/: /o/ /twungkul/ 'somewhat round'
      /tongkul/ 'somewhat round involving a small circle'.

After presenting the above examples, K.O. Kim (1977:68) makes the following observation:

These examples show that the words containing one of the three vowels /ay/, /a/, and /o/ in the first syllable are associated with a diminutive connotation such as being light, bright, quick, affectionate, etc.; all of which are derivable from smallness in size. For ease of exposition, these vowels are henceforth referred to as diminutive vowels. (Emphasis added)

In addition, K.O. Kim proposes the following diagram 26, which shows the relationship between the diminutive vowels and their augmentative counterparts in the vowel system of modern Korean. According him (1977:68), the vowels in the boxes alternate with those under the boxes, and the arrows indicate the alternation pairs.
(26) Vowel Alternation Causing Connotation Shift:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ey/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ay/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(His phonetic signs have been changed for ease of type with computer software, i.e., from e, e, u to ey, ay, u, e, wu, respectively)

In discussing vowel symbolism, K.O. Kim (1977) focuses on only the vowel height features. All three diminutive vowels are the lowest vowels in each of the three vertical series. This observation indicates that it is the relationship between height features as expressed in the relative term 'lowest' that captures the generalization involved in this phenomenon.

Initially, K.O. Kim’s (1977) finding, in sound symbolic adjectives and adverbs, is plausible. However, when looking further into the symbolic words which represent a vowel alternation, many counter-examples can be found. Vowel height features in each of the three series in 26 do not adequately explain the following pairs of words. If his finding is right, the following words follow his (1977) framework of height alternation. Consider again the examples in 23:
(27=23)  AUGMENTATIVE       DIMINUTIVE
       i/ya  kilum  kyalum  'longish'
      i/y0  ikes   yokes  'this'
      i/a  simsim samsam 'unsalty'
     o/oy  cokum  coykum 'a bit'

None of the above examples is consistent with K.O. Kim's (1977) vowel height alternation causing connotation shift. Furthermore, none of the vowel pairs belongs to one of Kim's paired vertical series in 26. This observation shows that vowel height features cannot adequately explain the relationship between sound pattern and meaning. In order to explain vowel alternation in both 25 and 27, the notion of size symbolism can be suggested, which means that the wide cavity corresponds to the augmentative, while the narrow cavity corresponds to the diminutive.

Insightfully, Gregerson (1987) proposes the pharyngeal cavity as a feature for explaining ideophones. Also, Ladefoged (1982:206) points out that in some languages the pharyngeal cavity size is a feature of vowel quality:

In Twi (a West African language spoken mainly in Ghana) there are only two sets of vowels that differ mainly in the size of the pharynx. In the one set there are wide vowels in which the root of the tongue is drawn forward and the larynx is lowered, so that the part of the vocal track in the pharynx is considerably enlarged. In the other set there are narrow vowels in which there is no advancement of the tongue root or lowering of the larynx. (Emphasis added)
In explaining the vowel alternation in Korean sound symbolism, the pharyngeal cavity size is the most important feature. In the case of simsim vs. samsam 'salty', the former shows the augmentative, while the latter shows the diminutive. The reason for this is that although /a/ has the wider oral cavity size than /i/, the pharyngeal cavity size of /i/ is wider than that of /a/. The different sizes between /a/ and /i/ are illustrated by C.W. Kim (1985:51):

(28)  

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
 & & & \\
& i & [i] & \\
 & & ---|--- & \\
 & & | & \\
 a & [a] & \\
 & & | & \\
w & u & [u] & \\
 & & | | | & \\
 & & | | | & \\
\end{array} \]

To apply Gregerson's (1987:33) notion of pharyngeal cavity, Korean vowels are classified as follows:

(29)  

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
 & & & \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{NARROW PHARYNX} & & & \text{WIDE PHARYNX} \\
\text{Narrow Oral} & \text{Wide Oral} & \text{Narrow Oral} & \text{Wide Oral} \\
i & [i] & w & [u] \\
u & [i] & \\
y & a & [a] \\
ay & e & [e] & o & [o] \\
y & a & [a] & e & [e] \\
\end{array} \]
Note that the pharyngeal cavity size increases gradually from left to right. This diagram illustrates that the pharyngeal cavity is a primary feature, and that the wider the pharyngeal cavity is, the more likely it is to represent an augmentative referent; the narrower the pharyngeal cavity is, the more likely it is to signal a diminutive referent. Furthermore, the vowel having both a wide pharyngeal and a wide oral cavity corresponds to the largest augmentative referent, while the vowel having both a narrow pharyngeal and a narrow oral cavity is associated with the least diminutive referent.

Some personal pronouns\textsuperscript{11} show pharynx iconism. One example is the contrast between na 'I' and ne 'you'. As is shown in 29, the vowel a [a] belongs to the narrow pharyngeal cavity sets, while the vowel e [e] belongs to the wide pharyngeal sets. This difference between the pharyngeal cavity feature of the vowels in na and ne is congruent with the communicative distance between 'I' and 'you'. There is no distance between 'I' and the speaker, whereas there is at least a minimal distance between 'you' and the speaker.

Further support for pharynx iconism is shown by the pair of intensifier prefixes in Korean: say- and si- which roughly mean 'more'. The pharyngeal cavity of ay- is narrower than that of i-\. Therefore, it can be expected that say- would indicate a lower degree of intensification, while si- would indicate a higher degree of intensification. These
expectations are met. Consider the following color terms: 

pheleh- vs. phalah-, 'dark blue vs. blue'. The former
represents the augmentative meaning, whereas the latter shows
the diminutive. In this case, *si- which is a higher degree
of intensification can be added to only pheleh- which
indicates the augmentative. On the other hand, *say- which is
a lower degree of intensification can be added to only
phalah-. There is no *saypheleh- nor *siphalah- in
Korean. Therefore, the term pharynx harmony should replace
the term 'vowel harmony'.

Moreover, many pairs of Korean symbolic words, in
general, show that the word having wide pharyngeal cavity
indicates somewhat abstract meaning, and the other word
having the narrow pharyngeal cavity indicates a concrete
meaning. Consider the following examples:

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
(29') & NARROW/WIDE & CONCRETE/ABSTRACT \\
\hline
mas/mes & taste/beauty & \\
caj/cek & small (thing)/ \\
& small (number, quantity) & \\
nalk/nulk & worn out/aged & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Thus far, it has been shown that there is an iconic
relationship between the pharyngeal cavity and the
connotation. It has also been mentioned that K.O. Kim’s vowel
alternation in the same vertical series is not adequate.
Likewise, it has been argued that Y.S. Kim’s (1984) DVR
cannot explain all Korean examples. Therefore, to best account for Korean examples, the new term 'pharynx harmony' is proposed for 'vowel harmony'.

It can be concluded that, in Korean, the wider pharyngeal cavity a vowel has, the more augmentative meaning the word will have, the narrower cavity a vowel has, the less augmentative meaning the word will have. In particular cases, high vowels indicate augmentative meaning, while lower vowels indicate diminutive meaning.

3.3.2 Consonant Alternation

In addition to vowel alternation, consonant alternation also brings about a slight meaning change. The connotation shift affected by the consonant alternation, however, seems to be of a different kind than the diminutive shift brought about by vowel alternation. K.O. Kim’s (1977:73) examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(30)</th>
<th>LENIS</th>
<th>ASPIRATED</th>
<th>TENSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| a.   | kamah\(ta\)\  
      | ‘remote’   |            | k\(kamah\(ta\)\  
      |            |            | ‘very remote’ |
| b.   | pelt\(te\)k\  
      | ‘(move)’   | phelt\(te\)k\  
      | ‘abruptly’ | ‘very abruptly’ and forcefully’ |
| c.   | pingk\(ul\)\  
      | ‘move round and round’ | phingk\(ul\)\  
      |            | ‘round and round in a faster and more powerful manner’ | pp\(pingk\(ul\)\  
      |            |            | ‘same as phingkul’ |
In the above examples, the connotation shift cannot be described in terms of the size of the object or any other properties derivable from size. In 30c, the words with the aspirated or tense stop seem to imply a faster speed. Moreover, as K.O. Kim (1977:73) points out, the words having tense consonants imply that the movement is more powerful. Thus, it can be said that faster speed and more powerful movement is one of the characteristics of consonant alternation.

K.O. Kim’s (1977) finding is based on consonant alternation in only symbolic adverbs. However, the consonant alternations below do not bring about the connotation shift indicating faster speed or more powerful movement. Rather, the consonant alternation leads to change of density or degree.\textsuperscript{12}

(31)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{a. } & \text{pakul.pakul} \quad \text{‘to crowd densely’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ppakul.ppakul} \quad \text{‘to crowd extremely densely’} 
\end{align*}

(32)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{a. } & \text{pasak.pasak} \quad \text{‘to have a crispy sound’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ppasak.ppasak} \quad \text{‘to have a stronger and louder crispy sound’} 
\end{align*}

(33)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{a. } & \text{kwupwul.kwupwul} \quad \text{‘(mountain road) is curved and curved’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{kkwupwul.kkwupwul} \quad \text{‘(mountain road) has very many, very sharp curves’} 
\end{align*}
In the above examples, no change of speed or movement is found. Rather, these show other characteristics. That is, 31b reveals higher density than 31a. 32b signals a crispier sound than 32a. The number and sharpness of the curves in 33b is greater than that of 33a. Thus, it can be said that the increased tensity of a consonant of a word corresponds to the increased intenseness of the referent meaning of the word.

Although K.O. Kim (1977) argues that the connotation shift in 33 cannot be described in terms of the size of the object, some symbolic stative verbs which undergo consonant alternation indicate a different size. Consider the following:

(34) a. (pay-ka) pollokhata ‘be with child’
b. (pay-ka) ppollokhata ‘be bigger with child’

The degree of width (or height) of 34b is greater than that of 34a. The following example is similar to 34 in terms of the size.

(35) a. tumwuntumwun ‘sparsely, at intervals’
b. ttumwuntumwun ‘sparsely, at longer intervals’

35 is used in two ways: temporal and spatial. In both cases, the interval or the distance between two objects
in 35b is longer than that in 35a.

As seen so far, several descriptions have been employed to explain the connotation shift caused by the consonant alternation. K.O. Kim (1977) uses faster speed and more powerful movement in discussing symbolic adverbs of 30c. In addition, higher density (31b), louder sound (32b), increased sharpness and number (33b), bigger size (34b), and longer interval (35b) are needed to describe other Korean consonant shifts. It should be noted that all of these features result from the aspirated or tense consonants of symbolic words, i.e., tenseness of the consonants. Therefore, it can be assumed that such consonants perform the same function. This function can be called extremity.

In a pair of words, the word containing the lenis consonant shows the normal referent, while the word having the aspirated or tense consonant signals the more diminutive or the more augmentative meaning. This extremity function of the aspirated or tense consonant can be depicted in the following way:

(36)  | CONSONANT    | LENIS     | CONSONANT    |
      | SHIFT      |           | SHIFT      |
      | A <----------> B |
      | C <-----DIM-----> ----------- <-----AUG------> D |
      | <-EXTREMITY-> | <---- NORMAL----> <-EXTREMITY-> |
The above diagram shows that the range of line CD is longer than that of line AB. The difference between AB and CD indicates the degree of extremity influenced by consonant alternation. For further understanding, consider the following examples (K.O. Kim 1977:67, 73):

(37) pingkul ‘round and round’
    phingkul ‘round and round (the movement is more powerful and faster)’
    ppingkul same as /phingkul/

(38) payngkul ‘round and round (the circle involved is smaller and the movement is faster)’
    phayngkul same as /payngkul/, but powerful
    ppayngkul same as /phayngkul/
    (The glosses of the last two are mine)

payngkul and pingkul are on the A and B sides, respectively, while ppayngkul and ppingkul which are formed by consonant alternation are on the C and the D sides, respectively. That is, ppingkul on side D manifests more extremity than pingkul on side B, and ppayngkul on side C shows more extremity than payngkul on side A. This indicates that consonant alternation such as p→ pp causes the diminutive meaning to lessen, and the augmentative meaning to enlarge.

The relationship between extremity and tenseness as is signaled by consonant alternation in symbolic words is related to the iconicity principle. The different degree of tenseness between a lenis consonant and a tense consonant
is associated with the degree of extremity that the word signals. The following can be concluded:

(39) The more tenseness the initial obstruent consonant in a word has, the higher the degree of extremity the word signals. That is, the increased tenseness is directly proportional to the increased extremity.

3.3.3 Pejorative (Pharynx Narrowing)

The Korean language has a well-developed honorific system. There are a number of honorific affixes, particles, words, and syntactic structures to express degrees of respect or politeness. In addition, there are a number of affixes, particles, and words to express degrees of disrespect or contempt. For example, there are three words of different lengths which connote 'die'; tolakasi- for respectful, cwuk- for neutral, and tweyci- for pejorative. In addition, there is a particular way to express the pejorative meaning: 'pharynx narrowing' (or 'pejorative umlauting'). The following are examples of pejorative umlauting versus phonological umlauting:

(40) Pejorative umlauting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Pejorative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. cwukita</td>
<td>cwuykita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. nampyen</td>
<td>naympyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. palkilcil</td>
<td>paylkilcil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. api</td>
<td>aypi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(41) Phonological umlauting
   a. soncapi   soncaypi  ‘knob’
   b. kkwulemi  kkwuleymi ‘bundle’
   c. totpoki   totpoyki  ‘magnifier’

At a glance, the umlauting of 40 and 41 seems to be similar. However, there are two significant differences between the vowel alternation. The first difference is that umlauting in 40 always takes place only in the initial vowel, while umlauting in 41 takes place just before /i/. The other difference between 40 and 41 is that umlauting in 40 results in meaning change, that is, from neutral to pejorative (or contempt), while that of 41 does not. Thus, 40 must be treated differently from 41.

The differences between 40 and 41 will be discussed further. In 41, no meaning change is associated with umlauting. In this phonological umlauting, what can be found is the position of the umlauted vowel. In all instances of 41, only the vowels which occur before the front vowel /i/ undergo umlauting. Thus, the following do not occur:

(41’) a. *soyncapei
   b. *kkwuleylemi
   c. *toytpoki

The front vowel /i/ does not cause umlauting in 40. Thus, umlauting in 40 is not a purely phonological phenom-
enon. If /i/ causes umlauting, apeci in 40 must become *apeyci. Thus, umlauting in 40 is quite different from that in 41. The umlauting in 40 can be called pejorative pharynx narrowing.

Narrowness of the cavity, not umlauting, corresponds to the meaning of pejorative (or contempt).

(42) a. kecismal 'a lie'
    b. kacismal 'a dirty, stinking lie'

As seen in 42, the vowel change, e → a, results in pejorativization. This illustrates that umlauting alone cannot account for the pejorative meaning. The relationship between the light vowels and pejorative meaning is observed by Martin (1962). Martin’s (1962) framework does not explain why aypi reveals the pejorative connotation and apeci does not although a and ay belong to the same light isotope (see note 6) in his framework. Despite his insightful proposal, Martin does not pay attention to the different size of pharyngeal cavity between a and ay.

In conclusion, in a pair of words, the word whose alternated vowel has a narrow pharyngeal cavity size indicates a pejorative meaning. In other words, the narrow cavity of the pharynx is associated with the pejorative connotation.
3.4. Summary Remarks

In this chapter, several phonological alternations which are based on conceptual differences have been discussed.

In the phonology section, it was noted that the increased length of pronunciation expresses a comparatively distant place or point. Since Korean has no comparative and superlative endings for adverbs and adjectives, the length alternation functions as such endings. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that, depending on whether the linguistic expression indicates one concept or two, the stress pattern differs. One idea is related to one stress, while two ideas are associated with two stresses. Moreover, in intonation, it was shown that given information is encoded in low pitch and new information is encoded in high pitch.

In the sound symbolism section, first, the iconic relationship between pharyngeal cavity and its referent was discussed in a pair of sound symbolic words. That is, a physically wide pharyngeal cavity size is related to an augmentative meaning, while a narrow pharyngeal cavity size corresponds to a diminutive meaning. Second, it was seen that consonant alternation results in connotation shift. The tense and aspirated consonant signals a powerful, severe concept, i.e., extremity. Lastly, one of the most interesting observations is that pharynx narrowing (or pejorative umlauting) is associated with a pejorative connotation.
Such vowel alternation is quite different from the purely phonological one.

To summarize, the extended, complex, wide, and multiple concepts which are included in the Gestalt Ground are encoded to long, complex linguistic forms (LF); and the bounded, simple, and narrow concepts which are included in the Figure correspond to short, simple linguistic forms (SF). Specifically, in sound symbolism, the wide cavity size and the high consonant tenseness are related to the augmentative and increased extremity, respectively. The narrow cavity size and the less tenseness are associated with the diminutive and less extremity, respectively.
NOTES

1. After an extensive discussion of the literature on intonation, Merin (1983) suggests general tendencies on which there is fair consensus, many of which are easily overridden by contextual factors or the speaker's choice of a relatively marked alternative. Merin's (1983:283) summary is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RISE</th>
<th>FALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hearer-orientation</td>
<td>speaker-orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deference</td>
<td>dominance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleading</td>
<td>commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concessive</td>
<td>assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tension</td>
<td>relaxation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>Statements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes-no question</td>
<td>Wh-questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antecedents of</td>
<td>Consequents of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditionals</td>
<td>conditionals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. They are the former president and first lady of Korea.

3. See note 2 in chapter 2.

4. Zimmer (1972) states that "If people have been piling all the hamburgers produced at a picnic onto one big plate, it will be appropriate to talk about the 'hamburger plate' with high pitch on the first word, but not on the second." Although this case is somewhat different, the fact that complex concepts are expressed by the LF is found in conjunction. That is, one episode is related to the SF, while two episodes are related to the LF. Hindi conjunctions show this. According to Davison (1981:120), in Hindi, there are two different kinds of conjunctions; 'Si-kar S2' and 'S1 aur phir S2'. The former (SF) indicates what is conceptualized as a single episode, while the latter (LF) marks a transition from one episode to another.

5. Martin (1962:177) introduces the term 'phonetic play' (or 'mimetics'): shaping words of lively connotation by imputing certain connotations to particular phonemes or
sequences of phonemes.

