

ASPECTS OF KOREAN NARRATION

by

SHIN JA JOO HWANG

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ABSTRACT

ASPECTS OF KOREAN NARRATION

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Shin Ja Joo Hwang, Ph.D.

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Supervising Professor: Robert E. Longacre

A dominant trend in linguistics has been sentence grammar, which deals with structures leading up to the sentence level. With more studies on semantics and pragmatics, however, there has been a growing concern for discourse grammar. Discourse, I believe, is the most natural unit of language that forms a meaningful whole. The reasons for discourse study derive from four sources: (1) from phonology come suprasegmental considerations like intonation and pitch which typically stretch over the sentence boundary; (2) from semantics comes the sense that the meaning or message is conveyed through the overall discourse, not through aggregates of sentences; (3) from grammar comes the analysis of formal structures in a discourse analogous to those in a sentence; and (4) from pragmatics comes the appropriate use of language based on shared assumptions, knowledge, and context in communication situations.

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Within such a framework of discourse grammar, this study focuses on one type of discourse, namely, narrative discourse. Folktales and short stories from Korean are studied in their syntagmatic structures that consist of stage and episodes. These encode plot structure slots of exposition, inciting moment, climax, etc. I also present visual representations of such structures as profiles and discuss the linguistic features marking peaks.

Next I present a hypothesis on a scale of relative structural importance of information as signaled by features in verbs, such as tense, aspect, mode, transitivity/voice, verb types, and sentence structure. Each of these features is viewed as forming a continuum in terms of the scale of information importance. For example, among the verb types classified according to case frames, there is a gradation ranging from action-process through action, process, state, and existential to equative; all six types of features in verbs provide simultaneously intersecting clues to determine the relative importance of given information.

Finally, I study the use of nouns in participant reference as to why an overt reference to a participant is made in discourse and how it is done. The study shows that a participant tends to be referred to overtly, when there is a role switch, or when the narrator resumes the event line after description of non-events, or when starting a new paragraph, etc. In the overt reference to participants the subject particle ka is found to occur in clauses that characteristically report supportive material with a focus on nouns, while the topic particle nun tends to occur in clauses that focus on verbs, i.e., actions and events as related to participants.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Act     | Activitive                                |
| Aper    | Aperture                                  |
| Apper*  | Apperceptive                              |
| Benef   | Benefactive                               |
| CP      | Complement Particle                       |
| c       | Colloquial-Informal                       |
| Caus    | Causative                                 |
| Cl      | Closure                                   |
| Compl   | Completive                                |
| Conject | Conjecture                                |
| Contin  | Continuative                              |
| Counter | Counter for things, animals, people, etc. |
| D       | Drama (in figures)                        |
| D*      | Declarative                               |
| Desid   | Desiderative                              |
| Ep      | Episode                                   |
| Epil    | Epilogue                                  |
| Experim | Experimentative                           |
| f       | Formal                                    |
| fuM     | Future Modifying Ending                   |
| Honor   | Honorific Suffix                          |
| Imp*    | Imperative                                |
| Incep   | Inceptive                                 |
| Inchoa  | Inchoative                                |
| Intend  | Intentive                                 |
| M       | Modifying Ending                          |
| Neg     | Negative                                  |
| Nom     | Nominalizer                               |
| Oblig   | Obligatory                                |
| OP      | Object Particle                           |
| P       | Peak                                      |
| P.      | Paragraph                                 |
| Pl      | Plural                                    |
| pM      | Past Modifying Ending                     |
| PoP     | Post-Peak                                 |
| Poss    | Possessive                                |
| Presum  | Presumptive                               |
| prM     | Present Modifying Ending                  |
| Prog    | Progressive                               |
| Prol    | Prologue                                  |
| Promis* | Promissive                                |
| Prop*   | Propositive                               |
| PrP     | Pre-Peak                                  |



|          |                                |
|----------|--------------------------------|
| Q*       | Interrogative                  |
| Quot     | Quotative                      |
| Repet    | Repetitive                     |
| Result   | Resultative                    |
| Retro    | Retrospective                  |
| rM       | Retrospective Modifying Ending |
| S        | Sentence                       |
| sf       | Semi-Formal                    |
| SP       | Subject Particle               |
| St       | Stage                          |
| Suspect* | Suspective                     |
| TP       | Topic Particle                 |
| Volit    | Volitional                     |

\*When these final modes occur without f (Formal), sf (Semi-Formal), or c (Colloquial), they designate the informal level.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This study presents a linguistic analysis of Korean narratives viewed from the perspective of discourse. Discourse perspective means that the primary focus is on the whole discourse as a structural unit. I consider discourse as the most natural unit of language that forms a meaningful whole; hence, it needs to be studied with a focus on the whole. The description of component sentences does not provide a picture of the whole, and furthermore, the specific features of component sentences (i.e., parts) are not adequately explained without resort to their distribution relative to the whole. Thus, the analysis starts with a whole story and proceeds to examine the parts in relation to the whole as well as to each other. The discourse unit, therefore, plays a prominent part in my attempt to maintain a grip on the whole while analyzing knotty details.

#### 1.1. Framework and Scope of the Study

In such a holistic approach to discourse study there are numerous areas of research. We may relate a discourse to its broader context by studying the situational or pragmatic aspects of the discourse in the cultural, social, or historical settings that form its immediate context. Or we may study a discourse in its relation to the mental functioning of human beings, e.g., cognitive processes necessary for producing and comprehending a discourse. The present study, however, is more narrowly concerned with discourse analysis from a linguistic point of view, i.e.,

the linguistic structure of the discourse itself. It is further restricted to mainly grammatical matters such as the syntagmatic structure of a discourse, verbal features, and occurrence of nouns with the particles. As such, this study does not deal with the phonological structure on the one hand, nor with the referential content of discourse on the other. I have, nevertheless, taken account of part of the latter to the extent that it relates to my understanding and discussion of the above-mentioned grammatical matters.

For this grammatical study of Korean narratives, I have adopted as a theoretical basis the general framework developed by Longacre (1976, 1981a), whose model in turn is evolved from tagmemic theory, which was first presented by Pike (1967, first edition 1954). In the Longacre model grammar is seen as having both surface and deep (underlying or notional) levels; the notional categories serve as a universal reference base for the study of all human languages. Longacre posits, for example, case frames as underlying surface clauses, in which verbs are related to cooccurring nouns. Similarly, combinations of predications are described as notional structures corresponding to surface sentences or paragraphs. At the level of discourse, plot structure, for example, is seen as forming the deep structure of narrative. While several other linguists would consider these notional categories as semantic features, Longacre considers them to be rather a specific type "semantics" (such as the role of a noun with respect to the verb of a clause) which belongs to deep structure grammar. He distinguishes them from the more abstract type "semantics" (such as the referential content or topic of a discourse), which belongs to the

"referential hierarchy" (cf. Pike 1978a,c), or "macro-structure" type of study (cf. van Dijk 1977a).

Among the numerous problems one can explore in the grammatical study of discourse, this study considers specifically the following: (1) the linear organizational structure of discourse as seen in its "profile"; (2) the "spectrum" or scale of relative structural importance; and (3) the question of participant reference in narrative. To quote from Longacre's (1981c:3) paper, "A Spectrum and Profile Approach to Discourse Analysis":

Both spectrum and profile have to do with the twin concerns of cohesion and prominence in discourse structure; . . . spectrum has to do largely with continuing strands of information which at once unite a discourse and distinguish hierarchically the types of information within it; . . . profile has to do with the linguistic reflexes of mounting and declining tension (or excitement) within a discourse.

This study is limited to Korean narratives. The corpus consists of eight written texts: six folktales written primarily for children and two short stories written for adults. The stories are selected on the basis of their comparative brevity. They represent a collection of stories of different kinds, some more didactic and thought-provoking, others more purely entertaining. For example, a folktale called "The Story of Shim Chung," which is known perhaps to all Koreans, depicts a girl who is so devoted to her blind father that she does not hesitate to sacrifice her own life to enable him to keep a promise he has made. This is not an unusual theme for a society that values filial piety as a primary virtue. Another story is about a bad tiger who is trying to eat the man who has saved him by extricating him from a trap. Underlying both stories are didactic themes prevalent in the Korean culture, i.e., filial piety and expression of gratitude. On the other hand, a short story entitled "This Kind of

Concert" provides a first-person account of what happened at a concert one evening, with no apparent didactic theme.

These various stories, all written in the Korean language, are assumed to reflect characteristic features of Korean narrative in general. Thus after the stories are studied individually in terms of their own structures, they are compared and contrasted with each other to find what common features they display.

In analyzing the stories according to the three research concerns mentioned above, I focus on narration proper. I largely exclude reported speeches within quotations, since the latter often require a different perspective altogether with a different reference point in time and space from those of the surrounding narrative framework. Thus, within a quotation, the use of verbal features such as tense/aspect/mode is dependent upon the immediate perspective at the time of the reported conversation and is unrelated to the broader perspective of the speaker-hearer (or the writer-reader) horizon of the story itself. Similarly, the use of nouns referring to participants is not the same in the narration proper and in reported dialogues. However, a story often includes some somewhat lengthy direct speeches, through which many actions and events are reported. Thus in the analysis of the syntagmatic structures of these eight narratives, we ultimately need to consider the structure of a whole discourse--narration and reported speeches taken together.

As a native speaker of standard Korean, the dialect of the area around Seoul, I have tried to analyze these stories and their linguistic features as I perceive, understand, and interpret them. Although I

consider myself an "insider" to the culture,<sup>1</sup> perhaps I need to acknowledge the influence of the American culture upon me, as I have lived in the United States for almost fifteen years. In any type of study, as Pike (1978a:6) insists, there is an "observer-reporter-analyst perspective"; and we treat "only items-in-relation to some observer, perceiver, or imaginer" (Pike and Pike 1977:363). Along the same line of thinking, this study represents my own perspective, my analysis of these narratives, although it is hoped that the analysis will, equally importantly, reflect something close to the "ideal" or "objective" view.

### 1.2. Studies in Korean Linguistics

During the past decade or so studies in Korean linguistics, both in Korea and in the West, have been mainly within the transformational-generative framework. Many scholars have made notable contributions in journals, particularly in the journal Language Research published in Seoul, and in dissertations (e.g., S.P. Kim 1967, Song 1967, H.B. Lee 1970, Oh 1971, I.S. Yang 1972, Park 1972, and C.M. Lee 1973 on syntax; and several others on phonology). The expansion of the field of linguistics in general in recent years is seen in the field of Korean linguistics as well. Thus the papers presented at the Symposium on Korean Linguistics, held at the University of Hawaii in 1977 (published as C.W. Kim 1978), include a wide spectrum of studies, ranging from Middle Korean phonology to indirect speech acts in Korean, and from negative imperatives to pragmatics of compound verbs and to language policies of divided Korea.

All these studies have contributed greatly to the development of Korean linguistics, but most of them have paid little attention to discourse. There is only a brief article by Hinds (1975), which

illustrates different types of Korean discourse using Longacre's scheme of discourse typology. Another study that may be considered to be related to discourse analysis is a dissertation by Chang (1973) called A Generative Study of Discourse: Pragmatic Aspects of Korean with Reference to English. In exploring such matters as deixis, honorification, and modality, he does not, however, deal with discourse as a structural unit but rather with connected sequences of only a few sentences or with individual sentences in situational context. In his study, nevertheless, he does express the need to go beyond the sentence (Chang 1973:1):

Delimiting the domain of grammar to the sentence as the maximal unit of analysis in isolation and abstraction from the context in a discourse, could be maintained only by shunning linguistic research on meaning and use as something unexplorable at the present stage of what we know about language.

Thus he relates the study of discourse to research on meaning and use (semantics and pragmatics), although he does not deal with the whole discourse as a structural unit. As far as I know, no one has done a discourse analysis of Korean narrative such as that found here.

### 1.3. Organization of the Study

In the remaining section of this chapter I will mention briefly a few syntactic characteristics of the Korean language and present a phoneme chart for ready reference to the examples in the body of the work and to the eight texts transcribed<sup>2</sup> with English translations in Appendix A.

In Chapter 2 I discuss a theoretical base for the study of discourse, by relating the structural unit of discourse to the concept of wholeness. Taking discussions of some philosophers on the question of the whole as opposed to its constituent parts, I argue for (holistically conceptualized) discourse grammars as opposed to sentence grammars. As the philosophers

say that the whole is not specifiably in terms of its parts, I claim that higher-level units such as discourse cannot be studied only by analyzing the lower-level units that constitute them. By presenting this chapter, I attempt to provide a rationale for the type of research found here. I have felt this necessary in view of the fact that there is still considerable disagreement as to the value of discourse grammars--in spite of the growing awareness of the necessity of some discourse study. As such, Chapter 2 is quite different in its presentation from the rest of the study; it may be called a theoretical excursus, whereas the rest of the study is descriptive.

Chapter 3 deals with each of the eight narratives in its total structure. It shows my analysis of each story in its syntagmatic structure both in respect to its surface and its plot (notional) levels: e.g., which sentences and paragraphs in the text fill the surface slots of stage and episodes (pre-peak, peak, and/or post-peak), and how these slots function in the plot structure to serve as exposition, inciting moment, climax, etc. I note the specific linguistic features associated with the surface slots. Based on these features, specially those marking the peak, I draw a "profile" of the story. At the end of the chapter the results of the analyses of all eight stories are brought together and compared in terms of (1) their syntagmatic structures, (2) their profiles, and (3) the features marking the peaks.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the relative structural importance of information, focusing on certain features of verbs. These features are tense, aspect, mode, voice/transitivity, types of verbs according to case frames, and verb endings in relation to sentence structure. Specifically,



I want to see how these features function in discourse in terms of relative importance of information. The topic of Chapter 4 is closely related to recent studies on levels of information, main-line (foreground) vs. supportive (background) material, or a "spectrum" or cline of information.

Chapter 5 considers questions related to participant reference, i.e., why a participant is referred to overtly (or, to turn the question around, why a reference to a participant is omitted), and how he is referred to. The latter question involves two aspects within it: the forms used in reference (nouns or, in some rare cases, pronouns) and the choice of postpositional particles that mark subject and topic. Of special interest in this last question is the use of the topic particle vs. the subject particle--a question that has intrigued several scholars and is yet in need of a satisfactory answer.

The results of the study are summarized in the Conclusion. I note both the findings of the present study and the remaining problematic areas which still need further research.

Appended at the end are complete transcriptions of all eight narrative texts (Appendix A) and the sentences from the texts illustrating the mode markers as discussed in Chapter 4 (Appendix B).

#### 1.4. Syntactic Characteristics of Korean

At the level of the clause the word order is relatively free except that the verb typically occurs last in a clause. While there is a normative order of SOV (subject-object-verb), the postpositional particles indicating surface structure functions of nouns make it possible to have scrambled orders of almost any kind in arranging nouns that function as subject, object, time, location, indirect object, instrument, etc. In

addition, any of these may be omitted except the verb. Specifically, we do not even need to have a subject in order for a clause to be grammatical, unlike the case in English. In the case of the subject and the object, not only do we have zero realization (i.e., zero anaphora) but also we may sometimes have more than one such unit, i.e., double-subject or double-object constructions, marked by two occurrences of the subject particle or the object particle after nouns in a single clause.<sup>3</sup>

At the level of the sentence, clause chaining (cf. Longacre 1972 on that of Papua New Guinea languages) is characteristic. Unlike many languages with medial-final verbs, however, the dependent verbs of Korean are not marked as to same or different subject (as in a switch-reference system). Neither are they marked for person or number of the subject or object. Nevertheless, the language is a "choo-choo train" type (cf. Longacre 1976) with clause chaining, i.e., we have in a sentence only one clause (the final clause) that is independent in form. All non-final clause verbs lack the sentence-final mode suffix and often lack tense and aspect as well. For the other characteristics of the language, the following chapters discuss them whenever pertinent.

#### 1.5. Segmental Phonemes of Korean

The phonemes of Korean are represented in the following chart (adapted from S.P. Kim 1961):

## Consonants:

|                  |            | Bilabial | Alveolar | Alveo-Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|------------------|------------|----------|----------|---------------|-------|---------|
| Vl<br>Stops      | Unasp'd    | p        | t        |               | k     |         |
|                  | Asp'd      | ph       | th       |               | kh    |         |
|                  | Reinforced | pp       | tt       |               | kk    |         |
| Vl<br>Affricates | Unasp'd    |          |          | j             |       |         |
|                  | Asp'd      |          |          | jh            |       |         |
|                  | Reinforced |          |          | jj            |       |         |
| Vl<br>Fricatives | Lax        |          | s        |               |       |         |
|                  | Tense      |          | ss       |               |       |         |
|                  |            |          |          |               |       | h       |
| Nasals           |            | m        | n        |               | ng    |         |
| Liquid           |            |          | l        |               |       |         |
| Glides           |            | w        |          | y             |       |         |

## Vowels:4

|      | Front | Mid | Back |
|------|-------|-----|------|
| High | i     | u   | u    |
| Mid  | e     | ɔ   | o    |
| Low  | ä     | a   |      |

The phonemic symbols are adopted from the lecture notes of Robert Miller mainly for the ease of representation (using symbols in the typewriter) rather than for the correspondence to actual phonetic values. Korean is not a tone language, and no suprasegmental analysis is done here.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>Spradley (1972) and others in his volume emphasize that the "insider's (emic) view" is the only valid point of view in a cognitive study of a group of people.

<sup>2</sup>In transcription of the texts the following symbols are used:

- morpheme boundary
- . break within morpheme
- < is derived from

The use of the dot (.) as an indication for a break within the morpheme needs clarification. The dot illustrates skewing from one-to-one correspondence in the two languages. For example, when one Korean morpheme noin corresponds to two words in English 'old.man,' the dot between the two words indicates that they both correspond to a single morpheme in Korean. Conversely, when two elements in Korean, e.g., -ko.iss, together show that it is the progressive aspect, I use the dot: -ko.iss 'Prog.' We may call the first element -ko complementizer, as Sohn (1978) calls -ji in the negative suffix -ji.an, and consider the second element only as expressing the progressive aspect. If we do so, however, then we need to have some kind of rules or further considerations to connect the two parts: e.g., complementizer -ko with the progressive iss but complementizer -ϕ with the resultative iss (which is then homophonous to the progressive aspect and to the verb 'exist'). Therefore, I have chosen to designate the two parts together connected by a dot as marking a given aspect: -ko.iss 'Prog' and ϕ.iss 'Result.'

In the phonemic transcription of the texts, I have represented them by phonemes in the sense of classical phonemics rather than that of generative phonology. In other words, they are not underlying forms at the systematic phonemic level in generative phonology but phonemes after assimilation: e.g., po-ko.it-ta rather than po-ko.iss-ta 'see-Prog-D' in that iss always becomes it before another t with obligatory regressive assimilation.

<sup>3</sup>See Hwang 1975 (section 2.1) for further discussion and illustrations.

<sup>4</sup>For some speakers in their careful speech there is an additional vowel /ø/, a mid front rounded vowel. Since for most speakers it is in free variation with /we/, I represent it as /we/.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PHILOSOPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS OF DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

#### 2.1. Introduction

Following Bloomfield and Chomsky, many linguists have dealt with sentence grammars and confined themselves to structures leading up to the sentence level. Both men regard the sentence as the largest grammatical unit in language. Bloomfield, who presents an empirical-behavioristic model of language, holds the view that there is no grammatical construction larger than the sentence (1933:170):

An utterance may consist of more than one sentence. This is the case when the utterance contains several linguistic forms which are not by any meaningful, conventional grammatical arrangement (that is, by any construction) united into a larger form, e.g. : How are you? It's a fine day. Are you going to play tennis this afternoon? Whatever practical connection there may be between these three forms, there is no grammatical arrangement uniting them into one larger form: the utterance consists of three sentences.

It is evident that the sentences in any utterance are marked off by the mere fact that each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form.

Chomsky, whose impact on the field of linguistics has amounted to a revolution in Kuhn's (1970) terms, holds to the philosophical assumptions of rationalism, as expressed in his Cartesian Linguistics (1966) and Language and Mind (1968).<sup>1</sup> Hence, his philosophy is radically different from that of Bloomfield. Nevertheless, he also--remarkably--views the study of language within the limit of the sentence. He says: "the fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate

the grammatical sequences which are the sentences of L from the ungrammatical sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences" (Chomsky 1957:13). He conceptualizes the grammar of a language as a device that generates all of the grammatical sentences.

While the major trend in linguistics has been toward sentence grammar, toward the study of sentences in isolation as self-contained and isolated units, there has been a small but growing number of linguists who have been exceptions to the Post-Bloomfieldian limitation to sentence, e.g., Pike (1967, first edition 1954) and Longacre (1968, 1972) in the tagmemic school, Harris (1952), and the Prague School linguists (cf. Firbas 1964; Danes 1964, 1974). Moreover, as more studies on semantics and pragmatics have appeared, there has been a growing concern for a grammar based on the whole discourse and its situation. Gradually, some linguists (e.g., Grimes 1975; van Dijk 1972, 1977a; Labov and Fanshell 1977) have realized that the sentence is not the highest unit, the unbreakable limit beyond which the study of the structure of language cannot proceed. Nevertheless, many still do not recognize the need to study grammar at the discourse level; some (e.g., Bever, Katz, and Langendoen 1976) still limit themselves to the sentence remaining reluctant to move beyond it, while others (e.g., Halliday and Hasan 1976) deal with data beyond the sentence but insist that there one finds no grammatical structure but only semantic structure.

While reading some books on philosophy, I have found substantial discussions by such philosophers as Polanyi and Cassirer on the priority of the whole to its parts. The idea of the whole exceeding the sum total of

its parts correlates with the argument for discourse grammar against sentence grammar in that the sum total of sentences does not adequately account for a discourse. The purpose of this chapter is thus to bring together what some philosophers say about the importance of knowing the whole as opposed to knowing only its constituent parts, and to apply the concept of the whole to discourse (or text) grammar in linguistics as opposed to sentence grammar.<sup>2</sup> First I present the reflections of the philosophers on the whole and the parts. Next, I discuss the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and phonological reasons why I think the "whole" in the study of language should be a unit larger than the sentence, i.e., the discourse.

## 2.2. Reflections of Some Philosophers on the Whole and the Parts

### 2.2.1. Polanyi: Unspecifiability of the Whole in Terms of its Parts

Polanyi's theory of personal knowledge says that the whole (or upper or higher levels) is unspecifiable in terms of its parts (or lower levels), and that "all meaning lies in the comprehension of a set of particulars in terms of a coherent entity--a comprehension which is a personal act that can never be replaced by a formal operation" (Polanyi 1959:49). The knowledge of the highest level, according to him, is the most comprehensive, primary, and focal of possible understandings, one under which the particulars in the lower levels may only be subsidiary.

The findings of Gestalt theory tell him that the skillful knower, being aware of the potential knowledge, must have a focal awareness of the whole (or pattern) thematically on the basis of the parts (or particles) as clues. The discovery of the pattern results from integration of all its

parts into a coherent whole, so the whole is never the same as its parts in structure.

In his book Personal Knowledge, Polanyi (1962) illustrates this point well with the meaning of a tool (57): "If we discredit the usefulness of a tool, its meaning as a tool is gone. All particulars become meaningless if we lose sight of the pattern which they jointly constitute." In reading a letter also, as he describes it: "I am vividly aware of the meaning conveyed by the letter, yet know nothing whatever of its words" (57). When we focus on the whole in our explicit dimension, he argues, we are subsidiarily aware of its parts in tacit dimension; moreover, there is, according to him, no difference in the intensity of the two kinds of awareness.

Polanyi also develops hierarchical levels to illustrate that a unit in one level cannot be specified in terms of the units in the next lower level. He posits particulars of nature--the concerns of physics and chemistry--at the lowest level of reality, and the vegetative level of living beings in the next higher level, and so on to the highest level of human mind and actions. In Meaning he applies this concept of hierarchy to the production of an oral communication, positing five levels (Polanyi and Prosch 1975:50):

At the lowest level (1) there is the production of voice sounds. These sounds are combined at the next-higher level (2) into the utterance of meaningful words. These words then (3) achieve further meaning by our dwelling in them in order to integrate them into the sort of meaning that only sentences can have. Sentences themselves are then (4) worked together into a style or mode of creating impressions or intelligible points--something that does not exist in sentences as such. Finally (5), the style or mode of creating impressions must itself be used (dwelt in) toward the attainment, through it, of the ideas or results that are the ultimate focal aim of the communication. Without the last level the communication would not really say anything, even though the other levels remained fully existent. What we would be left with would



be an incoherent rhapsody of impressions or points, full of sound and fury (perhaps), but signifying nothing. We would have to say: Well, yes, but what does it all mean?

Polanyi, as a scientist and philosopher, has posited a very different hierarchy from those of linguists. It appears to include elements of both Pike's hierarchy and Lamb's strata. Pike (1967, 1978a) conceives of language as being composed of three hierarchies--phonological, grammatical, and referential, each of which is made up of units that share in both form and meaning in language. Lamb (1966) sees language rather as a system of strata leading from form (phonological and morphological) to meaning (semantic).<sup>3</sup>

At any rate, my point here is to focus on Polanyi's idea that sentences, which constitute his third level, cannot be properly called the whole in linguistics. As he says, his fifth level--language in use--would correspond to the concept of wholeness. However, if we take his fourth level to mean some sort of potential text, which an author uses for all potential readers, I would say that it will be the whole also, with its full potential for use in communication as a unified whole.

Polanyi also uses the illustration of body and mind in his hierarchy: "Though rooted in the body, the mind is . . . free in its actions from bodily determination--exactly as our common sense knows it to be free" (Polanyi and Prosch 1975:51). When applied to language, this sentence may read: Though governed by lower-level rules, which are language specific--such as clause structure, use of conjunctions, agreement between nouns and verbs--we can still express all sorts of ideas and translate them across languages. In other words, we can say that the range of freedom is very narrow, for we are tightly bound and governed by rules of the language

we use. This is one of the major reasons why translation is so difficult. However, Polanyi would seem to agree with Hirsch (1976) that as difficult as it may be, translation is not an impossible task; it is something that can be done. The necessity for linguistics to deal with interpretation and translation is further evidence for the thesis that we must be concerned with the whole discourse.

### 2.2.2. Cassirer: Priority of Hermeneutic Analysis

While Polanyi concentrates on the whole with its parts, Cassirer adds a third perspective: process, dynamic, or wave view. He traces considerations of form, cause, and end historically from Aristotle; the latter described that in building a house "the whole is prior to the individual parts; for the plan and blueprint, the representation of the shape of the house, precedes the execution of the particulars" (as discussed in Cassirer 1961:165). In his presentation of the modern "field theory" in physics, Cassirer (166) elucidates that

the field itself no longer admits of being understood as a merely additive whole, an aggregate of parts. The field is not a thing-concept but a concept of relation; it is not composed of pieces but is a system, a totality of lines of force.

Gestalt psychology, which Polanyi extensively uses to describe the concept of the whole and the active knower, is also referred to by Cassirer (171-2):

Structure is not understood, it is destroyed, when the attempt is made to analyze it into a mere aggregate, a "summation." Here, too, the concept of "wholeness" is accorded its rightful place, its fundamental importance is acknowledged; the psychology of elements has become Gestalt psychology.

Cassirer emphasizes that we need three types of analysis as distinct from each other: (1) formal analysis (or "analysis as form"), the static

analysis of essence of parts; (2) causal analysis (or "analysis as process"), the dynamic analysis of cause and effect; and (3) hermeneutic analysis (or "analysis as achievement"), the pragmatic analysis of the structure of the whole. In addition, he asserts that for an investigation of a human expression as studied in the humanities we should follow systematic steps starting with "analysis as achievement," i.e., with the implicit whole, proceeding to the "analysis as form" with its parts, and then to the "analysis as process" with the movement on from one type of analysis to the next. We repeat the cycle from the whole to the parts, etc.

While he focuses on the whole as achievement, however, Cassirer does not explicitly deal with the problem of form in a relational perspective, i.e., he treats a form as being (particle view) and as becoming (wave view), but not as being in relation to other beings in a system or a structure (field view), although he implies this third view in discussing physics and works of art in their historical perspective. I feel that the field view is necessary to understand any cultural work in its true sense whether it be a great art work or daily speech. To put it in Polanyi's terms, we have to have focal knowledge of a given work against the background of subsidiary knowledge of other related works. For both Polanyi and Cassirer the structure of the whole is rather closely tied (or collapsed into one) with the functional and pragmatic considerations of the whole. While I agree that it is the whole as a unit that represents the overall meaning, it seems possible to separate the field view from meaning, purpose, or significance. That is, we can "bracket" out the structural or

systemic relationship of the parts of a system apart from the functional role of each part within the whole.