6. Martin (1962) divides word isotopes into two groups: light isotopes and heavy isotopes. According to him, a light isotope includes a, ay, o, and oy, and a heavy isotope includes e, ey, and wu. The following is Martin’s (1962:184) observation:

The light isotope is often extended to a pejorative connotation. From the meaning ‘small’ we move on to the meanings ‘petty, paltry, insignificant, dinky’, and the meaning of ‘fragile’ we move on to the meanings ‘unsubstantial, flimsy, flighty, frivolous, silly’. So, ku nom means just ‘that guy’ but ko nom means ‘that silly guy, that stupid fool, that worthless rascal’.

7. Y.S. Kim (1984:177) states that a ‘retracted tongue root’ (RTR) happens to parallel exactly a ‘deep voice resonance’ (DVR). However, there is a difficulty in his finding, i.e., [+DVR] indicates the diminutive, and [-DVR] indicates the augmentative. In general, it can be expected that [+DVR] indicates the augmentative, and [-DVR] indicates the diminutive.

8. There are a number of examples in Korean. However, there are also two kinds of exceptions:

(a) kasi *kaysi ‘thorn’
    kkachi *kkaychi ‘maple’
    kaci *kayci ‘twig’

(b) tanchwu taynchwu ‘button’
    mantul- mayntul- ‘make’

These examples show that the high front vowel /i/ does not affect umlauting. These can be explained by boundary phenomena. That is, there is no boundary in example a. Interestingly enough, in b, umlauting takes place without influence of /i/. This will be discussed in sound symbolism.

9. S.N. Lee (1979) suggests ‘Klangfarbe.’ Some other sound symbolic features are in French: timber, couleur, valeur impression des voyelles, and in German: Schallempfindung, Tonempfindung. W. Chae (1987:294) focuses on the vowel height in discussing sound symbolic words. She concludes that in Korean symbolic words, the feature which diversifies impressionistic feeling, is vowel height (oral cavity). However, the pharyngeal feature is more important than vowel height in Korean sound symbolism.
10. J.D. Sapir (1975) proposes the tense/lax contrast. That is, tense vowels go with largeness, lax vowels go with smallness. In studying Diola-Fogny (the northmost dialect of Diola, a language spoken in the lower Casamance region of Southern Senegal), Sapir depicts two vowel sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Lax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/LAX</th>
<th>BIG(AUG)/THIN(DIM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalɔ/mis</td>
<td>big/thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔmak/tiiti</td>
<td>large/small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wənjɔr/wənjɔr</td>
<td>big, thick noise of hunters, warriors, of man/thin noise of women and children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the contrast between tense and lax does not apply to Korean. In contrast to Sapir, Korean has a contrast between i and a which are positioned in the same lax set. Therefore, I do not follow Sapir’s tense/lax contrast.

Somewhat differently, Tanz (1971) discusses the contrast between /i/ and /a/ on the basis of the concept of distance. Tanz points out that /i/ indicates ‘here and now’, while /a/ indicates ‘there and then’. Interesting examples are tense changes in English irregular verbs. According to Tanz (1971:269), there is /i/-/a/ proximate-distant sound symbolism. That is, many of the English irregular verbs undergo a vowel change between present and past tense. There is a strong tendency for /i/ to appear in the present tense, and not in the past. She does not suggest any parameter for the different connotations which /i/ and /a/ convey. And she does not consider other pairs of vowels.

11. For further understanding about typology and universals about personal pronouns, see Ingram (1978).

12. Here, pp and kk are considered as a kind of reduplicated structure. Moravcsik (1978:321) points out that intensity appears related to quantity in that it involves quantity of energy investment or size of effect. Moravcsik presents Syrian examples:

kasar  ‘break into two’
kassar  ‘break into many pieces’
CHAPTER 4

ICONICITY IN MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the iconic relationship between form and meaning will be discussed in the area of morphology. This will be especially clear in the case of many pairs of linguistic expressions which are found in morphology.

Among those pairs, first of all, a pair of reduplicated and unreduplicated forms will be investigated in relation to iconicity. It will be seen that the increased complexity is associated with the increased connotation. Secondly, several pairs of case markers will be discussed, such as a pair of vocative markers, a pair of selective markers, and a pair of genitive markers. Thirdly, the first and second personal pronoun forms which have two or more forms which differ in length will be discussed. Brown and Gilman (1972) discuss second person pronouns in several languages. However, they do not focus on the different lengths between T (e.g., French tu, German du, Italian tu, etc.) and V (French vous, German Sie, Italian
lei, etc.). Lastly, di(tri)glossia will be discussed. Linguists have discussed diglossia, but none of them has paid attention to the different lengths of diglossia.

In this chapter, the notions of one idea vs. more than one idea, close social distance vs. greater distance, closedness of choice vs. openness of choice, etc. are employed. This chapter will also show that the LF is related to the Gestalt Ground, while the SF is associated with the Gestalt Figure.

4.2 Reduplicated Forms and Unreduplicated Forms

A number of pairs of reduplicated and unreduplicated forms are found in Korean. When the length which results from the reduplication process is considered, it can be predicted that the connotation of the reduplicated will be more complex than that of the uncomplicated form. In other words, the increased surface complexity is associated with the increased connotation shift. Haiman (1980:530) claims that reduplication is iconically motivated:

A number of grammatical operations are iconically motivated. Perhaps the most widespread is grammatical reduplication, insofar as it expresses any of the broad categories of intensity, plurality, or repetition which it almost always does. (Emphasis added)

Haiman employs examples from about 24 languages to
illustrate such reduplication. According to Haiman (1980:530), reduplication has three functions in some languages:

In some languages, e.g. Tagalog, reduplication of some sort will have each of these three major functions. Thus, according to Schachter and Otanes, PLURALITY in adjectives is marked by reduplication of the first syllable of the adjetival root, e.g. (ma)lyaman ‘rich’ (sg.), but (ma)ya-yan am ‘rich’ (pl.). REPETITION in verbs is marked by reduplication of the first syllable of the verbal root, e.g. l(um)lakad ‘walk (now, once)’, but (ma) la-lakad ‘walk (repeatedly)’. Finally, INTENSIFICATION on verbs denoting changes of state is marked by entire reduplication of the verb root, e.g. (ma)basag ‘get broken’, but (ma)gka)basagbasag ‘get thoroughly smashed’.

There are many similar examples in Korean. The first example to be discussed is the plurality function of reduplication. The plural in Korean is not a grammatical category as it is in English. Therefore, Korean has no subject-verb agreement, as the following examples show:

(1) a. salam-tul-i ka-n-ta
    men-Pl-SM  go-Prog-DE
    ‘Men are going’

b. salam-i ka-n-ta
    man-SM  go-Prog-DE
    ‘A man is going’

As seen above, ka- ‘go’ is the same in 1a and 1b although the subject is plural in 1 and the subject is singular in 1b. Instead of using the plural marker -tul,
reduplication can be used to express plurality. For example, *cipcip* indicates 'each of the houses'; *cip* indicates 'one house'.

Thus, it can be said that the increased complexity, which is considered the LF, shows a more complex connotation.

Secondly, the repetition function will be discussed. In terms of iconicity, it can be generally expected that if the same linguistic unit, such as a syllable or morpheme, occurs two times in a word, then the related concept appears repeatedly or continuously. For example, in order to express continued occurrence of an event with the same (or different) participant(s), reduplication of the verbal root is employed.2 Many examples are found in Korean:

(2) a. kiwuttwung vs. kiwuttwung.kiwuttwung
    'wobble (once)'  'wobble (repeatedly)'

b. kkutek vs. kkutek.kkutek
    'nod (once)'    'nod (repeatedly)'

c. chwulleng vs. chwulleng.chwulleng
    'wave (once)'  'wave (continuously)'

For further understanding, the following sentence is helpful:

(3) a. cha-ka hanpen kiwuttwung-ha-te-ni
car-IM once wobble-do-Retro-as
"After the car wobbled once, then(it)

    neme-ci-ess-ta
    fall-become-Past-DE
    fell down'
b. *cha-ka hanpen kiwuttungkiwuttung-ha-te-ni
   car-SM once wobble wobble-do-Retro-as
   *'After the car once wobbled repeatedly,

   neme-ci-ess-ta
   fell-become-Past-DE
   (it) fell down'

**hanpen** 'once' cannot be used with **kiwuttung**
**kiwuttung** 'wobble repeatedly'. The reason is that the latter
means repeated occurrence of an action. Therefore, semanti-
cally, it cannot occur with 'once'. Note that there are some
reduplications expressing repeated occurrences with different
participant(s) at a different time or place. One example is
**penccek.penccek** 'twinkle repeatedly' vs. **penccek** 'twinkle
once'. The reduplicated form **penccek.penccek** is understood as
one star's repeated twinkling. However, this reduplication is
also used to describe many stars' repeated twinkling in
different places. In short, **penccek.penccek** indicates the
repeated twinkling of different participants in the
different places.

Thirdly, reduplication sometimes shows **intensifi-
cation**. In general, increased intensity is expressed in
various languages by reduplication. In Korean, intensifi-
cation is coded in two ways; root reduplication and first
syllable reduplication:

(4) **ROOT REDUPLICATION**
   a. coyong vs. coyong.coyon
      'silent' 'silently'
   b. cakkwu vs. cakkwu.cakkwu
      'several times' 'many times'
(5) **FIRST SYLLABLE REDUPLICATION**

a. tewuk vs. tetewuk
   more     more and more

b. calta vs. cacalhata
   tiny     very tiny

Intuitively speaking, intensity appears related to quantity in that it involves quantity of energy investment or size of effort (Moravcsik 1978:321). In 4b, cakkwu.cakkwu indicates increased intensity greater than an ordinary amount. The examples in English below are much the same as 4b in terms of intensity.

(6) a. Thanks
    b. Many thanks or Thanks a million

In addition to the three functions of plurality, repetition, and intensification, a **distributive function** of reduplication is found in Korean. In fact, the distributive function overlaps the plurality function, but the former is based on physical space, while the latter is not. In order to express wide distribution, reduplication is employed.

(7) a. tumseng.tumseng  — ‘sparsely, here and there’
b. ecwungi.ttecwungi  ‘anybody and everybody’
7a signifies many places rather than just one place. In addition, 7b signifies not just multiple people but this kind of people and that kind of people. Iconically speaking, the increased length corresponds to the more complex connotation.

In addition to these functions,⁴ there is a somewhat particular case of reduplication in Korean, that is, time terms referring to days. According to the iconicity principle, it can be expected that the terms which indicate distant time would be longer than those that indicate the present.

(8) The farther the time is from the present, the longer form it needs.

In order to examine 8, names for days in Korean are cited below. As far as iconicity is concerned, the term for today is a shorter form than terms for before or after today, with the exception ecye ‘yesterday’ and molay ‘the day after tomorrow’.⁵ (navil is Sino-Korean. Thus, this will be excluded.) The following illustrate:

(9) PAST NOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>--I---</th>
<th>--I---</th>
<th>--I---</th>
<th>--I---</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kukucekkey</td>
<td>kucekkey</td>
<td>ecye</td>
<td>onul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3days ago</td>
<td>the day before</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regardless of whether it is past or future, the farther the day is from now, the longer the name. Interestingly, in English also, the words tomorrow and yesterday are longer than today. The Korean term for 3 days ago, kukucekkey 'three days ago', is made by reduplicating the first syllable ku 'that' of kucekkey 'the day before yesterday', which indicates two days ago. Similarly, kukulpi 'two days after tomorrow' undergoes the same reduplication. These examples show the relationship between conceptual distance and linguistic expression: the conceptually long distance corresponds to the linguistically long expression, while the conceptually short distance is related to the short linguistic expression.

Thus far, it has been shown that the broadest and complex connotations are represented by the reduplicated constructions, which are the LFs. Conversely, the unreduplicated constructions are the SFs. The reduplicated construction, which is considered the LF, demonstrates plurality, repetition, and intensity. Of course, this finding does not say that all languages show that the reduplicated forms exhibit bigger size of connotation than the unreduplicated
forms do. In Tagalog, the reduplicated forms indicate the
diminutive connotation, e.g., bahay ‘house’ vs. bahaybahayan
‘doll house/house (the game)’, kabayu ‘horse’ vs. kabayu
kabayuhan ‘toy or imitation horse’ (Schachter and Otanes
1972:100). One of the Indonesian languages, i.e., Pitu Vlvna
Salu in Sulawesi, shows similar examples (Philip J. Campbell,
one of SIL students, proposes these examples): asu ‘dog’ vs.
asu-asu ‘puppy/imitation dog’, daham ‘horse’ vs. daham-daham
‘pony/imitation horse’.

4.3 Pairs of Case Markers

In general, grammatical cases are realized by
inflectional ending, preposition (or postposition), word-
order, etc. Of these, the inflectional ending is the most
commonly used to indicate case in Korean. In this study, the
inflectional ending will be treated as a case marker.

In Korean, there are two or more forms for case
markers of the same case. Some of the case markers can be
explained morphophonemically, while others can be explained
semantically. Examples of the former are nominative -i/-ka,
accusative -ul/-lul, and comitative -wa/-kwa, etc. When the
final segment of the noun is a vowel, then -ka, -lul, and -wa
are employed, and when the final segment is a consonant, then
-i, -ul, and -kwa are used. On the other hand, the
semantically conditioned case markers are nominative -eye/-
kkeyse, dative -ey/-eykey, vocative -a/-iye, etc.

The whole system of case markers in Korean will not be treated. To study these case markers, the notion of social distance, closedness/openness of choice, and conceptual closeness are employed. This study will focus on the motivation behind choice of particular case markers. Vocative, selective, and genitive case markers, which have alternative forms that differ in length, will be discussed.

4.3.1 Vocatives: -a vs. -iye

According to Jesperson (1924:184), in most languages, the vocative is identical with the nominative, and does not require a separate name. However, Korean demonstrates that the vocative is not identical with the nominative. On the contrary, Korean has a separate form:

(11) a. Kim-a, pi- ka o-n-ta
   -Voc, rain-SM come-Prog-DE
   'Kim, it is raining'

b. *Kim-i, pi-ka o-n-ta
   -Nom, rain-SM come-Prog-DE
   'Kim, it is raining'

Vocative indicates that a noun is used to address a person and is placed outside the sentence. This study is concerned with pairs of linguistic expressions which have two different-sized forms such as -a and -iye.
The Korean vocative can be realized by the different forms: \(-a\) (SF) and \(-iye\) (LF). The two different-sized forms are used in Korean on the basis of iconicity. Consider the following examples:

(12) a. Kim-a, photo mek-ela
    -Voc grape eat-IE
    'Kim, eat grapes'

b. *Kim-iye, photo mek-ela
    -Voc, grape eat-IE
    'Kim, eat grapes'

(13) a. *cwu-a, wuli-eykey unchong-ul
    Lord-Voc our-Dat grace-OM
    cwu-sip-si-o
give-Hon-Hon-infE
    'Lord, give us grace'

b. cwu-iye, wuli-eykey unchong-ul
    Lord-Voc, our-Dat grace-OM
    cwu-sip-si-o
give-Hon-Hon-infE
    'Lord, give us grace'

If the speaker in 12a is one of Kim's friends, or is older than Kim, this sentence is acceptable. The social distance between the speaker and Kim is very close or zero. Thus, a SF vocative \(-a\) is used in 12a. On the contrary, 13b demonstrates that \(cwu\) 'Lord' takes \(-iye\) which is the LF vocative case marker, because \(cwu\) 'Lord' has the highest social status. In other words, the social distance between \(cwu\) 'Lord' and the speaker is greater than that between the speaker and any other addressee. For further discussion, the
following examples are given:

(14) a. yenghon-iyе, phyenhi
    soul-Voc, comfortably

    cam-tu-so-se
    sleep-get into-Hon-infE
    'May the soul rest in peace'

b. *yenghon-а, phyenhi
    soul-Voc, comfortably

    cam-tu-so-se
    sleep-get into-Hon-infE
    'May the soul rest in peace'

b'. *yenghon-а, phyenhi cam-tul-ela
    soul-Voc, comfortably sleep-get into-IE
    'Soul, rest in peace'

In traditional Korean society, it is the social norm that the deceased receives respect. In fact, regardless of whether the deceased is older or younger than the speaker, most Korean people pay respect to him/her. Therefore, yenghon 'soul' in 14a goes with the LF vocative marker -iyе. The unnaturalness of 14b is due to the SF case marker -а. This SF vocative case marker cannot be added to the respected addressee. Thus, -iyе (LF) is the vocative case marker used to show respect, and -а is a vocative case marker used to show no respect.

Interestingly enough, there is one particular case in which -iyе is used even though the addressee may be younger than the speaker. Consider the following example:
(15) a. haksayng-tul-iye, yamang-ul kaci-si-o
    student-Pl-Voc, ambition-OM have-Hon-infE
    'Students, be ambitious'

b. *haksayng-tul-a, yamang-ul kaci-si-o
    students-Pl-Voc, ambition-OM have-Hon-infE
    'Students, be ambitious'

Note that 15a is usually used with public audience. In formal speech, it is a common practice that the speaker addresses the audience very politely. In other words, the social distance between speaker and hearer increases. Thus, haksayng 'student' occurs with -iye in 15a.

It has been shown that, depending on respect which corresponds to the social distance, either -a or -iye is used. It can be concluded that when the social distance between speaker and addressee is short, the SF vocative case marker -a is employed, and when the distance is great, the LF vocative case marker -iye is used. In relation to the Figure and Ground, the greater social distance is characterized as the Ground, whereas the closer (or zero) social distance is characterized as the Figure. Thus, the LF is associated with the Ground; the SF is associated with the Figure.

4.3.2 Selectives: -na vs. -lato

Korean has selective case markers (sometimes called postpositional particles) such as -na and -lato. These case
markers indicate selectivity which may be related to subject, object, and adverb, and the like. The following exemplify this:

(16) With subject
   a. ne-na ka-la
      you-Sel go-IE
      'I can only choose you' You go'
   b. ne-lato ka-la
      you-Sel go-IE
      'I can choose several people, and out of these, I choose you' You go'

(17) With object
   a. ike -na mek-e
      this-Sel eat-IE
      '(I offer you only this) Eat this'
   b. ike-lato mek-e
      this-Sel eat-IE
      '(I offer you several choices) Eat this among these choices'

(18) With adverbial
   a. kukcang-ey-na ka-la
      theater-Loc-Sel go-IE
      '(I offer you only to go theater) Go to movie'
   b. kukcang-ey-lato ka-la
      theater-Loc-Sel go-IE
      '(I offer you several places including theater) Go to movie among these places''

As seen above, two different sizes (unit lengths) of selective case markers are employed in Korean. Here, one question arises: Why are there two different sizes of case markers for the selective case? The answer can be found in terms of iconicity. 16a indicates that, among the choices
including *ne* ‘you’, the speaker thinks of only *ne* ‘you’, not any other choices (i.e., exclusively *ne* ‘you’). On the contrary, in 16b, the speaker thinks of many other choices, but the speaker points *ne* to go (i.e., inclusively *ne* ‘you’). *

-\textit{na} is used to indicate the **closedness of choice**, whereas *

-\textit{lato} is employed to indicate the **openness of choice**.

17 and 18 are much the same as 16. That is, *\textit{-na} indicates that the *\textit{-na} attached noun is the only possible selection. Thus, it can be said that *\textit{-na} has exclusive selectivity. In the case of *\textit{-lato}, the speaker does not exclude any options. Among them, the speaker chooses the noun containing *\textit{-lato}. Thus, it can be said that *\textit{-lato} indicates inclusive selectivity.*

7

The openness or closedness of selectivity can be examined in the honorific framework. In general, it is more polite for the speaker to give many choices to the listener than no choice. No choice (i.e., the **closedness** of the selective range) seems to be close to an order or a command, whereas to offer one many choices (i.e., the **openness** of the selective range), seems to be close to a request. Therefore, a sentence which employs the openness of selectivity is more polite. Consider the following:

(19) a. *?cilwu-ha-si-n tey, TV-na po-si-ci-yo bore-do-Hon-M cause, -Sel watch-Hon-TE-infE* ‘Why don’t you watch TV to avoid boredom?’
b. cilwu-ha-n tey, TV-na po-ala
    bore-do-M cause, -Sel watch-IE
    'Watch TV to avoid boredom'

(20) cilwu-ha-si-n tey, TV-lato po-si-ci-yo
    bore-do-Hon-M cause, -Sel watch-Hon-TE-infE
    'Watch something like TV to avoid boredom'

19a is generally considered to be impolite because the speaker offers no choice. If the honorific suffix -si is not employed in 19a, the use of -na is grammatical, as in 19b. However, because 19b does not have the honorific -si, an order is given rather than an offer made. On the contrary, 20 which has the LF -lato indicates a request, and offers a choice: and it is therefore the polite expression. The politeness of 20 comes from the openness of choice which is the function of -lato. In 20, there are many options, i.e., listening to music, reading, taking a walk, and the like. The speaker does not exclude any of these possibilities. Among them, the speaker simply proposes watching TV. Therefore, 20 expresses politeness.

It can be seen, then, that the pair of selective case markers, -na and -lato, on the basis of the openness and closedness of choice are closely related to degrees of honorification or politeness. The finding here is that the SF -na is related to the closedness of choice (which is included in the Figure), while the LF -lato is associated with the openness of choice (which is included in Ground).
4.3.3 Genitives: -g, -s, and -uv

The most common function of the genitive case in Korean is to connect two (or more) nouns or noun phrases. The structural form of the two connected nouns are 'N1 N2', 'N1-s N2', and 'N1-uv N2'. In relation to the lengths of the three, the question must be asked: Why are there three constructions for the genitive? In order to answer, combinations of pairs of the forms should be compared.

(21) a. 'N1 N2' vs. 'N1-s N2'
b. 'N1 N2' vs. 'N1-uv N2'
c. 'N1-s N2' vs. 'N1-uv N2'

Note that in a pair in 21, the first one of the three pairs is considered the SF, and the second one is considered the LF.

4.3.3.1 Three Pairs of Genitive Constructions

First, 'N1 N2 vs. N1-s N2' will be discussed. As far as iconicity is concerned, in this construction, it can be expected that the first one, N1 N2, will imply a close conceptual distance between N1 and N2, and the second one, N1-s N2, will suggest a loose conceptual distance between N1 and N2. In other words, the SF, N1 N2, indicates a fusion of N1 and N2. Thus, N1 cannot be separated from the N1 N2
construction. On the other hand, in the LF, N1-s N2, N1 can be separated. Consider the following examples:

(22) a. namwu.cip (N1 N2)  
tree house  
'wooden house' 

b. namwu-s. cip (N1-s N2) cf. namwu-s. kakey  
tree -Gen house  
'a house selling wood'  

b. namwu-s. cip (N1-s N2)  
tree-Gen shop  
'a shop selling wood'  

(23) a. chayksang.tali  
desk leg  
'sitting cross-legged' 

b. chayksang-s.tali  
desk-Gen leg  
'leg of a desk'  

In 22a which is the SF, namwu 'tree' cannot be separated from namwu.cip 'wooden house' because namwu.cip 'wooden house' expresses one idea. If namwu is separated from namwu.cip, its meaning is destroyed. However, 22b, which illustrates the LF, maintains the individual property of namwu 'tree' and cip 'house'. namwu-s.cip shows simply the contiguous meanings of the two words. Likewise, 23a shows one idea, namely, a sitting style. On the contrary, 23b means the desk's leg, which is two ideas. In other words, the properties of desk are maintained in 23b.

Secondly, the pair of genitive constructions 'N1 N2 vs. N1-uy N2' will be discussed. Note again that in this pair, the first is considered the SF, while the second is considered the LF. The following illustrate:
(24) a. chenye.meli (N1 N2)
virgin hair
\textquoteleft a kind of hair style for many different women\textquoteright

a'. *chenye-s.meli (N1-s N2)
virgin-Gen hair
\textquoteleft hair of unmarried woman\textquoteright

b. chenye-uy meli (N1-uy N2)
virgin-Gen hair
\textquoteleft unmarried woman's hair\textquoteright

As is seen in 22a and 23a before, in 24a, the property of an \textquoteleft unmarried woman\textquoteright cannot be determined. 24a indicates a hair style which can be worn not only by an unmarried woman but also by a grandmother. This shows that the SF in 24a represents one referent. The LF in 24b contains two referents: virgin and hair. Similar examples are given below:

(25) a. Seoul hotel (N1 N2)
\textquoteleft a hotel whose name is Seoul\textquoteright

b. Seoul-uy hotel (N1-uy N2)
-Gen
\textquoteleft a hotel located in Seoul\textquoteright

Another pair of examples which show an interesting alternation occurs when N1 and N2 belong to human beings. The genetic relationship between humans, as represented by N1 and N2, functions very importantly. If there is a blood relation between them, i.e., close relation, then the SF may be employed:
The paired expressions above reveal the different blood relationships between Mary and me. 26a shows that Mary is my mother's baptized name. There is a blood relation between mother and me. On the contrary, 26b does not express such a relationship. Mary in 26b is the mother of Jesus.

Thus far, a pair of genitive construction 'N1 N2' vs. 'N1-uy N2' have been discussed. From the observations, it can be concluded that the SF 'N1 N2' is related to one referent (or idea), whereas the LF 'N1-uy N2' is associated with two referents. Note that one idea is included in the Figure, while two ideas a included in the Ground.

Thirdly, 'N1-s N2 vs. N1-uy N2' will be discussed. In this pair, the former is considered the SF, and the latter is associated with the LF. Some examples follow:

(27) a. kho-s. mwul  (N1-s N2)
    nose-Gen.water
    'snivel'

   a'. * kho. mwul  (N1 N2)
    nose.water

   b. kho-uy mwul  (N1-uy N2)
    nose-Gen water
    'water on the nose'
As can be seen, there is no N1 N2 construction in 27. Therefore, 27a can be considered the SF, and 27b is considered the LF. The different sizes of the _s construction and the _uy construction correspond to the different meanings and degrees of conceptual closeness. Note that the _s construction is considered the SF, while the _uy construction is considered the LF. Although 27a consists of two elements, nose and water, the referential meaning of 27a is one idea, i.e., snivel. On the contrary, 27b contains two ideas, i.e., water drops and nose. To summarize, in the pair of 'N1_s N2' vs. 'N1_uy N2', the former which is the SF shows one idea, whereas the latter which is the LF indicates two ideas.

4.3.3.2 Three Problems in Genitivization

Three problems occur with the explanation of genitive constructions: 1) the transformational approach, 2) subjective and objective genitives, and 3) alienability and inalienability.

Transformational grammarians have proposed several rules for genitivization. For example, J.M. Suh (1978:204-9) suggests adnominalization, condensing, locative deletion, etc. A transformational approach is illustrated in the derivation of sentence:
(28) a. mwul-i kho-ey iss-ta (underlying sentence)
    water-SM nose-Loc exist-DE
    'Water is on the nose'

b. kho-ey iss-nun mwul (adnominalization)
    nose-Loc exist-Adn water
    'water which is on the nose'

c. kho-ey-s mwul (condensing)
    nose-Loc-Gen water
    'water on the nose'

d. kho-s mwul (locative deletion)
    nose-Gen water
    'snivel'

There is common agreement that historically speaking
the genitive case marker -s originates from the existential
verb si- 'be or exist' of Middle Korean. (the modern form of
this verb is iss-.) Therefore, most Korean linguists
connect a genitive marker -s to the verb iss- 'be or exist'.

The procedure of genitivization of 28 contains
two problems: (1) all genitive constructions cannot be
explained with such rules, and (2) of the two forms -s and
-uy, only the former is selected by the transformational
procedure with no clear reason for the exclusion of the
latter. The first problem is illustrated below:

(29) a. phen-i sip won-ccali-i-ta (full sentence)
    pen-SM ten won-a thing worth-Cop-DE
    'a pen is ten won'

b. sip won-ccali-i-n phen (adnominalization)
    ten won-a thing worth-Cop-Adn pen
    'a pen which is ten won'
Transformationalists attempt to derive 29c from 29a. When the adnominalizational rule is applied to 29a, 29b' and 29b'' must occur. However, this is not the case. This illustrates that in some cases the genitive constructions cannot be formed by the proposed transformational rules.

Furthermore, in some cases, the locative deleted form is different from the full form. Consider the following:

(30) a. kamok-uy piay (locative deleted form)
     prison-Gen misery
     'prisoner’s misery’

b. kamok-eys-e-uy piay (locative undeleted form)
     prison-Loc-Gen misery
     'the misery at a prison’

Both 30a which has no locative and 30b which has the locative are used in daily conversation. 30a is used to express the misery which a prisoner experiences. However, 30b has two readings. One is a prisoner’s misery. The other is the misery which a non-prisoner experiences while at the prison. Thus, the locative deletion rule cannot be applied
in genitivization. 30b is not a middle step in genitivization but a final form.

The second problem in using the genitive transformational approach is that only -s is selected out of -s and -uy. Both constructions can actually be derived: 'N1-s N2' and 'N1-uy N2'. However, the transformational rules do not acknowledge the -uy construction.

In addition to the problematic transformational approach, the subject and object genitive will be discussed. A well-known example is the following:

(31) a. emeni-uy kulum
    mother-Gen painting
    'mother's painting'

b. emeni-ka kuli-n kulum
    mother-SM draw-Adn painting
    'a painting which mother drew'

c. emeni-lul kuli-n kulum
    mother-OM draw-Adn painting
    'a painting whose object is mother'

31a is derived from both 31b and 31c. If 31a is derived from 31b, the genitive is the subjective genitive. If it is derived from 31c, the genitive is the objective genitive. If this distinction is followed, other genitives, such as the locative, possessive, instrumental, and partitive genitives can be suggested. In fact, these categories are not sufficient to discuss the LF and SF genitive constructions. The subjective genitive, on the other hand, needs to
be discussed for two reasons; one is that this genitive case marker is realized by only -uy, and the other is that this -uy is never deleted.

(32) a. Kim-i sungli-ha-ta  
     -SM victory-do-DE  
     ‘Kim wins’

    b. Kim-uy sungli  (N1-uy N2)  
        -Gen victory  
        ‘Kim’s victory’

    c. *Kim-s sungli (N1-s N2)  
        -Gen victory  
        ‘Kim’s victory’

    d. *Kim sungli  (N1 N2)  
        victory  
        ‘Kim victory’

As seen above, 32c and 32d never take place in genitivization. Why are those not derived from 32a? As far as iconicity is concerned, it can be seen that the epistemic distance between the subject Kim and its genitive object sungli ‘victory’ is greater than that between the genitive object and any other noun in the clause. Consider the following:

(33) a. Kim-i hyeng-uy cip-ul pangmwun-ha-ta  
     -SM elder brother-Gen house-OM visit-do-DE  
     ‘Kim visits his elder brother’s house’

    b. Kim-uy hyeng-uy cip pangmwun  
        -Gen elder brother-Gen house visit  
        ‘Kim’s visiting of his elder brother’s house’
c. Kim-uy hyeng-s cip pangmwun
   -Gen elder brother-Gen house visit
   'Kim's visit of elder brother's house'

   e. Kim-uy hyeng cip pangmwun
      -Gen elder brother house visit
      'Kim's elder brother house visit'

   f. ?Kim hyeng cip pangmwun
      elder brother house visit
      '?Kim elder brother house visit'

In 33, the epistemic distance between the elder brother and his house is shorter than that between Kim and the house. The reason is that the owner of the house is his brother, not Kim. 33 shows that -uv between the subject Kim and another noun cannot be deleted, while -uv between other nouns which are not the subject of the sentence can be deleted. Therefore, hyeng-uy cip can become hyeng cip, while Kim-uy hyeng cip cannot become Kim hyeng cip which does not have -uv.

The fact that the subjective genitive -uv undergoes neither deletion nor contraction originates from Middle Korean. In Middle Korean, there are two genitive markers, -s and -uv. The latter varies depending on the final vowel, i.e., ^y was employed after a [a] and o [ɔ] vowels (so-called light vowels), while -uv was employed after e [ɛ] and wu [u] vowels (so-called dark vowels). In the case of the non-subjective genitive, -uv underwent a contraction, i.e., SF. On the other hand, in the case of the subjective genitive, -uv never underwent a contraction or deletion (An 1986:314):
(34) NON-SUBJECTIVE
api + ^y --> ap^y (two syllables)
father+Gen 'father's'

(35) SUBJECTIVE
api + uy --> apiuy (three syllable)
father Gen 'of father'

(^ stands for low and back vowel in Middle Korean)

A third problem with the explanation of the genitive constructions is alienability and inalienability. It can be demonstrated, in terms of iconicity, however, that the size of the genitive construction is affected by (in)alienability between two nouns of genitive construction. It will be seen that some languages are affected by (in)alienability in genitivization.

In treating possessive constructions (instead of this term, genitive constructions will be used), Haiman (1983:793) has focused on the notion of alienability. He suggests that depending on alienable possession or inalienable possession, the linguistic expression of possession differs. Greenberg (personal communication with Haiman (1983:793)) illustrates this in the following statement, and he says that the following correlation is probably always true:

In no language will the linguistic distance between \( X \) and \( Y \) be greater in signaling inalienable possession, in expressions like 'X's Y', than it is in signaling alienable possession.

According to Chomsky (1970:200-1), the distinction
between alienable and inalienable possession has a certain status in English. His example is given below:

(36) a. John’s leg
    b. the leg that John has

Chomsky explains that 36a can indicate the leg as part of John’s body, i.e., inalienable possession, while 36b can indicate a man-made leg, i.e., alienable possession.

Haiman (1983:793) claims that in many Austronesian languages, the alienable possessor is a separate noun, while the inalienable possessor is expressed as an affix on the possessum. The following contrasts in Nakanai demonstrate this relationship between (in)alienable forms (Johnston 1981:217):

(37) a. luma taku
    house my
    
    b. lima-gu
    hand-my

In 37, ‘hand’ is inalienable, while ‘house’ is alienable. Therefore, 37b has a shorter form than 37a. Hua, which is a Papuan language, has quite similar examples. The alienable possessor is a free-standing pronoun, the inalienable possessor is expressed as a prefix on the possessum (Haiman 1983:793):
(38) a. dgai'fu
   my.pig

b. d-za'
   my-arm

However, Korean genitive constructions are not essentially influenced by (in)alienability. Therefore, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession does not have a prominent status in Korean, but has a trivial status:

(39) a. son.kum
   hand.line
   'lines of the palm'

b. son-uy kum
   hand-gen line
   'line someone draws on hand'

(40) a. son-uy mwulken
   hand-gen thing
   'thing in hand'

b. *son mwulken
   hand thing
   *'hand thing'

In 39a, kum 'line' is inalienable, that is, part of the hand. Therefore, the genitive construction between son 'hand' and kum 'line' has the SF. On the contrary, 39b shows the alienability between son 'hand' and kum 'line'. The lines of 39b can be erased easily, while that of 39a cannot be erased easily. In 40b, mwulken 'thing' is alienable. Therefore, son 'hand' and mwulken 'thing' cannot have the SF;
rather, they take the LF as in 40a. Thus, in Korean, the distinction between alienability and inalienability does not influence the size of genitive constructions of Korean.

Instead of the notion of (in)alienability, the size of the Korean genitive construction is affected by the epistemic distance between two nouns. Epistemically speaking, the distance between the possessor and the possessum is greater than that between the non-possessor and the possessum. Consider the following examples:

(41) a. nay kay
    'my dog'

    b. na-uy kay
    I-Gen dog
    'the dog of mine'

Although 'dog' is alienable in both examples above, the fact that two genitive constructions exist shows that the distinction between alienability and inalienability does not strongly affect the size of the construction. Rather, the notion of epistemic distance between the two nouns is employed in 41.

The possessor of dog in 41a is 'I', whereas, the possessor in 41b is ambiguous; one meaning is 'the dog that I raise'. The other is 'someone's dog that I take care for a while'. It can be pointed out that, on the basis of the notion of epistemic distance between possessor and possessum,
the distance in 41a is much closer than that in 41b. As mentioned thus far, the closer distance corresponds to the SF construction, while the greater distance is related to the LF one.