In the field of linguistics, Pike (1967, 1978a) has been insisting that we need all three types of analysis--the three perspectives of the observer--particle, wave, and field, but can have any one of them in focus at any given stage of our analysis. In addition to these three perspectives, he tries to capture the functional view as well by positing the four-cell tagmeme, with each cell representing static (class), dynamic (slot), relational (cohesion), and purpose (role) perspectives. Unlike Cassirer, however, Pike does not give explicit priority to any type of analysis. Rather, he says that our analytical focus can switch from one perspective to another, depending on the purpose at hand. He (1978b) does recognize the social-interaction level (pragmatics)--which is Polanyi's fifth level--as an initial break-in point for a usual analysis, i.e., considering the discourse and its context prior to the analysis of its parts.

### 2.2.3. Gadamer: Features of Language

Following Heidegger, Gadamer (1976:103) believes that language is the essential medium for all our understanding, i.e., "being that can be understood is language." He presents three essential features of the "being of language" (64-8): (1) self-forgetfulness, (2) I-lessness, and (3) universality of language. Language is self-forgetful, for in speaking we are not conscious of the structure, grammar, or syntax of a language. Gadamer sees language as a dynamic whole, which sprouts out of an interaction as in a game; i.e., "the actuality of speaking consists in the dialogue" (66). To speak means to speak to someone--thus I-lessness. He

insists that speaking does not belong in the sphere of the I but in the sphere of the we, since if one speaks a language that nobody understands it is as if he does not speak. As for the feature of the universality of language, he says: "Language is not a delimited realm of the speakable, over against which other realms that are unspeakable might stand. Rather, language is all-encompassing" (67). Here he presents the dialectic structure of language as being between what is said and what is unsaid, between revealment and concealment. This characteristic concealment in language contributes to his objection to translation, which he regards as a reduction to a simple sense, thereby losing the richness of the excess of meaning, which enables us to get significance. He says (68):

Everyone knows how the translation makes what is said in the foreign language sound flat. It is reflected on one level, so that the word sense and sentence form of the translation follow the original, but the translation, as it were, has no space. It lacks the third dimension from which the original (i.e., what is said in the original) is built up in its range of meaning.

However, the third dimension, what is unsaid, may be captured by discourse level considerations in idiomatic translation--rather than literal translation of sentence by sentence--inasmuch as what is unsaid is part of the textual meaning. Thus, while Gadamer equates "word sense" and "sentence form" with the translation, I would argue that translation should include "space" at the discourse level, i.e., translation must be interpretation. That is why we sometimes hear such remarks as "the translation is better than the original," even though in general, as Gadamer declares, no translation can replace the original.

Gadamer's discussion of the essential features of language with its dialectic structure points to the inevitability of the discourse-level studies. The I-lessness of language as a social-interaction device cannot

have the sentence as its whole unit; a sentence is usually uttered by one speaker, although there is an exception when a sentence is started by one and finished by another. We can overcome the dialectic structure of language between revealment and concealment only when we do the hermeneutic analysis of a discourse as a whole. Thereby we can achieve the third dimension, the space, as we have seen necessary in translation.

Taking Gadamer's idea of dialectic structure (or an interaction) between what is said and what is unsaid in an act of saying, Tyler also opts for a hermeneutic approach based on the whole text in his book The Said and the Unsaid (1978:378):

a basic hermeneutic principle: understanding a text is a circular process in which we presuppose that the text is a whole composed of a hierarchy of parts or topics, and that construing the parts constitutes the whole. This reciprocal relation between part and whole is the hermeneutic circle. The details of a text are recognized as details only if a whole text is presupposed, and conversely, the whole must consist of those details. Text interpretation is constitutive, but not analytic. Somewhat paradoxically, a text cannot be understood by attending only to its constituent propositions, but it cannot be understood without attending to those propositions.

#### 2.2.4. Hirsch: Universe of Discourse

Hirsch (1976), like Cassirer, assumes the old or general hermeneutic position and makes a clear distinction between meaning and significance of a text. This distinction is obliterated, or collapsed into significance only, in the new hermeneutics of Gadamer and Heidegger. As Hirsch (1976:2) explains, the meaning refers to the "inner horizon"<sup>4</sup> of the act of knowing, the comprehension of the whole verbal meaning of a text, and the potential sameness of objects. On the other hand, significance refers to the "outer horizon,"<sup>4</sup> the explanation of textual meaning as related to some context beyond itself (i.e., another mind, another era, a wider subject matter,

etc.), and the differentness of the context. He takes an example from literary criticism: meaning is concerned with internal traits of literature-in-itself, while significance is concerned with its external (psychological, moral, social, and political) effects, i.e., literature-as-value-for-persons. In relation to the space--the third dimension--in our understanding and translating a text, we could say that the new hermeneutic can only find the space in the reader's biography, whereas the old hermeneutic finds it in the text as a whole, which presents more than its parts.

Hirsch rejects Heidegger's hermeneutic circle as the paradox of the part and whole, noting that the circle says that "meaningfulness of a part is disclosed only in its relation to or function within a larger whole" (83). He rightfully claims that the circle does not explain all our experiences; there are some instances when we can artificially bracket some experiences as another person's--the paradox of self and other. I agree with Hirsch when he argues that both circle and bracket may describe different experiences at different times--neither can explain all of our experiences and understanding.

In order to support Husserl's bracket, Hirsch uses the phrase "universe of discourse" as the necessary limitation, since "we cannot interpret discourse without limiting 'universe' that forms its context" (84). While Hirsch uses "universe of discourse" to show the delimitation of a text in a larger context, I am using it to show the expansion of sentence grammar into discourse grammar. Linguistics, as the study of language use, should not be delimited narrowly to sentences; it should have the discourse as the most natural unit of language.

### 2.3. Discourse Structure as the Whole

Much as the philosophers say that we should try to understand a text by starting from hermeneutic analysis, a linguist needs to start from an overall structural view with regard to the whole discourse. There are reasons from four sources: (1) from phonology come suprasegmental considerations like intonation, pitch, and pause, which are explained adequately only in terms of a structure higher (or larger) than a sentence; (2) from semantics we see that the meaning is conveyed through the overall discourse, not as aggregated sentences; (3) from syntax we find formal structures in a discourse analogous to those in a sentence; and (4) from pragmatics we see the need to study general assumptions concerning the extent of shared knowledge between speaker and hearer (or between writer and reader), communication and social situations, and other relevant milieu, which are unsaid but necessary for the understanding of a discourse. I will discuss each category separately in the remainder of the chapter. Although I have found it very difficult to "bracket" each category, due to the fact that many topics overlap (attributable to the wave characteristic of indeterminate, fuzzy borders), I try to present them separately for the sake of clarity.

#### 2.3.1. Phonological Evidence

I will only mention two points here briefly. First, some of the phonological evidence comes from such phenomena as higher pitch, greater intensity, and/or faster speed related to the peak of the story or the main point of an expository discourse. These features are frequently stretched over a number of sentences, marking a contrast to the rest of the material. Secondly, Mayers (1978) shows that the phonological study of any discourse



should proceed from the whole--the highest level--towards increasingly smaller elements of the lower levels.

### 2.3.2. Semantic Evidence<sup>5</sup>

As Polanyi eloquently argues, the whole is not specifiable in terms of its parts. The whole message or meaning is not discoverable by focusing on individual words or sentences. Perhaps most of us have experienced that when we try to read each word of a text carefully, we tend to remember individual words without the real meaning of the text. Only when we relate words and sentences with systematic standards of coherence (i.e., the unsaid or the tacit knowledge) specific to a given type of discourse, do we get the meaning of the passage. Often what remains in our tacit dimension is the message of the whole discourse (as Polanyi illustrates with reading a letter). We most likely do not remember any specific sentences even though we can paraphrase the meaning in our own words and sentences.

Van Dijk (1977a:3) finds the common view of considering the sentence as the maximum unit to be inadequate for semantic and pragmatic reasons:<sup>6</sup>

There are systematic differences between compound sentences and sequences of sentences, especially at a pragmatic level of description, and the meaning of sentences may depend on the meaning of other sentences of the same utterance although not always in the same way as the meanings of clauses in compound or complex sentences.

Assuming as he does that there is textual structure, which is not explicable in terms of sentences (compound or complex), van Dijk has been one of the pioneers in textlinguistics in Europe within the framework of transformational-generative theory. He presents a three-level system; i.e., a form-meaning-action rule system. The morpho-syntactic rules of form specify well-formedness, the semantic rules of meaning specify interpretability, and the pragmatic rules of action specify

appropriateness. In Text and Context (1977a) he deals with semantic and pragmatic rules at the discourse level. Based on cognitive evidence, he posits macro-structures (semantic macro-structure and macro-speech act) underlying a discourse, which are skeleton-like abstracts retained in our long term memory.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) argue that discourse is a semantic unit. They say that "the word text is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole," and that "we are sensitive to the distinction between what is text and what is not" (1976:1), although there can be some uncertainty. They (1976:25) succinctly state their position as follows:

A text, then, can be thought of as the basic unit of meaning in language. It is to semantic structure what the sentence is to lexicogrammatical structure and the syllable to phonological structure. It is a unit of situational-semantic organization: a continuum of meaning-in-context, constructed around the semantic relation of cohesion.

All matters in semantics here lead to this single question: What is the most natural domain or unit of language? Language is primarily a communication device among people; thus the study of language should reflect this fact. Recognizing this, Pike (1978b) points out that the level of performative interaction--dialogues between speakers--is the natural break-in point for the analysis of verbal behavior. Cassirer shows us that even in the case of monologue, there is an apparent dialectic division of self. In the case of written discourse, the reader interacts with the text, as Cassirer says that the I and the you exist "both within and next to each other as they preserve their unity within speech, thought, and all manner of artistic expression" (Cassirer 1961:109). Similarly, with the game analogy, Gadamer depicts loss of self in our interaction with

the text. Therefore, we can see common aspects between monologue and dialogue discourses, and between written and oral discourses.

Longacre (1981a:72) specifically takes up this problem which arises between monologue and dialogue:

One of the most intricate problems in discourse analysis is that concerning the relation of dialogue to monologue. The viewpoint taken here is that the two are related but somewhat autonomous structures. The units of dialogue as described here are: utterance, exchange, dialogue paragraph, and dialogue or dramatic discourse (i.e., a conversation of a given topic). The units of monologue . . . are: morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse.

Thus he talks about monologue discourses and dialogue discourses (conversation and drama), forming two separate hierarchies but intersecting in many ways, both within the realm of discourse.<sup>7</sup> I am, however, aware of the confusion in the meaning of the word "discourse." For example, for some (including Langsdorf, 1980, personal communication) discourse implies at least two speakers, thus only dialogue; while for others (e.g., Longacre and Pike) it includes both varieties. Following the latter, I refer by the term to any passage which forms a coherent whole--usually centered around a topic--regardless of its length and of its form. As such, it could be monologue or dialogue, written or spoken. As Longacre (1977) has done earlier, I regard some such unit of language--the discourse--as the most natural unit semantically.

### 2.3.3. Syntactic (or Grammatical) Evidence

In his book, The Structure of the Artistic Text, Lotman (1977:51-3) discusses the three properties of the concept of text (i.e., a written monologue): (1) Expression: a text is expressed through the signs of a natural language; it is thus a realization of a system, a material embodiment, belonging to the concept of parole (speech) in Saussure's distinction between langue (language) and parole. (2) Demarcation: its inherent boundaries--external boundaries of the beginning and end and internal ones of chapters, sections, etc.--signal that a text has an indivisible textual meaning; e.g., "to be 'a novel,' 'a document,' or 'a prayer' is to realize a certain cultural function and to transmit a certain integral meaning" (52). (3) Structure: "The text is not a simple sequence of signs lying between two external boundaries. Inherent to the text is an internal organization which transforms it on the syntagmatic level into a structural whole" (53). As an example of syntagmatic structure, we can think of, in a narrative discourse, the plot structure, in which stage and episodes are chronologically and logically linked to each other into a whole.

Lotman stresses the fact that "a text is an invariant system of relations" (54)--it is not "things" themselves. For evidence supporting systematic characteristics of a text, he refers to the attempts by Pushkin specialists to reconstruct the plans and creative designs of the poet and reconstruct defective or lost texts. When functioning in the social environment of the reader's perspective, however, a text has a tendency to break up into variants, he says. Although he does not explicitly address

the problem, his discussions seem to me to correlate with (invariant) meaning and (variant) significance, as discussed by Hirsch.

By presenting the three properties of text Lotman claims that there is structure--semantic and grammatical--inherent at the level of text. Thus he says that a text is an imminent system with an inner structure.

Taking Polanyi's notion of unspecifiability of the whole in terms of its parts, I would like to point out that the parts also are unspecifiable in themselves without regard to the whole. In other words, some parts are not knowable in themselves at all, they can be known only in terms of the whole. This idea is implicit in this comment of Polanyi's (1962:56):

If a pianist shifts his attention from the piece he is playing to the observation of what he is doing with his fingers while playing it, he gets confused and may have to stop. This happens generally if we switch our focal attention to particulars of which we had previously been aware only in their subsidiary role.

The pianist's manipulation of his fingers or his playing of a particular phrase would not produce the whole piece in a balanced expression of its parts in relation to one another. What is crucial here is the concept of relational (field) perspective. So the parts should be known and interpreted relative to the whole.

The relationship between subject and topic illustrates the idea that some parts are not knowable in themselves. What is used as topic is typically known information, either endophoric (referring back to a previously stated element) or exophoric (situationally/extralinguistically known information). The fact that a topic always has a reference point to known information shows that we have to relate the topic to something else beyond the given sentence. For example, in Korean we have postpositional particles denoting whether a noun is a subject or a topic. The subject

particle is used for new information--at the initial introduction of a character in a story or when the noun is the information being sought; while the topic particle is used for old or generic information assumed to be known to the hearer--at the further reference to the character. The decision when to use one or the other has to be made with reference to the whole discourse, depending on such facts as whether the noun was referred to earlier in the discourse or whether we can assume a certain type of information in the hearer's knowledge once given the universe of discourse with its "frames." I will deal with this question in detail in Chapter 5 in relation to participant reference system in Korean narratives.

Similarly in English L.B. Jones (1980), using the concept of frame as an organizing principle of knowledge as van Dijk (1977b), Kintsch (1977), and others did, shows that the definite article occurs in some cases in first-mention references. In these cases the definite article reflects some assumptions on the part of the author, indicating "that the referent is in the reader's foregrounded frame, and that the reference includes all items in that frame which match the referring description" (L.B. Jones 1980:110). As we have to determine the functions of subject and topic particles in Korean relative to the whole structure of discourse, we should analyze the parts (e.g., definite article) and their functions not in themselves but relative to the overall structure.

Van Dijk illustrates some specific morphemes characteristically occurring at the beginning and end of a text and other grammatical properties which can be explained only relative to the whole text. He (1972, 1977a) also deals with the following features, which typically require a domain larger than the sentence:<sup>8</sup> (1) articles and

definitivization, (2) pronominalization, (3) tense, mode, and aspect of verbs, (4) use of conjunctions and adverbs, and (5) topic and comment structure. In later chapters, I will show how we need to explain some of these features in relation to the whole discourse with illustrations from Korean discourses.

Longacre is convinced that the whole (discourse) determines the part and deals with such grammatical features as those listed above to validate his thesis that the discourse is the most natural unit of language. In addition to the above features treated by van Dijk, he discusses the following features (which he designates as surface structure features) that can best be accounted for at the level of the discourse: (1) use of deictics, such as this and that as illustrated in this passage (Longacre 1977:18 [emphasis mine]):

As I stepped out of my front door, I saw a dog coming down the sidewalk. Before I knew what was happening the dog had bit me. That dog, I learned later, had bitten three people before I came on the scene.

(2) back references (similarly to conjunctions), which refer to the preceding sentence in the onset of a succeeding sentence, such as After taking off, . . .; (3) optional temporal and locational expressions, which are not used arbitrarily but serve to mark the progress of the whole discourse; (4) variation in quoted speech, from pure narration to pseudo-dialogue and to dialogue, and variation in quotation formulas, such as he said to his wife, which often indicate dominance in dialogues; (5) variation in amount of detail and elaboration at the peak of discourse; (6) "mystery" particles in some languages that indicate discourse functions; and (7) uses of types on any structural level such as clause, sentence, and

paragraph types, e.g., equational or existential clauses typically identify or introduce characters in a narrative discourse.

As deep grammatical features of a discourse, Longacre (1976, 1981a) presents underlying plot structure of a narrative and other similar structures in other types of discourse, analogous to what Lotman refers to as syntagmatic structure. Similarly, a host of researchers speculating on cognitive processes have focused on this type of structure in stories, variously called narrative schemata, story grammars, or narrative super-structures (Rumelhart 1975, 1977; Colby 1973; van Dijk 1977b; Kintsch 1977). With a number of psychological experiments, they believe that some such structure, which is usually specific to a given culture, plays an important role in our story comprehension and production.

Finally, I would like to point out that some of the cohesive features that Halliday and Hasan (1976) analyze are in fact syntactic for some other linguists. They claim that they focus on semantic structure of a discourse as a whole dealing with five types of cohesion: reference (pronouns, demonstratives, the, so, etc.), substitution (one/ones, do, so), ellipsis (i.e., substitution by zero), conjunction, and lexical cohesion. However, they also argue that some types of cohesion are lexicogrammatical: "Substitution/ellipsis is a formal (lexicogrammatical) relation, in which a form (word or words) is specified through the use of a grammatical signal indicating that it is to be recovered from what has gone before" (308). Most of these examples of cohesion would belong to grammar, rather than to reference (or semantics), for many linguists, including Longacre and Pike. Therefore, the question of whether one feature is semantic or syntactic is largely dependent on the definitions of the terms.



#### 2.3.4. Pragmatic Evidence

We have already seen van Dijk's reasons for considering discourse in relation to pragmatic appropriateness conditions and macro-speech acts, based on his assumption that discourse is systematically related to communicative action (cf. 2.3.2).

Those in the field of artificial intelligence find inferential knowledge essential to discourse comprehension. Schank and Abelson (1977:21) recognize the fact that the "meaning of a text is more than the sum of the meaning of the individual sentences that comprise it." That is, the meaning of the whole needs some inferential information, assumed to be known to the hearer, which is consistently left out between sentences.

Labov and Fanshel (1977) discuss two planes of conversational behavior: the plane of what is said, i.e., what is explicit and implicit in a text, and the plane of what is done, i.e., interaction of speech acts. This latter concern of speech acts had been pushed aside as a non- or extra-linguistic matter. However, philosophers of language like Austin and Searle have shown that language in a communication situation cannot be adequately accounted for without speech act theory. Austin (1962) proposes that in issuing an utterance, there are three simultaneous acts: (1) locutionary, the act of saying in full sense (or 'propositional content' of Searle); (2) illocutionary, the act performed in saying something; and (3) perlocutionary, the act performed by, or as a result of, saying. The perlocutionary act represents the utterance as stimulus in terms of its effect on the hearer, thus seems to be closely related to significance rather than meaning itself. In order to have proper understanding of meaning, we need both locutionary and illocutionary acts. The latter takes

care of Gadamer's concern of what is unsaid but implicit in a text, including a vast number of topics like lie, metaphor, indirect speech act (e.g., the meaning of request in: "Can you pass me the salt?"), and irony.

Searle asserts the contextual dependence of the applicability of literal meaning, although the sentences still have literal meanings (1979:117):

I want to challenge . . . the view that for every sentence the literal meaning of the sentence can be construed as the meaning it has independently of any context whatever. I shall argue that in general the notion of the literal meaning of a sentence only has application relative to a set of contextual or background assumptions.

By insisting that there is literal meaning, although relative to context, he comes close to Hirsch in having both meaning and significance. He also makes a distinction between the literal sentence meaning (textual meaning of Hirsch) and the speaker's utterance meaning (authorial or original meaning and significance). While the former represents direct speech acts, the latter includes indirect speech acts, metaphorical and ironical utterance meanings, and lies.

Although Searle does not address the question of discourse analysis but is only concerned with the meaning of the sentence, his argument for context as a necessary condition may be used as an argument for discourse. With sentence grammar, in accounting for a sentence taken out of context, we are forced to supply the context, for some context must be presumed for proper understanding. Therefore, instead of understanding the meaning of the sentence as used in the discourse, we are very likely to end up with significance only. That is, we will only have our own interpretation of the sentence apart from the discourse. If we are to have meaning as well as significance in our understanding of the discourse, as Cassirer and

Hirsch assert, discourse grammar is a necessity. Within the framework of the sentence grammar, we would be severely trapped in our own universe of sentence.

In addition to speech acts, there are other concerns in pragmatics such as speaker-hearer interaction, with their cultural, social and communication situations as well as their belief systems and assumptions. If we are to understand language and its use, we have to deal with all of these milieu as far as they are relevant to a given discourse. I think the level of discourse is the most adequate demarcation necessary for any kind of human experience and understanding, although to account for all within the discourse and its universe is a formidable task.

#### 2.3.5. Further Considerations

The notion of discourse grammar involves a great expansion of the traditional disciplinary boundary, e.g., we need to account for both locutionary and illocutionary acts and explain the why's and what's between words and between sentences. In a similar vein, van Dijk (1977a:13) says:

A linguistic theory of discourse is intended not only as a contribution to linguistics but also as a basis for the study of discourse in other disciplines, thus further advancing the integration of discourse analysis into the general study of language and communication.

This expansion may explain why there still is resistance to discourse-level linguistics.

In the 1910's we witnessed the Saussurian effort to limit the field of linguistics by treating it as part of semiology within psychology, apart from ethnography, prehistory, anthropology, sociology, physiology, philology, etc. In order to do this, Saussure made distinctions between langue and parole, and between internal and external elements of language;

only langue and internal elements belong to linguistics proper. Following this tradition, Chomsky (1965) stressed that linguistic theory is concerned primarily with competence, i.e., the study of the knowledge of the ideal speaker-listener in a homogeneous speech-community disregarding other limitations such as memory, distraction, error, etc. Linguistic performance plays only a secondary role for him, something that needs to be studied against the background of competence. This focus on competence, together with his conceptualization of grammar as a generating device of sentences, has forced him and many others following him (particularly those within the interpretive semantics group) to study grammatical sentences as self-contained wholes in themselves. More recently, however, Chomsky (1976:316) comments on some conditions applying to "rules that extend beyond sentence-grammar in their scope; for example, to 'free anaphora,' which may involve properties of discourse, situation, and assumed background belief." He relates these rules with pragmatics, or a "theory of performance," rather than with the "theory of grammar."

Bever, Katz, and Langendoen (1976) present a book, called An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Ability, in an attempt to restrict linguistics to "formal grammar," dealing only with linguistic competence. They propose a return to the Standard Theory of Chomsky (1965), criticizing him for succumbing to empiricism in his more recent changes. In particular, they question if the linguistic phenomena that caused Chomsky to propose the Extended Standard Theory are really grammatical in nature, that is, within a theory of grammatical competence. Thus for them such matters as quantifier relations, topic-comment relations, and focus and presupposition would be beyond the scope of grammar. In addition, they

consider the surface interpretive rules of the Revised Extended Standard Theory to be too "powerful" for a formal grammar. It is understandable that they try to be consistent in their philosophy of rationalism, but, as Walter (1980) also points out, neither pure rationalism nor pure empiricism can work. We cannot simply dismiss clear data for the sake of theory. So we have seen generative semanticists revolting against the rigid interpretive semantics model and starting to draw more and more attention to contexts where particular sentences are found in order to explain grammaticalness, or, rather, speak about the degree of acceptability of statements.

Challenging the theory of competence, Labov (1972) shows in his study of sociolinguistics that intuition is less regular and more difficult to interpret than produced speech. He says (199):

There is no evidence that consistent and homogeneous judgments can be obtained from native speakers. . . . It is now evident that the search for homogeneity in intuitive judgments is a failure.

Fillmore (1972:16) similarly suspects the reliability of "native speaker's intuitions about the structure and content of his sentences" with a number of illustrations from English. He says (15):

Considering the variety of ways in which complex verbal expressions in English get parsed, I am ready to assume the native speaker intuitions about constituent structure are among the least important criteria for judging the adequacy of proposed descriptions.

Another sociolinguist, Hymes (1974), likewise stresses performance over competence, listing seven primacies in the ethnography of communication: speech (parole) over language (langue), function over structure, functional plurality over uniqueness, appropriateness over possibility, diversity over homogeneity, community over individual, and context over message.

It is time to consider seriously the possibility that an arbitrary restriction to the sentence cannot work. Just as a word is not properly studied in isolation, for a word often means several different things depending on its environment within a sentence (e.g., he runs fast, he runs an office, a run in a stocking), a sentence cannot be the whole. Recognizing the fact that discourse study requires an inter-disciplinary approach, we, as finite beings, may take a portion of it and do a study of it, but always being ready to broaden our point of view for a better understanding.

#### 2.4. Concluding Remarks

Thus I have presented here some arguments for discourse grammar as opposed to sentence grammar of Bloomfieldian, Chomskyan, or other varieties. My thesis is that if we are to do a reasonably adequate study of language, we cannot stop at any level lower than that of the discourse. Here a discourse is not viewed necessarily in terms of its size. For instance, we may have a discourse with a single word or sentence, especially one used as a slogan or advertisement. However, in normal cases, we usually have more than a word, a sentence, or a paragraph as a discourse; e.g., in folktales, short or long stories, sermons, instructions, etc. I believe it is necessary to view these units first in their totality. As Cassirer directs us to begin with hermeneutic analysis of the structure of the whole and then to proceed to formal analysis and to causal analysis, in linguistics we need to begin with the view of the whole, i.e., a discourse as a unit, then go down to smaller units by bracketing (or even go up to more encompassing units, if one wants to, which will lead him to significance or excess of meaning). In order to

attempt to arrive at the discourse meaning, we should at least have in our linguistic analysis the level of discourse as our focal awareness. We should realize that the whole determines the functions of the parts, and that the parts function in relation to each other systematically as to determine the whole.

This chapter reflects an attempt to bring together insights from the two disciplines of philosophy and linguistics for the mutual illumination of both in a specific area. In Hirsch's terms, I have tried to grasp (philosophical) meaning in the first half of the chapter and (linguistic) significance in the latter half. The remaining chapters are more narrowly concerned with the linguistic study of Korean discourses.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>Chomsky's orientation towards rationalism is reiterated by Katz and Bever (1976) in their arguments against empiricism. Walter (1978) also discusses how the TG approach can be taken as realistic; and later in his dissertation (1980) he opts for a third, functional, approach beyond empiricism and rationalism.

<sup>2</sup>Some writers make a distinction between text and discourse as that between type and token, between langue and parole, or between competence and performance. Thus van Dijk (1977a:3) calls text "the abstract theoretical construct underlying . . . a discourse." Both designate a unit, larger than sentence (except for slogans, maxims, etc.), which forms a coherent whole usually centered around a topic. Here I use the term discourse since it is closer to my conception than the abstract text. When the specific authors use text to really mean written discourse, however, I follow their usage.

<sup>3</sup>In his recent discussion of his model, however, Lamb (1980 at International Linguistic Center) does not place much emphasis on the discrete levels connecting form and meaning. He says that the number of levels does not seem so important any more.

<sup>4</sup>In his discussion, Hirsch uses these terms "inner horizon" and "outer horizon," which were originally used by Husserl.

<sup>5</sup>This term "semantic" has been used to denote different concepts by different writers, i.e., the range of its meaning is not clear, often overlapping with syntax, reference, or even pragmatics (as situational meaning). For want of any better term, I have adopted the term with its potential ambiguity to loosely refer to those linguistic concerns related to meaning.

<sup>6</sup>The term "sentence" has also been used ambiguously to denote clause (a proposition) or interclausal unit (several propositions). Sentence grammar usually refers to the former concept, but van Dijk uses it in its proper level including both, when he mentions compound or complex sentences. In tagmemics, clause and sentence form distinct and separate levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

<sup>7</sup>While Longacre posits two separate hierarchies, Pike and Pike (1977) include within a single grammatical hierarchy both monologue (from morpheme to paragraph and monologue) and dialogue (exchange and conversation), the latter forming its highest level with the meaning of social interaction, which is possible only with two or more speakers.

<sup>8</sup>There are examples with the definite article or a pronoun within a single sentence in English: e.g.,



The moon is bright tonight.

Who's she?

Did you see that?

Dad, can I use the car?

The examples of anaphora in these sentences are dependent upon situational (or exophoric) context, based upon the knowledge shared between the speaker and hearer, rather than upon textual (or endophoric) context. Therefore, I argue that they are just as context dependent (although different in kind) as are those examples of the definite article and pronouns occurring in a connected discourse. I am grateful to D. Burquest for supplying and bringing these examples to my attention.