4.4 Personal Pronouns

There are several forms of personal pronouns in Korean. Note that it is not the scope of this study to discuss the whole field of personal pronouns. In this section, only the forms of the first and second singular personal pronouns in Korean will be discussed. These forms differ in terms of size (in relation to cavity size for first person pronouns, and in relation to length for second person pronouns); and the different sizes of the Korean personal pronouns are closely related to various honorific levels. The forms are given below:

(42)  FIRST PERSON                        SECOND PERSON

| a.   | na  'I'                                 | ne  'you' |
| b.   | ce$_{13}$ caney, tangsin  '(humble) I' | (respectful) you |

4.4.1 First Singular Pronouns: na vs. ce

The first singular pronoun has two forms although the length of both forms is not different in Korean. On the other
hand, na 'I' and ce 'humble I' can be distinguished in terms of different size of the pharyngeal cavity for /a/ and for /e/.

In relation to iconicity, it can be predicted that the shorter social distance between speaker and addressee corresponds to the SF, while the greater distance between them to the LF. Of the two first person singular forms, ce is a humble alternative to na. In other words, the speaker makes himself lower in status than the addressee. Social distance of age, power, or familiarity determines which forms will be used. The following figure (43) depicts the range of social distance expressed by the different pronouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
(43) + & [\text{+social distance}] \\
0 & \text{--------na---------- BASE LINE} \\
\text{ce} & \\
- & [\text{-social distance}]
\end{align*}
\]

43 shows that ce '(humble) I' expresses that the speaker (in this case 'I') is inferior to the addressee in age or power. The examples given below (44) illustrate this relationship between form and social distance.

\[
\begin{align*}
(44) a. \text{ apeci! ce-lul po-si-eyo (father:son)} \\
\text{father I-OM see-Hon-infE} \\
\text{‘Father! look at me’}
\end{align*}
\]
b. Sue-ya! na-lul po-ala (within peer group)
Sue-Voc I-OM see-IE
'Sue! look at me'

Between father and son, the son uses ce '(humble) I' to indicate himself, while within peer groups, na 'I' is used to indicate oneself. According to figure 43, it can be said that ce '(humble) I' shows [-social distance], and that na 'I' shows [zero social distance]. Sometimes, although an addressee is younger than the speaker, if the addressee is superior in status to the speaker, the speaker usually uses ce.

(45) a. taythonglyeug-kakha, ce-lul po-sip-si-yo
president-Mr. I-OM see-hon-hon-infE
'Mr. President, please look at me'

b. *taythonglyeng-kakha, na-lul po-ala
president-Mr. I-OM see-IE
'Mr. President, look at me'

45a is grammatical both when the speaker is older than the president and when the speaker is younger because the presidential status is high. It can be seen that ce indicates [-social distance] toward the addressee.

Now, a question arises: What feature of ce is related to the greater social distance from the base line in 43? Because the length of both first person singular pronouns is much the same, other features must be found. Here, difference in the size of the pharyngeal cavity is proposed
as mentioned earlier under sound symbolism. In sound symbolism, in a pair of [a] and [ɛ], the former indicates diminutive, while the latter indicates augmentative, e.g., pangkul [a] 'small smile' vs. pengkul [ɛ] 'big smile.' The reason is that the pharyngeal cavity of [ɛ] is wider than that of [a]. By the same token, when comparing na to ce, it can be seen that the former contains a narrow pharyngeal cavity, whereas the latter contains a wider pharyngeal cavity. Thus, it can be concluded that ce having a wider pharyngeal cavity corresponds to the greater social distance, while na containing a narrow pharyngeal cavity corresponds to the short (or zero) social distance.

4.4.2. Second Singular Pronouns: ne, caney, and tangsin

The different forms of second person pronouns in some languages have already been discussed on the basis of power and solidarity by Brown and Gilman (1972). They point out that T (e.g., French tu, German du, Italian tu, etc.) is originally associated with condescension and intimacy, and V (e.g., French vous, German Sie, Italian lei, etc.) is associated with reverence (or deference) and formality (or distance).\textsuperscript{14} However, they did not pay attention to the different lengths between T and V. It is noticeable that V forms are longer than T forms.

Korean has three different forms of second person
singular pronouns which are referentially almost equivalent to 'you' in English: *ne* 'you', *caney* 'respectful you', and *tangsin* 'most respectful you'. This study focuses on the different sizes (or lengths) of linguistic expressions which have roughly the same referent (or meaning).

Because these forms are related to honorific features, 'you' in English is inadequate to translate the Korean meanings. In other words, these three forms reveal the different social distances between speaker and addressee. As seen in the previous section, the factors that affect choosing one of the three forms are status, age, and familiarity distance. In relation to figure 46, *ne* 'you' which is the shortest form among the three is located near the base line, while the other two forms are located in the [+ social distance] area. As far as the size of the forms is concerned, the hierarchical order of social distance of the three forms is *ne*<*caney*<*tangsin*. This is depicted below:

```
(46) SOCIAL DISTANCE LINE
   +--------------------------
     |                         |
     |   tangsin                |
     |--------------------------|
     | caney                    |
     |--------------------------|
     | 0                        |
     | ---- ne ----------------
     | BASE LINE
```

First of all, *ne* will be discussed. The shortest form of three, *ne*, expresses the shortest social distances, and is
used in addressing a person who is a peer, a younger person, or a person of a lower social status. In other words, if the speaker does not need to respect the addressee, the speaker uses ne.

(47) a. ne celi ka-la
    you there go-IE
    'Go there'

    b. *ne celi ka-si-o
    you there go-Hon-infE
    'Go there'

The ungrammaticality of 47b shows that ne cannot refer to a person to be respected. Therefore, the honorific suffix -si cannot co-occur with the pronoun ne. In general, ne is employed in the situation of zero social distance between speaker and addressee. Thus, it can be said that the SF is related to the short or zero social distance.

Secondly, caney 'respectful you', which is a more respectful form, will be discussed. In general, caney is not used within the group of persons under about 30 years (approximately) of age. One specific characteristic of caney is that although caney is a more respectful form than ne 'you', this term is used for an addressee of lower status or for one younger than the speaker in a situation of somewhat greater social distance between them. For example, a professor uses caney for a graduate student in Korea even though the age and status of the professor is higher than
that of the student. In that case, a higher sentence ending is selected in speech. The following example shows this:

(48) a. caney-ka ka-key
    you-SM go-infE
    'Please (you) go'

b. caney-ka ka
    you-ka go
    'You go'

c. ?caney-ka ka-la
    you-ka go-IE
    'You go'

Depending on the scholars which are cited, a different number of speech levels have been suggested. However, in general, five levels may be posited: -hayla, -hay, -hakey, -hayyo, and -hao (these cannot be translated into English). caney goes with the second and third forms, -hay and -hakey. This fact suggests that this term is a higher term of address than ne, but is a lower term than tangsin 'most respectful you', which will be discussed next.

The unnaturalness of 48c results from the occurrence of caney 'respectful form' with -la 'the lowest speech level'. caney is frequently employed within a peer group of over 30 years of age in Korean society. This group of people, in general, like to express politeness with each other. Thus, caney rather than ne is used.

It must be noticed that caney in 48a and 48b differ in the degree of respect. That is, the social distance in 48b
is less than that in 48a. This is due not to the term caney itself but to the different sentence endings of honorific levels.

At any rate, it should be pointed out that the LF caney is a higher term of address than the SF ne. As far as iconicity is concerned, it can be said that the LF corresponds to a greater social distance, while the SF is related to a short or zero social distance.

Finally, the longest form of three, tangsin, will be discussed. tangsin is regarded as more respectful than caney. The fact that tangsin is the highest term of address can be seen in the Holy Bible. Likewise, in prayer to the Lord, tangsin is used, never ne or caney:

(49) a. cwu-ye  tangsin-ul ttalu-keyss-sup-ni-ta
    Lord-Voc you-OM   follow-Conje-Hon-Hon-DE
    'Lord, I will follow you'

b. *cwu-ye  ne-lul ttalu-keyss-sup-ni-ta
   Lord-Voc you-OM  follow-Conje-Hon-Hon-DE
   'You Lord, I will follow you'

c. *cwu-ye  caney-lul ttalu-keyss-sup-ni-ta
   Lord-Voc you-OM   follow-Conje-Hon-Hon-DE
   'You Lord, I will follow you'

An interesting example of the second person singular pronoun can be found in conversation between a wife and husband who are over middle age. Consider the following:
(50) wife: a. tangsin-i ka-po-sey-yo
    you-SM go-see-Hon-infE
    'Husband, why don’t you go there?'

    b. *caney-ka ka
    you-SM go
    'Husband, go there!'

husband: a. caney-ka ka-po-ci
    you-SM go-see-TE
    'Please go there'

    b. tangsin-i ka-po-ci
    you-SM go-see-TE
    'Please go there'

50 shows that the husband can use either the higher term caney or the highest term tangsin to address his wife, but the wife cannot use caney but only tangsin. This reflects that the degree of social distance (or of respect) from husband to wife and vice versa differs in Korean traditional society because Korean society is still husband oriented.

In summary, the longer form of three second person singular pronouns corresponds to a greater social distance between speaker and addressee, while the shorter form of them is related to the zero or short distance between them.

4.5 Di(tri)glossia

Before discussing Korean diglossia (actually triglossia), Ferguson’s (1972) important concept of diglossia will be introduced. According to Ferguson (1972), who has introduced the term into sociolinguistics, diglossia is a
situation in which two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers of a speech community under different conditions (1972:232). It seems that his most important finding for this study is that one variety, i.e., H (high), has higher status than the other(s), i.e., L (low).

H and L are classified on the basis of linguistic and sociocultural features. Winford (1985:347) presents these features which Ferguson (1972) originally outlined. Linguistic features of diglossia are stability, lexicon, grammar, phonology, and the genetic relationship between H and L. Sociocultural features of diglossia are specialization of function, prestige, literary heritage, standardization, and acquisition.

To give further understanding, some of the features, which Ferguson (1972) proposes, will be discussed. According to Winford (1985:347), with reference to grammar, the grammatical sentence of H is more complex than that of L, and the morphophonemics of L is simpler than that of H. In relation to prestige, speakers regard H as superior to L in a number of ways. Furthermore, H is codified as a standard form, while L is not. In language acquisition, L is usually the first language of all speakers. H is almost never native to anyone and is commonly acquired only through education. Among the linguistic and sociolinguistic features mentioned, the lexicon is important in Korean diglossia. The reason is that the cases of diglossia in Korean are quite different
from some of which Ferguson (1972) has mentioned. For example in the lexical feature of Korean diglossia, the following is suggested:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{HIGH} & \text{MID} & \text{LOW} \\
\text{a. cinci} & \text{pap} & \text{‘meal’} \\
\text{b. tolakasi-} & \text{cwuk-} & \text{tweyci-} & \text{‘die’}
\end{array}
\]

51a agrees with Ferguson who points out that the grammatical structure of H is more complex than that of L. 51b is also much the same as Ferguson’s finding, that is, the H variety tolakasi- ‘die’ is morphologically more complex than the M or L variety. Here, one question arises: Why is M cwuk- ‘die’ not more complex than L in the morphophonemic view? It is expected that in 51b, M should be more complex than L in terms of the grammatical complex from H via M to L; but actually L is more complex than M. This example does not fit Ferguson’s (1972) frame. As will be discussed, 51b is better explained by the iconicity principle such as a social distance approach. The difference in length between H and M in 51b corresponds to the [+ social distance] between the speaker and addressee. Analogous to this, the difference of length between M and L is associated with the degree of the [-social distance] between speaker and addressee.

With reference to the standardization feature also, Korean linguistics does not conform to Ferguson’s (1972) frame. For example, all three in 51b are codified as a
standard form. In fact, H, M, and L in 51b are used as standard forms. From this perspective, it can be said that the case of diglossia in Korean is very unique, when M is considered as a base point.

Before going into detailed discussion, the differences between suppletive form and diglossia will be explained. Most Korean linguists, such as Ko (1987), do not use the term diglossia for 51. In fact, no one has mentioned diglossia in Korean. Rather linguists have preferred to use the term suppletion.

In this study, diglossia is distinguished from suppletion in terms of social distance discussed before. The reason is that diglossia seems to be a sociolinguistic term, while suppletion seems to be a purely linguistic term. Almost all of the Korean cases of diglossia are closely related to social distance, such as the degree of respect. On the contrary, suppletion is not related to the social distance.

First of all, some examples of suppletion in number terms (cardinal and ordinal) are given:

(52) a. hana twul seys neys
    one two three four

    b. ches-ccay twul-ccay seys-ccay neys-ccay
        first second third fourth

c. *hana-ccay
*‘oneth’

In 52a there are cardinal numbers, while in 52b there
are ordinal ones. In looking at 52b, one would expect *hana-ccay\textsuperscript{15} "*oneth' instead of ches-ccay 'first' because the other ordinal numbers are made by adding suffix -ccay '-th' to the cardinal number. However, hana-ccay is not found in Korean. It can be said that ches-ccay 'first' replenishes the blank of *hana-ccay. This is quite similar to the relation between first and *oneth in English. Even though 'oneth', 'twoth' and 'threeeth' are expected (because of forms such as 'fourth', 'fifth', 'sixth', etc.), they do not occur in English.

An example of suppletion from Korean verbs is helpful: cwu- vs. tal- 'give'.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{(53) a.} na-eykay chay-ul tal-la
    \begin{itemize}
      \item I-DM book-OM give-IE
      \item 'Give me a book'
    \end{itemize}
  
  \item \textbf{a'.} *na-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ela
    \begin{itemize}
      \item I-DM book-OM give-IE
      \item 'Give me a book'
    \end{itemize}
  
  \item \textbf{a''.} *na-eykey chayk-ul ta-sey-yo
    \begin{itemize}
      \item I-DM book-OM give-Hon-infE
      \item 'Give me a book'
    \end{itemize}
  
  \item \textbf{b.} ku-eykay chayk-ul cwu-ela
    \begin{itemize}
      \item he-DM book-OM give-IE
      \item 'Give him a book'
    \end{itemize}
  
  \item \textbf{b'.} * ku-eykey chayk-ul tal-la
    \begin{itemize}
      \item he-DM book-OM give-IE
      \item 'Give him a book'
    \end{itemize}
  
  \item \textbf{b''.} ku-eykay chayk-ul cwu-sey-yo
    \begin{itemize}
      \item he-DM book-OM give-Hon-infE
      \item 'Give him a book'
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
53 shows that, in imperative sentences, *tal-* means 'give (me)', but *cwu-* means 'give (someone)'. Therefore, it can be said that two forms are in complementary relationship. (In declarative sentences, *cwu-* means both 'give me' and 'give someone'.) The ungrammaticality of 53a' and b' suggests that *tal-* is a suppletive form of *cwu-*. 53b and 53b' show that *tal-* and *cwu-* are in complementary relationship. It is noticeable that *tal-* and *cwu-* do not show the honorific differences.

Diglossia in Korean is found in various grammatical categories, such as, in pronouns, nouns, verbs, and even sentences. First, diglossia in pronouns will be discussed. Although pronouns have been discussed in the personal pronoun section before, they deserve to be mentioned again in terms of diglossia:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{LOW} & \text{MID} & \text{HIGH} \\
\hline
\text{ne} & \text{caney} & \text{tangsin} & \text{‘you’}
\end{array}
\]

As discussed before, *ne ‘you’ is the term of L status, *caney ‘respectful you’ is M, and *tangsin ‘most respectful you’ is H. As mentioned, none of the Korean linguists pays attention to the different lengths of the pronoun forms. Note that the longer form is associated with the greater social distance (or high degree of respect), while the shorter form with the closer (or zero) distance (or
low degree of respect). Secondly, some examples in nouns will be discussed. Many paired nouns are found in Korean.

(55)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>pap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>mal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>appa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When L is considered as a base point, H connotes a relatively higher respect. At a dinner table, a son uses the LF cinci ‘meal’ to his father, and receives the SF pap ‘meal’ from his father:

(56)  

son: i  cinci  capswu-sey-yo  
       this meal  eat-Hon-infE  
       ‘Could you have this meal’

father: i  pap  mek-ela  
        this meal  eat-IE  
        ‘Eat this meal’

In 56, depending on who the addressee is, the speaker chooses either cinci or pap ‘meal’. Here, the different social distance from son to father and from father to son can be seen. The father does not feel a great social distance between himself and his son, while the son does feel a greater social distance between himself and his father. This difference in felt social distance between them corresponds to the different lengths between the two words which refer to the same meal.
Analogous to this, words of a high-status speaker should take the LF, i.e., malssum ‘respectful saying’, while those of a relatively low person take the SF, i.e., mal ‘saying’. An example of this in a prayer is given below:

(57) a. hanunim-uy malssum  
   Lord-Gen saying  
   ‘words of the Lord’

b. naj mal  
   my saying  
   ‘my words’

57 shows that the speech of the Lord must take the LF, malssum ‘respectful saying’, not the SF, mal ‘saying’. This means that because the social distance between the Lord and people is greatest, the longer of the paired words is employed.

Thirdly, diglossia in verbs will be discussed. There are a number of cases of diglossia in Korean verbs. The ubiquity of diglossia in verbs seem to be one of the characteristics of Korean. Consider the following examples:

(58) LOW MID HIGH
    a. tweyci- cwuk- tolakasi- ‘die’
b. chemek- mek- capswusi- ‘eat’
c. aphu- pyenchanusi- ‘sick’
d. ca- cwumwusi- ‘sleep’
e. mwut- yeccwu- ‘ask’

As can be seen, 58a and 58b have three different
forms. Therefore, in this case, the term 'triglossia' can be used. Here, the question arises: Why is the L form longer than the M form? In order to answer this, the base point of the social distance scale must be considered. Recall that unmarkedness is one of the criterion for the base point. Of the three forms, the M form, which is shortest, is unmarked. In language acquisition, Korean children learn the M forms, cwuk- and mkek- which are unmarked, earlier than the other two which are marked. Thus, it can be suggested that in language acquisition, in a pair (or sets) of words, children learn the SFs earlier than the LFs, i.e., the term L of Ferguson needs to be replaced by the term SF of this study.

As seen above, Ferguson's (1972) finding in language acquisition (i.e., L is the first language of all speakers), does not apply at least in the case of Korean triglossia. In 58a, on the basis of the degree of social distance, twewci- '(disdainful) die' and chemek- '(disdainful) eat' are the lowest terms among the three. If Ferguson's (1972) claim were correct, children would learn these two words earlier than others. However, this is not the case. The M terms such as cwuk- 'die' and mek- 'eat' are learned first. How can this be explained for the forms twewci- and chemek-? To answer this, the feature [-social distance] is proposed. In considering the M form as the base point, the L forms twewci- and chemek- are located in the minus area of social distance scale (i.e., disdain area), while the H forms
tolakasi- ‘die’ and capswusı- ‘eat’ are located in the plus area (see 59).