## CHAPTER THREE

### OVERALL VIEW OF SOME KOREAN NARRATIVES

#### 3.1. Introduction

##### 3.1.1. Syntagmatic Structure

In the previous chapter I have argued that we must be concerned with the whole discourse in order to do an adequate study of language. By focusing on the whole as well as on its constituent parts (with a movement back and forth between analysis of the whole and analysis of the parts), we can gain insights that are not available when we focus on the parts only. Therefore, I present in this chapter the overall view of some Korean narratives before going into more specific topics, i.e., use of tense, aspect, mode, etc., in verbs, and use of nouns in participant reference. Here we want to look at the overall structure of the linear organization of the whole and find out how a narrative is organized in terms of its surface structure slots and plot (notional) structure slots as discussed in this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

The idea that a story has an overall structure has been recognized for a long time. The pioneer in folktale studies, Propp (1958 [1928]), was concerned with syntagmatic analysis, i.e., the morphological structure of sequences of events, the relation between parts, and the relation of these parts to the whole folktale. Those investigators using the French structural approach have focused on paradigmatic analysis. Therefore, Lévi-Strauss (1955, 1976), who regarded the folktale as a cultural product related to myth, was interested in such structural relations between

mythemes (the minimal elements of myth) rather than those between sequences of events. More recently, semioticians concerned with discourse analyses have chosen to be eclectic. Brémond (1970), Maranda and Maranda (1971), and others started with the French structural approach, but have gradually incorporated Proppian methodology into their models.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Lotman (1977) aims at both the syntagmatic meanings built around the event line and the paradigmatic meanings such as the relationships between participants or themes.

Doležel (197 :94) makes a similar distinction between two trends in the search "for the principles of the global story organization," i.e., "narrative grammar." The "compositional" trend, according to him, deals with the linear arrangement of exposition, complication, reversal, solution, etc., whereas the "functional or semantic" trend--of Propp and Lévi-Strauss--searches for a small number of semantic units which form a paradigmatic system. It is the purpose of this chapter to do analyses of the former type, the syntagmatic or compositional structure.

Those interested in story comprehension processes in the fields of cognitive psychology and reading have been active in their research on story grammars, which is also referred to as the syntactic approach or problem-solving model. Thus, Rumelhart (1977), Colby (1973, 1975), Thorndyke (1973), van Dijk (1977b), and Kintsch (1977) consider the narrative schema or narrative grammar to be crucial to our understanding of stories. Their basic assumption is that stories have an internal structure and that they can be more well-formed or less so. Beaugrande and Colby (1979), for example, talk about the "well-formedness condition" and the "non-obviousness (or interestingness) condition" of stories. Black and

Wilensky (1979) refer to the former as "grammaticalness" of a story, analogous to the grammaticalness of a sentence in the Chomskyan linguistic framework.

Many researchers of this group emphasize the fact that a well-structured discourse forms a "meaningful whole," and some use rewrite rules of various types like those used in generating sentences in transformational and generative grammar, for example:

Story----> Setting + Episode (Rumelhart)

Story----> Setting + Theme + Plot + Resolution (Thorndyke)

Event----> Event + (Event)\* (van Dijk)

Move (a simple plot)----> M(otivation) Resp(onses)<sup>n</sup> (Colby)

Against these rules, Black and Wilensky (1979) argue that their formal analyses are not rigorous enough to generate all and only stories. They say that only one model<sup>3</sup> takes account of the transformational component, which is necessary to explain skewing and permutation, and that all models of story grammars fail to prevent their rules from generating procedural type discourse in addition to narrative types.

Longacre's scheme of discourse typology includes both surface and underlying structures. There may be skewing among discourse types in mapping between the two structures. Thus we have many stories whose underlying motives are hortatory, for, as he says, "in that people do not like to be urged to change their conduct, presenting this hortatory material as a narrative or a drama may make it easier for them to accept it" (Longacre 1981a:31-2). Presentation of underlying hortatory material as surface narrative has been a common practice; we see in the New Testament, for example, that Jesus used many parables to convey messages of

a hortatory type. If we assume that one-to-one mapping between underlying and surface types is normative, then perhaps we have a large percentage of non-normative skewing between underlying hortatory and surface narrative. This relates to the observation made by Longacre (1981a) that the skewing between discourse types is according to the degree-of-vividness hierarchy, ranging from drama through narrative, procedural, and expository to hortatory. Thus we are more likely to have underlying expository and hortatory presented as narrative or drama than the other way around. In addition to this wholesale skewing, we may have a partial skewing since a given discourse type may embed within another type. Within the narrative type itself, there may be a further type of skewing, that between slots of notional structure and those of surface structure.

In the light of these skewings and embeddings, it would not be at all surprising to have a procedural discourse that has a notional structure similar to narrative. We can even conceive of an expository discourse that follows the plot structure of exposition, tension, and resolution. Therefore, I think that Longacre's scheme would have proved to be adequate empirically, had Black and Wilensky considered it as one of the story grammars, although he has not explicitly related or claimed his scheme to be something crucially involved in the cognitive processes of story comprehension. He presents it as a part of "a catalogue of . . . notional categories so as to provide a universal reference base for the study of discourses in particular languages" (Longacre 1981a:419). This chapter represents one such study, i.e., that of Korean narratives, in both surface and deep plot structures within the the theoretical framework presented by Longacre.

### 3.1.2. Some Characteristic Features at Different Parts of Narrative

Longacre and others following his lead have noted a number of features frequently associated with a given part of a story. At stage, which provides a setting for a discourse by introducing participants, we often have temporal and/or locational expressions to place the story in a particular setting. These expressions may take adverbial-phrase forms in the margins of beginning sentences. Also here is the place where the major participants are usually introduced. In the main part of the story where the actions and events are occurring, we find the use of the past tense and perfective aspect in narratives in a number of the languages of the world.

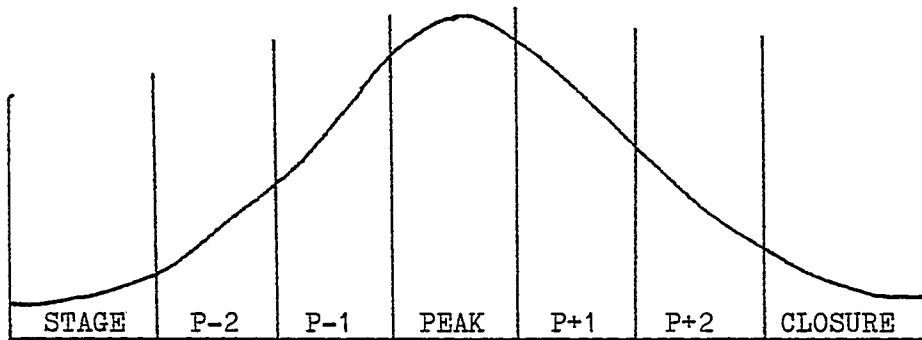
Then, what are the characteristics of a peak, i.e., "any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure" (Longacre 1981a:47)? Longacre (1981b) calls the peak "a zone of turbulence," because of the special surface features, which often give us analytical problems. Here I briefly present some characteristics, or "a bag of tricks," which he (1976, 1981a) discusses:

- (1) rhetorical underlining: insuring that the events at the peak do not go by at the usual speed, e.g., packing or extending the event line by means of paraphrases or repetitions;
- (2) crowded stage: concentrating participants;
- (3) a shift in the ratio between verbals and nominals: e.g., more verbs to a noun;
- (4) a shift to more specific person, or higher up in the agency hierarchy (cf. Silverstein 1976): e.g., from third person to first person plural, or from third person to second person:

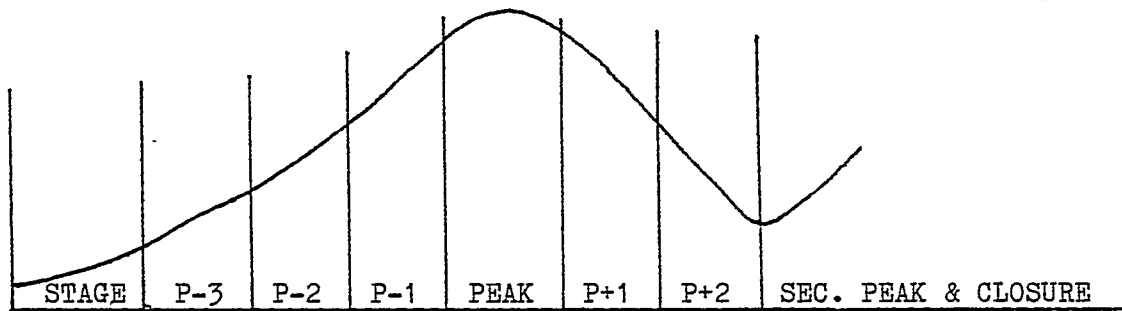
- (5) a shift in tense/aspect: e.g., from past to historical present;
- (6) a shift in dialogue parameter: narrative, pseudo-dialogue, dialogue, and drama;
- (7) change of sentence or paragraph length: to short crisp sentences or to long rolling sentences;
- (8) change in the number of conjunctions: from more to less conjunctions;
- (9) change of vantage point and/or orientation: a shift corresponding to role reversal, or a shift from a neutral to a specific vantage point;
- (10) change in the use of particles: a particle may drop out or may be used more frequently;
- (11) increased use of onomatopoeia: exclamations and interjections.

### 3.1.3. Profile as a Visual Form of Syntagmatic Structure

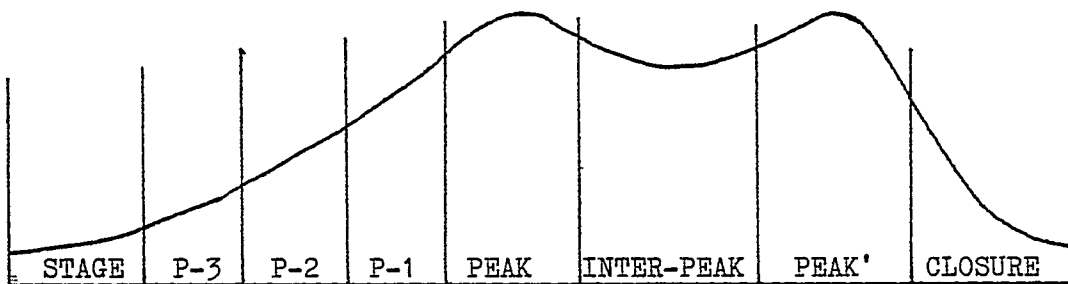
We have noted above that at different points of a discourse we may have different surface features and that the most remarkable one is the peak, which corresponds to Climax or Denouement in the notional structure. In a recent paper, Longacre (1981c:3) uses a new metaphor "profile" to account for "the linguistic reflexes of mounting and declining tension (or excitement) within a discourse." Since these reflexes (from the "bag of tricks") are usually concentrated at the peak, we have different profiles for different stories depending upon where the peak occurs. Thus he (1981c:30) presents for illustration three simple profiles (see Fig.1).



Profile of a one-Peak Discourse



Profile with a main Peak and final (didactic) Peak



Profile with double Peak

Figure 1. Different Profiles Illustrated by Longacre



## 3.1.4. Paragraph Analysis

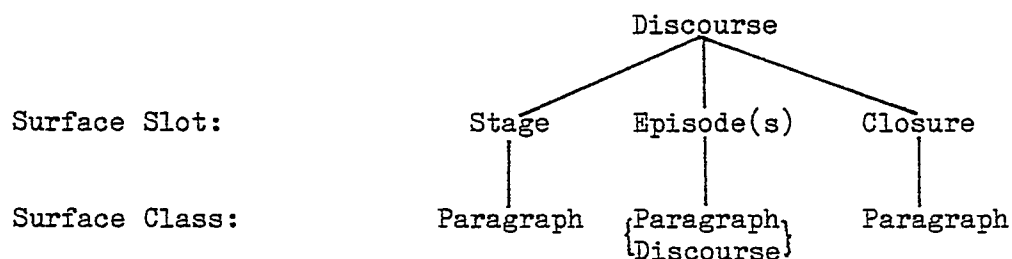
Paragraph analysis is crucial to the study of discourse, since, as Longacre (1976:276) says, "the paragraph is the developmental unit of discourse." A paragraph usually fills the slot of an episode, and a discourse consists of one or more such episodes as well as other slots such as stage, which provides a setting for a discourse by introducing participants in their initial states, and closure, which wraps up the story by providing a conclusion. When there are several paragraphs filling an episode, the episode is considered to be an embedded discourse itself. We may show the relationship among episode, discourse, and paragraph as follows, using the symbols from Longacre (1976, 1981a):

$$\text{Discourse} = \{\text{Stage, Episode } 1\dots n, \text{Closure}\}$$

$$\text{Episode: } \begin{cases} \text{Paragraph} \\ \text{Discourse} \end{cases}$$

That is, a discourse is composed of stage, episode(s), and closure. An episode is expounded by a paragraph or an (embedded) discourse.

Put another way, the relationship between slot and class in a discourse may be described as follows using a tree diagram:



That is, an episode may be filled by a paragraph or an embedded discourse. Stage may be collapsed into the first paragraph, which fills the first

episode. Closure may be collapsed into the final paragraph, which fills the final episode.

Paragraphs are not orthographic groupings shown by indentation and period punctuation. Instead, they are units generally larger than a sentence, in which there is not any sudden break in temporal, logical, or locational progression (cf. Longacre and Levinsohn 1978). Next is a list of some general characteristics that are considered to be signaling a paragraph in Korean:

- (1) Temporal lapse or discontinuity signaled by temporal expressions.
- (2) Change in location.
- (3) Change in participants.
- (4) Change in topic.
- (5) Change in distinct paragraph types, e.g., from dialogue paragraph to reflection paragraph.
- (6) Sometimes back references and independent (i.e., nonsuffixal) conjunctions.

Often there are a number of factors intersecting each other in paragraph analysis. Any single one of the above list cannot unambiguously signal a new paragraph.

### 3.2. Syntagmatic Structures of Korean Narratives

#### 3.2.1. General Remarks on the Narratives Chosen

For this dissertation I have studied eight monologue discourses written in Korean. I have chosen to use a printed source because I feel that a written discourse through a number of retellings or revisions would show better structure than an oral one. Hinds (1975:84-5) makes a similar remark in his application of Longacre's discourse typology to Korean discourses: "non-spontaneous stories are often the most structurally transparent." Some might argue that a written discourse is more artificial or even unnatural than a spontaneous oral discourse. However, it is in accordance with the generally-accepted principle that we start from the simplest type of data possible, and then proceed to more complex discourses. I assume here that written discourses would reflect more characteristics of the former type when compared with the oral ones.

The stories are in monologue form, just as any stories which one person tells to others. However, dialogues are also common in these stories since they contain sequences of events, which come about only through an interaction among people, or among people and (speaking) animals as in three of the folktales under consideration. In only one is there no direct quoted speech, whereas four stories freely employ drama (where quotation formulas drop out altogether), which is the most vivid form in the dialogue parameter. This frequent use of drama is partly due to the characteristics of the Korean language with its rich system of speech levels. These speech levels directly reflect such sociolinguistic considerations as age, social status, power or solidarity.<sup>4</sup> Thus we can tell without ambiguity who is speaking by (1) the use of pronoun forms,

e.g., for 'I' and 'you' in drama, whether they are plain, honorific, or humble forms; (2) the use of honorific suffixes at the end of a noun or a verb; and (3) the use of sentence endings among various possibilities, formal, semi-formal, informal, colloquial-informal. Also occasional use of nouns used as vocatives helps to discern who is the speaker.

Among the eight stories, six are folktales written mainly for children, while the remaining two are short stories for adult readers. Since most short stories are still very long, running over several hundred sentences (i.e., with a much larger number of clauses), making the task of transcription and morpheme-by-morpheme translation overwhelming, the choice of the discourses of two stories among the latter type is largely based on their comparative brevity. Children's folktales are usually manageable in length, and we expect them to reflect "norm" characteristics compared with some modern novels of, for example, the stream of consciousness style.

The following is the list of these narratives in their English titles. The full texts appear in the Appendix A in transcribed forms with morpheme-by-morpheme translations and free sentence-by-sentence translations grouped into paragraphs.

Folktales:

1. The Story of Shim Chung (SC)
2. The Beauty and the Monk (BM)
3. The Grateful Magpies (GM)
4. The Ungrateful Tiger (UT)
5. The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon (SM)
6. The Hat Seller (HS)

## Short Stories:

7. The Water Cicada (WC)
8. This Kind of Concert (TC)

Some anthropologists have noticed that folktales often reflect cultures, supplying valuable anthropological information. Thus Barnouw (1973:373) says, "Certainly, the values and attitudes prevalent in a society are often clearly expressed in its folklore." For example, Mayers and McNeilly (1973) present a comparative analysis of narrative junctures in three dialect versions of Pocomchi corn tales, which reflect interesting and largely accurate anthropological information. Conversely, we may supply wrong information in trying to understand stories from other cultures. Thus, Bohannan (1971:13) presents a striking illustration of first person comments, revealing how the Tiv in West Africa "provide distinct and separate worlds of meaning" for the interpretation of Hamlet, especially with regard to supernatural aspects.

Our texts reflect this fact also: the folktales are more revealing of the Korean culture than the two short stories. The short story "The Water Cicada" presents a social problem, which is left unresolved. Unlike folktales where everything is spelled out for the reader (in some cases, the moral may be explicitly given at the end), stories not uncommonly end in suspense. Ending thus they present an issue for the reader to reflect on. The other story "This Kind of Concert" is about a cheering party at a concert and gives a first-person account of what happens there.

Among the folktales themselves, however, there is a further difference in the amount of cultural knowledge required for proper understanding in terms of (1) participants, (2) props, and (3) themes.

"The Story of Shim Chung," perhaps the best-known folktale of the six, has very specific-to-culture and familiar features in all three aspects: (1) for participants it features a poor girl who is devoted to her blind father, friendly neighbors, and a (Buddhist) monk; (2) as chief props the story emphasizes rice, which is closely tied to the culture, symbolizing life itself, and the lotus flower, which is commonly associated in the culture with something good and magical, as it is in this story; and (3) as theme, that of filial piety is what we hear over and over again as one of the teachings of Confucius. Likewise, the stories "The Beauty and the Monk," "The Grateful Magpies," and "The Ungrateful Tiger" all employ participants familiar in the culture (a monk, a young man on his way to Seoul, magpies, a tiger, a bull, a pine tree, a rabbit, and a snake) and props (a pagoda, a temple, a bell, an arrow, a hair-rod, which used to belong to most--if not all--married women, etc.). Moreover, it is noteworthy that all three stories convey the same message or didactic theme, which is well known to anybody raised in the culture: we should repay our obligations, we should return to the person the favor or help we received.

In contrast, the folktale "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon" is less revealing of the culture. While it employs the usual participants (mother, children, and tiger) and props (Indian-millet cake, the sun, the moon, and the rope), they are easily transferrable to different cultural settings. I feel that in fact the story is not all that different from "The Wolf and the Seven Little Kids," with a tiger in place of a wolf. The theme is not culture-specific, either: a bad tiger is killed, so we should all be good. "The Hat Seller" also has few

culture-specific features. In this case even its participants and props are rather foreign to Koreans: (1) the hats--to be worn by men, women, children, and also monkeys in this story--seem to refer not to the traditional ones which are to be tied with strings but to the modern-style ones; and (2) monkeys, I doubt, have ever roamed around free in Korea; we see them only at the zoos.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.2.2 Structure of "The Story of Shim Chung"<sup>6</sup>

The text used for the present analysis is a simplified version written for children.<sup>7</sup> We Koreans grow up hearing or reading several versions of this story of a poor country girl who sacrifices herself for her blind father, and we sympathize with her and admire her strong filial piety. Hoping to gain his eyesight the father makes a critical mistake of promising to donate a large sum of rice to the temple. Since the family has no means of having so much rice, Shim Chung sells herself to seamen for rice as a sacrifice to the King of the Sea. After jumping into the sea, however, she comes alive in a lotus flower and becomes queen. Then she finds her father at a blind men's feast at the palace, and they live happily ever after.

I analyze the story as having the following slots: Aperture (Aper),<sup>8</sup> Stage (St), three episodes (Ep), and Closure (Cl). Each of the three episodes is expounded by an embedded discourse, which displays a discourse structure of its own. Figure 2 reflects my analysis of the syntagmatic structure of the story. Compare this figure with the tree diagram for a discourse in 3.1.4. The columns in Figure 2 show from left to right: how the surface structure slots are correlated with the plot structure slots; how many sentences (S) (some in drama (D) form in parentheses) are devoted

to each slot; which paragraphs (P.) correspond to each episode and stage; what the summary contents are for each; and what temporal and locational expressions and conjunctions (Tim/Loc/Conj) occur in narration at the boundaries.<sup>9</sup>

| Surface Slot                       | Plot Slot       | Sentence          | P.  | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj     |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----|--|------------------|
| Aperture                           |                 | 1                 | 1   | There is a girl named Shim Chung who is devoted to her father  | Once upon a time |
| Stage                              | Exposition      | 2-5               |     | Shim Chung grows up to be a devoted daughter and supports her widowed, blind father                                |                  |
| Ep 1<br>(Pre-Peak)<br><br>(Fig.3)  | Inciting Moment | 6-60<br>(9-60D)   | 2-3 | Shim Bongsu, her father, falls into a stream and promises rice to the monk; he tells Shim Chung about the incident | one day          |
| Ep 2<br>(Peak)<br><br>(Fig.4)      | Climax          | 61-82<br>(64-68D) | 4-6 | Shim Chung sells herself to the seamen for rice and jumps into the sea   | all too soon     |
| Ep 3<br>(Post-Peak)<br><br>(Fig.5) | Denouement      | 83-92<br>(90-91D) | 7-8 | Shim Chung comes out of the lotus and becomes queen; she reunites with her father                                  | after a while    |
| Closure                            | Conclusion      | 93                |     | Shim Bongsu lives happily with Shim Chung for a long time  | therefore        |

Figure 2. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Story of Shim Chung" (SC)



In terms of the three perspectives that Cassirer (1961) and Pike (1978a) refer to, the whole figure in the chart form reflects the field perspective of the overall structure of the narrative, while the lines between slots focus on the particle view in that we try to partition individual units by grouping elements. What is not obvious in the chart, therefore, is the wave perspective, which would be one of the major factors contributing to cohesion, i.e., a texture that makes the story a connected discourse. However, as soon as we start to read the contents in the contents column, we feel the flow of the discourse both in agent line and event line.<sup>10</sup> Since I try to capsulize the germinal ideas in each slot, the contents can only show the semantic or meaning side. In terms of surface, we can only glimpse the wave view in such time expressions as 'all too soon' and 'after a while' and in such conjunctions as 'therefore' and 'thus.' I think that these time and other expressions occurring at the boundaries serve double functions, in some sense, each contradicting the other: they serve to demarcate the paragraphs and episodes and also to provide cohesion across the boundaries.

Figure 2, however, is a simplified chart showing only the highest superordinate episodes in the story. To make it complete, we need to present the structures of the embedded discourses which expound the three episodes (see Figures 3-5).

By the very nature of being embedded, these embedded discourses are dependent on the larger context of the whole story. Thus, they may not be the whole in the semantic and pragmatic sense of the term "discourse," as discussed in Chapter 2. In this story the embedded discourse expounding Episode 1 presents the conflict of the situation, i.e., Shim Bongsa has

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot  | Sentence | P. | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|------------|----------|----|---|--------------|
| Stage        | Exposition | 6-8      | 2  | Shim Bongsu, her father, goes out to meet Shim Chung              | one day      |
| Peak         | Climax     | 9-36D    |    | He falls into a stream and promises rice to monk to open his eyes |              |
| Post-Peak    | Denouement | 37-60D   | 3  | When Shim Chung returns home, he tells her about the incident     |              |

Figure 3. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 1 of SC

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot          | Sentence          | P. | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|----|---|--------------|
| Stage        | Exposition         | 61-62             | 4  | It is near the day of donation; Shim Chung prays for her father   | all too soon |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment    | 63-68<br>(64-68D) |    | Shim Chung hears about the seamen from Kwiduck's mother   | one day      |
|              | Developing Tension | 69-74             | 5  | Shim Chung sells herself to the seaman for rice; they pay even more; neighbors console and cry                                |              |
| Peak         | Climax             | 75-82             | 6  | Shim Bongsu cries; Shim Chung goes aboard with seamen, who perform sacrificial rite in the sea; Shim Chung jumps into the sea |              |

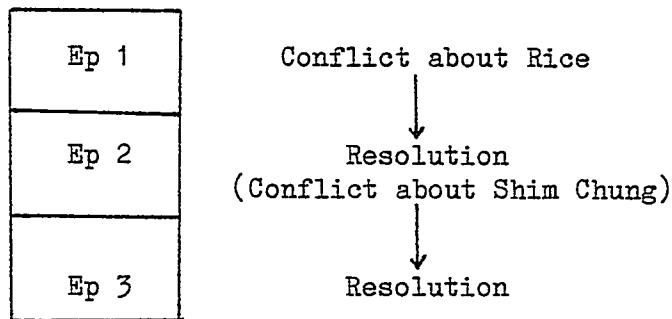
Figure 4. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of SC

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence          | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj  |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|----|--|---------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 83                | 7  | A lotus flower blooms in the sea and arrives at a seashore   | after a while |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 84-85             |    | Shim Chung comes out of the lotus and becomes queen  |               |
| Peak         | Climax          | 86-92<br>(90-91D) | 8  | Shim Chung invites all blind men to palace; Shim Chung reunites with her father, and he opens his eyes because of his strong wish to see her |               |

Figure 5. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 3 of SC

made a mistake of promising to donate 300 suks of rice without realizing that it is clearly beyond his ability. In Post-Peak (of Episode 1), encoding Denouement, his tension may have been partially relieved by telling his daughter about it and sharing the dilemma. However, the conflict itself is hanging there unresolved. The same is true with the embedded discourse expounding Episode 2. The poor girl sells herself to seamen as a sacrifice to the King of the Sea in return for the rice for the temple. Thus while the conflict of Episode 1 is resolved by getting rice from the seamen, a new conflict, much bigger than before, arises in this episode. Episode 2 ends with Shim Chung's prayer right before or at the moment of her jumping into the sea. Episode 3 resolves the second conflict through the magical happening of her coming back. Further resolution is made by her reunion as queen with her father. In addition, the blind man

magically opens his eyes at the reunion because of his strong wish to see his daughter. In other words, we have every conceivable conflict in the story resolved here, while we don't have any new one developing.



We can see from the above discussions how one embedded discourse differs semantically and pragmatically from the others, depending upon the position of embedding within the overall structure. On the other hand, looking at the structures of the embedded discourses (cf. Figures 3-5) grammatically, we find both surface and notional slots clearly marked by successive paragraphs. While stage most often is expounded by the beginning portion of a paragraph, pre-peak (PrP), peak (P), and post-peak (PoP) episodes are filled by paragraph-level units. If we had any of the episodes by another discourse consisting of several paragraphs, we would have a further layer of embedding. In arguing for wholeness of the discourse in Chapter 2, I considered the discourse in its independent form. But we need to recognize both dependent and independent varieties at the level of discourse as in any other structural level, just as dependent clauses, often defective in form, are nonetheless clauses.

The representation of the whole story as a structure containing embedded discourses reflects my belief that a story is not only linearly or syntagmatically organized but also hierarchically organized. We find a

similar approach in textlinguists such as van Dijk and Kintsch. Their notion of macro-structure, as the particular global content of a particular discourse, is possible only with the conceptualization of a discourse organization. With an orientation toward cognitive psychology in their attempt to understand human comprehension processes, van Dijk (1977b) and Kintsch (1977) utilize concepts like super-structures and frames. Thus, "super-structures are organizing principles of discourse" (van Dijk 1977b:18), which have a hierarchical character and define the global syntax of the text. On the other hand, frames are "organizing principles of semantic memory" (19) and "units of conventional knowledge according to which mutual expectations and interactions are organized" (21). Therefore, van Dijk and Kintsch both speculate that cognitive processing is a complex interaction of both ways, the top-down (schema or super-structure use) and the bottom-up (cues provided by the discourse--the inductive interpretation of a text using frames). As such, their approach represents a synthesis of two contrasting approaches to comprehension processes: (1) the syntactic or narrative grammar approach of Rumelhart (1975, 1977), in which the top-down process is emphasized; and (2) the semantic or inferential knowledge approach of Schank and Abelson (1977) and Black and Wilensky (1979), in which the bottom-up process of discriminating causal and other relationships between events is highlighted.

According to van Dijk (1977a,b), the macro-structure of a discourse is derived by macro-rules of generalization, deletion, construction, and selection (i.e., bottom-up), but is established at the time of comprehension--rather than at the time of recalling or summarizing--utilizing the conventional story schemata (i.e., top-down).

He argues that these macro-structures are what is stored in our long-term memory and what is reflected directly in summaries.

As for our memory, however, we all know that what we remember is not necessarily superordinate members in a hierarchy. Sometimes we remember a small and trivial item, usually in association with another item. I think we can explain this type of associative recollection, using the concept of frame (or script of Schank and Abelson 1977). Thus I find synthetic approach of the textlinguists plausible in accounting for discourse production, comprehension, and recollection.