(59) SOCIAL DISTANCE

(RESPECT) + | tolakasi- capswusı-

0 | --cwuk- -------mek- --- BASE LINE

(DISDAIN) - | tweyci- chemek-

If the speaker has a [-social distance] toward the deceased, he/she uses the L term tweyci- although the deceased has a high status than the speaker. It is noticeable that a person of higher status does not always receive a [+ social distance] form (a higher term). Therefore, in choosing a word in triglossia, the social distance which the speaker has toward the other person is the most important factor.

The L terms of 58c, d, and e, which are shorter than the H terms, correspond to the close or zero social distance. When the speaker has [+ social distance] toward the other person, the H term is employed.

(60) a. student: kyoswu-nim cinci capswu-sey-yo
professor-HSuff meal eat-Hon-infE
‘Professor, please have a meal’

b. professor: haksayng pap mek-ela
student meal eat-IE
‘Student, eat a meal’
A student uses the H terms cinci '(respectful) meal' and capswusi- '(respectful) eat' with a professor, while the professor uses the L terms pap 'meal' and mek- 'eat' with the student. It is noticeable that the H terms are longer than the L terms. The reason for this is that the student's social distance toward the professor is great, while the professor's social distance toward the student is short. Similarly, 58d and 58e can be explained. The professor's 'sleep' is described with the LF verb cwumwusi- '(respectful) sleep'. Likewise, when one asks a question to a professor, the LF yeccwu- '(respectful) ask' is used, while when one asks a question to one of his friends, the SF mwut- 'ask' is used.

Here, it is important to note that the length of each member of the di(tri)glossia differs. The different lengths correspond to the different social distances. Finally, it can be concluded that when the speaker has a greater social distance between himself and the addressee, whether that distance is [+] or [-], the LF is employed; and when the distance is closer or zero, the SF is used.

4.6 Summary Remarks

In this chapter, the iconic relationship between form and meaning in morphology (i.e., reduplication, case markers, pronouns, and diglossia) has been discussed.
Reduplication gives good examples of iconicity. In reduplication, it has been found that the increased complexity in a surface form corresponds to the increased referential meaning, such as increased activity, increased intensity, increased distance in spatio-temporal aspect.

There are several pairs of case markers which show a different length. These pairs of markers are also explained by the iconicity principle. In the selective, vocative, and genitive case markers, the LFs are related to the concepts which are included in the Ground, while the SFs are related to the concepts which are included in Figure.

(61) \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{SF/LF} & \text{FIGURE/GROUND} \\
\text{selective} & -\text{na/-lato} \\
\text{vocative} & -\text{a/-iye} \\
\text{genitive} & -\text{s/-uy} \\
\end{array}
\]

Closedness/Openness of choice
Short/Greater social distance
One idea/Two ideas

In personal pronouns, depending on the social distance between the speaker and addressee, the LF or SF is used. Although pronouns are discussed in terms of power and solidarity by Brown and Gilman (1972), they do not focus on the different lengths of the pronouns. The finding is that the length of pronouns is closely related to the social distance. That is, the shorter distance is related to the SF, whereas the greater distance is associated with the LF.

Furthermore, Korean diglossia is explained by the
iconicity principle. Social distance is the important factor in choosing one member of the paired diglossia terms. The diglossia LF is related to the greater social distance between the speaker and addressee, while the diglossia SF is associated with the shorter social distance.

Finally, according to the findings in morphology, it can be concluded that the SF corresponds to the Figure, whereas the LF is related to the Ground.

However, this conclusion does not say that there are no counter-examples. Some examples show that the LF indicates diminutive connotation. Words containing the diminutive suffix -aci constitute such counter-examples in Korean.

(62) a. so vs. song-aci 'cow/calf'
    b. mal vs. mang-aci 'horse/pony'

Although songaci 'calf' is longer than so 'cow', the former (LF) indicates a diminutive referent. In English, similar examples are found: book vs. booklet.

In a certain sense, however, the diminutive words may be explained in terms of sound symbolism. The reason is that the vowels of the diminutive suffixes employ narrow cavity size, i.e., [a] of -aci in Korean employs narrow pharyngeal cavity size, [i] of -let in English employs narrow oral cavity size. Therefore, iconicity is preserved but the Short-Form Long-Form distinction does not hold here.
NOTES

1. Matthews (1974) says that one of the subclasses of compounds is reduplication.

2. Moravcsik (1978:320) proposes several examples of reduplication expressing repeated action with different participant(s) and possibly even at the same time:

   Twi:       wuwu ‘die (in numbers)’
              wu ‘die (of one or several persons)’
   Samoan:    mamate ‘they die’
              mate ‘he dies’
   Syrian, Arabic:
              kassar ‘break (into many pieces)’
              kasar ‘break (into two)’

3. Moravcsik (1978:321) proposes the following examples:

   Agta:       dana vs. dadana
               ‘old’      ‘very old’
   Thai:       dii vs. diidii
               ‘to be good’ ‘to be extremely good’
   Sudanese:   hayang vs. hayanghayang
               ‘want’      ‘want very much’

4. Besides these functions, Moravcsik (1978:324-5) suggests denominal adjectivization, denominal or deverbal agent nominalization, deverbal action nominalization:

   denominal adjectivization
   Twi:       aboabo ‘stony’
              abo ‘stones’

   denominal or deverbal agent nominalization
   Tagalog:   ta:ta:wa ‘one who will laugh’
              ta:wa ‘a laugh
   Ewe:       sisila ‘escaper’
              si ‘escape’
              fofo ‘beating’
              fo ‘beat’
5. The length of ecey ‘yesterday’ is, in Modern Korean, the same as onul ‘today’. However, it cannot be negated that in Old Korean the former may have been longer than the latter. At the present time, however, we cannot examine it because of limited materials of Old Korean. nayil is Sino-Korean. It will not be treated as same as pure Korean.

6. Besides these two, kena and tunci express selectivity. However, unlike na and lato, these two always are used for contrast construction. Thus, these can appear two times in the same sentence:

(a) pi-ka o-kena nwun-i o-kena ha-keyss-ta rain-SM come-Sel snow-SM come-Sel do-Conje-DE ‘It will be raining or snowing’
(b) *pi-ka o-kena ha-keyss-ta rain-SM come-Sel do-Conje-DE ‘It will be raining or’

Example b shows that –kena cannot occur alone. However, na and –lato can.

7. In addition to selectivity, –lato has a concessive meaning. In this case, –lato cannot be replaced by –na.

(a) ney-ka kaykwucangi-lato coh-ta you-SM mischievous boy-Concessive like-DE ‘Although you are a mischievous boy, that is O.K.’
(b) *ney-ka kaykwucangi-na coh-ta I-SM mischievous boy-Sel like-DE (Translation is impossible)

In order to distinguish concession from selectivity, –la hatelato ‘although’ can be employed. As K.H. Kim (1987: 608) has pointed out, the selective –lato cannot be replaced by –la hatelato ‘although’:

(a) kongpu-lato hay-la (selective meaning) study-Sel do-IE ‘Study’
(b) *kongpu-la hatelato hay-la study-although do-IE (Translation is impossible)
(c) hen chayk-ilato coh-ta (concessive meaning) old book-Conc like-DE ‘Although (it) is a used book, (I) like it’
(d) hen chayk-ila hatelato coh-ta old book-although like-DE ‘Although (it) is a used book, (I) like it’

9. H.P. Im (1981b:68) claims that only -uy is a genitive case marker.

N1N2: adnominal construction
N1sg N2 : epenthetic's construction
N1uy N2: genetic construction

10. Depending on the position of genitive noun in the underlying sentences, there can be various genitives.

**locative genitive**

kho-uy mwul ← kho-ey iss-nun mwul
nose-Gen water nose-Loc exist-M water
‘water which is on the nose’

**possessive genitive**

na-uy cip ← nay-ka kaci-n cip
I-Gen house I-SM have-M house
‘a house that I have’

**instrumental genitive**

khal-s cip ← khal-lo mantu-n cip
knife-Gen cutting knife-Inst make-M cutting
‘a cutting which is made by knife’

**partitive genitive**

son-s kalak ← son -uy ilpwu-i-n kalak
hand-Gen stick hand-Gen part-Cop-M stick
‘a stick which is a part of hand’

11. Ingram (1978) has discussed person systems of many languages. For further understanding, see Ingram (1978).

12. In some languages, there are honorific affixes. Head (1978:178-9) points out that a few languages are reported to show degree of respect or social distance in pronominal reference by use of affixes without any categorial meaning (such as number, person, gender, etc.) other than a social one. Head cites Andrews (1975:178), as saying that Classical Nahuatl is reported to have both honorific and pejorative pronominal suffixes. It is regrettable that Head does not propose any data for them.

Korean pronouns do not have these kinds of suffixes. Rather, different lengths of words are employed to show degree of respect or social distance.

13. Historically, ce ‘a humble word of I’ did not exist in Middle Korean. According to H.P. Chae (1983:235) ce originates from the third demonstrative ce ‘that’. However, K.M. Lee (1979:326) points out that Chae’s finding is wrong.
According to K.M. Lee, the plural suffix forms of the first person ce and the third person ce differ, i.e., -huy for the first person and -tul for the third person. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ce-huy</td>
<td>ce-tul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-Pl</td>
<td>that-Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Chinese is reported to have two kinds of second person pronouns. According to Fang and Heng (1983:502-3), analogous to T vs. V, the Chinese language has its corresponding forms for the second singular pronouns; ni and nin. Note that nin is longer than ni. The former is the plain form, while the latter is the polite form. Fang and Heng (1983) point out as follows:

The Chinese Revolution has brought about the change in this system, that is, nin has been replaced almost entirely by ni despite the fact that some text books urge the use of the polite form, nin. In China, the subordinate would say Ni hao 'How are you' rather than Nin hao when he/she greeted his/her superior. Nonetheless, Nin is used in the opening greeting. His finding is that Nin is more often than not in letters addressed to the superior, but its use is usually limited to the opening greeting Nin hao, and then ni follows in the rest of the letter. The rules of ni and nin are summarized as follows (1983:502-3):

**Ni**
1. familiarity: e.g., classmates, fellow students, intimate friend, etc.
2. lower rank: e.g., clerks, servants, workmen. etc.
3. equals of the family and kin: e.g., husband and wife, brothers and sisters, etc.

**Nin**
1. special status: e.g., chief of state
2. higher rank: e.g., officials, judges, landlords, etc.
3. celebrities: e.g., famous scholars, professors, famous writers, etc.
4. ascending generation: e.g., grandparents, parents, etc.
5. strangers

As I have pointed out, they have neglected to pay attention to the difference in length between ni and nin. I want to point out that the rules of nin are associated with the greater social distance, while those of ni are related to the shorter or zero social distance.
15. Similar suppletion form is found in number system in using as a subject (numeral subject).

cardinal: hana twul seys neys ...
   'one' 'two' 'three' 'four'
subject: *___ twul-i seys-i neys-i
   ___ ___-SM ___-SM ___-SM

(a) twul-i o-ass-ni?
two-SM come-Past-Q
   'Did two (men) come?'

(b) honca o-ass-ni?
alone come-Past-Q
   'Did you come alone?'

(b') ?hana-ka o-ass-ni?
one-SM come-Past-Q
   '?Did one come?'

In other words, although hana-ka is expected in b' as a numeral subject, instead of it, honca 'alone' is used in Korean.

16. According to Ko (1989:516), the suppletion between tal- and cwu- is found in indirect questional construction. In this case, tal- means 'give me', while cwu- means 'give someone'.

(a) na-nun [na-eykey chayk-ul tal-la]-ko
   I-TM I-DM book-OM give-IE-Comp
   'I asked

Sue-eykey yocheng-ha-ass-ta
   -DM ask-do-Past-DE
Sue to give me a book'

(a') *na-nun [na-eykey chayk-ul cwu-la]-ko
   I-TM I-DM book-OM give-IE-Comp
   *'I asked me

Sue-eykey yocheng-ha-ass-ta
   -DM ask-do-Past-DE
to give a book to Sue'

(b) na-nun [ku-eykey chayk-ul cwu-la]-ko
   I-TM he-DM book-OM give-IE-Comp
   'I asked
17. Ko (1987:512) points out that in Middle Korean, there was a conjugation form of cwuk- ‘die’, i.e., cwukusi- which disappeared. The H form tolakasi- did not appear in Middle Korean.
CHAPTER 5

ICONICITY IN SYNTAX

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has been shown how in morphology conceptual distance (or size) corresponds to surface distance (or the difference in length of linguistic expressions) in paired or related linguistic expressions. This chapter is devoted to the consideration of such correspondences in syntactic areas.

First of all, a pair of constructions which mark conjecture -keyss and -l kes will be discussed. To distinguish -keyss (SF) from -l kes (LF), several parameters have been proposed. However, these parameters do not explain the difference between these constructions. The notion of new/given information will be suggested as an alternative. Secondly, a pair of passive constructions with -hi and -e ci- will be investigated. In this study, only agentless passive constructions are examined. Lastly, a pair of causative constructions with -i and -key ha- will be discussed. It will be shown that the notion of directness and physical
contact cannot be criteria to distinguish the two causative constructions. As an alternative, the notion of completion and incompletion will be proposed.

5.2 Pair of Constructions Which Express Conjecture:

-keyns and -l kes

In order to express conjecture, two forms are employed. One is -keyns which is considered the SF, and the other is -l kes which is considered the LF. Recently, many linguists, such as C.S. Shin (1975), J.S. Suh (1978), K.C. Sung (1979, 1986), K.Y. Lee (1978), N.S. Lee (1981), and others have discussed this pair of forms. However, none of them has considered the iconic relationship between form and meaning. In this section, the pair, -keyns and -l kes, will be discussed on the basis of the iconicity principle. The notion of new/given information will be employed.

5.2.1 Review of Previous Work


keyns means knowing a certain situation or probability of events...Thus, in the case of keyss, there must be objective evidence of an actual fact or the probability
of actualization, whereas in the case of -1 kes, such evidence is not necessary. (my translation)

Apparently, K.Y. Lee’s (1978) idea of objective evidence for -keyss is not right. Contrary to his claim, in many cases, -1 kes requires objective evidence as in the examples below:

(1) a. ?Kim-un kyeyhoyk-taylo nayil ttena-keyss-ta
   -TM plan -as, like tomorrow leave-Conje-DE
   ‘According to the itinerary,
   Kim will leave tomorrow’

   b. Kim-un kyeyhoyk-taylo
      -Tm plan-as, like
      ‘According to the itinerary,
      nayil ttena-1 kes-i-ta
      tomorrow leave-Conje-Cop-DE
      Kim will leave tomorrow’

According to K.Y. Lee (1978), because kyeyhoyk ‘plan’ is objective evidence, 1a must be used. However, 1a is unnatural, while 1b is more natural. Thus, it can be said that the presence of objective evidence cannot be a criterion. K.Y. Lee (1978) claims that -keyss means strong conjecture, and -1 kes means weak conjecture. He states that strong conjecture implies the speaker’s subjective confidence. Because -keyss implies the speaker’s confidence, it signals the speaker’s intention. However, it seems that K.Y. Lee (1978) confuses conjecture with intention. Of course, -keyss implies the intention of the speaker or of the subject
of the sentence when they are animate. Intention is not the primary function of -keyss. In certain cases, -keyss does not show intention. Consider the following examples:

(2) a. pi-ka o-keyss-ta
    rain-SM come-Conje-DE
    'It may rain'

b. na-nun onul ka-keyss-ta
    I -TM today go-Conje-DE
    'I will go today'

In 2a, no intention of the subject pi 'rain' can be found. On the contrary, 2b shows the intention of the subject na 'I'. In general, if the subject is animate, -keyss implies intention. But, while some examples imply intention, others do not. This indicates that intention is not the primary function of -keyss. In short, K.Y. Lee's (1977, 1978) interpretation has difficulties. As seen in 2b, contrary to his finding, -l kes requires objective evidence rather than -keyss. It seems that the function of strong conjecture of -keyss comes from intention when the subject is animate in Korean.

Secondly, J.S. Suh (1978) brings forth a counter-argument against K.Y. Lee (1978): -l kes expresses conjecture based on the objective evidence, while -keyss shows conjecture based on the speaker's subjectivity. Thus, -l kes indicates more a positive conjecture than -keyss. Examples below illustrate:
(3) a. nay nukkim-enun kui-ka nayil ttena-keyss-ta
    my feeling-in he-SM tomorrow leave-Conje-DE
    'In my feeling, he will leave tomorrow'

    b. ?nay nukkim-enun kui-ka
       my feeling-in he-SM
       'In my feeling,

       nayil ttena-1 kes-i-ta
       tomorrow leave-Conje-Cop-DE
       he will leave tomorrow'

(4) a. ?ilcengpyo-ey ttala
    itinerary-Loc along
    'According to itinerary,

    kui-ka nayil ttena-keyss-ta
    he-TM tomorrow leave-Conje-DE
    he will leave tomorrow'

    b. ilcengpyo-ey ttala
    itinerary-Loc along
    'According to itinerary,

    kui-ka nayil ttena-1 kes-i-ta
    he-SM tomorrow leave-Conje-Cop-DE
    he will leave tomorrow'

According to the intuition of a native Korean, in the above examples, 3a and 4b are natural. The reason is that in 3 there is no objective evidence, only the speaker’s subjectivity, nukkim ‘feeling’. In 4, there is objective evidence, i.e., the itinerary. Thus, 4b is more natural.

At first glance, J.S. Suh’s (1978) discussion is plausible. However, the presence of objective evidence as a criterion is not tenable. The reason is that in some cases where there is objective evidence, -1 kes is not employed. Rather, -keyss is used. Consider the following examples:
(5) a. ilcengpyo-ey ttala kui-ka nayil itinerary-Loc along he-SM tomorrow 'According to itinerary, will you
ttena-keyss-ni?
leave-Conje-Q
leave tomorrow?’

b. *ilcengpyo-ey ttala kui-ka nayil itinerary-Loc along he-SM tomorrow 'According to itinerary, will you
ttena-l kes-i-ni?
leave-Conje-Cop-Q
leave tomorrow?’

As seen above, 5b which is a question is unnatural and ungrammatical even though 5b has objective evidence, i.e., itinerary. This shows that the presence of objective evidence cannot be a criterion to distinguish -keyss from -l kes, as seen in interrogative sentences. Even in declarative sentences, objective evidence does not function to determine the choice of -l kes:

(6) a. Kim-un tali-ka kil-ese cokuman uyca-ey -TM leg-SM long-since small chair-Loc 'Because Kim’s legs are long, if (he) sits on
anc-umyen pwulpyen-ha-keyss-ta
sit-if uncomfortable-do-Conje-DE
the small chair, (he) will be uncomfortable'

b. Kim-un tali-ka kil-ese cokuman uyca-ey -TM leg-SM long-since small chair-Loc 'Because Kim’s legs are long, if (he) sits on
anc-umyen pwulpyen-ha-l kes-i-ta
sit-if uncomfortable-do-Conje-Cop-DE
the small chair, (he) will be uncomfortable'
In 6, 'Kim’s long legs' must be the objective evidence. Nonetheless, contrary to J.S. Suh's finding, -keyss is employed in 6a. As a result, it can be said that the presence or absence of objective evidence cannot be considered as a criterion to distinguish -keyss from -l kes.

Thirdly, K.C. Sung (1986) proposes present and past experience as criteria. According to him (1986:225), -keyss is based on present or on-the-spot experiences, while -l kes is based on past experiences. Some examples from K.C. Sung (1986:224) are given below:

(7) a. ike mas-iss-keyss-e
    This taste-exist-Conje-infE
    'This looks delicious'

b. ike mas-iss-l ke(s)-ya
    this taste-exist-Conje-infE
    'This may be delicious'

The above examples are given in a context of a restaurant after looking only at the menu, and it is assumed that a particular meal is ordered by two people. At this time, one has tried the meal, the other has neither seen nor tried it. In this case, K.C. Sung (1986:224) mentions that the former can use 7b, while the latter can use 7a. If the former person who has had the experience of eating the meal responds to the question mas-iss-keyss-ni? 'Is (this) delicious?' with 7a, this response seems to be inappropriate. If the former responds to the question with 7b, this response
is appropriate.

To summarize, K.C. Sung (1986) suggests that -keyss is based on present experiences such as the color and shape of the meal, while -l kes is related to a past experience, such as an eating experience. K.C. Sung (1986: 232) depicts a diagram to show the relationship between -keyss or -l kes and present and past experience:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|}
\text{At moment of EXP} & \text{close time} & \text{after EXP} \\
\text{present EXP) (before/after EXP) (past EXP) }
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|}
\text{after} & \text{before} \\
\text{EXP} & \text{EXP} \\
\text{-keyss} & \text{-keyss} \\
\text{-l kes} & \text{-l kes}
\end{array}
\]

K.C. Sung's (1986) finding, i.e., present and past experience, seems to be much better than other criteria, such as subjectivity and objective evidence. In terms of the iconicity principle, it can be expected that present experience corresponds to the SF -keyss, and past experience is associated with the LF -l kes. Such a correspondence will be discussed later.

Fourthly, N.S. Lee (1981) proposes inclusive and exclusive judgement as criteria. He (1981) points out that -keyss is based only on the speaker's judgement, while -l kes is based on both the speaker's judgement and the addressee's or third person's judgement. One of his examples is an
epigram. In an epigram, -l kes is employed, whereas -keyss is not used. He quotes the following from the Holy Bible (Matthews 7:7):

(9) a. *kwu-ha-la, kulemyen et-keyss-ta
    seek-do-imp and get-Conje-DE
    'Ask, and it shall be given you'

b. kwu-ha-la, kulemyen et-ul kes-i-ta
    seek-do-imp and get-Conje-Cop-DE.
    'Ask, and it shall be given you'

N.S. Lee (1981:190-1) explains why -keyss is not used in 9a, and why -l kes is used. His explanation is given below:

An epigram is a sentence which expresses a moral truth. An epigram is a truth which is acceptable to speaker, addressee, or the other person. (17)a [9a] is unnatural. Because keyss shows only the speaker's judgement, it is not used in an epigram. In contrast, (17)b [9b] is very natural. Because l kes is used when the other person's judgement is included in the epigram, (17)b [9b] is very natural. (my translation)

To examine his idea, N.S. Lee (1981) adds 'in my opinion' and 'in your opinion' to the original sentences which have -keyss or -l kes:

(10) a. nay sayngkak-eynnun, kui-ka olh-keyss-ta
    my thought-in he-SM right-Conje-DE
    'In my opinion, he may be right'

b. *nay sayngkak-eynnun, kui-ka olh-ul kes-i-ta
    my thought-in he-SM right-Conje-Cop-DE
    'In my opinion, he may be right'
(11) a. *ney sayngkak-eynun, kui-ka olh-keyss-ta
    your thought-in, he-SM right-Conje-DE
    'In your opinion, he may be right,'

    b. ney sayngkak-eynun, kui-ka olh-ul kes-i-ta
    your thought-in, he-SM right-Conje-Cop-DE
    'In your opinion, he may be right'

As can be seen in 10 and 11, -l kes includes the addressee's judgement, whereas -keyss excludes the addressee's judgement. To link such judgements to iconicity, it can be said that the speaker's judgement is closer to himself, whereas the addressee's judgement is distant from the speaker. Note that the greater distance corresponds to the LF, while the closer distance is related to the SF. Therefore, it can be concluded that in conjecture, the speaker's judgement corresponds to the SF -keyss, while the addressee's judgement is associated with the LF -l kes.

In addition, C.M. Lee (1975) proposes time lag as a criterion. He says that -l kes expresses the transcendental and further future. C.M. Lee's (1975:303) examples are:

(12) a. samwel-i o-myen cintallay-ka phi-l kes-i-ta
    March-SM come-if azalea-SM bloom-Conje-Cop-DE
    'If Spring comes, an azalea will bloom'

    b. kot cintallay-ka phi-keyss-ta
    soon azalea-SM bloom-Conje-DE
    'An azalea comes into flowers soon'

According to C.M. Lee (1975), -keyss indicates present or near future, and -l kes shows far future. It seems
that his idea is based on the interval between utterance time and event time. That is, -keyss corresponds to a short interval between the two times, while -1 kes is associated with a great interval between them. However, such an idea of time lag is not tenable because both -keyss and -1 kes can be used with the same interval:

(13) a. Kim-un o pwun twuyey
     -TM five minute after
     'In five minutes,
     il-ul machi-keyss-ta
     job-OM finish-Conje-DE
     Kim will finish the job'

b. Kim-un o pwun twuyey
     -SM five minute after
     'In five minutes kim,
     il-ul machi-1 kes-i-ta
     job-OM finish-Conje-Cop-DE
     Kim may finish the job'

In 13, the time lag between utterance time and event time is five minutes. If C.M. Lee (1975) is right, it would be expected that either -keyss or -1 kes is employed in 13. Contrary to this expectation, both -keyss and -1 kes are used in 13a and 13b, respectively. This shows that the time lag cannot be a necessary criterion to distinguish -keyss from -1 kes. The reason perhaps is that the tense is not the primary function of -keyss and -1 kes. In general, when both forms indicate a conjecture in regard to a future matter, they signal the future tense. However, when they indicate the
conjecture of a past matter, they never signal the future tense. It seems that the future tense is one of their peripheral functions. The following examples do not show the future:

(14) a. Kim-un imi tochak-ha-ass-keyss-ta
    -TM already arrive-do-Past-Conje-DE
    'Kim perhaps has already arrived'

    b. Kim-un imi tochak-ha-ass-ul kes-i-ta
    -TM already arrive-do-Past-Conje-Cop-DE
    'Kim probably has already arrived'

Thus far, the findings of some Korean linguists who have studied -keyss and -l kes have been reviewed. Most of them have paid attention to secondary or derived functions of the two forms, e.g., the future tense and intention related to strong conjecture. Only K.C. Sung (1986) and N.S. Lee (1981) make insightful suggestions. However, none of the writers cited links his idea to iconicity. Therefore, -keyss and -l kes will be discussed in light of the iconicity principle. To first clarify the discussion, however, a summary of the linguists' views explained above is provided:
(15)          -keyss                  -l kes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Based on the objective evidence</th>
<th>Objective evidence not necessary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K.Y. Lee</td>
<td>Strong conjecture</td>
<td>Weak conjecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1978)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.S. Suh</td>
<td>Speaker’s subjectivity</td>
<td>Based on objectivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1978)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.C. Sung</td>
<td>Present experience</td>
<td>Past experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S. Lee</td>
<td>Exclusive judgement</td>
<td>Inclusive judgement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1981)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M. Lee</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Far future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1975)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2 Newness, Givenness, Closedness, and Openness

In the previous section, several studies on -keyss and -l kes are reviewed. As have seen, the varying criteria that they propose cannot explain the differences between these two constructions. Thus, an alternative is proposed here, i.e., new/given information, and closedness/openness of choice. It seems that -keyss signals conjecture which is based on new information, while -l kes signals conjecture which is based on given information.

Furthermore, -keyss shows the closedness of choice in regard to the positive and negative possibilities, whereas -l kes reveals the openness of choice of those possibilities. As far as iconicity is concerned, the notions of newness and closedness is associated with the SF, while those of givenness and openness correspond to the LF.
5.2.2.1 New Information and Given Information

First of all, it is helpful to review Chafe (1974) to show the differences between new and given information. Chafe (1974:112) defines given material, which the speaker assumes is already in the addressee's consciousness, and new material, which he assumes is not. It is very important whether a piece of information is assumed to be in the addressee's consciousness or not. The reason is that the speaker does not treat given and new information in the same way.

Following Chafe (1974), the given information is related to two consciousnesses, i.e., the speaker's and the addressee's, whereas the new information is linked to only one consciousness, i.e., the speaker's.

As seen before, K.C. Sung (1986) points out that -keyss is based on present experience, while -l kes is based on past experience. Sung's (1986) notion of actual time lag has been criticized by N.S. Lee (1981:188). N.S. Lee (1981) claims that the time difference cannot be considered as a criterion. In fact, in certain cases, although there is no time lag, two forms are used. The following examples from N.S. Lee (1981:189) show this:

(16) a. coha-ha-nun kes-ul po-ni,
   like-do-M thing-OM see-so,
   'Looking at (his) joyfulness,
In 16, the experience of the speaker is 'looking at Chelswu's joyfulness'. The time lag between the experience time and the utterance time in both sentences does not differ. New information, as Chafe (1974:112) discusses, is brand new at the time of the utterance. That is, new information consists of on-the-spot information. Note that, according to Chafe (1974:112), all on-the-spot information cannot be new information.

It can be said that given and new information include the present experience and past experience as described by K.C. Sung (1986) respectively, but not vice versa. As mentioned before, -l kes is associated with given information which is assumed to be in the addressee's consciousness, while -keyss is related to the new information which is not assumed. In other words, the former corresponds to two ideas (the speaker's and the addressee's), while the latter is associated with one idea (the speaker's). Some examples are given in the following:
(17) a. *ne-to cal al-ko iss-ci-man,  
you-even well know-and exist-Comp-though,  
'As you have known well,
    Sue-nun ttena-keyss-ta
    -TM leave-Conje-DE
Sue will leave'

b. ne-to cal al-ko iss-ci-man,  
you-even well know-and exist-Comp-though  
'As you have known well,
    Sue-nun ttena-l kes-i-ta
    -TM leave-Conje-Cop-DE
Sue will leave'

In the above examples, 17a is not acceptable, but 17b is natural. The reason for the unacceptability of 17a is that although -keyss must be based on the new information, it is wrongly based on the old information, i.e., 'you have known'. On the other hand, -l kes in 17b occurs with the general tendency for -l kes to be based on given information that is not only in the speaker's mind, but also in the addressee's mind. In short, -keyss is associated with the cognition of one person, while -l kes is related to the cognition of two persons.

For further discussion, two more examples are proposed. The following examples show how differently -keyss and -l kes function in embedded sentences. Consider the following:

(18) a. [Sue-nun ttena-keyss-ta]-lako mal-ha-ass-ta
   [    -TM leave-Conje-DE]-Comp speech-do-Past-DE
   'Sue said, "I will leave"'

b. [Sue-nun ttena-1 kes-i-ta]-lako
   [ -TM leave-Conje-Cop-DE]-Comp
   '(Someone) said that
   mal-ha-ass-ta
   speech-do-Past-DE
   Sue will leave’

According to language intuition, most Korean people understand that the subject of the verb ‘said’ in 18a is Sue, but that of ‘said’ in 18b is not Sue but someone else. This demonstrates that _keyss is related to the cognition of Sue while _-l kes is associated with the cognition of others.

Another piece of evidence which supports the fact that _keyss is related to the cognition of one can be found in monologue. In general, _keyss is employed in a monologue. Note that a large portion of monologue consists of the thought or explanation of the performer. The addressee’s thought is rarely included in monologue. Although the frequency of _keyss in Korean monologues has not been investigated in this study, it is suspected that its frequency is much greater than that of _-l kes. This will remain a question for further study.

In addition, the fact that _keyss is related to only new information, and _-l kes to given information, is found in an epigram or in a sentence containing a universal truth.

(19) a. *nolyek-ha-la, kulemyen sengkong-ha-keyss-ta
    endeavor-do-IE and success-do-Conje-DE
    ‘Do your best, and you probably succeed’
b. nolyek-ha-la, kulemen sengkong-ha-1 kes-i-ta
   endeavor-do-IE and success-do-Conje-Cop-DE
   'Do your best, and you probably succeed'

(20) a. *hay-un nayil-to ttu-keyss-ta
    sun-TM tomorrow-also rise-Conje-DE
    'The sun may rise also tomorrow'

b. hay-un nayil-to ttu-l kes-i-ta
    sun-TM tomorrow-also rise-Conje-Cop-DE
    'The sun may rise also tomorrow'

In the above examples, 19a and 20a are ungrammatical, but 19b and 20b are grammatical. The sentences, 'do one's best, and you will succeed' and 'the moon rises every night', are based on the given information which is assumed to be known by the addressee. Sentences in 19b and 20b contain both the speaker's and the addressee's judgement. The reason for the ungrammaticality of 19a and 20a is that although these sentences have to contain the judgement of both the speaker and addressee, -keyss does not indicate the judgements of both the speaker and addressee but only the speaker's. Thus, it can be concluded that the opinion (or thought) of one person corresponds to -keyss (SF), and that of two or more people is associated with -l kes (LF).

Furthermore, because the notion of new and given information includes the present and past experience of K.C. Sung (1986), and exclusive and inclusive judgement of N.S. Lee (1981), new and given information are much better criteria than those of others to distinguish -keyss (SF) from -l kes (LF).
5.2.2.2 Closedness and Openness of Choice

Conjecture is related to uncertainty. In the situation of whether something will happen or not, the speaker selects one of the two possibilities of occurrence, i.e., positive and negative. Depending on the situation, the speaker's mind inclines to one possibility or either one of two possibilities. It is understood that one possibility implies closedness of choice and either one of two possibilities means openness of choice. The following examples illustrate:

(21) a. Kim-i ka-keyss-ta
    -SM go-Conje-DE
    'Kim will go'

    b. Kim-i ka-1 kes-i-ta
    -SM go-Conje-Cop-DE
    'Kim will go'

(22) a. *Kim-i ka-keyss-nun-ci pwulhwaksil-ha-ta
    -SM go-Conje-M-Comp uncertain-do-DE
    'It is uncertain that Kim will go'

    b. Kim-i ka-1 kes-i-n-ci pwulhwaksil-ha-ta
    -SM go-Conje-Cop-M-Comp uncertain-do-DE
    'It is uncertain that Kim will go'

In the above examples, 22a is ungrammatical. Because the embedded sentence (i.e., 21a) of 22a means that the speaker chooses the possibility of 'Kim's going' this sentence cannot occur with the negative word pwulhwaksilhata 'be uncertain'. On the other hand, 22b implies that the
speaker considers either the possibility of 'Kim's going' or the possibility of 'Kim's not going'. In other words, when the speaker has decided between either of those two possibilities, -keyss is employed. However, if the speaker has not yet decided either one of them, -l kes is used. The following examples show that the former is related to one of two possibilities, and the latter is related to either one of them. In other words, the former signals closedness of choice of possibility, whereas the latter shows openness of choice. Some examples are given below:

(23) a. *pi-ka o-keyss-ki-to ha-ko
    rain-SM come-Conje-Comp-so do-and
    'It seems that it rains
    an o-keyss-ki-to-ha-ta
    Neg come-Conje-Comp-so-do-DE
    and it does not'

b. pi-ka o-l kes kath-ki-to ha-ko
    rain-SM come-Conje be equal-Comp-so do-and
    'Either it rains
    an o-l kes kath-ki-to ha-ta
    Neg come-Conje be equal-Comp-so do-DE
    or it does not rain'

The reason for the ungrammaticality of 23a is that -keyss should indicate only closedness of choice, but openness of choice is indicated in second conjunct. However, 23b is natural, because -l kes in this sentence signals openness of choice. Some further examples analyzed follow:
As can be seen in 24, -keyss can be used in an imperative sentence, while -l kes cannot. In general, an imperative sentence indicates an order which has been decided. An undecided thing cannot be ordered. Note that -keyss signals one or the other of those two decided possibilities. In 24a, -keyss means the possibility of 'going'. On the other hand, because -l kes in 24b indicates either the possibility of 'going' or of 'not going', it cannot co-occur in the imperative sentence.

The SF, -keyss, corresponds to decisiveness, but the LF, -l kes, is associated with non-decisiveness. As seen thus far, the former is related to one of two possibilities, but the latter is associated with the open choice of either one. When words which mean uncertainty, e.g., moluta 'unknown', are added to both forms, -l kes is natural, but -keyss is unnatural. The reason is that because non-decision implies uncertainty, -l kes rather than -keyss co-occurs with such words:

    -SM go-Conje-Comp-M-Comp-SM doubt-seem-DE
    'It seems to be doubtful that Kim will go'
b. Kim-i ka-l kes-i-n-ci-ka uysim-sulep-ta
   -SM go-Conje-Cop-M-Comp-SM doubt-seem-DE
   'It seems to be doubtful that Kim will go'

The above example shows that Kim-i ka-keyss-nun-ci cannot be the target of uysim 'doubt', but Kim-i ka-l kes-i-n-ci can be. The fact that the complement clause in 25b is the target of an uncertain verb uysim means that the clause signals non-decision. However, -keyss in 25a implies decision. Thus, it cannot be used with uysim 'doubt'.