When we relate their views to our story at hand, I think the level of three episodes in Figure 2 may coincide with the macro-structure of the story. In a more thorough level of macro-structure, we would have the episodes in the three embedded discourses. What I find exciting is the fact that we discover in the discourse itself some surface indications (e.g., time expressions) of these divisions, which van Dijk and Kintsch present as macro-structures mainly on a semantic basis.<sup>11</sup>

The story reveals an interesting division into two worlds right after Episode 2 between realistic and magical worlds, as shown by the double line in Figure 2. Up to that point, it is a possible-in-this-world story of a poor girl and her blind father. The resolutions at the Post-Peak episode, however, reflect supernatural features, possible only in the world of folktales: (1) Shim Chung comes alive in a lotus flower after supposedly drowning in the sea, and (2) the blind man, Shim Bongsa, opens his eyes at their reunion because of his strong wish to see his daughter, who he thought has been dead. In spite of this division into two worlds within a story, the two parts are connected closely. There are cohesive ties in

four prime points of reference as discussed by Erickson and E. Pike (1976), namely I-thou-now-here: i.e., the same participants (Shim Chung and her father), the same place (the sea), and the temporal sequence as indicated by the expression, 'after a while.' Across this dividing line there are mirror images which reflect reversals of items and conditions between positive and negative images.<sup>12</sup> Shim Chung goes into the sea before the line and comes out after, and she parts with him before and unites with him after. Other contrasts are also striking: Shim Chung as a poor country girl vs. as queen, and sadness vs. happiness.

When we look at the features marking each slot of the story, we notice that all five sentences in Stage include the past tense suffix, and S1 in addition carries the progressive aspect: sal-ko.iss-~~o~~ss-upnita (live-Prog-Past-fD) '. . . was living.' While English does not allow the progressive aspect with such verbs as live and know, we freely employ in Korean the progressive aspect with those verbs to denote continuing state. Without the progressive, they tend to designate a point in time. So al-at-ta(know-Past-D) '(I) knew (it suddenly)' implies a process, while al-ko.iss-~~o~~t-ta (know-Prog-Past-D) '(I) knew (it all along)' implies a state. Therefore, Korean stories most commonly start with a sentence with the existential verb, iss-~~o~~t-ta (exist-Past-D) 'there was . . .,' or sal-ko.iss-~~o~~t-ta (live-Prog-Past-D) 'there lived. . . .' The past tense in Stage describes prior events leading up to the main episodes of the story. I have noticed both past and present tense in stages.

The story in this version is unique in its employment of drama (defining drama as dialogues that proceed without the use of quotation formulas). Here the speakers' names are provided with colons, as the text

in Appendix A.1 shows. Only S92 has both direct speech and narration connected with the quotation marker in the same sentence. More commonly in Korean narratives dialogues occur with quotation formulas or with the latter dropped out completely at some points. Context, speech style, and speech level tell you who is speaking.

Drama occurs extensively in Episode 1 of this story, taking over fifty sentences from a story with ninety-three sentences. The use of drama certainly marks the initial high point of the story, the critical incident of the blind man's fall into a stream, which directly causes the following events to happen. At the Peak of Episode 1 the monk recites five times in dramatic form the same Buddhist script, Namuami.Thapul, Kwanseum.posal, which literally means 'save.us.merciful.Buddha, the.merciful.Goddess.' For most people in the culture, however, the recitation is not received with its meaning--which many do not even know--but as a representative script or something which all monks recite constantly as they beat wooden gongs. Thus the repetitive recitation of the same words by the monk gives an effect much like onomatopoeia. Also throughout Episode 1 we hear much lamenting of the blind father over his irrevocable mistake. Compared with Episode 1, the rest of the story moves along faster as narrative using very little drama. These features mark the Inciting Moment of the story in the readers' or hearers' mind.<sup>13</sup>

At the Peak of Episode 2 encoding the Climax of the episode as well as of the whole story, we have the following features:

(1) We have a crowded stage where not only the major participants but also the minor ones are present: Shim Chung, her father, seamen, and village people.



- (2) The heroine, who has been active and leading up to that time, becomes an undergoer. She certainly is thematic but not dominant here.
- (3) S79 employs the subject particle ka instead of the usual anaphoric topic particle nun for Shim Chung, possibly to spotlight the person rather than the action (cf. Chapter 5): 'Shim Chung-ka went aboard a ship following the seamen.'
- (4) As direct quotations, we have the sad father's lament and Shim Chung's prayer for her father. Specially, S76 is a rhetorical question type with a vocative 'baby': 'Baby! What's the use of (my eyes) if I lose you and open my eyes?'
- (5) There is the onomatopoeic sound of the drum, tung.tung, while the seamen are having a sacrificial rite.
- (6) Finally, there is a kind of "minus device." The very climactic event of her jumping into the sea is not narrated. We only presume that she must have done so right after or while saying her prayer in S82. I think the function of this device may be to double the impact on the reader, who, in identification with the heroine, may tend to resist the obvious sequence of events.

In Episode 3, the Pre-peak encoding the Inciting Moment is simply narrated in three sentences, in which Shim Chung comes alive in a lotus flower and becomes queen. Her reunion with her father and the opening of his eyes magically at Peak mark the finale with drama in three sentences that represent a crowded stage. Unlike the Peak of the whole story (i.e., overlaying Peak in Episode 2), however, the stage is crowded this time with people at a feast, who are not directly related to the story as a whole.

The overall structure of the story can now be represented as a profile that shows three peaks in three embedded discourses but the middle one higher than the other two.

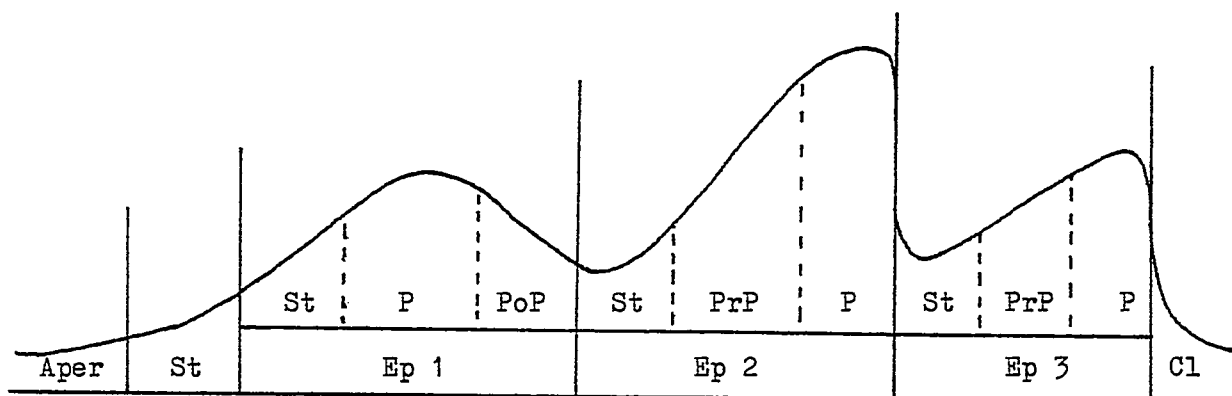


Figure 6. Profile of "The Story of Shim Chung"

While Episode 1 has Post-Peak but lacks Pre-Peak, the other two episodes have Pre-Peak with no Post-Peak. Thus the profile curve drops sharply after Episode 2 and Episode 3. The curved line in the profile clearly indicates the wave view; cohesion is shown by one connected line and prominence is shown by the height of the profile from the bottom base.

### 3.2.3. Structure of "The Beauty and the Monk"

The overall structure of this discourse displays a unique feature in that there are a prologue (Prol) and an epilogue (Epil), both of which relate the story proper to the outer setting of the pagoda, as the double lines in Figure 7 show. Thus the beginning sentences 1 and 2 introduce the pagoda with a legend, serving as the prologue for the whole story. Then, S28 at the end serves as the epilogue, relating the story back to the pagoda.

| Surface Slot           | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P.  | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj                   |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| Prologue               |                 | 1-2      | 1   | There is a legend about the Brother-Sister Pagoda   | Behind the Tonghak Temple      |
| Stage                  | Exposition      | 3        | 2   | A monk is holding Buddhist masses alone   |                                |
| Ep 1 (Pre-Peak)        | Inciting Moment | 4-12     |     | A tiger cries sadly; the monk helps by pulling out a hair-rod from its throat                         | One day in the middle of night |
| Ep 2 (Peak)<br>(Fig.8) | Climax          | 13-26    | 3-4 | The tiger brings a woman to him; she refuses to go back to her home and wants to stay with her savior | It was dawn several days later |
| Closure                | Conclusion      | 27       |     | She becomes his sister and devotes herself to Buddhism as a lady monk                                 | Therefore                      |
| Epilogue               |                 | 28       | 5   | Later people erect pagoda to commemorate them   |                                |

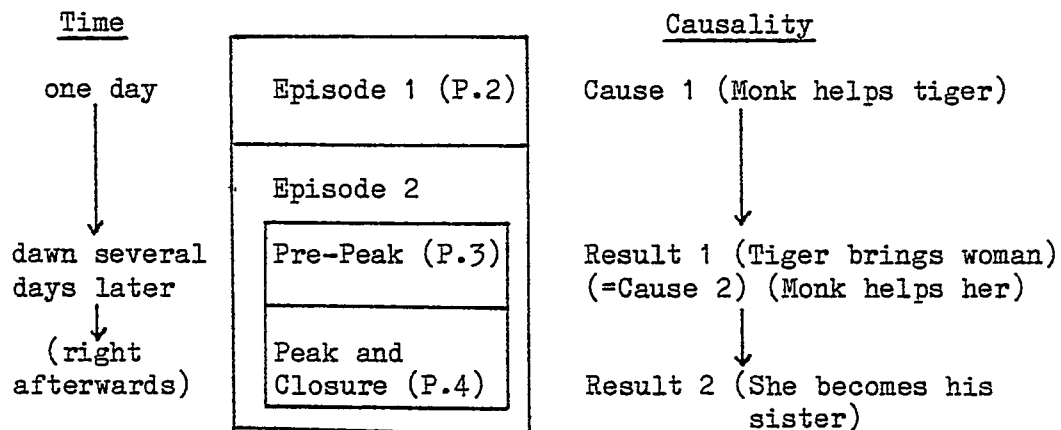
Figure 7. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Beauty and the Monk" (BM)

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P. | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj                   |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|----|---|--------------------------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 13-14    | 3  | A tiger's roar is heard again   | it was dawn several days later |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 15-20    |    | The tiger brings a woman to the monk; he revives her                  |                                |
| Peak         | Climax          | 21-26    | 4  | She refuses to go back to her home and wants to stay with her savior  |                                |
| Closure      | Conclusion      | 27       |    | She becomes his sister and devotes herself to Buddhism as a lady monk | therefore                      |

Figure 8. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of BM

The major participant, the monk, is introduced in S3, which forms the Stage for the story. Episode 1 functions as the Inciting Moment, which gives the story an initial momentum to move along. Here the monk helps a tiger by pulling out a woman's hair-rod from its throat. Episode 2 is expounded by an embedded discourse consisting of two paragraphs 3 and 4. Sentence 27 serves as a portmanteau closure for both Episode 2 and the whole story, in that it provides a conclusion to the discourse embedded in Episode 2 as well as to the overall discourse. It is not unusual to have portmanteau stage and closure that simultaneously serve for both the embedded discourse and the overall discourse. We find these in other stories, e.g., "The Water Cicada" (cf. 3.2.8) and "This Kind of Concert" (cf. 3.2.9). At the Pre-Peak in Episode 2 the tiger brings a woman to the monk as a gesture of gratitude. Thinking that the monk has saved her from the tiger, the girl decides to stay with her savior at Peak (Paragraph 4).

Thus the three paragraphs (P2-4) in this simple story are connected both temporally and causally. Episode 1 causes the next episode to happen, for the tiger wants to repay the monk; and in Episode 2, Peak and Closure happen due to Pre-Peak event, for now the girl wants to repay the monk. The temporal and causal chains may be shown as follows, where I have supplied the time expression 'right afterwards' for paragraph 4 to make the temporal chain complete:



It is interesting to notice that the discourse does not explicitly provide the reason for the tiger's bringing the woman to the monk, whereas S24 gives the causal connection between paragraphs 3 and 4 in Episode 2. Thus in an experiment,<sup>14</sup> in which I had subjects write summaries of this story, two out of five Americans did not include Episode 1 in their summaries, whereas all six Koreans did. For Koreans Episode 1 was the necessary antecedent causing the whole chain of events. One American subject said that he had completely forgotten the first part, perhaps because the structure in this part of the story did not fit to his expectation derived from the conventional schema. While the Koreans felt that the story was well formed with recognizable chains of causal and

temporal relationships, for some Americans it was ill formed and loose in its structure. This may be a point where the schemata differ for two cultures, as Kintsch and van Dijk (1975) earlier report that an Apache Indian narrative schema is distinct from those familiar to English-speaking American students, who felt that the Apache myth about the origin of corn and deer was weird in structure and had difficulty recalling and summarizing it.<sup>15</sup>

The reasons, which form the causal chain, directly reflect the theme of the story. It teaches us to be grateful and to repay the favors we receive. Even an animal knows it and practices it; certainly we humans should do it, too. However, the theme was not apparent for some American subjects in the experiment. An American subject gave as its theme: kindness of a monk and his strong character, in that he is kind enough to help a tiger and that he would not sacrifice his role of being monk in order to marry the woman. So this comparative experiment seems to indicate that there is a difference in degree of perceiving themes and causal dependencies between peoples who are familiar with the background cultural assumption and those who are not.

Looking at the surface features marking each slot, we first of all notice the present tense in the prologue, telling about the pagoda which still stands. Then S3 in Stage is in the past tense with the progressive aspect, as the first sentence in "The Story of Shim Chung." As the story develops into main episodes, the past tense is employed regularly right through the epilogue (except the three sentences at Peak).

An unusual feature of the story occurs in the Pre-Peak episodes of the discourse embedded in Episode 2. Here the Inciting Moment is possibly

the most dramatic action represented in the embedded discourse. The event that the tiger brings a woman to the monk and disappears is told in one long run-on sentence (S16), which consists of four coordinate clauses, one modifying (or relative) clause, one subordinate clause, and an independent clause:

## Example 1

- (BM 16) (1) *Kha-n holangi-ka ottŏn yŏin-ul ŏp-ko*  
           big-prM tiger-SP certain woman-OP carry-and
- (2) *wa-sŏ*  
       come-and
- (3) *ul-ko.it-taka*  
       cry-Prog-while
- (4) *sanim-i nao-nan*                   (5) *kŏs-ul po-ja*  
       monk-SP come.out-prM fact-OP see-as.soon.as
- (6) *ka yŏin-ul ttang-e nŏlyŏ.no-kho-nan*  
       the woman-OP ground-at put.down-and-TP
- (7) *ŏsullŏng.ŏsullŏng salajy-ŏ.pŏly-ŏt-ta.*  
       (manner.of.slow.walk) disappear-Compl-Past-D

'A big tiger came carrying a woman and was crying; then as soon as (he) saw the monk coming out, (he) put the woman on the ground and disappeared slowly.'

It is the longest sentence in the text with the greatest number of clauses. Moreover, coordinate clauses, not the independent clause, report the important events, which is the reverse from the usual practice of having the independent clause encode the important information (cf. Chapter 4). The manner of the tiger's walking slowly is given in expressive onomatopoeic terms, i.e., ŏsullŏng.ŏsullŏng (a manner of slow walk), in contrast to S10, where the tiger disappears wagging its tail, but not in that manner. All these factors fit more to the peak than to an ordinary

episode. However, in terms of the overall structure, I attribute this unusual feature in only one sentence in an episode of eight sentences to the fact that these sentences constitute the Inciting Moment of Episode 2.

At the Peak (which encodes Climax), all of a sudden, we hear about the reason for each move. Moreover, each reason sentence is an independent sentence of its own in the present tense. This is a story without any direct quotations (the only one among the eight stories). So the usage of the present in the midst of the past directly shows the fact that the author uses it purposefully. All three reason sentences could have been in the usual past tense without impairing the story line itself.

|                    | <u>Past</u> |        | <u>Present</u>  |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|-----------------|
| He advised         | S21         | <----- | S22 Because ... |
| She refused        | S23         | <----- | S24 Because ... |
| He was embarrassed | S25         | <----- | S26 Because ... |

I think this use of three independent sentences encoding reason stands out in a discourse in which there is no other sentence giving reason. The employment of the present tense makes it doubly prominent, marking the Peak.

After the Peak, the story proper abruptly closes with one sentence (S27) resolving the whole situation: she becomes his sister and lady monk. Sentence 27 consists of two non-final coordinate clauses (which are both high in information-importance scale, as presented in Chapter 4), and a final clause:



## Example 2

- (BM 27) (1) Therefore, (the monk) took her as a sister,  
 (2) cut (her) hair,  
 (3) and devoted (himself) to Buddhism together (with her).

In this sentence, contrary to usual practice, the non-final clauses report more important events than the final clause. This unusual feature may contribute to highlight its semantic prominence.

I want to report briefly about the summarization experiment mentioned above in order to see how some of the unusual surface features relate to semantic prominence. The following table shows what are included in summaries, with the numbers referring to the sentence numbers in the story, i.e., if the summary includes the meaning conveyed by S1, I marked 1, etc.<sup>14</sup>

|      |                |    |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    |    |  |
|------|----------------|----|--|--|----|--------------|--|--|--|----|----|--|
| St   | 3              |    |  |  |    | 3            |  |  |  |    | 3  |  |
| Ep 1 | 4              |    |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    | 4  |  |
|      | 7              |    |  |  |    | 6            |  |  |  |    |    |  |
|      | 8              |    |  |  |    | 8            |  |  |  |    |    |  |
|      | 9              |    |  |  |    | 9            |  |  |  |    | 9  |  |
| PrP  | 16             |    |  |  |    | 16           |  |  |  |    | 16 |  |
|      | 16             |    |  |  |    | 16           |  |  |  |    | 16 |  |
|      | 16             |    |  |  |    | 16           |  |  |  |    | 16 |  |
|      | 16             |    |  |  |    | 16           |  |  |  |    | 16 |  |
| Ep 2 | 17             |    |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    | 17 |  |
|      | 18             |    |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    | 18 |  |
|      | 20             |    |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    | 20 |  |
|      | P              | 21 |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    |    |  |
|      |                | 22 |  |  |    |              |  |  |  |    |    |  |
| 23   |                |    |  |  | 23 |              |  |  |  |    |    |  |
| 24   |                |    |  |  | 24 |              |  |  |  | 24 |    |  |
| C1   | 24             |    |  |  |    | 24           |  |  |  |    | 24 |  |
|      | 26             |    |  |  |    | 26           |  |  |  |    | 26 |  |
| Epil | 26             |    |  |  |    | 26           |  |  |  |    | 26 |  |
|      | 27             |    |  |  |    | 27           |  |  |  |    | 27 |  |
| C1   | 27             |    |  |  |    | 27           |  |  |  |    | 27 |  |
|      | 27             |    |  |  |    | 27           |  |  |  |    | 27 |  |
| Epil | 27             |    |  |  |    | 27           |  |  |  |    | 27 |  |
|      | 28             |    |  |  |    | 28           |  |  |  |    | 28 |  |
| Epil | 28             |    |  |  |    | 28           |  |  |  |    | 28 |  |
|      | 28             |    |  |  |    | 28           |  |  |  |    | 28 |  |
|      | American Group |    |  |  |    | Korean Group |  |  |  |    |    |  |

Figure 9. Statements Included in Summaries of "The Beauty and the Monk" as Shown by Sentence Numbers in Text

Every summary included S16 and 27. We have seen the unusual features of both sentences. Also we notice from the table that the subjects picked up as important the two reason sentences in the present tense, S24 and 26, occurring at the Peak. This result of the experiment seems to support the hypothesis that marking by unusual features serve to highlight the content of the sentences.

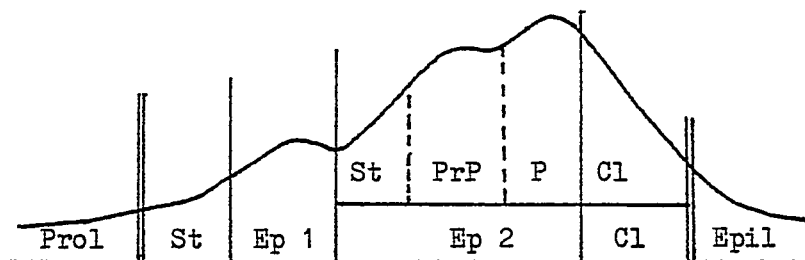


Figure 10. Profile of The Beauty and the Monk

In Figure 10 I draw the profile of this short folktale with double lines marking off the prologue and epilogue. By a little protrusion in the Pre-Peak Episode of Episode 2, I have tried to show the peak-like feature of S16. I put Closure (Cl) for both Episode 2 and the whole story in order to show that it is a portmanteau.

#### 3.2.4. Structure of "The Grateful Magpies"

This story is about an incident of a young man on his way to Seoul. He saves baby magpies from danger by killing a snake that threatened them. Later when he confronts the wife snake who tries to avenge her husband, the snake offers to spare him on the condition that he will live if he rings the bell which hangs high on the belfry and has no rope. Unexpectedly, the bell rings and he is saved, for the parent magpies ring the bell; but they

die in doing so. So the young man is the main character appearing throughout the story, and the magpies appear only at the beginning and end. The title *The Grateful Magpies* suggests the didactic theme of repayment; the parent magpies repay their debts to this young man who has saved their babies. These birds kill themselves as they try to ring the bell with their little heads and bodies in order to save the man from the snake. Thus it reflects the fact that the theme of repaying one's debt or kindness takes precedence over the revenge theme of the snake.

Figure 11 reflects my analysis of the story's syntagmatic structure with three episodes. The story also divides into three paragraphs of uneven length. Episode 2, encoding the Climax, is much longer than the other two, and it is in this episode that the young man confronts twice the wife snake who tries to kill him to avenge her husband snake.

Semantically, paragraph 2 divides into three sections:

- S9-12 The young man rests at a woman's (who later turns out to be a snake) house for night.
- S13-28 He wakes up to find a snake, who tries to avenge her husband, coiled around his body and he pleads; and the snake disappears after saying that he will live if the bell rings three times.
- S29-38 The belfry is too high for him to ring the bell, but the bell rings unexpectedly when the snake pounces upon him. So the snake disappears with a sad face.

Grammatically, however, the boundaries are not clearly marked to warrant independent paragraph divisions; rather the three sections together form a long paragraph with smaller paragraphs embedded within it. This reflects the fact that a unit in any structural level is not a unit based on its

| Surface Slot     | Plot Slot       | Sentence      | P. | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj  |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|----|---|---|
| Stage            | Exposition      | 1-2           | 1  | A young man walks in the mountains on his way to Seoul for exam   | in a deep and deep mountain                             |
| Ep 1 (Pre-Peak)  | Inciting Moment | 3-8           |    | He saves baby magpies from getting killed and eaten by a snake  | one day   |
| Ep 2 (Peak)      | Climax          | 9-38 (16-21D) | 2  | He confronts the wife snake who tries to avenge; at his plea the snake says he will live if bell rings; he is unable to ring it; when snake attacks him the bell rings unexpectedly | after going for a while when the day grew late and dark |
| Ep 3 (Post-Peak) | Denouement      | 39-43         | 3  | He finds that daddy and mommy magpies died with broken heads in ringing the bell  | as soon as it was light                                 |
| Closure          | Conclusion      | 44            |    | He makes a grave for magpies  |   |

Figure 11. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Grateful Magpies" (GM)

size or length but one based on its structure relative to the higher-level unit.

Alternatively, we might set up an embedded discourse filled by three paragraphs for this long episode. Although I view it as consisting of a long paragraph based on the general criteria for recognizing the unit "paragraph" as the level between the sentence and the discourse, we may alternatively analyze it as consisting of three paragraphs corresponding to the three semantic divisions. Then these three paragraphs would form an embedded discourse, which expounds Episode 2. As pointed out by Longacre (1976), a unit at one level has characteristics similar to its contiguous levels. Thus the paragraph is similar to both the sentence (in that it is combinations of predications) and the discourse (in its internal structure of setting, build-ups, climax, and terminus).

Next we want to look at the linguistic features occurring at each slot. The two sentences at Stage mark off-the-line verb forms (cf. Chapter 4). The verb of S1 is in the past progressive form, which is commonly used at stage for an ensuing state as in "The Story of Shim Chung" and "The Beauty and the Monk." S2 gives an explanation as to why the young man walks deep in the mountains; its verb is in the present tense.

Episode 1 reflects the tension of the Inciting Moment (with regard to the baby magpies) with a few linguistic features. In S5 we have the sounds of magpies: kkak.kkak.kkak. S7 is a compound sentence of two parts, each with a complex structure. The progressive aspect seems to show the urgency of the situation:

## Example 3

|        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| (GM 7) | <u>Part 1</u>   | <u>Part 2</u>   |
|        | A big snake was rolling<br>its tongue in and out<br>(to eat baby magpies) | mommy and daddy magpies<br>were crying for help<br>(to save the babies)<br>(flying up and down) |
|        | -ko<br>'and'  |   |

The final sentence of the episode suddenly resolves the situation with a long sentence consisting of five clauses:

## Example 4

- (GM 8) (1) The young man couldn't pass (them) as they were  
(2) so (he) shot the snake with (his) arrow  
(3) and let (it) fall,  
(4) thus saving the baby magpies, and nun 'TP'  
(5) went on (his) way again.

Here again, contrary to the usual practice of having the most important information in the independent clause (cf. Chapter 4), the dependent clauses carry more important information. Certainly, the fact that he shoots the snake and saves the baby magpies carry heavier information load than the fact that he resumes his journey. This last fact in the independent clause, however, provides a cohesive tie to the next episode and its events. I consider the topic particle nun in the fourth clause to be marking some sort of prominence also. In the next chapter I try to treat this function of the topic particle occurring after verbs systematically in the scale of information importance. These off-normal characteristics in Episode 1, I feel, mark this episode as encoding Inciting Moment in the profile of the story (See the bump over Episode 1 in Figure 12). As is often the case, the linguistic reflexes and the semantic tension go side by side to a remarkable degree.

In Episode 2 we see features of peak, corresponding to the young man's crisis. The sentence reporting the initial crisis reads:

## Example 5

(GM 13) Kalónte                      jam.kyól-e              hato      sum-i  
 such.being.the.case      while.asleep-at so              breath-SP

mak-hi-nan.kót.kajhi      tap.tap.hä-sø      nun-ul      ttø-po-ni      a  
 block-Passive-as.if      feel.heavy-so      eye-OP      open-see-then      ah

kitung-kajhi      kulk-an                      kuløngi-ka      mom-ul  
 pillar-like      be.thick-prM              snake-SP              body-OP

jhing.jhing.kam-ko      ka      säppalka-n              hyøt.patak-ul  
 coil.tightly-and      the      bright.red-prM              tongue.tip-OP

nallam.køli-ko.ij-ji.an-khess-øyo?  
 roll.in.and.out-Prog-Neg-Presum-sfQ

'Then, during the sleep, (he) feels heavy as if (he is) suffocating, so (he) opens the eyes; ah, a thick snake like a pillar has coiled (his) body around tightly and is rolling (its) bright red tongue in and out.'

The final verb of this sentence is in the present tense and carries the suffixes for the progressive and presumptive aspects and the negative and interrogative modes. It is difficult to render a reasonable translation into English if we are to reflect these markers. Perhaps the closest would be something like this: '. . . ah, isn't it that a thick snake like a pillar has coiled (his) body around tightly and is rolling (its) bright red tongue in and out?' All these suffixes on the final verb normally indicate off-the-line and supportive material, but here at Peak they seem to function in just the opposite way. Instead of marking the event as unimportant, the features serve to heighten as if the event is happening right now in front of us.

The verb of S30, which occurs in the latter half of the Peak, is also in the present tense, which functions to heighten vividness. The sentence read: 'The time goes by continuously, but there is no way to ring the bell.' It reiterates the fact, already given in S29, but the reference to the passage of time augments the tension.

The story rolls along in drama in sentences 16 through 21. This is the only place where drama occurs in the story. In the rest of the tale we have dialogues with quotation formulas. Thus starting from S22, we go back to dialogues mixed with narration, when the sequence of events turns into a new phase, i.e., the snake presents to the man a conditional proposal that he needs to ring the bell three times in order to live. When the snake reappears and pounces upon the man, we hear the bell ring three times as part of the narrative sentence: ttengkalong.ttengkalong.ttengkalong 'clang, clang, clang.' These bell sounds bring about the role reversal and the snake disappears without avenging her husband snake.

In sum, the Peak episode has the following features: (1) the off-the-line aspects and modes in S13 in reporting the initial crisis of the man, (2) the present tense in S13 and 30, (3) drama and dialogues between the man and the snake, (4) the onomatopoeic bell sounds, and (5) the snake's monologues in S32-33 and 37.