Furthermore, when one asks another to decide something, -keyss is not used, because -keyss signals certainty, i.e., a decision already made. Consider the following examples:

(26) a. ?i-li ka-keyss-nun-ci ce-li
      this-to go-Conje-M-Comp that-to

      ka-keyss-nun-ci-lul kyelceng-ha-la
      go-Conje-M-Comp-OM decide-do-IE
      'Decide whether (you are) going this way
       or that way'

b. i-li ka-l kes-i-n-ci ce-li
   this-to go-Conje-Cop-M-Comp that-to

   ka-l kes-i-n-ci kyelceng-ha-la
   go-Conje-Cop-M-Comp decide-do-IE
   'Decide whether (you are) going this way
    or that way'

In the above examples, -keyss does not occur with kyelcenghata 'decide'. Note that -keyss implies the decision of one of two possibilities. Therefore, it is redundant for
the already-decided thing to be decided again. On the contrary, 26b is natural. Because _-l kes_ implies non-decision, it can occur with _kyelcenghata_ 'decide.'

Now, the degree of certainty must be considered. As mentioned before, K.Y. Lee (1978) proposes strong conjecture for _-keyss_, and weak conjecture for _-l kes_. Some linguists, excluding J.S. Suh (1978), agree that the former signals a higher degree of certainty than the latter. K.C. Sung (1986: 228) argues this way:

Because _-keyss_—conjecture is inferred from the on-the-spot situation, the foundation (or ground) for conjecture is interpreted on the speaker's side. That is, there is no room in which other's opinion affects. This is different from _-ul kesi_—conjecture which is based on the indirect experience which is based on the other's experience. Namely, because _-keyss_ conjecture is in the speaker's present and his own judgement, it seems that _-keyss_ shows a high degree of certainty. (my translation)

Nonetheless, K.C. Sung's last sentence in the above is not acceptable. There are many cases in which the speaker, s present on-the-spot and his own judgement show a low degree of certainty, and the addressee's past judgement shows a high degree of certainty. Therefore, the degree of certainty is not the main characteristic of _-keyss_ and _-l kes_. Therefore, certainty is no more than a secondary function of the two terms. Note that _-keyss_ is related to the decision (or closedness) of choice. Decision implies
certainty. So, it seems that some linguists have confused decision with certainty. Instead of certainty, decision (or closedness) is a better term to use in studying the conjecture forms, -keyss and -l kes.

It has been shown thus far that -keyss (SF) is related to the choice of one out of two possibilities, while -l kes (LF) corresponds to the choice of either one of the two. The former implies the closedness or decision of choice of possibilities, whereas the latter implies the openness or undecided choice of them. Therefore, discussion of two conjectural constructions is depicted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(27) -keyss</th>
<th>-l kes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New information</td>
<td>Given information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closedness of choice</td>
<td>Openness of choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decided</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3. Passives: -hi and -e ci-

Korean has three kinds of passives which are significantly different in length: suffixal passive, syntactic passive, and lexical passive. suffixal passives are expressed by so-called passive suffixes. Syntactic passives are expressed by the adverbializer (or complementizer in T-G grammar) -e and the passive auxiliary verb ci-. Lexical passives are expressed by nouns and the passive auxiliary verbs twoy-, pat-, tangha-, etc. Among three kinds of
passives, the first two will be considered. The reason for is that these two passives form a pair of passive constructions available to many verbs. Lexical passives do not form a pair with anything else.

Only the different lengths of the paired passive sentences, especially the agentless passive sentences, are considered in discussion of iconicity. As will be seen, the agentless passive sentences show the differences between the SF and the LF on the basis of certain factors such as responsibility, a hidden agent, and intention. First of all, the relationship between three kinds of passives will be discussed. Consider the following:

(28) a. mak-hi-ta (Suffixal Passivization)
    block-Pass-DE
    ‘be blocked’

   b. mak-a ci-ta (Syntactic Passivization)
    block-Pass-DE
    ‘be blocked’

(29) a. emma-ka komwun tangha-ass-ta (Lexical)
    mother-SM torture receive-Past-DE
    ‘Mother was tortured’

   b. *emma-ka komwun tangha-hi-ess-ta (Suffixal)
    mother-SM torture receive-Pass-Past-DE
    *‘Mother was received torture’

   c. ?emma-ka komwun tangha-e ci-ess-ta (Syn-
    mother-SM torture become-Pass-Past-DE tactic)
    *‘Mother was received torture’

As seen above, 28 shows a pair of the LF and the SF passivizations, whereas 29 does not. That is, lexical passive
construction does not enter into paired passivization constructions. As seen in 28, however, suffixal and syntactic passives constitute such a pair. Since paired passive constructions are considered in this study, lexical passives are excluded here. A pair of passive constructions follows:

(30) a. kil-i  mak-hi-ese  nuc-ess-ta
    road-SM block-Pass-because late-Past-DE
    'Because the road is blocked, I am late'

    b. kil-i  ma-k-a ci-ese  nuc-ess-ta
    road-SM block-Pass-because late-Past-DE
    'Because the road managed to be blocked, I am late'

In 30, several factors which influence the two kinds of passivizations are found: Who is responsible for what takes place the action (or event) of the verb? Is the action of the verb intentional or unintentional (or natural)? 30a means that the road was blocked accidentally or naturally by heavy traffic, while 30b means that the road is blocked due to some intentional efforts such as a barricade or the direction of traffic policeman.

These findings will be discussed further. In relation to the responsibility for what takes place, a suffixal passive construction does not indicate an agent who is responsible for the road's being blocked. On the contrary, 30b indicates that there is a hidden agent who is responsible for the road's being blocked.
According to K.D. Lee (1987:185), the event described in 30a can be considered as a natural phenomenon or process which is not and cannot be controlled by humans. Here, several causes of the road’s being blocked in 30a are proposed, e.g., a car accident, heavy traffic, an earthquake, etc. In general, the things which blocked the road in 30a are cars, whereas the things in 30b are barricades rather than cars. Furthermore, the event described in 30b can be considered as an intentional phenomenon or process which is and can be controlled by humans. From the view of directness of passivity, the SF passive construction shows directness, whereas the LF passive construction shows indirectness. This relationship is depicted below:

(31) a. **Suffixal Passivization**
cars ——> road’s being blocked
subject ——>(DIRECT) event

b. **Syntactic Passivization**
barricade ——> road’s being blocked
hidden agent ——> subject
event ——>(INDIRECT)

Slightly differently, depending on whether the intention of subject influences the events described in the sentence or not, the SF passive or the LF passive is selected. Consider the following:
(32) a. nay-ka hwoycang-ey ppop-hi-ess-ta
    I-SM president-Loc elect-Pass-Past-DE
    'I was elected as president (of a committee)'

b. nay-ka hwoycang-ey ppop-a ci-ess-ta
    I-SM president-Loc elect-Pass-Past-DE
    'I was elected as president (of a committee)'

In suffixal passivization (32a), the intention of the speaker 'I' influences the presidential election such as through participation in the election campaign. On the contrary, 32b means that even though the speaker 'I' does not intend to be a president, other people elect the speaker as a president. In other words, in the suffixal passive construction, there is a directness or closeness between speaker and the event of the verb, while in the syntactic passive construction, there is an indirectness or distance between the speaker and the event of the verb. The fact that the direct involvement of the subject influences the choice of passivization is also found in English (Lakoff 1971:154).

The directness and indirectness in passivization can be extended to the inherent properties of the subject or the properties of others. If the inherent properties of the subject in a passive sentence affects the events described in the sentence, then the suffixal passive (SF) is used. If other factors rather the inherent properties of the subject influence the event, then the syntactic passive (LF) is used. Some examples are given below:
(33) a. i yak-un saymmwul-ey
this medicine-TM spring.water-Loc
'This medicine dissolves

cal phwul-i-n-ta
well dissolve-Pass-Prog-DE
well in the spring water'

b. i yak-un saymmwul-ey
this medicine-TM spring water-Loc

cal phwul-e ci-n-ta
well dissolve-Pass-Prog-DE
'This medicine has managed to be dissolved
well in the spring water'

Both sentences in 33 illustrate that a certain medicine dissolves well in spring water. However, 33a means that the easy solution is due to the inherent nature of the medicine itself rather than due to any other factor, such as water temperature, stirring, or the nature of the spring water. Unlike 33a, 33b means that the easy solution of the medicine is due to the nature of the spring water, not the nature of the medicine. Consequently, it can be found that the directness or closeness (inside factor) between the subject and the event of the verb is related to the SF suffixal passivization as in 33a, whereas the indirectness or looseness (outside factor) between them is associated with the LF syntactic passivization as in 33b.

Sentences in 33 also can be explained in terms of a responsibility parameter. In 33a, the medicine is responsible for the easy solution, while in 33b, the spring water is responsible for the easy solution of the medicine.
In considering the responsibility, the terms, autonomous and non-autonomous, can be used. The SF passivizations are used to denote an autonomous process, and the LF passivizations are used to denote a non-autonomous process (K.D. Lee 1987:187).

Thus far, two kinds of agentless passive sentences which make a paired sentences have been discussed. The passive constructions whose corresponding active constructions have an agent are excluded in this study. The reason is that such passive constructions do not constitute a pair of constructions which show different lengths. Consider the following examples:

(34) a. Kim-i emeni-lul po-ass-ta (Active S)
    -SM mother-OM see-Past-DE
    'Kim saw (his) mother'

    b. emeni-ka Kim-eykey po-i-ess-ta (SUFFIXAL)
    mother-SM -DM see-Pass-Past-DE
    'Mother was seen by Kim'

    c. *emeni-ka Kim-eykey po-a ci-ess-ta (SYNTACTIC)
    mother-SM -DM see-Pass-Past-DE
    'Mother was seen by Kim'

Furthermore, idioms have not been discussed here. The reason is that, although some idioms have a passive meaning, they do not form systematic paired sentences such as the suffixal and syntactic passive sentences.
(35) a. son-ey mos-i pak-hi-ess-ta  
    hand-Loc nail-SM nail-Pass-Past-DE  
    'A hand has a callus'

b. *son-ey mos-i pak-a ci-ess-ta  
    hand-Loc nail-SM nail-Pass-Past-DE  
    'A callus was nailed on hand'

Although 35a has a passive suffix -hi, 35a can be treated as an idiom. In a sense, there is no passive meaning in 35a. The syntactic passivization of 35b is not acceptable. In other words, 35a cannot form a paired passive sentence with the LF 35b. In fact, mos 'nail' in 35 is not a real nail, but a callus. Therefore, this mos cannot be nailed by even a hidden agent. Thus, 35b is not natural. Furthermore, a passive idiom functions differently in adnominalization. Consider the following example:

(36) a. *[son-ey pak-hi]-n mos  
    [hand-Loc nail-Pass]-Adn nail  
    'a callus which is nailed on the hand'

b. [mos-i pak-hi]-n son  
    [nail-SM nail-Pass]-Adn hand  
    'a hand having a callus'

As seen in 36, mos and pak-hi- cannot be separated in adnominalization because the idiom is considered a unit. The ungrammaticality of 36a results from the separation of mos from pak-hi with which it must co-occur.

What has been found thus far is that the SF passivization (a suffixal construction) is associated with an
autonomous process, or the inherent property of the subject (or inside factor), and a subject’s responsibility which are characterized as the Gestalt Figure. On the other hand, the LF passivization (a syntactic construction) is associated with a non-autonomous process, an outside factor, and a hidden agent’s responsibility which are characterized as the Gestalt Ground.

\[
(36') \quad \text{-hi} \quad \text{-e ci-}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Autonomous process</th>
<th>Non-autonomous process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside factor</td>
<td>Outside factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject’s responsibility</td>
<td>Hidden agent’s responsibility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4 Causatives: -i and -key ha-

Recent years have seen a number of interesting attempts to solve the problems that are brought about by two kinds of causatives: suffixal causatives which are considered the SF and syntactic causatives which are considered the LF. However, most of the studies are concerned with pointing out the similarities between the two causatives and postulating a common deep structure. In this section, the notion of ‘completion and incompletion’ will be discussed as an alternation of distinctive natures between the two kinds of causatives that form a pair of causative constructions which differ in length, but express roughly similar
meanings.

Syntactic causative constructions contain the complementizer -key and the causative pro-verb ha- 'do, cause' as the matrix verb. Suffixal causative constructions contain causative suffixes such as -i, -hi, -ki, -li, -u in place of -key ha- (among them -i will be used as a base form). Examples are given below:

(37) a. pap-ul mek-ta
    meal-OM eat-DE
    'eat a meal'

b. pap-ul mek-i-ta (Suffixal)
    meal-OM eat-Caus-DE
    'feed a meal'

c. pap-ul mek-key ha-ta (Syntactic)
    meal-OM eat-CComp do-DE
    'cause to eat a meal'

5.4.1 Review of Some Semantic Parameters

In discussing the pair of causative constructions, several semantic parameters are proposed, such as direct/indirect, controllable/non-controllable by causee, contact/no-contact, and proximate/mediate. However, to put the conclusion first, not all of these notions are appropriate for discussing Korean causation. Only some of them are examined.

First of all, directness/indirectness in causation will be discussed. The most common parameter in studying causation
is the notion of directness and indirectness. In relation to this notion, the two causations can be explained. Consider the following:

(38) a. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta (SF)  
     -SM -OM die-Caus-Past-DE  
     'Kim killed Sue'

b. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ta (LF)  
     -SM -OM kill-CComp do-Past-DE  
     'Kim causes Sue to die'

Sentence 38a means that Sue's dying is due to Kim's direct physical activity. In other words, the real killer in 38a is Kim. On the contrary, 38b shows that the direct cause of Sue's dying is due not to Kim's direct physical action, but to other causes, e.g., not taking her to a doctor, not giving her medicine, or asking someone to kill her. In 38b, Kim simply works as an instigator, and not as a real killer. Therefore, it can be said that SF causation indicates directness between causer and causee, while LF causation reveals indirectness between them.

From the point of view of directness/indirectness, it can be hypothesized that SF causation requires direct physical contact between causer and causee, and LF causation does not. Cruse (1972:522) points out that the feature of direct physical action explains why abstract noun phrases cannot be used as a subject of covert causation (equal to SF causation here). The reason is that they are not capable of
exerting a physical force. Cruse’s (1972) examples follow:

(39) a. *The power failure melted the ice.
b. The power failure caused the ice to melt.

The ‘power failure’ cannot act like humans. In fact, a direct (intentional) physical action cannot come from abstract nouns such as a power failure. For further understanding of the function of direct physical action, consider the following:

(40) a. *Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-i-ess-ciman,
     -SM    -OM die-Caus-Past-although
     ‘Although Kim killed Sue,
     Sue-nun cwuk-ci an ha-ass-ta
     -TM    die-Comp Neg do-Past-DE
     Sue did not die’

b. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ciman
    -SM    -OM die -CComp do-Past-although
    ‘Although Kim caused Sue to die,
    Sue-nun cwuk-ci an ha-ass-ta
    -TM    die-Comp Neg do-Past-DE
    Sue did not die’

The difference between 40a and 40b comes from the directness and indirectness of the causer’s activity. In 40b, Kim simply influences Sue’s dying and does not kill her. Therefore, it can be said that 40a is direct causation, while 40b is indirect causation. As S.C. Song (1977:5-6) points out, when the term ‘murderer’ is defined, the feature of directness/indirectness functions differently:
(41) a. *Sue-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta-ko,
   -OM die-Caus-Past-DE-because
   'Because (someone) killed Sue,
   salinca-ka twoy-l swu-nun eps-ta
   murderer-SM become-Adn way-TM not exist-DE
   (he) cannot be treated as a murderer'

   b. Sue-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ta-ko,
   -OM die-CComp do-Past-DE-because
   'Because (someone) causes Sue to die,
   salinca-ka twoy-l swu-nun eps-ta
   murderer-SM become-Adn way-TM not exist-DE
   (he) cannot be treated as a murderer'

On the other hand, the notion of contact has been discussed with the notion of directness. That is, direct causation is closely related to the contact between causer and causee. In this regard, Ross (1978) is appropriately cited by H.M. Sohn (1978:142-3): "When there are two ways of saying something in roughly the same words, the shorter one is the more immediate semantically." The LF and SF here are equivalent to 'two ways of saying something'. Some examples from Ross (1978) illustrate this:

(42) a. Sheila galloped the horse.
   b. Sheila made the horse gallop.

42a shows that Sheila was on the horse, i.e., necessary contact between causer and causee. SF causation requires direct contact between them. On the other hand, 42b does not require such direct contact between them. Thus, Ross
(1978, cited by H.M. Sohn 1978) employs the term *proximate causation* for 42a, and *mediate (or remote) causation* for 42b.

Thus far, two causations have been discussed in terms of the notion of directness and contact between causer and causee. However, although the directness and contact parameters give some advantages in discussing causation, this analysis cannot be finally adequate because of many counterexamples. Some of these are given below:

\[(43) \text{a. } \text{Hitler-nun paykman-ul cwuk-i-ess-ta} \]
\[\text{-TM million-OM die-Caus-Past-DE} \]
\[\text{Hitler killed one million people} \]

\[(43) \text{b. } \text{Hitler-nun paykman-ul cwuk-key ha-ass-ta} \]
\[\text{-TM million-OM die-CComp do-Past-DE} \]
\[\text{Hitler caused one million people to die} \]

Most Korean people understand 43a to be more natural than 43b. According to the notion of directness and contact, 43a must mean that Hitler killed one million people through direct physical action and contact. In other words, those people’s dying must be due to Hitler’s physical activity. This is impossible. 43a does not require Hitler’s direct activity. This is opposed to the claim that the SF causation requires direct physical action.

\[(44) \text{a. kwiha-n atul-i-ni} \]
\[\text{valuable-M son-Cop-because} \]
\[\text{‘Because (he) is my precious son,} \]
cal mek-i-ko, cal ip-hi-si-o
well eat-Caus-and well dress-Pass-Hon-infE
feed (him) well and dress (him) well'

b. kwiha-n atul-i-ni
valuable-M son-Cop-Cause
'Because (he) is my precious son,

cal mek-key ha-ko,
well eat-CComp do-and,
cause him to eat well,

cal ip-key ha-si-o
well dress-CComp do-Hon-infE
and cause him to dress well'

Imagine that someone asked his friend to take care of
his ten-year-old child during vacation. In this case, he says
44a rather than 44b in Korean society, although his child is
able to eat and dress without the friend’s direct physical
action.