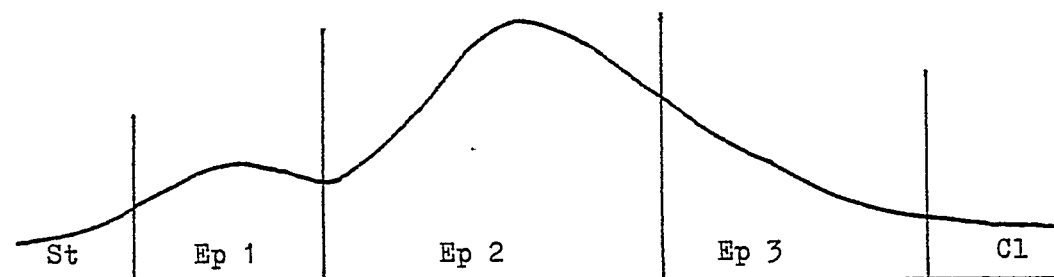


Figure 12., Profile of "The Grateful Magpies"



Figure 12 represents the folktale in its profile. There is a little bump over Episode 1, while the high point comes in Episode 2 before descending to the final episode.

### 3.2.5. Structure of "The Ungrateful Tiger"

This is a story about a traveller who saves a tiger from a trap. The animal then tries to eat him. So, the man turns around to hear opinions from a bull and a pine tree; both say that people are bad to them. Finally, a rabbit as a judge asks the tiger to replay the happening, and thus gets the tiger to go back into the trap. As *The Beauty and the Monk* and *The Grateful Magpies*, it teaches us that we have to be grateful for the help of others and further that we will be punished if we are not grateful and if we do not repay a kindness. From the man's point of view, perhaps it also tells us not to meddle in somebody else's business (unless there is a strong reason to do so). We can say that the man is indeed stupid to trust a tiger enough to save him, without taking account of the fact that he has been killing people. It also suggests that the interests of the two worlds, the world of people and the world of animals and plants are in conflict. Both the bull and the pine tree accuse people of exploiting them.

It is a very dynamic folktale, in which not only the person talks but also animals--tiger, bull, and rabbit--and even the pine tree. Besides, all the speeches are in drama form; not even a single speech is reported either in narrative or in dialogue with quotation formulas. In fact, the narrative prose proper includes only seven sentences (S1-3, 11-12, 55-56) out of the 56 sentences in the story. Accordingly, we see only a few temporal and locational expressions. Only one such expression 'at this

time' occurs at a paragraph boundary. Analytically, we have a different sort of situation here. Thus, it is difficult to tell divisions among main structural slots, e.g., where Peak is, since all the episodes are in the vivid form of drama. To begin with, we have to resort to the content of the reported speeches themselves to find out changes of participant reference. The latter, however, once identified, give strong clues for making divisions into paragraphs.

| Surface Slot                       | Plot Slot       | Sentence                  | P.  | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj                      |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| Aperture                           |                 | 1                         | 1   | There is a tiger who often kills people  | once upon a time deep in the mts. |
| Stage                              | Exposition      | 2                         |     | People set traps for the tiger; he is trapped  | therefore                         |
| Ep 1<br>(Pre-Peak)<br><br>(Fig.14) | Inciting Moment | 3-20<br>(4-10D<br>13-20D) | 2-3 | A traveller sees the tiger and saves him; then the tiger tries to eat the man                  | at this time                      |
| Ep 2<br>(Peak)<br><br>(Fig.15)     | Climax          | 21-55<br>(21-54D)         | 4-6 | A bull and a pine tree say that people are bad; a rabbit makes the tiger go back into the trap |                                   |
| Closure                            | Conclusion      | 56                        |     | The tiger is crying in the trap  |                                   |

Figure 13. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Ungrateful Tiger" (UT)

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence        | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|--|--------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 3               | 2  | A traveller sees the tiger   | at this time |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 4-12<br>(4-10D) |    | The man saves the tiger, for he begs and promises not to harm people |              |
| Peak         | Climax          | 13-20D          | 3  | The tiger tries to eat the man                                       |              |

Figure 14. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 1 of UT

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot          | Sentence          | P. | Contents   | Time/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|----|--|---------------|
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment    | 21-30D            | 4  | A bull says that people are bad  |               |
|              | Developing Tension | 31-38D            | 5  | A pine tree also says that people are bad  |               |
| Peak         | Climax             | 39-55<br>(39-54D) | 6  | A rabbit as a judge makes the tiger go back into the trap in replaying the event |               |

Figure 15. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of UT

Figure 13 shows that I analyze the story as consisting of two episodes. Two discourses are embedded in these episodes as shown in Figures 14 and 15. Based on the change of participant reference, I set up these two episodes: the tiger and the traveller interact in the first episode; whereas in the second, new participants--a bull, a pine tree, and a rabbit--are referred to.

In this story it is noteworthy that the event in which the tiger falls into a trap is reported in Stage. One long sentence (S2) reports a whole series of happenings, which could have taken a whole paragraph or an episode:

#### Example 6

(UT 2) 'Therefore, the village people who lived near the mountains went up a mountain one day and dug several traps on the tiger run; that same night the tiger fell into a trap.'

Although the final verb carries completive aspect and past tense, the event given in this brief manner belongs to Stage encoding Exposition. In other words, it sets out the stage for the successive episodes. Once in the episodes, we hear detailed conversations among participants in drama form.

In Episode 1 the Pre-Peak episode filled by paragraph 2 encodes Inciting Moment, in which the man believes the tiger's words and saves him from the trap. Paragraph 3 corresponds to surface Peak and notional Climax of this short embedded discourse, in that the tiger, now out of the trap, tries to eat the man, his savior. In addition to this role reversal in this paragraph filled by drama with no narration, the man actively tries to defend himself, explicitly discussing with the tiger the story theme of repaying kindness with gratitude.

In Episode 2 the first two episodes are Pre-Peak while the last is Peak. This Peak is also the story Peak and marked by the following features: (1) it is the climactic point of the story where the roles of the participants reverse back to the way they were before Episode 1 begins; (2) double vocatives are used for rabbit by the traveller, who is by now desperate to get any help: 'Rabbit, rabbit, how in the world could this kind of thing happen?' (S44); (3) unlike in the Pre-Peak (where a bull and a pine tree voice their opinions on people), the man pleads for help, starting with explanations as to how it all happened (S45), and to which the tiger replies speaking his own side of the story (S46); and (4) in S55 we have two onomatopoeic expressions: pangkat 'manner of smiling' and kkangjhung.kkangjhung 'manner of hopping.'

Notice in the story how the original state in Stage is restored at Closure for both the tiger and the man:

|           | <u>Tiger</u> | <u>Traveller</u>           |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------------|
| Stage:    | In-trap      | Passing-by (not-in-danger) |
| Episodes: | Out-of trap  | In-danger                  |
| Closure:  | In-trap      | Out-of-danger              |

I show the profile of this folktale as follows, in which the highest point drops off sharply into Closure.

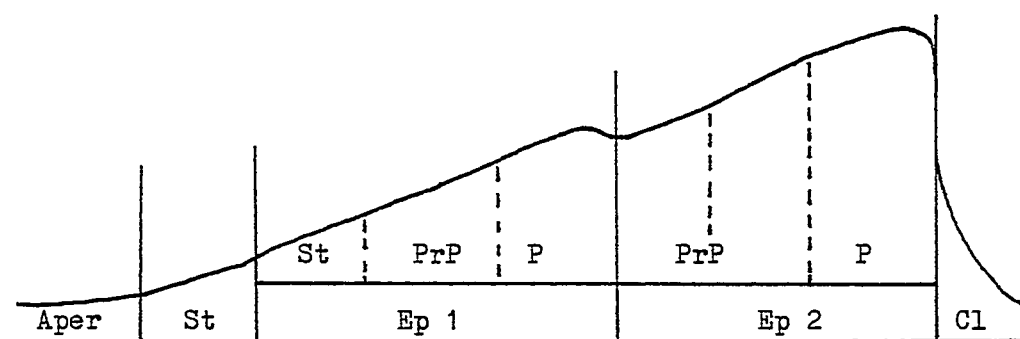


Figure 16. Profile of "The Ungrateful Tiger"

This profile is unique in its steady rise toward the end and in its sharp drop into Closure.

### 3.2.6. Structure of "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon"

This is a tale about the brother and sister who try to escape from a tiger and in the process become the two most important celestial bodies visible to human beings. The tiger first snatches up all the cakes from mother on her way home and then disguises himself as the mother. So after a long verbal interaction in drama form between the tiger and the children, they open the door to him thinking that their mother is home now. They escape to the top of the tree but tell the tiger how to come up the tree after trying to fool him once. Then they pray to God for a rope and go up to the sky. When the tiger prays the same, he receives a rotten rope and falls dead. In the sky the boy becomes the moon and the girl becomes the sun, so together they shine on the world.

As mentioned above (3.2.1) this story is less revealing of the Korean culture than the four folktales we have discussed. Thus it is not clear whether it is a Korean folktale or an adaptation of a Western story. I suspect of the latter possibility since (1) its story line and plot

structure are not very different from those familiar with the Western mind, e.g., "The Wolf and Seven Little Kids" or "Little Red Riding Hood" (although neither give cosmic explanation as found at Closure of this story), and (2) the association of male with the moon and of female with the sun (as stated in S56 at Closure) is the reverse of my expectation (see below).

Lévi-Strauss (1976) wrote a chapter called "The Sex of the Sun and Moon," in which he surveyed genders of the words denoting those two celestial bodies in a number of languages and myths associated with them. While in some cultures the sun is viewed as male and the moon as female, in others it is the reverse. When the two have distinct genders, they may be brother and sister, husband and wife, even both at the same time, or unrelated.

In our story the brother becomes the moon and the sister becomes the sun (S56). From my knowledge and background of Korean culture, however, it is more likely to have male associated with the sun and the female with the moon. The yin-yang opposition in the Oriental cultures, originating from Chinese philosophy as the dual cosmic forces, correlates with female-male, shade-light, the moon and the sun, the passive and active, night-day, etc. This also points toward the reverse association. The association implied in the title, on the other hand, is congruent with my expectation, male with the sun and female with the moon. Perhaps it is due to the fact that Korean has a compound word for 'brother-sister' (o.nui) but not for 'sister-brother.' For the latter we have to use two nouns, as in English, connected with wa 'and': nui-wa oppa 'sister and brother.' I suspect that in the process of adapting the story into the Korean language the closure

| Surface Slot                       | Plot Slot       | Sentence                    | P.  | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj     |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----|--|------------------|
| Aperture                           |                 | 1                           | 1   | There is family of three   | Once upon a time |
| Stage                              | Exposition      | 2                           |     | Widowed mother works over a hill to support her son and daughter   |                  |
| Ep 1<br>(Pre-Peak)<br><br>(Fig.18) | Inciting Moment | 3-15<br>(5-9D)              | 2-3 | Leaving for work, she warns them to keep door locked; on her way home a tiger snatches up all her cakes for the children             | one day          |
| Ep 2<br>(Peak)<br><br>(Fig.19)     | Climax          | 16-47<br>(18-37D<br>39-47D) | 4-5 | Tiger disguises self as mother; children finally open the door; then they go up the tree and let him know how to come up the tree    | at this time     |
| Ep 3<br>(Post-Peak)                | Denouement      | 48-55                       | 6   | Children pray to God, asking for a rope, and they go up to the sky. Tiger prays to God for a rope also but dies falling into a field |                  |
| Closure                            | Conclusion      | 56                          |     | The brother becomes the moon and the sister becomes the sun  |                  |

Figure 17. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon" (SM)



| Surface Slot | Plot Slot  | Sentence       | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj           |
|--------------|------------|----------------|----|--|------------------------|
| Stage        | Exposition | 3              | 2  | Leaving for work, mother warns the children to keep door locked    | one day                |
| Peak         | Climax     | 4-14<br>(5-9D) | 3  | On her way home a tiger snatches up all her cakes for the children | as soon as it got dark |
| Closure      | Conclusion | 15             |    | Mother is going back home empty-handed                             |                        |

Figure 18. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 1 of SM

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence          | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|----|--|--------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 16-17             | 4  | Tiger disguises self as mother and goes to children  | At this time |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 18-37D            |    | Children do not open the door because of his rough hand, but later open it seeing their mother's sock on tiger |              |
| Peak         | Climax          | 38-47<br>(39-47D) | 5  | Children go up the tree and let him know how to come up the tree after trying to trick him once                |              |

Figure 19. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of SM

sentence is retained as the same and the title is made using the compound word o.nui 'brother-sister' as a sort of a collective entity.

In Figure 17 I analyze the syntagmatic structure of the story, which shows three episodes in the main body. Two discourses, each consisting of two paragraphs, are embedded in the first two episodes. The onsets of these episodes are marked by temporal expressions 'one day' and 'at this time.' There is a change of participant references between the first two episodes: from mother's interaction with a tiger, to the children's interaction with him. Between Episodes 2 and 3 there is also a change in interaction, from tiger vs. children, to children and God as well as tiger and God. Thus in terms of participants interacting each other, the three episodes are different from one another:

- Ep 1     Mother vs. Tiger
- Ep 2     Children vs. Tiger
- Ep 3     Children and God  
          Tiger and God

In Episode 3 the dynamic interplay of dialogue in drama between the tiger and children suddenly fades out. All we hear in quoted speech is the children's prayer in S48-49, which invokes a new addressee hanunim 'God.' Between Episodes 2 and 3 there is also a change in terms used in participant reference to children. At Stage they are first introduced as atal 'son' and ttal 'daughter' relative to the widowed mother. Then they are regularly called ai-tal (child-P1) 'children' and then o.nui 'brother-sister' (in S38). In Episode 3, all of a sudden, the children refer to themselves in the prayer as tu nammā 'two brother-sister' (in which nammā is a compound word derived from Chinese characters in contrast

to o.nui which is a vernacular word). In S52 the narrator himself refers to them as tu nammä. The progressive change of these terms signals detachment, probably associated with their fate.

These abrupt changes between Episodes 2 and 3 correlate with a division between natural and supernatural worlds, analogous to that found in "The Story of Shim Chung." In both stories, the conflict in the Climax in Episode 2 is so great that the resolution is made through magical solutions. In each the heightened tension at Peak is suddenly released in Post-Peak episode by calm and detached narrations. The mirror image across Episodes 2 and 3 in this story is reflected in role reversal, tiger-dominant vs. tiger-death, children-being-chased-by-a-tiger vs. children-free-from-him. A further mirror image may be chaos vs. order, and earth vs. sky. The latter is shown by locational nouns employed in narration: 'forest' and 'back-yard' (both earth-bound) vs. 'sky' and 'space.' I noticed an interesting point in the use of nouns in Episode 3 between 'sky' and 'space.' Whenever it is used with the children, the place is hanal 'sky' (S50, 51, and 56), but with the tiger it is kongjung 'space' (S55). I think the association of the sky (hanal) with God (hannim 'God' < hanal 'sky' + -nim Honorific suffix) is obvious. The concept of the sky where God exists is clearly (but perhaps subconsciously) avoided in relation with the bad tiger; it is merely a 'space' for him.

As for the linguistic features of slots, we have at Stage two sentences in the past progressive form, which is typical for this slot as we have observed in other stories. In Episode 1, encoding Inciting Moment, we have the past tense verbs used regularly in narration and a drama of five sentences with the mother's onomatopoeic exclamation in S5.

At the onset of Episode 2, two narrative sentences (S16 and 17) lead us into drama, which continues until the end of the paragraph with dramatic exclamations of the children when they see a tiger instead of their mother in front of the opened door. These features mark paragraph 4 (all of it except the two sentences that encode stage) as Pre-Peak episode encoding the Inciting Moment within Episode 2, which is in turn Peak for the whole story.

Paragraph 5, filling the Peak of Episode 2, starts off with an unusual narrative sentence, consisting of two embedded clauses and three coordinate clauses:

#### Example 7

(SM 38) 'The brother and sister, who managed to go up a tree in the back yard, were straddled over a branch, holding (their) breath, and watching the tiger's movement.'

The action of the children going up the tree is pushed aside in a modifying (or relative) clause, while the ensuing state, marked by the progressive aspect, occurs in the independent clause. Instead of having a separate sentence for the completed action of going up the tree, the author subordinates it to the following continuous actions. Compared to the usual practice of having more important information in the final clause, this shows the opposite tendency, a sort of structural litotes that we find in several stories corresponding to the peak or high excitation point in a story. The rest of the sentences in paragraph 5 (S39-47) are in drama, the most vivid form in the narrative parameter.

As Figure 19 shows, within Episode 2 I analyze paragraph 4 (except for the two lead-in narrative sentences functioning as Stage) as a Pre-Peak

episode, which encodes the deep structure Inciting Moment, and paragraph 5 as Peak encoding the Climax. Since the entire Episode 2 is itself the Peak in the overall structure of the story, perhaps it is not unusual to find peak-like features in both of its component paragraphs. Moreover, I find that some episodes that encode the Inciting Moment exhibit features similar to peak: these are represented as bumps over such episodes in the profiles of some narratives. In this narrative, the Peak of Episode 2 (i.e., paragraph 5) has an overlay of simultaneous peaks of both an embedded discourse and the main discourse.

I have discussed above the features of Post-Peak (Episode 3) in relation to the abrupt change of tone between natural and supernatural worlds, e.g., fade-out of drama, fast progression of events in narration, change of participant reference terms, etc.

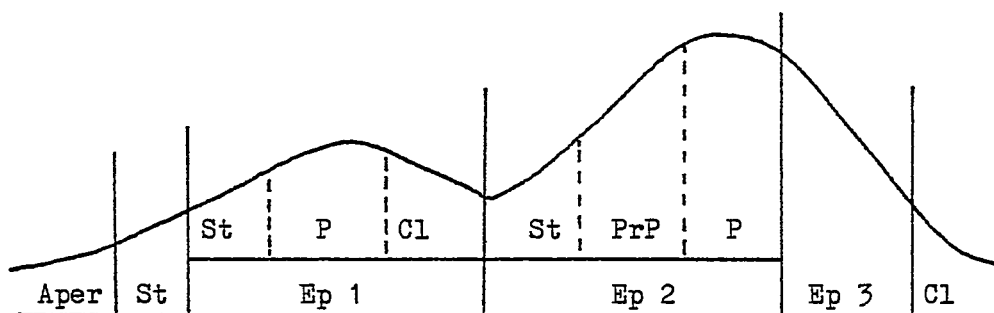


Figure 20. Profile of "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon"

The profile of this story is shown in Figure 20, where a little bump is indicated over Episode 1 and where both Pre-Peak and Peak episodes of Episode 2 correlate with high points in the overall structural profile. This profile is similar to the one for "The Grateful Magpies."

## 3.2.7 Structure of "The Hat Seller"

This folktale, presumably imported from another culture as discussed above (cf. 3.2.1), is the only one in our corpus without explicit Closure of any kind. Also it is the shortest (only 18 sentences). It is a story of a clever hat seller outwitting some monkeys. When he finds out that the monkeys are wearing his hats, which they took while he was sleeping, he gets them back by throwing his own hat on the ground. That is, he has used their penchant for imitative behavior to recover his hats.

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot  | Sentence           | P.   | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj  |                        |
|--------------|------------|--------------------|------|---|---|------------------------|
| Aperture     |            | 1                  | 1    | There is a hat seller   | once upon a time  |                        |
| Stage        | Exposition | 2                  |      | He went out to sell hats  | one summer day  |                        |
| Pre-Peak     |            | Ep1                |      | 3-4   | The sale is not good; he is tired and falls asleep with his hat on under a tree |                        |
| Pre-Peak     | Ep2        | Inciting Moment    | 5-7  | 2   | Ten monkeys take hats from his box and go up the tree                           | on that tree           |
| Pre-Peak     | Ep3        | Developing Tension | 8-13 | 3   | He wakes up and finds hats missing; he discovers that monkeys are wearing them  | after sleeping a while |
| Peak Ep 4    | Climax     | 14-18              | 4    | He tells them to give hats back in vain; finally he throws his hat and they follow suit | after a while   |                        |

Figure 21. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Hat Seller" (HS)

As Figure 21 shows, I analyze the story as having four episodes; three pre-peak episodes and a Peak, but no post-peak episode. I consider that both Stage and Episode 1 encode Exposition of the notional structure. This unusual mapping is due to the following facts. (1) The same paragraph includes both Stage (S1) and Episode (S3-4). (2) Yet the latter is detailed enough to form a unit of its own, even with direct quoted speech. (3) In its content, however, nothing inciting is happening; rather, it seems to be preliminary to the story proper. We can see a close-up view as follows:

|     |            |           |      |   |
|-----|------------|-----------|------|---|
| P.1 | Exposition | Stage     | S2   | The hat seller went out to sell hats                    |
|     |            | Episode 1 | S3-4 | The sale is not good, and he falls asleep while resting |

Figure 22. Exposition of "The Hat Seller"

This contrasts with beginning of The Ungrateful Tiger, in which S2 belongs not to a separate episode but to Stage, even though it reports the on-the-line event of the tiger falling into a trap in that it sets out the stage for the episode that are mostly in drama (cf. 3.2.5). We also see similarity, however, between the two beginnings in that both on-the-line events encode part of the Exposition.

|     |            |       |    |  |
|-----|------------|-------|----|--|
| P.1 | Exposition | Stage | S2 | People set traps for the tiger and he falls into one |
|-----|------------|-------|----|--|

Figure 23. Exposition of "The Ungrateful Tiger"

Episode 2 of the Hat Seller story clearly stands out (as does S16 in "The Beauty and the Monk"), since this episode, encoding Inciting Moment, is solely from the perspective of the monkeys: S5 introduces them, S6

describes their wish, and S7 tells about their action. Especially, S7 has characteristics very much like those of a peak:

Example 8

(HS 7) Kaläsø kaman.kamanhi namu-mith-ulo nällyø.wa-sø moja  
 therefore quietly tree-under-to come.down-and hat

kwak-ul yøl-ko hana-ssik ssa-ko tasi kaman.kamanhi  
 box-OP open-and one-each put.on-and again quietly

wi-lo ollaka ja-nan moja jangsa-lul  
 top-to go.up sleep-prM hat seller-OP

nällyø.ta.po-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
 look.down-Prog-Past-fD

'Therefore, (they) came down the tree quietly, opened the hat box, put on a hat each, went up to the tree again quietly, and were looking down at the sleeping hat seller.'

The completed on-the-line actions make up four non-final (dependent) clauses, whereas the independent clause tells us in progressive aspect about them watching the sleeping hat seller. Contrary to this, the usual way would have been to use independent clauses to encode more prominent events. Also the onomatopoeic expression, kaman.kamanhi 'quietly,' is repeated twice. Other than these three sentences in this episode, only the last sentence (S18) of the discourse reports from the monkeys' perspective, saying that they also throw hats following the hat seller.

These observations indicate that the episode encoding Inciting Moment may take on peak-like features to highlight the emerging problem. Similarly, we have seen in the story about Shim Chung and the story about the sun and the moon the vivid dramatic presentation of the Inciting Moment (cf. 3.2.2 and 3.2.6).



Then what is the peak itself in this folktale? Episode 3 resumes the hat seller's point of view and includes events leading up to his discovery that monkeys are wearing his missing hats. S11 includes his rhetorical question, which does not solicit an answer. Thus we may call Episode 3 Climax from the hat seller's perspective, but I hesitate to do so since we, as the readers, already know that the monkeys have taken his hats in the earlier episode. Therefore, I consider Episode 4 the Climax of the story, i.e., the highest point in tension and frustration before the resolution in S18. Furthermore, this episode carries some peak-like features as well. It contains two monologue speeches (S14 is addressed to the monkeys who do not respond, and S17 is an overt expression of his thought), which possibly heighten vividness at this climactic point. Also we notice a parallelism of the action in throwing hats on the ground in S17 and 18. It is here that the final resolution is made; the hat seller gets his hats back from the monkeys. All in all, however, surface features reflecting the mounting tension are not very pronounced, perhaps because this is a very short tale.

As in "The Beauty and the Monk," I want to present the result of a summarization experiment on this story, for I did such experiments on these two stories.<sup>14</sup> Here we would like to see the correlation between the linguistic features and the semantic prominence (as reflected in summaries). The same type of table as in the other story next shows what are considered by the subjects to be important enough to include in their summaries. As we would expect, every summary included the meanings of S17 and 18, which is the climax and what the story is all about: the hat seller throws his own hat on the ground and the monkeys follow suite. We notice that all Koreans included the long sentence 7 in Inciting Moment

|          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Aperture | 1  | 1  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    | 1  |
| Stage    | 2  |    |    | 2  |    | 2  |    |    | 2  |
| Ep 1     | 3  | 3  |    | 3  |    | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  |
|          | 4  | 4  | 4  | 4  | 4  | 4  |    | 4  | 4  |
| Ep 2     |    | 5  |    | 5  |    |    |    |    | 5  |
|          |    | 6  |    |    |    |    |    |    | 6  |
|          | 7  | 7  | 7  |    |    | 7  | 7  | 7  | 7  |
| Ep 3     | 8  | 8  |    | 8  | 8  |    |    |    | 8  |
|          |    | 11 |    |    |    |    |    |    | 8  |
|          | 13 | 13 |    | 13 | 13 |    |    |    | 13 |
| Ep 4     |    |    |    | 16 |    |    |    |    |    |
|          | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
|          | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| Closure  |    | +  | +  |    |    |    |    | +  | +  |
|          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

American Group

Korean Group

Figure 24. Statements Included in Summaries of "The Hat Seller" as Shown by Sentence Numbers in Text (+ stands for the added "closure," e.g., 'That is how he got back his hats')

(monkeys take hats), while only three Americans did. However, for those who did not have S7, there was S13 (the hat seller finds that the monkeys are wearing hats), which is a sort of restatement of S7 from the man's perspective. We do not know if the fact that all Koreans considered the meaning of S7 important has to do with its unusual characteristics we have pointed out above, but we can certainly speculate that these features might have affected their decisions. Another interesting fact to observe from the figure is that in 5 out of 11 total summaries, Episode 3 dropped out completely. As long as we know that the monkeys took the hats, the hat seller's discovery of that fact is apparently considered not important enough to be included in summary. The addition of Closure, which does not

occur in the text, suggests our expectancy in terms of conventional story schema.

The profile of this short and witty story with no embedded discourse follows.

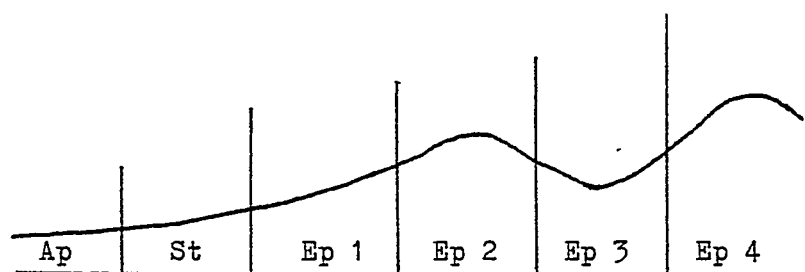


Figure 25. Profile of "The Hat Seller"

The curve cuts off abruptly after Peak with no post-peak episodes or closure. In contrast to others, this profile includes a trough throughout Episode 3 between the two high points.

### 3.2.8. Structure of "The Water Cicada"

So far we have seen the overall structures of six folktales; now with this story we are going to see that of a short story. This story, written in 1950 by Yong-Mook Kye, presents a social problem, by depicting an old man who manages to make a living by luring children to play the water cicada (gambling) game. The story opens with a statement that the game is more popular in the afternoon when children go home than in the morning. After the old man's demonstration, two children play the game with little luck. The second boy cries after losing a lot of money. Then we hear the old man's inner thoughts; he feels ashamed of making money by encouraging

children to gamble, he thinks about his own child, and yet he realizes that this is the only choice for him. So he sets his mind hard and tries to lure more children, but nobody will play now. It is getting late also, so he leaves. At home, his wife waits for their son who has not come home from school. After supper, the old man goes to school and finds out that the boy has not come to school at all. So he gets worried. Late at night, a neighbor, Mr. Kwon, brings him home. The old man learns that the boy lost a large sum of money, which he was taking to school, in playing the water cicada game. Caught in the irony of situation, the old man cannot even say good-bye to Mr. Kwon.

As a whole, the story exhibits an interesting bipartite division between two episodes as shown by a double line in Figure 26. The first episode presents the man on his job (presumably at a roadside not far from a school), while the second one shows him at home and as a father. In the surface structure a locational phrase in S59, jip-esø-nan (home-at-Topic Particle) 'at home,' and the introduction of a new participant, manula-ka (wife-Subject Particle) 'wife,' reflect this division by occurring at the Stage of Episode 2. Also S58 '. . . the old man finally packed up (his) things and stood up (to leave)' at the end of Episode 1 indicates the upcoming change of location as well as that of time.

In Episode 1 we see the old man in conflict with a generic or abstract problem: he feels ashamed of his job. In the second episode, in contrast, the man is in conflict with a specific or concrete family problem: his own son is a victim of his kind of job. The division is so marked that in a way it seems as if we have two separate stories, yet there is a clear continuity not only in the four prime reference points of

I-thou-now-here (cf. Erickson and E. Pike 1976) but also in the water cicada game. In other words, the two parts are connected by the same participants, the man and his son, temporal sequence from late afternoon to evening, and locational movement from street to home. We may contrast the two episodes, each filled with an embedded discourse, as follows:

| Episode 1       | Episode 2        |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Generic         | Specific         |
| Abstract        | Concrete         |
| Theme prominent | Action prominent |
| Man on his job  | Man at home      |

The amount of elaboration varies in the two parts also. Episode 1 with six paragraphs takes up two thirds of the story, while Episode 2 with three paragraphs is only half as long. Although the two parts are not very different in terms of the number of sentences (58 vs. 44), the sentences in the first part are longer than those in the second part (which, however, includes a larger number of direct speeches). In the Korean text, the first episode takes up two pages while the second one is on a single page.

| Surface Slot                       | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P.  | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----|---|--------------|
| Stage                              | Exposition      | 1-4      | 1   | Water cicada game is popular when children go home  |              |
| Ep 1<br>(Pre-Peak)<br><br>(Fig.27) | Inciting Moment | 5-58     | 2-6 | The old man lures children to the game, and two boys try unsuccessfully; he resents his job but realizes that this is only way to survive; he packs things and leaves   | now          |
| Ep 2<br>(Peak)<br><br>(Fig.28)     | Climax          | 59-101   | 7-9 | He gets worried over his son, who does not come back home; the boy comes back late at night with Mr. Kwon, who explains that the boy spent school payment money in playing the water cicada game; the man feels ashamed | at home      |
| Closure                            | Conclusion      | 102      |     | The moon shines on the father and the son   |              |

Figure 26. Syntagmatic Structure of "The Water Cicada" (WC)

| Surface Slot         | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P.  | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------|-----|---|--------------|
| Stage                | Exposition      | 1-4      | 1   | Water cicada game is popular when children go home  |              |
| Pre-Peak<br>(Fig.29) | Inciting Moment | 5-36     | 2-4 | The old man lures children to play the game, and two boys try unsuccessfully losing much money; the second boy cries              | now          |
| Peak                 | Climax          | 37-48    | 5   | The old man's inner thoughts; he resents his job but realizes that this is the only way to survive and decides to harden his mind |              |
| Post-Peak            | Denouement      | 49-58    | 6   | His last call for game with no answer; he packs things and leaves   | now          |

Figure 27. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 1 of WC

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj      |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|----|--|-------------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 59-61    | 7  | He and his wife wait for son   | at home           |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 62-73    | 8  | He goes to school and finds out that his son has not come to school; he gets worried   |                   |
| Peak         | Climax          | 74-101   | 9  | The boy comes back late at night with Mr. Kown, who explains that the boy spent school money in playing the water cicada game; the man feels ashamed | the night is late |
| Closure      | Conclusion      | 102      |    | The moon shines on the man and his son   |                   |

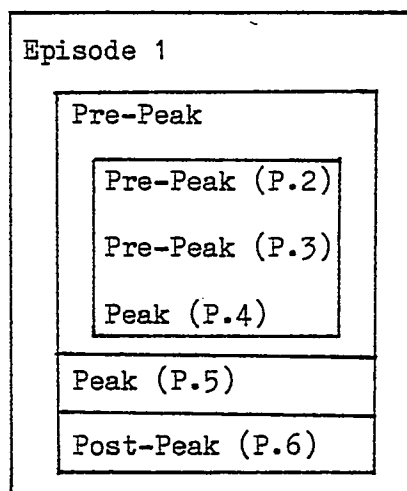
Figure 28. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of WC



| Surface Slot | Plot Slot          | Sentence | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|----|--|--------------|
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment    | 5-7      | 2  | The old man tries to lure children to play the game by demonstration   | now          |
|              | Developing Tension | 8-20     | 3  | The first boy tries it several times without success   |              |
| Peak         | Climax             | 21-36.   | 4  | The second boy tries it many times winning only once; in his last trial he bets 10 slots out of 20 in vain; he cries |              |

Figure 29. Syntagmatic Structure of Pre-Peak of Episode 1 of WC

Figures 26-29, which represent the syntagmatic structures of the whole story and of the embedded discourses, show that paragraph 1 is a portmanteau stage for both Episode 1 and the overall story and that S102 is similarly a portmanteau closure for Episode 2 and the whole story. Episode 1, which is an embedded discourse itself, has another embedded discourse as its pre-peak episode. Thus it shows a double embedding, which may be shown graphically as follows:



In Pre-Peak of Episode 1 there is a dramatic progression of tension from the old man's illustration of the game (P.2), to the first boy's unsuccessful effort to win (P.3), and then to the second boy's desperate attempt to win by betting on ten slots out of twenty (P.4). The first sentence (S5) in Paragraph 2 displays an extreme complexity with one subordinate clause, eight modifying clauses, five coordinate clauses, and one final (or independent) clause, without counting the direct speech (within quotations) occurring right in the middle of the sentence. As we see in the free translation in Appendix A.7. I had to use four English sentences to convey the meaning of this sentence S5. The "choo-choo train" characteristic of the language makes it possible for us to have a sentence like this and read it without strain, unlike a "flight-formation" language like English (cf. Longacre 1976). The difference between the two types of languages was highlighted as soon as I started to translate this long sentence into one understandable English sentence, in which I failed. In relation to the structure of the story, this long and complex sentence perhaps signals the forth-coming conflict and tension by occurring in the pre-peak episode which encodes the Inciting Moment.

In paragraph 4, which fills the peak of pre-peak in Episode 1, the author takes time to describe the suspense and the throbbing of hearts as the children await for the movement of the water cicada. Also the descriptive materials are in the past tense here whereas the mainline events are in the present, contrary to the usual practice, e.g.,

| <u>Past</u>                                      | <u>Present</u>   |
|--|--|
| S29 Children's hearts throbbed                   | S30 The water cicada ends up surfacing . . . in the wrong slot     |
| S31 That was his last bet                        | S32 He has no money<br>S33 Now the boy is about to cry and gets up |
| S35 These words aroused anger in the boy instead | S36 The boy makes a cry and wipes a tear with the back of his hand |

These features mark the paragraph as peak of the embedded discourse, encoding Inciting Moment.

Paragraph 5 (Peak of Episode 1) consists of two parts: the first about his resentment of his job, thinking about his own son, and the second about his decision to play it cool in order to survive, for there is no other choice for him. The features considered to be marking the Peak are as follows:

(1) Unlike any other episode, there is not even a single final verb which is on the event line or high in the information prominence scale (cf. Chapter 4). All six verbs in the past tense carry features that lower their structural importance: either the equative verb i 'be,' or the repetitive aspect -kon.ha, or the verb kath 'seem.' These features also

characterize the verbs that are in the present tense: equative, question, progressive, or presumptive.

| <u>Past</u>  | <u>Present</u>         |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Equative 4   | Equative 3             |
| Repetitive 1 | Equative/Progressive 1 |
| 'seem' 1     | Question 1             |
|              | Presumptive 1          |

This sudden and large-scale shift of features, from those marking on-the-line events to those marking off-the-line, distinctively stands out here at the Peak of the first embedded discourse.

(2) Dialogues fade out completely in this episode, while they freely occur in other episodes. We have, instead, inner thoughts expressed explicitly in S44 in a sort of inner dialogue form within himself: He thinks, 'I would rather go hungry,' and then he thinks twice, 'Really?' This device slows down the presentation of his thoughts, and marks the turning point in his thinking from resentment to compromise.

(3) The vantage point or orientation is fixed onto the old man in this episode and remains so until the end of the story. So, in later episodes also we hear about the man's inner thoughts popping up here and there (cf. S69-72, S83, and S101).

(4) S45 is very long, explaining the background information supporting his compromising attitude: he couldn't help set his mind at ease, thinking about all kinds of things he has tried unsuccessfully to make a living. This sentence is, however, not as long and as complicated as S5 in paragraph 2.

The Peak of Episode 2 (P.9) displays the following peak features:

- (1) In proportion to narration, there is more direct-quoted speech here than in any other episodes. This sharply contrasts with the Peak of Episode 1, in which there is no dialogue at all. As pointed out by Larson (1978) also, the shift in dialogue parameter marking Peaks may go in either direction: from narrative through pseudo-dialogue and dialogue to drama, or from drama back toward narrative.
- (2) Role reversal is shown by the dominance in dialogues. At first, the old man is pressing Mr. Kwon for an answer, wondering what has happened and what Mr. Kwon has to do with his son's incident. But, soon Mr. Kwon dominates the conversation, as the old man gets ashamed and is even unable to say good-night.
- (3) There is a shift from dialogue to monologue, accordingly, for only Mr. Kwon talks in the latter half of the episode.
- (4) The longest speech of the whole discourse (S87-93) occurs without quotation formula or an implicit indication in the contiguous sentences to show who is talking. It is here that Mr. Kwon explains what the boy has done, showing the dramatic irony of the situation: the man earns money by the water cicada game (as described in the first embedded discourse), and his own son loses a large sum of money in playing the very same game. The man collected the school payment money, which his son loses, through the game.
- (5) The old man's thoughts are given in narrative only between and after long speeches of Mr. Kwon, since now he is too ashamed to speak up.

Mr. Kwon's MonologueOld Man's Inner Thoughts in Narrative

S87-93

S94-96

S97-100

S101

Since the features of the two peaks clearly contrast, rather than coincide, we can see in this difference a distinction between two sorts of peaks; i.e., peak of action and peak of theme. Woods (1980) and Longacre (1979c) notice that there is a didactic or thematic peak which occurs after the action peak both in a Halbi myth and in the Genesis Flood Story. If we liken such structures to our story here, we have the thematic peak occurring before the action peak. We can compare some characteristics of the two types as follows (as Woods did):

| Thematic Peak  | Action Peak  |
|--|--|
| Little temporal progression                                    | Temporal progression                                   |
| Inner thoughts in narrative;<br>No dialogues                   | Dialogues and monologues                               |
| No role reversal   | Role reversal  |
| No event-line verb   | Event-line and non-event verbs                         |
| Long sentences   | Not so long sentences                                  |
| 1 participant (with a number of<br>children at the background) | 2 participants (with the third<br>one standing nearby) |

Since this comparison is based on only one story, I do not know what its general validity will be for other Korean stories with two separate and distinct peaks that are distinguished along these lines.

After the Peak of Episode 2, we have a sentence of Closure (S102), which provides a suspended conclusion: the moon is shining on the silent father and son. The author does not make any resolution of the situation

i.e., we are not told whether the old man eventually or right away gives up his job, or chooses to go on doing it. The impact of this social problem is left for the reader to reflect on; the next move of the man in a way becomes unimportant to the reader's point of view.

The profile of this story with its two episodes and two peaks follows.

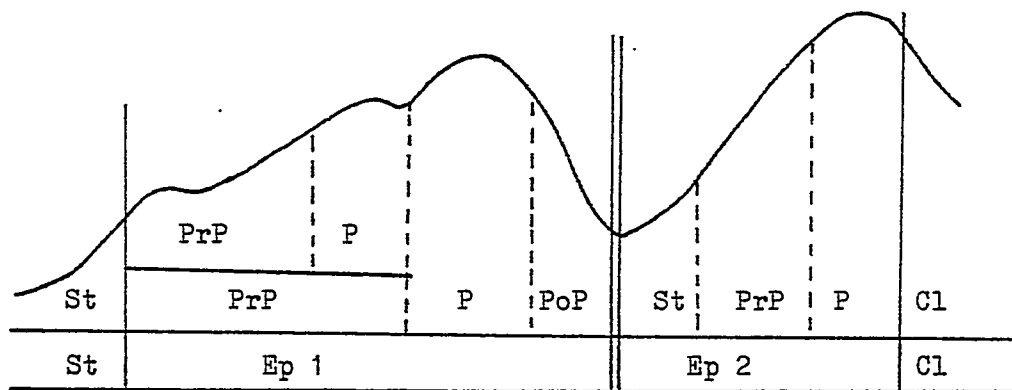


Figure 30. Profile of "The Water Cicada"

This profile contrasts with earlier ones in having two distinctively high points and a deep area of trough in between. The Peak of Episode 1 is quite high, almost as high as that of Episode 2. While there are two small bumps before the first Peak, there is none before the second Peak, which displays a sharper slope.

### 3.2.9. Structure of "This Kind of Concert"

This is a first person narrative (written by Yoo-Jung Kim around 1930) of what has happened one evening. I give here a quick summary paraphrase in first person of the story: "Hwang Chul, who always likes to be a cheer leader, persuades me to go to a concert as a member of a cheer-party for a classmate who plays the violin. He promises to buy wontons afterwards. As the program starts, I fall asleep bored. Hwang Chul wakes me up when our friend is on stage, so we all clap and scream 'encore' madly. And yet, the auditorium is so large that our cheering of only fifteen people in four corners fails. Next a gentleman comes on stage, playing his violin nicely, and also his cheering party of thirty to forty people upstairs does an overwhelming job. Finally, I follow them in their cheering, stamping feet and screaming 'encore.' At that, Hwang Chul takes me out and confronts me angrily, saying that I have disgraced all our friends, so I in turn angrily retort that I won't eat wontons and come down the stairs fast."

What kind of meaning or theme can we draw from this story? As the casual title "This Kind of Concert" implies, perhaps we do not find any didactic theme or teaching as in several of our folktales, or a social theme as in *The Water Cicada*. It's a fun story, however, telling about the narrator's impulsive or outlandish behavior, cheering for another person when his own musician, for whom he is there to cheer, has failed. Since the story is reported from the point of view of the 'I,' who behaves off-norm from the points of view of others in the story, we tend to sympathize with the narrator and try to understand why the 'I' behaves like that. After all, we can cheer for anybody who deserves it.



| Surface Slot             | Plot Slot          | Sentence | P.  | Contents  | Tim/Loc/Conj                 |
|--------------------------|--------------------|----------|-----|---|------------------------------|
| Stage                    | Exposition         | 1        | 1   | I come outside after supper   | it was after 6:30            |
| Ep 1 (Pre-Peak)          | Inciting Moment    | 2-14     |     | Hwang Chul, who loves to cheer, stops me and persuades me to go cheering at music contest; he promises to buy wontons   |                              |
| Ep 2 (Pre-Peak) (Fig.32) | Developing Tension | 15-42    | 2-4 | He orders his strategy for cheering to me and friends, and we go inside and settle in four corners: I get bored and fall asleep as the program starts; Hwang Chul wakes me up when our violinist is on stage; we clap and scream 'encore,' but our cheering fails | entrance of the concert hall |
| Ep 3 (Peak) (Fig.33)     | Climax             | 43-58    | 5-6 | Then a gentleman next plays the violin nicely and receives an excellent reception; impressed by the successful cheering of his party, I follow them; Hwang Chul takes me out and confronts me angrily, so I say that I won't eat wontons                          | moreover                     |
| Closure                  | Conclusion         | 59       |     | I come down the stairs irritated  |                              |

Figure 31. Syntagmatic Structure of "This Kind of Concert" (TC)

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot          | Sentence | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj                 |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|----|--|------------------------------|
| Stage        | Exposition         | 15-16    | 2  | When we arrive, our friends are there waiting                                      | entrance of the concert hall |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment    | 17-25    |    | Hwang Chul orders his strategy to us, and we go inside and settle in four corners  |                              |
|              | Developing Tension | 26-32    | 3  | I get bored and fall asleep as the program starts                                  | at 7                         |
| Peak         | Climax             | 33-40    | 4  | Hwang Chul wakes me up when our violinist is on stage; we clap and scream 'encore' |                              |
| Closure      | Conclusion         | 41-42    |    | He looks sullen, for our cheering fails  |                              |

Figure 32. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 2 of TC

| Surface Slot | Plot Slot       | Sentence | P. | Contents   | Tim/Loc/Conj    |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|----|--|-----------------|
| Stage        | Exposition      | 43       | 5  | A gentleman comes on stage with his violin   | Moreover        |
| Pre-Peak     | Inciting Moment | 44-52    |    | He plays it neatly and receives an excellent reception. Impressed by the successful cheering of his party, I follow them |                 |
| Peak         | Climax          | 53-58    | 6  | Hwang Chul takes me out and confronts me angrily, so I say that I won't eat wontons                                      | When I did that |
| Closure      | Conclusion      | 59       |    | I come down the stairs irritated   |                 |

Figure 33. Syntagmatic Structure of Episode 3 of TC

Figure 31 shows how I analyze the story into three episodes plus Stage and Closure. Episode 1 is filled by paragraph 1, which has an embedded paragraph (S5-9) in the middle, where the progression of events stops in order to give the background information about Hwang Chul. The present tense throughout the supportive material in the middle marks the habitual aspects about him, showing the temporal discontinuity in relation to the event-line material. As an episode encoding Inciting Moment, we have occurrences of dialogue, which at two times develop into drama.<sup>16</sup>

Episode 2 is expounded by an embedded discourse, consisting of three paragraphs (cf. Figure 32). Paragraph 2 reports routine follow-up events, making strategies for cheering, in which the present tense is mixed with

the past tense as in other parts of the story. There is no dialogue in the next brief paragraph encoding Developing Tension. Here the narrator's falling asleep during the concert is possibly the first sign of his off-norm behavior. The conflict in terms of the cheering party culminates in paragraph 4, which is the Peak of the embedded discourse, when the cheering of only fifteen people in four corners of a large auditorium fails.

Episode 3 (cf. Figure 33) encodes the Climax of the story, in which another violinist is contrasted with the unsuccessful violinist and another cheering party is contrasted with the unsuccessful cheering party. Then a dialogue paragraph between the narrator and Hwang Chul expounds the Peak of this episode. The last sentence S59 serves as a portmanteau closure for Episode 3 and the whole story, which thus has a suspended conclusion similar to that found in the other short story "The Water Cicada."

Surface features marking this Peak episode are concerned with the tense and the dialogue parameter. The present tense occurs predominantly here at Peak. In the story we have a distribution of the tenses in the final clauses as follows (ignoring those within quotations in dialogues):

|           |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Episode   | 1 | 2 |   |   | 3 |   |
| Paragraph | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Present   | 8 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 4 |
| Past      | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 |

We mentioned that Episode 1 includes an embedded paragraph, in which only the present tense (4) occurs, to describe Hwang Chul. Therefore, if we exclude these 4 from paragraph 1, we have a one-to-one ratio of two types

of tenses, which is roughly true in paragraphs 2 through 4. However, this ratio changes to four to one in the last two paragraphs in favor of the present tense. This change, I feel, can be attributed to their filling the Peak episode of the story.

The two paragraphs at Peak episode sharply contrast with each other in terms of dialogue use. In paragraph 5 no dialogues occur. There is, instead, an inserted remark without quotation marks in S45 buried within narration: 'Looking at (him), (one) cannot help admiring (him): Hey, this fellow is a true musician.' Another aside is in S48 with parentheses marking the insertion in the Korean text: 'people upstairs (it must be about thirty or forty people) are screaming in a group.' The parentheses are also used for an aside in S7 in Episode 1 on Hwang Chul. As in the Peak of the first embedded discourse in "The Water Cicada," we have here reverse application of the vividness scale, from narrative to pseudo-dialogue, dialogue, and drama. While most stories have more dialogue or drama occurring at peaks, here dialogues and reported speech fade out completely.

In contrast, paragraph 6 has more dialogue and drama than any other paragraph in the story. The interchange of conversation freely occurs within a sentence; S55, for example, includes five such quotations. Only S56 includes no quotation in this paragraph, which fills the Peak of the Peak Episode (Episode 3). In brief, fade-out of dialogue marks the Pre-Peak Episode encoding Inciting Moment, while extensive dialogue marks the Peak itself encoding Climax. These changes in both directions along the dialogue parameter within the same episode correlate with its being the Peak episode in the overall story.

We can draw the following profile for this story, where the high points are concentrated at the end with no clear down slope due to the suspended conclusion:

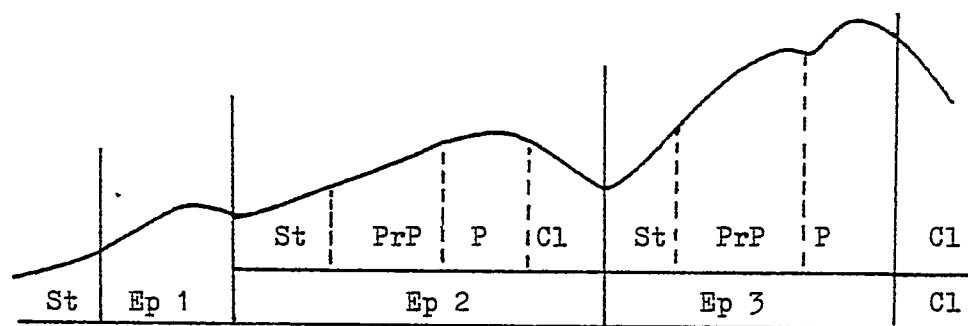


Figure 34. Profile of "This Kind of Concert"

As those of the other stories, this profile has a little bump over Episode 1. On the other hand, it clearly exhibits different characteristics from others. Although there is a Peak in Episode 2, it is much lower than the high points near the end. In fact, the Pre-Peak of Episode 3 is so pronounced that it is almost as high as the Peak itself.

### 3.3. Concluding Remarks

We have seen the overall structures of eight Korean narratives, six folktales for children and two short stories for adults. Now we want to compare them and try to make some general remarks concerning them. Specifically, I want to compare the syntagmatic structures and profiles of different narratives, the two concerns which go together side by side, in that assignment of slots in the surface structure already determines to a large extent what kind of curve we will posit for its profile. Also

closely related to these matters is the identification of peak features in these Korean narratives and whether we can make generalizations about them.

### 3.3.1. Structural Differences Among Stories

We tend to think that stories, in general, have similar structures, as variously posited by narrative grammarians, for instance, an overall scheme which leads from setting to episodes of conflict and resolution, etc. As I pursue structural analyses of Korean stories, however, I come to realize the fact that no two stories are really identical in their structures. As in any other phase of human behavior and culture, two conflicting forces of universality and particularity, or tradition and innovation, or convention and renewal, are at work here also. We hear Cassirer (1961:209) on this matter: "The factor of constance of form and the factor of 'modifiabilty' of form are encountered in all fields." In a similar vein, Mukařovský (1970) talks about dynamics of aesthetic norm, noting that norms are to be violated; and Doležel (1980:21) says as follows:

It is well known that in the domain of literature no norm is safe. Literary evolution is a constant challenge to literary norms, a permanent process of norm modification, creation and destruction.

Indeed people have recognized this novelty or deviation as a necessary condition for any literary work, or more broadly, any cultural object. It is what makes a story interesting as pointed out by Beaugrande and Colby (1979) as the interestingness or non-obviousness condition. Thus, in the Korean narratives also, while there are conventional (perhaps universal) structural slots in terms of plot development (exposition, inciting moment, climax, etc.), there is also an opposing force to modify them.

The following matrix shows the mapping relationships between surface and notional structure slots in each story. It reflects a simplified structure of only the superordinate episodes, i.e., discourses embedded in the episodes are ignored.

|                    | SC   | BM   | GM  | UT   | SM   | HS     | WC   | TC   |
|--------------------|------|------|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|
|                    | Aper | Prol |     | Aper | Aper | Aper   |      |      |
| Exposition         | St   | St   | St  | St   | St   | St/PrP | St   | St   |
| Inciting Moment    | *PrP | PrP  | PrP | *PrP | *PrP | PrP    | *PrP | *PrP |
| Developing Tension |      |      |     |      |      | PrP    |      | PrP  |
| Climax             | *P   | *P   | P   | *P   | *P   | P      | *P   | *P   |
| Denouement         | *PoP |      | PoP |      | PoP  |        |      |      |
| Conclusion         | Cl   | Cl   | Cl  | Cl   | Cl   |        | Cl   | Cl   |
|                    |      | Epil |     |      |      |        |      |      |

Figure 35. Matrix of Surface and Plot Structures of the Eight Korean Narratives

(SC: The Story of Shim Chung  
 BM: The Beauty and the Monk  
 GM: The Grateful Magpies  
 UT: The Ungrateful Tiger  
 SM: The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon  
 HS: The Hat Seller  
 WC: The Water Cicada  
 TC: This Kind of Concert  
 Aper: Aperture, St: Stage, PrP: Pre-Peak,  
 P: Peak, PoP: Post-Peak, Cl: Closure,  
 Prol: Prologue, Epil: Epilogue,  
 \*: Embedded Discourse)

The matrix shows that every story has Stage, Pre-Peak episode, and Peak episode. In contrast, only three stories (SC, GM, and SM) include Post-Peak episode. Thus in the rest of the stories either the story ends



right at Peak (HS) or closes with a Closure after the Peak. In terms of encoding relationships between surface and plot structures, we notice that Stage regularly encodes Exposition. I have discussed the unusual encoding in "The Hat Seller" of both Stage and Episode 1 for Exposition (cf. 3.2.7). The Inciting Moments are uniformly encoded by Pre-Peak episodes. When there is an additional Pre-Peak episode, it encodes the Developing Tension of the story. Peaks in all stories correspond to the notional Climaxes. The Post-Peak episodes in three stories relate to Denouements. Except for "The Hat Seller," all stories have Closure, which encodes Conclusion, but in the two short stories we seem to have Closures which provide only suspended Conclusions in that the resolution is left open to the reader as in many modern novels. On the other hand, the conclusion of "The Hat Seller," although it is not given in the story, is obvious and derivable from Peak episode. "The Beauty and the Monk" is the only story with a prologue and an epilogue, which tie the story proper into something else (the pagoda in this story) which is outside the story. Four folktales start with Aperture, which starts with the formulaic phrase yet nal 'once upon a time.'

All these preliminary observations in terms of slots and of mapping between surface and notional structures bring us back to the question of convention and renewal. While there are overall similarities in the stories, there are also story-specific features of renewal and particularity. The latter would be more pronounced if we were to account for the structures with embedded discourses (those marked by asterisks in Figure 35). In that six out of the eight stories display structures with

embedded discourses, this type of structure is more the norm than off-norm.

### 3.3.2. Peak Features

Here we want to see what kinds of features cause them to have such structures and profiles by bringing together the features marking peaks. For each such feature, I include the initial symbols referring to the stories which exhibit such characteristic at peaks. In that there are two contrasting peak features in the two short stories, I add numbers 1 and 2: e.g., WC1 refers to the Peak in Episode 1, and TC1 to the Pre-Peak of the Peak episode (Episode 3).

- (1) Use of the off-the-line aspects and modes: e.g., GM and WC1.
- (2) Tense shift to the present or more frequent use of the present tense; e.g., BM, GM, WC1, TC1, and TC2.
- (3) Use of dependent clauses in reporting important events rather than of independent clauses: e.g., BM, SM, GM, and HS.
- (4) Change in dialogue parameter to more dialogue or drama: e.g., GM, SM, WC2, and TC2.
- (5) Change from dialogue to monologue or narration: e.g., WC1 and TC1.
- (6) Rhetorical underlining or slowing down of the camera by giving more detailed descriptions: e.g., BM, WC1, and TC1.
- (7) Role reversal: e.g., SC, BM, GM, UT, and WC2.
- (8) Crowded stage: e.g., SC.
- (9) Onomatopoeia: e.g., SC, GM, UT, BM, and HS.
- (10) Fixation of vantage point: e.g., WC1.
- (11) Use of the subject particle ka in place of the usual topic

particle nan for further reference to thematic participants, possibly for spotlight: e.g., SC.

(12) Use of a minus device, i.e., omission of the climactic point of the story: e.g., SC.

(13) Parallelism of actions: e.g., HS.

From the list, three features (1, 2, 3 above) may be grouped into one as the reverse application of the scale of relative importance of information (as discussed in Chapter 4). They are concerned with the off-the-line tense, aspect, mode, and sentence structure functioning to heighten vividness at peaks: the present tense, the progressive aspect, the negative and interrogative modes, and the dependent clauses. Features 4 and 5 represent changes in dialogue parameter in opposite directions. I have found only one story each that exemplifies five of the features (8, 10, 11, 12, and 13). Apparently, these are less frequently used devices from the "bag of tricks" in signaling the peak than, for example, the use of off-the-line verb features.

### 3.3.3. Comparison of Profiles

Profiles reflect the surface structure features, particularly in relation to peaks, which mark the summit points. Therefore, a profile is designed to be a visual representation of the overall surface structure of a story. It is syntagmatic, because it is one connected line of cohesion, showing the fact that any discourse, whether written or oral, needs to be presented linearly with its parts related to each other closely. The surface level prominence of peaks corresponds to high points of a story, where the tension is greatest.

In order to compare the profiles readily, I reproduce them in Figure 36 in their simplified forms.