In addition, contrary to Cruse (1972:522), abstract
noun phrases (i.e.; inanimate) can be used as a causer of
some SF causation constructions in Korean:

(45) a. ton-i ku-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta
money-SM he-OM die-Caus-Past-DE
'Money killed him'

b. ton-i ku-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ta
money-SM he-OM die-CComp do-Past-DE
'Money causes him to die'

Imagine that someone died due to overworking to make
more money, or that he committed suicide due to a pessimistic
view of his lack of money. In this case, most Korean people
say 45a rather than 45b. If Cruse's claim were correct, then 'money' could not function as the causer in 45a which is the SF causation.

Thus far, some parameters, such as directness, direct physical action, and contact, have been examined to solve the question as to why there are two causations, SF and LF causation, in a language. However, it has been shown that these parameters are not sufficient to explain the choice of SF or LF causation. Here, another alternative is proposed to discuss the paired constructions, the SF and LF causation.

5.4.2 New Alternatives: Completion and Incompletion

A further explanation can be suggested. Instead of directness, direct physical action, and necessary contact, the feature of completion can be proposed at least as valid for the two kinds of causation which are found in Korean. According to whether the involved causer's activity is presupposed to be completed or not, the SF or LF causation is selected. Consider the following again:

(46) a. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta
    -SM   -OM die-Caus-Past-DE
    'Kim killed Sue'

b. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ta
    -SM   -OM die-CComp do-Past-DE
    'Kim caused Sue to die'
46a shows that, whether the activity is physical or non-physical, and direct or indirect, the causer's activity (Kim's killing activity) is completely performed. However, in 46b, it is not clear whether the causer's activity is completely performed or not. To examine this, cwuk-ci an ha-ass-ta 'not died' can be added to 46 above. The former example in 40 is given again:

(47=40) a. * Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-i-ess-ciman, -SM -OM die-Caus-Past-although
   'Although Kim killed Sue,

   Sue-nun cwuk-ci an ha-ass-ta
   -TM die-NComp Neg do-Past-DE
   Sue did not die'

b. Kim-i Sue-lul cwuk-key ha-ass-ciman
   -SM -OM die-CComp do-Past-although
   'Although Kim caused Sue to die,

   Sue-nun cwuk-ci an ha-ass-ta
   -TM die-Comp Neg do-Past-DE
   Sue did not die'

Sentence 47a is ungrammatical. The reason is that the antecedent clause shows Sue's dying, but the consequent clause shows Sue's living. On the other hand, 47b is natural. In 47b, because the causer's activity is not completely performed, it can said that Sue did not die. Here, it does not matter whether Kim's activity is physically direct, or a physical contact. Completion or incompleteness is the key in discussing SF and LF causation.

Yang (1976:64) points out that the two types of
causation can express directness in which the causer’s activity is maximal and the causee’s activity is minimal. Yang’s (1976) maximal and minimal are roughly equivalent to completion and incompletion respectively, as posited in this study. Yang’s (1976:64) examples are given below:

(48) a. taxi kangto-ka wuncenswu-lul ccil-ese,
taxi robber-SM driver-OM stab-and
  “The taxi robber killed the driver
cwuk-i-ess-ta
die-Caus-Past-DE
by stabbing him’

b. taxi kangto-ka wuncenswu-lul ccil-ese
taxi robber-SM driver-OM stab-Past
  “The taxi robber caused the driver to die
cwuk-key ha-ass-ta
die-CComp do-Past-DE
by stabbing him’

Although the robber’s stabbing of the driver is a direct physical activity, both the SF (48a) and the LF (48b) are employed. Consequently, directness and physical contact are not sufficient parameters to explain the two types causations.

As Yang (1976) has pointed out, the situation here guarantees a case of direct causation since the robber killed the driver by stabbing him. Yang’s (1976) proposal is correct in that directness is not a criterion to distinguish SF from LF causatives. However, he does not go one step further and give attention to whether the robber’s stabbing of the driver
results in the driver's dying or not. In 48a, the robber's stabbing of the driver (direct physical contact) results in the driver's dying, while in 48b the robber's stabbing of the driver does not necessarily result in the driver's dying. In other words, it is presupposed that, in 48a, the activity of the causer is completely performed, while the activity of the causer may not be completely performed in 48b. Thus, the completion parameter is very important to distinguish SF causation from LF causation, at least in Korean.

Finally, the features of completion and incompleteness are depicted as follows:

\[(49)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LF Causation</th>
<th>Completion of Causee's affected activity</th>
<th>SF Causation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g., cwuk-key ha-ta</td>
<td>^</td>
<td>e.g., cwuk-i-ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOMPLETION</th>
<th>COMPLETION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Here, the time lag between the causer's activity and the causee's affected activity (i.e., the result of causer's activity) can be considered. The reason is that the immediate or simultaneous result might be realized differently from the non-simultaneous result. One would expect the simultaneous result to be realized by the SF, and the non-simultaneous result to be realized by the LF. This is because a simultaneous result is conceptually closer to the causer's
activity and its result, while the non-simultaneous result is further away from them.

However, this situation is not the case. In fact, although in the case in which the driver (in 48) died three days after the robber’s stabbing, SF causation is employed rather than LF causation. This demonstrates that the time lag cannot be a parameter to choose one of the two causations. Rather, the feature of completion functions very importantly to distinguish one from the other.

Most linguists have insisted that the SF causative indicates direct, physical contact between causer and causee. However, although a causer’s activity is indirect and non-contactive, the SF causatives are employed in a number of cases. To solve such a problem, some parameters have been reviewed such as direct/indirect, physical contact/non-physical contact, contact necessary/no-contact necessary. It has been demonstrated that these parameters do not successfully explain the pair of SF and LF causative constructions.

Finally, the ‘completion/incompletion’ parameter has been proposed as an alternative. That is, if a causer’s activity is presupposed to be completely performed, then the SF causative construction is employed, and if causer’s activity is not presupposed to be completely performed, the LF causative is used. It is noticeable that completion is characterized as the Figure, while incompletion is characterized as the Ground.
5.5. Summary Remarks

In this chapter, it has been shown that iconicity is involved in contrasts between suffixal and syntactic constructions. Here, the findings are quite similar to those in phonology and morphology. The fact that there is an iconic relationship between form and meaning can be seen in many area of language.

In discussing the pair of constructions which express conjecture, -keyss and -l kes, the focus has been upon the evidence for the use of one construction versus the other. Although some parameters such as present experience/past experience, exclusive judgement/inclusive judgement, sceneness/non-sceneness were suggested, the paired conjectural constructions could not be explained completely. Therefore, new information and given information, and closedness of choice/openness of choice are suggested as the parameters. One finding is that the SF construction is related to new information and closedness of choice which are characterized as the Figure, and the LF construction is associated with given information and openness of choice which are characterized as the Ground.

In discussing the paired passivizations -i and -e ci-, three features of passive action have been discussed, i.e., autonomous process vs. non-autonomous process, subject's responsibility vs. hidden agent's responsibility
for the passive action, and passive action due to inside factor vs. passive action due to outside factor. It has been found that the SF passivization corresponds to an autonomous process and subject's responsibility. Furthermore, the passive action of the SF is due to an inside factor. On the other hand, the LF is related to a non-autonomous process and hidden agent's responsibility, and the passive action of the LF is due to outside factor.

In the causation section, the paired causative constructions, -i and -key ha-, have been discussed with the notion of completion versus incompletion posited as basic. Most linguists who have dealt with causation have proposed directness, contactivity, and physical contact for the solution of the problem of paired causative constructions. However, several examples are found in Korean which cannot be solved by those features. As an alternative, completion and incompletion are suggested. That is, depending on whether the causer's activity is presupposed to be performed completely or not, the SF or the LF causative construction is used.

Finally, it is concluded that the SF causation is associated with completion which is characterized as the Figure, and the LF causation to incompletion which is characterized as the Ground.
NOTES

1. Some Korean linguists have proposed three kinds of passives: suffixal, syntactic, and lexical. Some of them are given below:

H.P. Chae (1983)
   a. Vstem + {i, hi, ki, li} Suff (Suffixal)
   b. Vstem + e Comp cita 'get' (Syntactic)
   c. N + twoy 'become' (Lexical)

H.P. Lee (1970)
   a. TV1 + hi (Suffixal)
   b. TV2 + e + cita (Syntactic)
   c. TN + twoy (Lexical)

2. There are some passive suffixes in Korean, such as -i, -hi, -ki, -li, -u, -iu. In general, these are employed depending on the final segment of the verb stem. This is beyond the scope of this study. Among these, -hi is used as a base form.

3. There are many names for these causatives on the basis of linguists' preference. Some examples are lexical vs. clausal (I.S. Yang 1976), synthetic vs. analytic (Moreno 1985), agglutinative vs. analytic (Haiman 1983), morphological vs. periphrastic (K.Y. Park 1986), lexical vs. periphrastic (Shibatani 1973), proximate vs. mediate (J. Ross 1978), causative I vs. causative II (S.C. Song 1977), morphological vs. syntactic (S.Y. Park 1982), inalienable vs. alienable (Lee and Im 1983), morphological vs. analytic (Comrie 1981), lexical vs. non-lexical (Givón 1978), covert vs. overt (Cruse 1972), and the like. I will employ the terms SF causative for the suffixal causative, and LF causative for the syntactic causative. However, sometimes, the suffixal and syntactic causative also are employed whenever the terms are necessary.

4. Kee-Dong Lee's (1975) lexical causative is equal to suffixal causative in this study.

5. These terms are introduced by Shibatani (1973:283-5). According to him, the causee is the patient that undergoes the change in the causative situation, and the causer is the agent that brings about the causative situation.
6. Directness and indirectness are encoded in linguistic expressions, although they are not causative constructions.

Borkin (1973:44) points out that, depending on personal experience, the different size of linguistic expressions are employed. Borkin focuses on when to be deletion is appropriate and when it is not. Her examples are given below:

(a) I remember Fran to be tall and warty.
(b) I remember Fran tall and warty.

According to Borkin (1973), personal experience is important in deleting to be with these verbs (such as imagine, remember, recall, recollect, so-called perception verbs). If the speaker has only seen Fran's picture in the newspaper, (a) is appropriate, but (b) would not be appropriate this context.

According to Kirsner (1985), direct involvement in the event is expressed by the SF. The following examples from Dutch show this (Kirsner 1985:251):

(c) Ineke schonk Jan een borrel in.
   'Irene poured John a drink.'
(d) Ineke schonk voor Jan borrel in.
   'Irene poured a drink for John.'

It is not difficult to demonstrate that use of the 'bare' NP (as in (c)) indicates that the referent (the person named Jan) is more directly involved in the event named by the verb (pouring) than use of the prepositional phrase would. Other examples are given below (1985:251):

(e) ?? Voordat Jan thuiskwam had Ineke
   hem al een borrel ingeschenken
   'Before John came home, Irene had already
   poured him a drink'

(f) Voordat Jan thuiskwam had Ineke
   al een borrel voor hem ingeschenken.
   'Before John came home, Irene had already poured
   a drink for him'

The (e) is strange in that it indicates that Jan is centrally involved in the pouring even before he is on the scene; no such clash arises in the sentence (f), since voor hem suggests that the drink is intended for Jan, not that Jan himself is there (1985:251).
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study of iconicity in Korean has examined the iconic relationship (non-arbitrariness) between form and meaning which occurs in a limited number of linguistic expressions in all levels. Although language has characteristics of both arbitrariness and non-arbitrariness, almost all linguists except a few, e.g., Gregerson, Haiman, Givón, etc., have considered only the arbitrariness of language. Moreover, the investigation of non-arbitrariness in Korean has been largely neglected until now.

In studying iconicity in Korean, the notion of Gestalt Figure and Ground is employed. It has been assumed that in a pair of linguistic expressions, the surface size of a linguistic expression is associated with the conceptual size which the expression connotes. In other words, the LF expression corresponds to the extended concept, while the SF is associated with the bounded concept. In terms of the Figure and Ground, the extended concept corresponds to the Ground, whereas the bounded concept corresponds to the Figure. The assumption here is that the SF is associated with
the features (or characteristics) of meaning which are characterized as the Figure, and the LF is associated with the features which are characterized as the Ground.

In order to examine this assumption, first, the proposals of some linguists have been outlined even though some of them have not mentioned the term iconicity. Although such linguists have analyzed language differently, their results show the same principle as far as iconicity is concerned. That is, linguistic distance (or size) corresponds to conceptual distance (or size). For example, as seen in Gregerson's (1987) discussion of sound symbolism, the cavity size of the pharynx determines the size of its referent: the wide pharyngeal cavity signals augmentative, while the narrow cavity indicates diminutive.

In an attempt to discuss the iconic relationship between form and meaning, a number of pairs of linguistic expressions which have roughly the same meaning have been discussed. It has been shown that one of the pair is relatively longer than the other. The difference in length between the pair represents a conceptual difference. In a pair of the linguistic expressions, the LF is associated with the Ground, while the SF is associated with the Figure.

Such pairs of expressions which correspond to conceptual difference (distance) have been found in every area of language, i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, even in the discourse and epistemic world; this is especially
clear in Korean. The findings from each area are quite similar in terms of the basic iconic frame. That is, the extended, complicated, wide, incompletely, and plural concepts which are characterized as the Ground are associated with the LF. Likewise, the bounded, simple, narrow, completed, and singular concepts which are characterized as the Figure are related to the SF.

In phonology area, first of all, the length of pronunciation has been discussed. The finding here is that, especially with adverbs and adjectives, the length of pronunciation corresponds to the distance from speaker to addressee, or the speed of action. For example, almost no one usually pronounces the word slowly faster than the English word quickly. Some phonological phenomena such as stress and intonation are also explained by the iconicity principle. That is, two concepts correspond to two stresses; one idea is associated with one stress. Rising intonation is related to new information; falling intonation is associated with given information.

In Korean sound symbolism, it has been found that the pharyngeal cavity size functions to determine the meaning size. That is, in a paired expression, the wide pharyngeal cavity (LF) corresponds to the augmentative (Ground), whereas the narrow one (SF) to the diminutive (Figure). One of the interesting findings is that the front low vowel /ay/ is employed to express the pejorative. This is named 'pharynx
narrowing (or pejorative umlauting). It has also been pointed out that there are some differences between pharynx narrowing and phonological umlauting. According to Gregerson, /ay/ is the narrowest pharyngeal and oral cavity. Thus, nampyen shows plain form, while naympyen shows the pejorative referent. Furthermore, in consonant alternation, it has been found that the increased tenseness is related to extremity.

In morphology, several terms are employed to describe the iconic relationship between form and referent: certainty/uncertainty, completeness/incompleteness, one idea/more than one idea, proximity/distance, alienability/inalienability, close social distance/great social distance, etc. Here again the iconicity assumption has been examined; the extended form (LF) corresponds to the extended concept (Ground). Reduplication gives good examples for iconicity. That is, the increased complexity of surface form indicates increased referential meaning, i.e., increased distance, increased activity, increased intensity, and the like. Some pairs of case markers also show that the SFs of the pairs are related to the Gestalt Figure, while the LFs are associated with the Gestalt Ground. For example, in paired vocative case markers, the SF -a is used in the situation of zero or short social distance between speaker and addressee, while the LF -ive is employed in the situation of greater social distance between them.
There are LF's and SF's for the second singular pronouns and in diglossia. It has been shown that the LF's are associated with greater social distance, while the SF's are related to shorter social distance. In relation to the Figure and Ground, the great social distance is characterized as the Ground, and the short or zero social distance is characterized as the Figure. In genitive constructions, the notion of one idea or two ideas which the genitive construction connotes is employed. One of the findings here is that (in)alienability does not influence the choice of the construction, at least not in Korean.

Such an iconic relationship between form and meaning has also been found in the syntactic area. The notions of autonomous/non-autonomous process, completion/incompletion, and given/new information are employed. A pair of conjectural constructions, -keyss and -l kes, are also related to the Figure and Ground. That is, the SF -keyss is based on the new information, while the LF -l kes is based on the given information. The finding in a paired passivization is that suffixal (SF) passivization expresses an autonomous process of the verb, the subject's responsibility, and a passive action due to inside factor which are characterized as the Figure; syntactic (LF) passivization, on the other hand, expresses a non-autonomous process, the hidden agent's responsibility, and a passive action due to outside factor which are characterized as the Ground. In discussing the
pairs of causation, the completion/incompletion parameter is proposed. It is argued that directness and physical contact do not function to choose one of the paired causative constructions. If a causer’s activity is presupposed to be performed completely, then the SF is used. Completion is here considered as a characteristic of Figure, while incompleteness is considered as a characteristic of Ground.

Finally, the characteristics of Figure and Ground are summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>GROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single concept</td>
<td>Two or more concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New information</td>
<td>Given information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factivity</td>
<td>Non-factivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong binding</td>
<td>Weak binding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certainty</td>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directness</td>
<td>Indirectness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Far future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td>Distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisiveness</td>
<td>Non-decisiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past, future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion</td>
<td>Incompletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow</td>
<td>Wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>Many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great social distance</td>
<td>Short social distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concreteness</td>
<td>Abstractness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside factor</td>
<td>Outside factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous process</td>
<td>Non-autonomous process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject’s responsibility</td>
<td>Hidden agent’s responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closedness of choice</td>
<td>Openness of choice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the binary oppositions which the LF and SF indicate. The first column of the above table includes the characteristics of the Figure, while the second column
includes the characteristics of the Ground. It is concluded that, in a pair of linguistic expressions, the SF is used to express the features of the first column (the Figure), whereas the LF is employed to express the features of the second column (the Ground). This conclusion does not mean that the iconicity principle can explain all of the phenomena of language. However, it must be recognized that a significant portion of language can be explained by this principle.

There are numerous examples of Korean iconicity that have yet to be explored. In addition, the uses of the LFs and SFs in connected discourse have yet to be studied. Furthermore, the iconic approach may well apply to other languages which have pairs of linguistic expressions which show roughly the same meaning, but have subtle semantic differences.
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