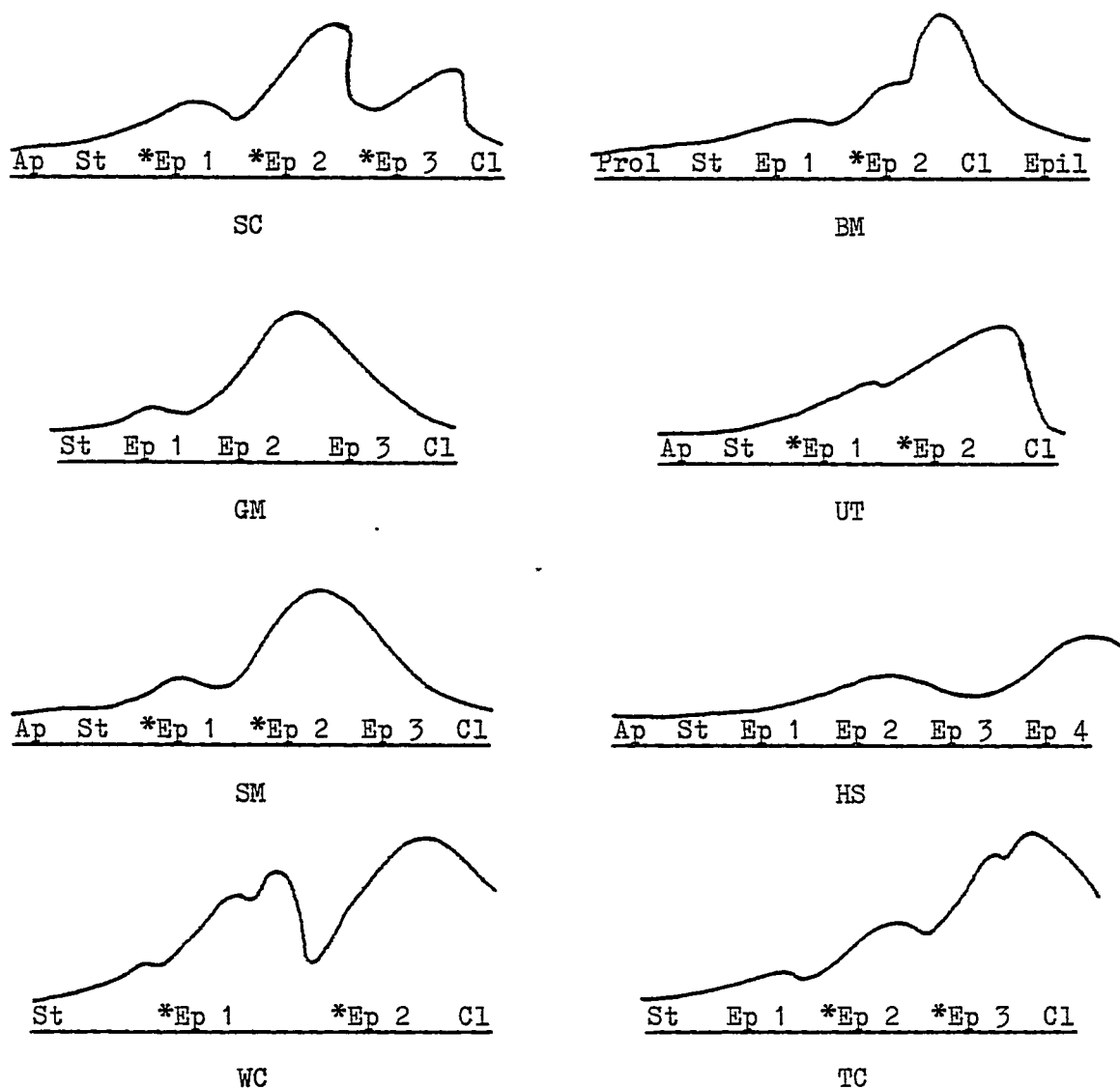


Figure 36. Profiles of the Eight Korean Narratives  
(\*: Embedded Discourse)

Since these profiles show the curves within the embedded discourses, we can see here more clearly the structural differences among stories than in the matrix given in Figure 35. First of all, it is remarkable that no two

figures are exactly alike, even though those for "The Grateful Magpies" and "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon" are similar. The high points are concentrated in the latter half of the stories, showing the correlation of linguistic reflexes with the end-oriented characteristic of these narratives. Except for "The Grateful Magpies" and "The Hat Seller," there are one or more discourses embedded in episode(s) as shown by asterisks.

In all of the stories we have small bumps before the highest points of Peaks in profiles. They occur uniformly over the episodes reporting Inciting Moments. This certainly coincides with the earlier observation made by Beavon (1979) in Konzime discourse. It reflects the fact that the initial exciting point of the story is not routinely passed but marked by peak-like features.

While some profiles display relatively simple curves (GM, SM, UT, and HS), others show more complex curves (SC, BM, WC, and TC). This complexity may be partly due to the embedded discourses, which generally exhibit high points of profiles caused by their own Peaks and/or episodes encoding the Inciting Moments.

The profile of the whole cannot be detected by focusing on the individual constituent sentences. Furthermore, there are features of component sentences that are inexplicable without resort to their distribution relative to the profile of the discourse. In this chapter, for example, we have seen that the reverse application at peak of the scale of relative importance of information (cf. Chapter 4) can be explained only with regard to the structure and profile of the whole discourse.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>Various researchers have assigned different labels to these slots in plot structure, e.g., setting, episode, event, complication, reversal, etc. Labov and Waletzky (1967) are among the first to recognize these structural units in their study of oral versions of personal experience. As units of overall structure of narrative, they posit orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda. Here I follow the terms as used by Longacre (1976, 1981a) in my application to the Korean stories.

<sup>2</sup>See Schwimmer 1976 for more detailed discussions.

<sup>3</sup>They are referring to the model of Johnson and Mandler as presented in their article "A Tale of Two Structures: Underlying and Surface Forms in Stories" (1980).

<sup>4</sup>See Brown and Gilman 1960 for similar situations in better-known languages, e.g., use of tu vs. vous in French.

<sup>5</sup>I have recently confirmed my suspicion that this story might have originated from some other culture. A student from India knows a very similar story with only a few details different.

<sup>6</sup>Elsewhere, I have done the analysis of the referential structure of this story, specifically in the theoretical framework of Pike and Pike (1977). So, see Hwang 1980 for a study of it from the perspective of its contents, dealing with levels of the referential hierarchy: components, participants, events, themes, and performative interaction.

<sup>7</sup>Longer versions would have over a few hundred pages. The author of the present version, Sang-Duck Kim, notes that the story originates from 400-500 years ago.

<sup>8</sup>Aperture designates such formulaic beginnings as 'Once upon a time . . . ' and is considered to be a feature of the surface only.

<sup>9</sup>Ishikawa (1980) used a similar chart earlier for his analysis of Peach Taro story from Japan. Specially, I have found it useful to sort out the temporal and locational expressions employed in narration.

<sup>10</sup>Since Gleason's (1968) early study, these matters of agent line and event line have continued to attract the attention of scholars.

<sup>11</sup>In their discussion on the referential hierarchy, Pike and Pike (1977) similarly show the hierarchical organization of events from the large (called "vector") to the smaller size clusters of events ("complex"), based on semantic and formal clues.

<sup>12</sup>Woods (1980) discusses oppositions, reflections, and mirror images in a Halbi myth.

<sup>13</sup>Beavon (1979) notes similar peak-like features in the episode encoding Inciting Moment in his analysis of Konzime narrative.

<sup>14</sup>For the experiment, I read two Korean stories ("The Beauty and the Monk" and "The Hat Seller") in each group in their own language, i.e., English to the American group and Korean to the Korean group, and gave instructions to summarize them in three to four sentences each in the same language they heard. I had translated the stories into English rather literally in order to preserve the structural characteristics in the original. In the table, I skipped one summary from a Korean subject, for it was too detailed to reflect any clue to the prominence of information. Statements in all summaries were predominantly of reconstructive type rather than reproductive and verbatim statements actually occurring in stories.

<sup>15</sup>Kintsch (1977) also discusses the experiments using the Alaskan myths, which did not fit to conventional schema from the American point of view. These myths consist of four episodes, each internally coherent but unrelated to each other in the causal-temporal way as in conventional European stories. These Indian stories are "held together by a 'principle of fours': there are four episodes, four actors, using four instruments, etc." (51). Although they must be quite schematic to a member of the tribe, for Americans they are not well structured. Consequently, in summarization, whole episodes dropped out as units.

<sup>16</sup>The term "drama" in this case is used in a restricted sense, for these interchanges of speech without quotation formulas occur within the boundary of the sentence in this story. For example:

(TC 4) Pónhi sǒngmi-ka kǒp.kǒp.ha-n nom-i-n-jul-un  
clearly temper-SP quick-pM fellow-be-prM-Nom-TP

a-na kalǎto itholok ssikan.kǒli-ko kin  
know-but however so.much puff-and quickly

tallyǒ.tal-m-e-nan hako  
pounce.upon-Nom-at-TP Quot

4a. "Wǎ kalǒ-ni?"  
why do.so-Q

4b. "Nǒ onal khongkhul umak tǎhwe-n kǒ a-ni?"  
you today contest music meeting-prM fact know-Q

4c. "Khongkhul umak tǎhwe?"  
contest music meeting

hako na-nan jom ttǒlam.ha-taka ka je-sǒ-ya  
Quot I-TP a.little be.not.sure-after the time-at-finally

ka sok-i mwø's-i-n-jul-ul al-at-ta.  
 the inside-SP what-be-PrM-Nom-OP know-Past-D

'Although (I) knew that (he) was impetuous, yet (I wondered what he) was so excited about. 4a. "What's the matter?" 4b. "Don't you know that today is music-contest day?" 4c. "Music-contest day?" First I wasn't sure, but now (I) finally realized what was in (his) mind.'



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RELATIVE STRUCTURAL IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION

#### 4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to study how the features in verbs function in Korean narratives in such a way that they signal the relative importance of information with regard to the discourse. This study finds six such features to be closely related to the relative importance of information: tense, aspect, mode, transitivity-voice, verb types, and sentence structure. After each of the six types of features is dealt with systematically, a hypothesis is made for Korean narratives in categorizing these features in terms of continua and in terms of discrete levels of information.

As attested by van Dijk (1977a, b), Hopper (1979), and others, there are some bits of information that function in a discourse more prominently than others so that they are retained longer in our memory. We assume that the foreground information forms a basic structure of a narrative, contributing crucially to the temporal and logical sequence of events.<sup>1</sup> To copy a passage quoted by Hopper and Thompson (1980:281) from Dorfman (1969:5), which clearly expresses my viewpoint better than myself:

In any given narrative, some incidents are more important than others; it would be difficult to imagine an artistic narrative in which every happening carried equal weight in the development of the story. For this reason, the incidents, as structural units, may be divided into two main classes: central or core incidents, whose function is to serve as the central focus or core of a larger episode, and marginal incidents, which cluster around the core, supporting it and filling out the episode.

Commonly in a narrative an action (what has happened) is more important or prominent than a state (how participants and things are) or a comment (why and how it is). While maintaining a broad distinction between foreground and background in this chapter, I present a finer distinction in terms of multiple levels or even a continuum for Korean narratives by considering a number of grammatical features of both surface and deep (notional) structures.

Before discussing the verbal features of Korean in the light of present purpose, it is necessary to review the literature specifically dealing with the levels of information, since (1) we need to tie the present study with the previous works of similar type and since (2) it is in fact built upon these studies.

Since Gleason (1968) distinguished the event-line from other supportive material, several linguists have followed his lead in weighing and viewing bits of information from the perspective of discourse. Thus Grimes (1975) devotes two chapters in his book on discourse to events and non-events. Events involve two sequences: temporal and logical. In non-events there are four basic types: (1) setting (spatial and temporal), which sets the general framework of the discourse; (2) background information of explanations, comments, or embedded narratives; (3) evaluations of the speaker or a participant or the culture, e.g., Greek chorus; and (4) collateral information, i.e., "what it is not" or "what did not happen," given as a negation, a question (some rhetorical questions), a prediction, or a quotation.

While Grimes bases his distinctions largely on semantic clues, other linguists point out that tense, aspect, and mode play significant roles in

signalling the prominence or importance of information in a discourse. Longacre (1977) reports a number of characteristic features of tense, mode, and voice in relation to discourse functions, and cites the fact that the skeleton, or backbone, events of a narrative are typically expressed by the simple past tense in several languages, while in hortatory discourse we expect imperatives, cohortatives, and jussives. Compared with aspectual systems of the Romance languages, he says, English past tense does not always correspond to backbone, in that it "not only characterizes the event-line but some of the supportive material as well" (1981a:37). Therefore, tense alone cannot signal the main line or supportive material, at least in a language like English. Thus Longacre lists three types of grammatical devices marking the "levels of information" such as main-line and supportive material: (1) tense/aspect, (2) "mystery particles" or affixes, and (3) word order.

Similarly, Hopper (1979) explores three major foregrounding devices: (1) tense-aspect systems of the verb, e.g., French and Russian; (2) word order, more specifically, verb position in a clause, as the OV or VS order in Old English indicating foreground and the SV for background; and (3) "passive" voice in Malay narrative, which shows verb peripheral syntax of VSO (or SOV) for verb focus in foregrounded clauses. He mentions but does not go into a detailed discussion on the fourth device for foregrounding, namely, the use of sentence particles that indicate the discourse status of the event. Using the term "aspect" as a sort of superordinate term covering a number of concerns, he says (219-20):

Aspect considered from a discourse perspective is a device or set of devices which exist in order to guide the language user through a text. Consequently aspect may take on one of a number of morphosyntactic forms . . . The aspects pick out the main route through the text and

allow the listener (reader) to store the actual events of the discourse as a linear group while simultaneously processing accumulations of commentary and supportive information which adds texture but not substance to the discourse itself. Aspect can therefore be likened to a "flow-control mechanism"; as such, it surely has significant psycholinguistic correlates.

His division between main route and supportive information, or between foreground and background information, is correlated with the division in aspect between perfective and imperfective in narrative discourse. Here follows Hopper's chart (216) showing this dichotomy, as it is simplified by Miehle (1978:13):<sup>2</sup>

| PERFECTIVE   | IMPERFECTIVE  |
|--|---|
| Chronological sequence   | Simultaneous or overlapping action                            |
| Event viewed as whole and completed as prerequisite for next event | Event not necessarily completed before next event takes place |
| Consistent participant   | Frequent change of participants                               |
| Focus is unmarked (usually on verb)                                | Focus is marked (on subject or oblique case)                  |
| Topic is human   | Topic is often abstract or inanimate                          |
| Dynamic or kinetic actions   | Stative or descriptive verbs                                  |
| Event in foreground  | Background information  |
| Realis   | Irrealis  |

The chart shows that the distinction between the two is by no means a simple matter of verbal aspect. It includes considerations of participants (whether consistent or changing, whether human or inanimate), focus marking, and types of verbs (whether dynamic action or stative). When we view narrative discourse as an interplay between its participants (i.e., nouns) and their actions (i.e., verbs), Hopper's concern here is in fact an all-encompassing discourse consideration rather than simply the aspect of the verb or the interpretation of the clause.

While basing their work on the distinction between foreground and background materials in discourse, Hopper and Thompson (1980)<sup>3</sup> present the

notion of a continuum in their Transitivity Hypothesis. They claim that "Transitivity is a crucial relationship in language, having a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar" and that "the defining properties of Transitivity are discourse-determined" (251). They view Transitivity as a continuum, not as a dichotomy between transitive and intransitive, and as "a matter of carrying-over or transferring an action from one participant to another" (253). Thus they deal with ten basic features of Transitivity globally over a clause. The first feature is about the number of participants (or arguments); and six other features are concerned with the verb, one with the agent (A), and two with the object (O), as the following chart shows (252):

|                       | HIGH                               | LOW                |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| A. PARTICIPANTS       | 2 or more participants,<br>A and O | 1 participant      |
| B. KINESIS            | action                             | non-action         |
| C. ASPECT             | telic                              | atelic             |
| D. PUNCTUALITY        | punctual                           | non-punctual       |
| E. VOLITIONALITY      | volitional                         | non-volitional     |
| F. AFFIRMATION        | affirmative                        | negative           |
| G. MODE               | realis                             | irrealis           |
| H. AGENCY             | A high in potency                  | A low in potency   |
| I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O  | O totally affected                 | O not affected     |
| J. INDIVIDUATION OF O | O highly individuated              | O non-individuated |

The last feature, individuation, refers to such properties as referential, definite, human, animate, proper, concrete, singular, and count, in the sense that "an action can be more effectively transferred to a patient which is individuated than to one which is not" (253). Based on the above ten features, they present a hypothesis on co-variation among component features of Transitivity such that the paired feature (obligatory morphosyntactic markings or semantic interpretations) are "always on the same side of the high-low transitivity scale" (254). After surveying

morphosyntactic features of a large number of languages of the world, they correlate high transitivity with foregrounding in narrative discourse, a cultural universal. They claim that this correlation can be "extended to other genres in a natural way" (283), from narrative to "conversational genre" and to "procedural genre." However, I think that their claim for the generality of the transitivity-foregrounding correlation throughout different types of discourses is incorrect. Specifically, Longacre (1981a) cautions us that we need a discourse typology in discussing main-line and supportive material, since what is main-line in one type (e.g., narrative) often turns out to be that belonging to supportive material in another type (e.g., expository).

Over against all these studies assuming a bipartite structure of information, Jones and Jones (1979) present a multiple-levels hypothesis: "a structure of information in discourse . . . includes multiple levels of significant information which may be marked by specific grammatical devices in various languages" (6). Based on data from six Mesoamerican languages, they report from a language with the minimum basic three levels of information (i.e., background, events, and peak) to those with five levels (where background and events are further divided into significant and ordinary levels, respectively). That is, they have found grammatical evidence which marks each level of information so clearly that they posit multiple levels, not just two. And yet, in the section on "bag of tricks versus preferred device," they question: "Are there levels other than peak in languages that are marked not by a preferred device, but by one or other device selected from a bag of tricks available to the speaker?" (23),

suggesting that for each given level there may be more than one signaling device.

Along the same line, there are other studies that posit multiple levels of information. A number of Mesoamerican-language scholars have written articles on discourse functions of tense, aspect, mood, and particles in terms of multiple levels (L.K. Jones 1979). In her dissertation on a Halbi myth, Woods (1980) presents a cline of relative importance of events and non-events. Among the total of eleven levels, five are for events, three for background information, and three for setting and terminus. Verb endings (such as completed action, present incomplete, and continuing action) mark most levels for the first two groups, whereas time expressions, stative verbs, topic-comment sentences, and rhetorical questions mark those in setting and terminus.

In a recent paper, Longacre (1981c:7) uses a new metaphor "spectrum" to refer to the cline of several levels of information:

Just as a spectographic analysis of white light separates out various hues (our perception of differing wave lengths) ranging from red to violet, so the analysis of a narrative text reveals a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the most static (depictive) elements; successive positions along the cline correlate well (as a whole) with distinctions among the verb forms of a language (i.e., with the tense/aspect/mode/voice system), but other features (word-order, use of affixes, particles, or adverbs) sometimes must be invoked to round out the picture.

With a classification of Hebrew clause types, he presents a spectrum ranging from more dynamic to more static: preterite, perfect, N+perfect, participle, N+participle, 'be' clause, and nominal clause (see also Longacre 1979b). He finds the verb forms and noun positions in a clause correlating with the levels of structural relevance in Biblical Hebrew narrative. In New Testament Koine Greek, Fleming (1979) likewise finds

discourse functions of different verb forms such as aorist, participle, perfect, etc.

It seems that we now have evidence supporting the multiple levels of information hypothesis from different sources, Hebrew, several Mesoamerican languages, Halbi, and Greek. While Hopper and Thompson see a correlation between grounding and transitivity features in terms of two levels of foreground and background, these studies pinpoint specific features in a language that signal several levels of information relevance in discourse. Taken together, they all point out that the formal and structural features of tense, aspect, modality, and others have a significant correlation to their characteristic functions in discourse. Notice, however, that the formal features are correlated with other features such as semantic types of verbs. Specifically, Hopper and Thompson make it clear that the transitivity features take into consideration not only morphosyntactic markings but also semantic interpretations.

#### 4.2. Discourse Functions of Surface and Notional Features in Korean Verbs

Six types of verbal features are found to be closely related to the relative importance of information: tense, aspect, mode, transitivity-voice, verb types according to case frames, and verb endings in relation to sentence structure. Of these six, classification of verb types represent a notional feature, while the other five are surface features. In distinguishing tense, aspect, mode, and voice from each other, general guidelines and illustrations in Nida 1949 are followed. Thus tense marks time; aspect "the kind of action" (167); mode "the



psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker" (168); and voice "the relationship of the participants to the action" (168).

#### 4.2.1. Tense

##### 4.2.1.1. Tense in Korean

Following most traditional grammar books, I earlier presented five types of tense in Korean (Hwang 1975:22):

Present: -(na)n after verb stem, or zero after adjective and copula  
 Past: -(a)ss or -øss  
 Future: -kess  
 Probable future: -(a)l.køsi  
 Prior past: -(a)ssøss or -øssøss

However, I have recently come to the conclusion that there is really only one overt tense marker in Korean, namely, the past tense. When the past tense marker does not occur, the tense is considered the present.

The suffix -(na)n has been associated with the present tense for verbs (but not for adjectives or copula) in independent clauses; in fact, the distinction between verbs and adjectives in Korean has frequently been made on the basis of whether the form takes -(na)n in its present tense form or not. This marker, however, does not surface at all except in front of the declarative ending in the plain informal level of speech. So it has a zero realization in honorific or humble speech styles; in formal, semi-formal, or colloquial style sentence endings; and in interrogative, imperative, propositive, etc. modes. Sohn calls this suffix the activitive modal. As such, I have found that it is typically used among the four types of verbs in the case frames of Longacre (1976) with Process, Action, and Action-Process verbs but not with State verbs.

Sohn (1974) convincingly illustrates that -kess has as its primary meaning either presumption or volition; and as volition, it also has the

meaning of futurity (as in the case of English). As a presumptive marker, however, it may be used not only in a future sense but also in a present and past sense as well. Thus with the past tense, it indicates a past presumption. The same is true with -(u)l.køsi, which may indicate a conjecture in any time horizon, present, future, or past. Due to the uncertainty inherent in the meanings of presumption and conjecture, it is true that both -kess and -(u)l.køsi are most commonly used in the sense of future than in any other sense. It seems, however, more correct to call them modes (or modals, by Sohn) rather than future tense markers.

The past tense suffix can be reduplicated to signal remoteness in the past, i.e., prior past; or even more than once when required to show the depth in remoteness, although not frequently used in speech. This reduplicated past tense may denote an action completed in the past: e.g., ka-ss-øt-ta (go-Past-Past-D, with regressive assimilation in the second past tense form from -øss to -øt) 'have been to (went there but now here or not there any more)'; while the single past tense denotes an action in the past that may or may not hold true in the present: ka-t-ta (go-Past-D, in which the past tense -ss is assimilated to -t before ta) 'went (there and may or may not be still there).' Interestingly, while Koreans use the former as prior past, as something happening before the other section of 'coming back'; in English we use the present perfect tense, which seems to suggest it to be closer to the present than to the past. In general, however, the reduplication of the past correlates with the English past perfect.

Thus, in Korean the past tense contrasts with the present and other possible tenses, which are not overtly marked by tense suffixes but

signaled by the use of other modes (e.g., volitional -kess) and time nouns plus or minus the time particle e (e.g., wolyoil-e 'on Monday,' nail 'tomorrow').

#### 4.2.1.2. Discourse Functions of Tense

In considering tense from the perspective of discourse, there is a peculiar phenomenon in Korean that needs to be pointed out first. This phenomenon, which is not unique to Korean but which is similar to that found in a number of languages in Papua New Guinea, is clause chaining (cf. Longacre 1972). The tense marker in Korean is not suffixed in most of the dependent (i.e., non-final) clauses, while the verb of the independent (i.e., final) clause carries it when it is in the past tense. Therefore, superficially the tenses in dependent clauses seem like the present, which has a zero realization. What is necessary here for the proper understanding of tenses is the sentence structure. Within a sentence boundary, the tense in the final clause applies regressively to all the preceding non-final clauses, unless there is in a dependent verb an overt tense contradicting it.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the tense surfaces in non-final (dependent) clauses when there is a greater break in meaning (as in some subordinate clauses and relative clauses) and sometimes when there is a difference in tense from that of the following independent clauses. [An examination of the stories shows that many of the events are reported by non-final coordinate clauses,<sup>6</sup> whose verbs are stripped of their tenses, aspects, or modes. In view of the coordinate status of these clauses it is necessary to include events which are reported in such dependent clauses (with zero, i.e., present or non-past tense suffix) as part of the event line (but

perhaps less prominent), as if they had the same tense as the following independent clauses.

#### 4.2.1.2.1. The Past Tense

In Korean narratives the past tense characteristically encodes the main-line information, much as the past tense does in English narratives. In three of the six folktales I have studied ("The Hat Seller," "The Story of Shim Chung," and "The Ungrateful Tiger"), all of the independent clauses are marked with the past tense. In the remaining three folktales, most of the independent clauses carry the past tense suffix also.

While the past tenses generally mark the main line information, there are some past tenses that are off the event-line. In English narrative also Miehle (1978:14) lists the following six types of occurrences of the past as exceptions to the general rule of the past marking the event line:

- (1) when a past tense is found in a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction;
- (2) when a verb is used metaphorically or in an idiomatic expression;
- (3) when a verb is accompanied by an adverb (like 'sometimes' or 'always') indicating existential or universal quantification, i.e., habitual action;
- (4) when the verb is clearly descriptive or its subject is inanimate;
- (5) when the verb is negated (and by definition collateral);
- (6) when the verb is a non-action verb, such as psychological or stative.

We find these "exceptions" largely applicable to Korean stories also. We can, however, handle most of them structurally rather than as "exceptions." Thus I treat exception (1) regarding subordinate clauses in terms of sentence structure (cf. 4.2.6) and exception (5) regarding collateral information in the section on modes (cf. 4.2.3). With regard to (3), (4), and (6) in Miehle's list of exceptions, I propose to utilize the

classification system of verb types, first presented by Chafe (1970) and further developed as case frames by Longacre (1976). I will discuss this further in Section 4.2.5. However, the metaphorical or idiomatic use, i.e., the exception (2), seems to defy any structural statement; it remains as a genuine exception in my analysis also. An example of such metaphorical use, which is in the past but off the main line, follows:

Example 1

(SC 61) Ønatat            kongyang-mi      sam.pāk      sŏk-ul    pajhi-l      nal-i  
 all.too.soon    offering-rice    300            suk-OP    donate-fuM    day-SP

taka.w-ass-upnita.  
 come.close-Past-fD

'All too soon (it) was near the day when (they) had to donate the 300 suks of rice.'

The expression in the example 'the day came close,' even though used frequently in Korean (and perhaps also in English), is not to be interpreted as the day literally coming close. The use of the past tense in metaphorical use here is not reporting an event or action but setting the time for the episode in "The Story of Shim Chung."

#### 4.2.1.2.2. The Present (or Non-Past) Tense

The present tense in the independent clause, i.e., an absence of past tense marker, typically encodes the background material in narrative as exemplified in The Beauty and the Monk story in S1, 2, 22, 24, and 26 (see Appendix A.2). The first two sentences set the stage for the whole discourse by introducing a pagoda and the fact that there is a legend with it. As such, these statements have truth value in the present time. The last three sentences (S22, 24, and 26) provide explanations of reason and

comment, which are typically off the line or supportive material. As we have seen in Chapter 3 (3.2.3), however, these reason and comment sentences provide important information the logical flow of the discourse, even though they do not contribute to its temporal sequence of events. Occurring at the peak of the story, the choice of the present tense for reason--which could have been in the more usual past tense--functions to highlight them, e.g., why the girl refused to go back home (which is, in fact, an explicit statement of the theme) and why the monk was embarrassed.

In "The Grateful Magpies" there are three sentences in the present tense in the independent clauses. S13, which occurs at the peak of the story, reports a pivotal event in the present tense, progressive aspect, interrogative and negative modes. See section on mode (4.2.3.2) for a detailed discussion. S2 and 30 encode supportive information, the former in Stage and the latter in Peak episode:

#### Example 2

(GM 2) Jølmuni-nan . . . jikum søul-lo kwakø-lal  
 young.man-TP now Seoul-to higher.public.service.exam-OP  
 polø ka-nan kø yø-yø.  
 take go-prM fact be-sfD

' . . . it happens that the young man is now going to Seoul to take the higher public service examination.'

(GM 30) Sikan-un jakku ka-nante øttøkhe jong-ul jhi-l  
 time-TP continuously go-but how bell-OP ring-fuM  
 pangpøp-i iss-ø.ya.ji-yo?  
 means-SP exist-Oblig-sfQ

'The time goes by continuously, but there is no way to ring the bell [lit., should there be a way to ring the bell?].'

Both sentences provide comment or explanation on the person or the

situation, but with more vividness. Specially, S30 conveys an urgency of the situation by being cast in the present tense and interrogative mode.

In "The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon," the last sentence (and only this sentence) is in the present tense. Since it is supposed that the sun and the moon still shine today, the employment of the present tense signals present truth value analogous to that in S1 and 2 of "The Beauty and the Monk" above.

### Example 3

(SM 56) (1) Hanal-lo olla.ka-n o-nui-nan hananim-uy ttatuttha-n  
sky-to go.up-pM brother-sister-Tp God-Poss warm-prM

salang-ul pata (2) oppa-nan tal-i twe-ko  
love-OP receive brother-TP moon-SP become-and

(3) nui-nan hä-ka twe-ø (4) pam-kwa  
sister-TP sun-TP become-so night-and

naj-ulo on sesang-ul palkke  
day-throughout whole world-OP brightly

pijhyø-ju-n-ta-pnita.  
illuminate-Benef-Act-D-fD

'The brother and sister who went up to the sky received God's warm love, and the brother became the moon and the sister became the sun. So they shine brightly on the whole world night and day.'

Notice in the sentence the three dependent verbs for 'receive,' 'become,' and 'become' are to be interpreted as the past tense (in that the actions are clearly prior to that represented in the last clause), although the final verb is in the present. So if I were to break the sentence into two Korean sentences (as I have done in the English translation), then I would have to cast the verb in Clause 3 'become' into the past tense: (3) nui-nan hä-ka twe-øss-upnita 'the sister became the sun.' This past tense in Clause 3 would then apply to the first two clauses that precede it

regressively. However, the sentence found in the text does not carry any past tense suffix for these three dependent verbs, for the verb twe 'become' uses the dependent (i.e., suffixal) conjunction -ǒ 'so' at the end of Clause 3, and this particular conjunction, which connects the two clauses (3 and 4) very tightly, does not allow a tense marker in front of it.

In contrast to all six folktales, both of the short stories exhibit a distinct characteristic in the use of the tense. In the short stories the present tense is extensively employed throughout, frequently reporting the main line events as well as supportive material. Again it is the short stories, rather than folktales, which exercise a relatively free hand in taking on off-norm characteristics. This confirms our earlier speculation that the folktales often display norm characteristics, perhaps through repeated retellings, and provide us with good initial material in discourse study with relatively simple and regular structures.

In "The Water Cicada" we have the following distribution of tenses in the independent clauses (excluding those within quotations as in other stories also):

| Episode   | (St) |     | Ep 1 |     |   |     | (P) |     |     | (St)  | Ep 2 |  | (P) |  |
|-----------|------|-----|------|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|------|--|-----|--|
| Paragraph | 1    | 2   | 3    | 4   | 5 | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | Total |      |  |     |  |
| Present   | 4    | 1   | 5    | 5   | 7 | 5   | 0   | 3   | 2   | 32    |      |  |     |  |
| On        |      | (1) | (4)  | (3) |   | (1) |     |     |     | (9)   |      |  |     |  |
| Past      | 0    | 2   | 8    | 8   | 5 | 5   | 3   | 8   | 9   | 48    |      |  |     |  |
| On        |      | (2) | (6)  | (6) |   | (2) |     | (6) | (3) | (25)  |      |  |     |  |

The numbers in parentheses refer to those reporting events, e.g., in



paragraph 3, four out of five present tense verbs report event-line material. Thus out of 32 total independent clauses with the present tense in the whole story, 9 report events; whereas 25 out of 48 with the past tense report main-line events. The hypothesis that the events take the past tense and the non-events take the present holds true but with a more conspicuous number of exceptions. Exceptions in regard to past forms that do not report events will be dealt with in the successive sections in terms of other co-occurring features. For example, the combination of the past tense and the progressive aspect would lower the degree of structural importance of the information thus reducing it to supportive material. However, we have to take account of exceptions in regard to present tense forms here as well, since normally the present tense would not mark information as main line. In "The Water Cicada" we find a correlation in the on-the-line events which are reported in the present tense. The present tense verbs of all nine such sentences carry the activitive suffix -(nā)n, which signals an activity, thus especially marking the information as on the main line. This correlation, however, does not hold in the other short story.

Thus "This Kind of Concert" displays even further departure from the norm than "The Water Cicada" in its use of tense. Tenses in "This Kind of Concert" are distributed as follows:

| Episode   | Ep 1 |     | Ep 2 |     | Ep 3 (P) |     |       |
|-----------|------|-----|------|-----|----------|-----|-------|
| Paragraph | 1    | 2   | 3    | 4   | 5        | 6   | Total |
| Present   | 8    | 5   | 4    | 5   | 8        | 4   | 34    |
| On        | (3)  | (3) | (1)  | (3) | (5)      | (2) | (17)  |
| Past      | 4    | 5   | 3    | 5   | 2        | 1   | 20    |
| On        | (2)  | (3) | (2)  | (4) | (2)      | (1) | (14)  |

While the ratio of the past tense verbs reporting events is higher than that of the present tense verbs (14/20 vs. 17/34), we notice that there are more sentences with the present than with the past (34 vs. 20) and that all in all more sentences report events with the present tense than with the past (17 vs. 14). Furthermore, only six of the 17 independent event-line clause verbs in the present tense occur with the activitive suffix. Eight of them, however, end either with kø's i-ta (fact be-D) 'it is that . . . ' or with kø's-i ani-nka (fact-CP be.not-Q) 'isn't it that . . . ?'<sup>7</sup>

#### Example 4

(TC 2) . . . iløkhe      hwangkaphi      mun-nan      kø's i-ta.  
 like.this    in.a.great.hurry    ask-prM    fact be-D  
 'it happens that (someone) asks in a great hurry.'

(TC 48) . . . tteji.ø      ak-ul      ssu-nan      kø's-i      ani-nka?  
 in.a.group    scream-OP    cry-prM    fact-CP    be.not-Q  
 'Isn't it that (people) scream in a group?'

For sentences in this construction there is a tense shown in the verb of the modifying clause in addition to the tense in the copula of the final clause. These tenses are altogether different in their forms from those in the final clause:<sup>8</sup>

Among the three remaining sentences in the present tense reporting events, two occur with the mode for inevitability or double impossibility

(in which two negatives equal a positive): the negative (an-/-ji.an) plus single (or regular) impossibility -l ssu óp (-fuM way not.exist) 'cannot':

## Example 5

(TC 13) . . . hako muj-ji.an-ul ssu óp-ta.  
 Quot ask-Neg-fuM way not.exist-D  
 'I couldn't help but ask . . .'

(TC 45) . . . yǎ i nom jham jinjja-lokuna hako kamthan  
 hey this fellow really true-Apper Quot admiration  
  
an-ha-l ssu óp-ta.  
 Neg-do-fuM way not.exist-D

' . . . (one) cannot help admiring (him), saying, hey this fellow is a true musician.'

By having the mode for double impossibility for event-line material in the Inciting Moment (TC 13) and at Peak (TC 45) these present verbs highlight the information being reported.

The last example is an anomalous one, reporting the event in a modifying (or relative) clause:

## Example 6

(TC 32) . . . Kalónikka ná-ka aph-ay salam uyja twi-e koká-lul  
 therefore I-SP front-Poss person chair back-at head-OP

thaló.pak-ko kho ko-n kót-to kali  
 force.in-and nose snore-pM fact-even so

muli-nan ani-l.tat.sip-ta.  
 unreasonableness-TP be.not-likely-D

' . . . Therefore it seems not so very unreasonable that I put (my) head on the back of the seat in front of (me) and snored.'

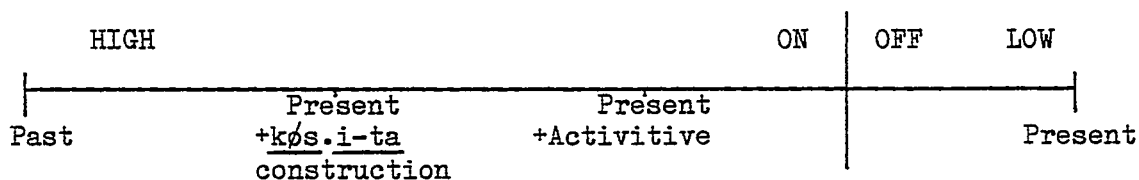
As a first-person account, it sounds more like an excuse for an action than reporting an event in a detached, objective manner. This sentence

nonetheless remains as an exception in its use of the present tense reporting an event.

The above discussion suggests three types of functions of the present tense in narratives, of which the first two provide background information:

- (1) To signal truth value which currently holds as present,
- (2) To provide explanation or comment, but with a more heightened vividness,
- (3) To report main-line events that are less important structurally than those in the past tense.

In terms of a scale (or "cline" as Longacre and Woods use) of structural importance of information, we can graphically show the discourse functions of the Korean tenses in narration as a continuum, in which I suggest different points of importance based on my study of the eight stories. By marking on and off, I try to indicate roughly the main distinction between the main line (foreground) and the supportive (background) materials.



## 4.2.2. Aspect

4.2.2.1. Aspect in Korean

The Korean aspectual suffixes group into three categories: completive/incompletive, durative/non-durative, and stative/non-stative. Some of the examples of each type are as follows, in which those in the left column tend to correspond with on-the-line and those in the right column with off-the-line materials.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">COMPLETIVE</p> <p><u>-<math>\phi</math>.p<math>\phi</math>li</u> finish doing it for good<br/> <u>-ko.mal</u> accidentally do it<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.tu</u> do it and leave it so</p>   | <p style="text-align: center;">INCOMPLETIVE</p> <p><u>-l.p<math>\phi</math>n.ha</u> almost do it<br/> (accidentally)</p>  |
| <p style="text-align: center;">NON-DURATIVE</p> <p>Cessative<br/> <u>-ta.mal</u> stop doing it<br/> <u>-ta.tu</u> stop doing it and<br/> leave so<br/> <u>-ta.noh</u> stop doing it and put<br/> it down</p>  | <p style="text-align: center;">DURATIVE</p> <p>Progressive (Prog)<br/> <u>-ko.iss</u> is in the middle of<br/> doing it</p> <p>Continuative (Contin)<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.o</u> have come to do it<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.ka</u> go on doing it</p> <p>Repetitive (Repet)<br/> <u>-kon.ha</u> do it every once in<br/> a while<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.t<math>\ddot{a}</math></u> frequently do it</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">NON-STATIVE</p> <p>Inchoative (Inchoa)<br/> <u>-ke.twe</u> (be)come to do it<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.ji</u> (be)come to be so<br/> (from State to<br/> Process verb)</p> <p>Inceptive (Incep)<br/> <u>-ki.sijak.ha</u> start to do it</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">STATIVE</p> <p>Resultative (Result)<br/> <u>-<math>\phi</math>.iss</u> be in the state of<br/> (from Process to<br/> State verb)</p>   |

#### 4.2.2.2. Discourse Functions of Aspect

The frequency of occurrence of aspect markers in Korean stories is low. For example, in "The Beauty and the Monk" story consisting of 28 sentences, only six independent clauses carry any kind of aspect marker; and there is only one aspect--progressive--in the hat seller story with 18 sentences. The same is true with the short stories. There are six final verbs with aspect suffixes in "The Water Cicada," which has over one hundred sentences.

Those aspects marking incomplete (Incompl), durative, and stative, clearly put the information off-the-line. Thus the progressive and resultative aspects, which are more frequently used than others in this group, lower the level of information, often relegating clauses to the stage of a discourse. We have seen in Chapter 3 that the past progressive is frequently employed in the stage, in which the major participants are also introduced.

#### Example 7

- (BM 3) . . . y<sup>o</sup>lsimhi pulkong-al tuli-k<sup>o</sup>.iss-<sup>o</sup>t-ta.  
earnestly Buddhist.mass-OP hold-Prog-Past-D  
'(The monk) . . . was holding the Buddhist masses earnestly.'
- (SC 1) . . . Sim Jh<sup>o</sup>ng-i-ka sal-k<sup>o</sup>.iss-<sup>o</sup>ss-upnita.  
Shim Chung-Voc-SP live-Prog-Past-fD  
' . . . Shim Chung lived.'
- (BM 8) Mok-e mu<sup>o</sup>sinka kitala-n k<sup>o</sup>n-i k<sup>o</sup>l-ly--<sup>o</sup>.iss-<sup>o</sup>t-ta.  
throat-at something long-prM thing-SP stick-Passive-Result-Past-D  
'Something long was stuck in the throat.'
- (WC 59) Jip-es<sup>o</sup>-nan manula-ka . . . y<sup>o</sup>ngkam-nim-kwa mangn<sup>o</sup>-ka  
home-at-TP wife-SP husband-Honor-and youngest.child-SP

hakkyo-esø tola.o-ki-lal kitali-ko.iss-øt-ta.  
 school-from come.back-Nom-OP wait-Prog-Past-D

'At home (his) wife . . . was waiting for (her) husband and for the youngest child coming from a school.'

The progressive aspect represents an action as an on-going state, whereas the resultative aspect denotes a state as a result of a process (cf. 4.2.5 on case frames). Thus I consider the former higher in the scale of information importance than the latter.

In contrast to the incomplete, durative, and stative aspects, those aspects marking completive, non-durative, and non-stative tend to raise the level of information prominence, as though the event is reported with a little more force. For example:

Example 8

(SC 92) . . . nun-al pønjjøk tta-ko.mal-ass-apnita.  
 eye-OP widely open-Compl-Past-FD  
 '(Shim Bongsa) . . . opened his eyes wide.'

(WC 15) Mul mami-nan jhil jja kan-alo taløka-ko.mal-at-ta.  
 water cicada-TP seven letter slot-to go.in-Compl-Past-D  
 'The water cicada went into the Number 7 slot.'

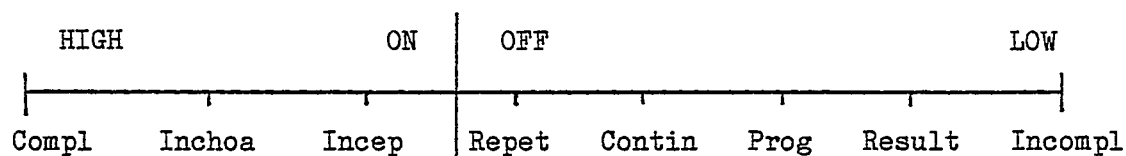
(SC 69) . . . pät.sakong-al manna-ke.twe-øss-apnita.  
 ship.person-OP meet-Inchoa-Past-FD  
 'Shim Chung . . . came to meet the seamen.'

(TC 38) Yønju-ka kkanna-ki-ka musøpke uli-tal-an mok-i  
 performance-SP be.over-Nom-SP as.soon.as we-Pl-TP throat-SP  
 mala-n tasi son patak-al jhi-ki.sijak.ha-yøt-ta.  
 thirsty-prM as.if hand palm-OP clap-Incep-Past-D  
 'As soon as the performance was over, we started to clap madly.'

In the first two examples the completive (Compl) aspect marks pivotal events that happen accidentally, not purposefully. The blind man Shim Bongsa magically opens his eyes in an effort to see his daughter at

reunion, and the water cicada went into a wrong slot contrary to the boy's wish. The third example SC 69 is one of the five occurrences (S5, 8, 69, 75, and 85) of the inchoative aspect -ke.twe in "The Story of Shim Chung." Interestingly enough, the aspect marks an event that leads to the next crucial event throughout the story. TC 38 illustrates the inceptive aspect, marking an important event, but perhaps not as prominent as those marked by the inchoative aspect.

Among the aspects that occur in the stories that I have chosen there seems to be a gradient with regard to their functions in narrative. While the completive aspect marks a pivotal event, the inchoative and inceptive aspects mark less important ones. Still further down along the scale are the progressive and resultative aspects. I try to show this gradient by the following continuum with suggestive points between the completive and incompletive aspects (excluding the cessative, which does not occur in my eight texts):





## 4.2.3. Mode

4.2.3.1. Mode in Korean

Nida (1949) lists as mode: indicative (or declarative), narrative, optative, desiderative, intentive, interrogative, negative, quotative, dubitative, potential, conditional, subjunctive, obligatory, imperative, and permissive. Korean utilizes most of these,<sup>9</sup> perhaps with the exception of narrative. I consider the suffix -kess as volitional (Volit) or presumptive (Presum), the activitive (Act) suffix -(na)n, and the conjecture (Conject) suffix -(a)l.køsi also belong here, since I no longer treat them as tense markers. I list here the modal suffixes of Korean. The final suffixes are the last suffixes on verbs (thus, called sentence endings by some grammarians), and those listed here are the forms used at the plain informal speech level. For the illustrative use of those modes occurring in our texts, see Appendix B.

## AS PREFIX

Negative: an-/anh-

## AS FINAL SUFFIX

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| Declarative:   | <u>-ta</u>       |
| Interrogative: | <u>-ni/-lkka</u> |
| Imperative:    | <u>-la/-køla</u> |
| Propositive:   | <u>-ja</u>       |
| Suspectiv:     | <u>-ji</u>       |
| Promissive:    | <u>-ma</u>       |
| Apperceptive:  | <u>-kun/-ne</u>  |

## AS NON-FINAL SUFFIX

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Retrospective: <sup>10</sup> | - <u>ti</u> / <u>-tø</u>  |
| Intentive:                   | - <u>lyøko</u> ( <u>ha</u> )  |
| Desiderative:                | - <u>ko.siph</u>  |
| Optative:                    | - <u>ki.wonha</u> / <u>-ki.pala</u>   |
| Experimentative:             | - <u>ø.po</u> 'see'   |
| Obligatory:                  | - <u>ya</u> ( <u>man</u> ). <u>ha</u>   |
| Pretention:                  | -( <u>na</u> ) <u>n.jhøk</u> . <u>ha</u>  |
| Permissive:                  | - <u>to.twe</u>   |
| Quotative:                   | -( <u>ila</u> ) <u>ko.ha</u> / <u>-(i)la</u> / <u>-hako</u>                       |
| Activitive:                  | -( <u>na</u> ) <u>n</u>   |
| Presumptive:                 | - <u>kess</u>   |
| Volitional:                  | - <u>kess</u>   |
| Conjecture:                  | -( <u>a</u> ) <u>l.køsi</u>   |
| Negative:                    | - <u>ji.an</u>  |
| Possibility/Ability:         | - <u>l.ssu.iss</u> 'can'  |
| Impossibility/Inability:     | - <u>l.ssu.øps</u> 'cannot'   |
| Inability:                   | - <u>ji.mot.ha</u> 'unable to do'   |
| Inevitability:               | - <u>ji.an-ul.ssu.øps</u> (Neg + Impossibility)<br>'unable not to do, cannot but' |

4.2.3.2. Dicourse Functions of Modes

Not every mode in the list occurs in the eight stories. Of the seven final suffixal modes, only the declative and interrogative are found in narration, while we have all seven of them in direct speeches within quotations. Of the non-final modes our stories do not have the optative, pretention, and permissive modes.

The declarative (Decl) mode is used most extensively and seems to be the most neutral as to the "psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker" (Nida 1949:168). As a simple reporting device, verbs with the declarative suffix narrate the backbone events as happened. It occurs with those modes that assume non-final positions in a verb more frequently than any other final modal suffixes.

Grimes (1975) notes that collateral information is characteristically a non-event in narrative, something that did not happen. The following examples taken out of the stories show that the collateral information

reported in negative (Neg) mode does not in any way propel the story forward in time:

Example 9

(HS 3) . . . han salam-to moja sa-nun salam-i ops-oss-upnita.  
 one person-even hat buy-prM person-SP not.exist-Past-fD  
 '. . . (there) was not even one person who bought a hat.'

(HS 10) Kuløna moja-nun hana-to po-i-ji.an-ass-upnita.  
 but hat-TP one-even see-Passive-Neg-Past-fD  
 'However, not a single hat was visible.'

In the first sentence, ops 'not exist' is not formed with iss 'exist' plus negative, but is in itself an inherently negative verb in Korean. Similarly, molu 'not know' is not morphologically related to its positive counterpart al 'know.' In both cases, even though they are not in negated forms, i.e., with negative suffix, their status as collateral remains the same, thus reporting off-the line information. While both forms of the negative--as a prefix and as a suffix--occur in narration, the suffixal form is more frequent.

There is an interesting example of the use of the interrogative (Q) and negative modes in narration (which has already been discussed in Chapter 3 as a peak feature):

Example 10

(GM 13) . . . kuløngi-ka mom-ul jhing.jhing.kam-ko ka sãppalka-n  
 snake-SP body-OP coil.tightly-and the bright.red-prM

hyøt.patak-ul nallum.køli-ko.ij-ji.an-khess-øyo?  
 tongue.tip-OP roll.in.and.out-Prog-Neg-Presum-sfQ

'Isn't it that a snake has coiled (his) body tightly and is rolling (its) bright red tongue in and out.'

As a question not seeking an answer (from the reader?), this sentence may

be called a rhetorical question. The use of the present tense, progressive and presumptive aspects, interrogative and negative modes at the peak of the story, where the tension is high, brings the reader into the story and functions to heighten vividness. It is extremely interesting to note that all of these verb features that normally function to signal background information are here employed to report pivotal information at peak. This reflects the fact that at peak we have frequent reversal of grammatical features--perhaps to support the turbulence in meaning, i.e., tension and conflict in the development of the story.

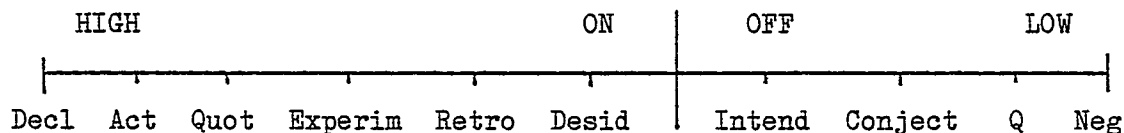
The activitive mode is realized on the surface only in the non-past tense; when it surfaces, it functions to raise the level of information to the main line as we discussed in the section on the present tense (cf. 2.1.1.2). The quotative (Quot) mode is high in the scale in reporting speech events, which often move the story forward. The experimentative (Experim) mode - $\phi$ .po 'see,' which denotes something like 'do it to see what happens next,' is also in the high end of the continuum in that it reports an action that is carried out although we are more interested in what the action leads into or what happens next than the action itself. For example,

## Example 11

(WC 62) Kitali-ta.mot.ha-y $\phi$  nain-un hakkyo-lo ka mul- $\phi$ .po-at-ta.  
 wait-unable-so old.man-TP school-to go ask-see-Past-D

'Unable to wait any longer, the old man went to school and asked  
 (about his son).'

The other modes found in the stories seem to function to lower the level of information reported below the level of the declarative. I think the notion of a continuum again serves well for our purpose here in showing the different types of mode in terms of discourse functions. Strictly speaking, we could have two separate continua to cover the modes, one for the final suffixal modes such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc. and the other for the non-final modes such as intentive (Intend), retrospective (Retro), experimentative, desiderative (Desid), etc. However, since of the seven final modes we have only the declarative and interrogative modes in narration, I have collapsed both the final and non-final modes into one continuum which includes only some of those more frequently found in the stories. This continuum may be expressed as follows with indicative/declarative as one extreme and the negative as the other:



I have shown the division of on- and off-the-line roughly in the continuum, but it is by no means a clear-cut one. For example, the desiderative mode may be off-the-line, when the desire to do something is

not a sudden process but a continuous state. The following sentence exemplifies on-the-line desiderative aspect:

Example 12

(HS 6) . . . k $\phi$ s-al po-ko jaki-tal-to moja jangsa-wa.kajhi moja-lal  
fact-OP see-and self-PL-also hat seller-like hat-OP

ssa-ko.siph- $\phi$ ss-upnita.  
put.on-Desid-Past-fD

'(These monkeys), seeing that . . . , also wanted to put the hats on themselves like the hat seller.'

#### 4.2.4. Voice-Transitivity (Clause Types)

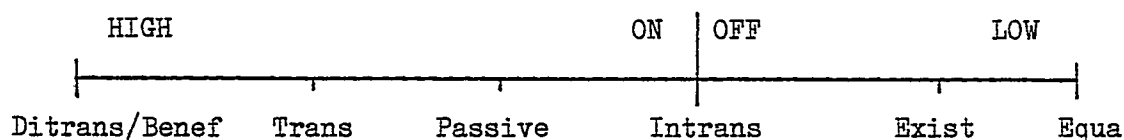
Nida (1949) lists the following as voice: active, passive, reflexive, reciprocal, transitive, intransitive, causative, middle, benefactive, and impersonal. Therefore, he uses voice as a broader term including transitivity. The term "transitivity" is narrowly defined here (as compared with the transitivity of Hopper and Thompson 1980) as that strictly related to surface structure clause types such as transitive and intransitive.

Intransitive and transitive verbs in Korean are often related by derivational suffixes. For example, the causative suffix (short form -i/-hi/-li/-ki; or long form -ke.ha, which may be ambiguous in its meaning between causation and permission) is attached to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb, or a ditransitive verb from a transitive verb. For example,

## Example 13

- (1) anj (vi) 'sit' + -hi = anj-hi (vt) 'sit (someone)'  
anj (vi) 'sit' + -ke.ha = ank-ke.ha (vt) 'sit (someone)'  
or 'allow (someone) to sit'
- (2) møk (vt) 'eat' + -i = møk-i (vdt) 'feed'  
møk (vt) 'eat' + -ke.ha = møk-ke.ha (vdt) 'feed'  
or 'allow to eat'

In my earlier study (cf. Hwang 1975) I posited five surface structure clause types in Korean: equative (Equa), intransitive (Intrans), transitive (Trans), ditransitive (Ditrans), and passive. The existential (Exist) clauses are included within the intransitive type (in that they manifest the same tagmemes and formulas). For the present purpose I have separated the existential clause type from the intransitive, for the former never reports on-the-line information, while some intransitives are on-the-line and some are not. The existential and equative clauses include specific verb roots: iss 'exist' or ops 'not.exist,' and i 'be' or ani 'be.not,' respectively. The following is a continuum of transitivity based on the different clause types. The benefactive (Benef) voice is added here at the high end alongside the ditransitive (see further discussion).



Ditransitives are shown to be the highest in the transitivity scale, in that they typically involve two objects, of which one is an animate (often human) recipient. This correlates with the discussion of Hopper and Thompson (1980) on indirect objects, which they consider are more transitive than the direct (accusative) objects. In their terms the

former are more highly individuated (with features of definite, animate, human, referential, etc.) than the latter.

In Korean there is the benefactive suffix, which interests me with regard to its function in narrative. It occurs several times in the stories I have studied. It is not surprising at all since we use this suffix frequently in speech, corresponding to English meaning of 'please' or 'for someone':

Example 14

|                                      |                        |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Jip-ulo                              | ponä-ju-se-yo.         |
| home-to                              | send-Benef-Honor-sfImp |
| 'Please send (it) to home (for me).' |                        |

The literal counterpart of English 'please' is jepal in Korean; but we do not use it except in really desperate situations. The benefactive suffix, derived from the verb ju 'give,' inherently involves a sort of action, i.e., doing something for someone. In Hopper and Thompson's terms, this suffix involves a highly individuated object, which is an animate (often human) and definite recipient often corresponding to the ditransitive clause type.



## Example 15

(BM 9) . . . sanim-un son-ul nǒǒ-sǒ ka kǒs-ul  
 monk-TP hand-OP put.in-and the thing-OP

ppop-a.ju-ǒt-ta.  
 pull.out-Benef-Past-D

'The monk put (his) hand into (the throat) and pulled out the thing.'

(BM 27) . . . mǒli-lal kkakk-a.ju-ko hamkke pulto-e  
 hair-OP cut-Benef-and together Buddhism-to

jǒngjin.ha-yǒt-ta.  
 devote-Past-D

'(The monk) cut (her) hair and devoted (himself) to Buddhism together (with her).'

(GM 44) Jǒlmani-nan anhe-lal kap-ki-wihǎsǒ kwijungha-n  
 young.man-TP debt-OP repay-Nom-in.order.to precious-prM

moksum-kkaji pǒli-n ǒmma appa kkajhi-lal  
 life-even cast.away-pM mommy daddy magpie-OP

ǒlumanji-myǒ yangji.pala-n ǒntǒk-e yeppa-n mutǒm-ul  
 stroke-while sunny-prM hill-at pretty-prM grave-OP

mantal-ǒ.ju-ǒt-ta-pnita.  
 make-Benef-Past-D-fD

'Stroking the mommy and daddy magpies, who had cast away (their) precious lives to repay the kindness, the young man made a pretty grave (for them) on a sunny hill.'

In all three examples those events reported by the verbs with the benefactive suffix are high in the scale of information importance. Thus we might say that the presence of the benefactive suffix is clearly a short-hand device raising the level of information (signaling often the ditransitive clause type), just as the causative suffix is (signaling the transitive or ditransitive clause type as mentioned above). Next in the scale come the transitives, which involve two arguments (the agent/subject and the object).

Passive clauses<sup>11</sup> are made out of either ditransitive or transitive clauses by transforming the direct object into the subject. Unlike English or Japanese the indirect object in a ditransitive clause is never made a subject in Korean passives. I consider passives as usually on-the-line, for they often carry important information involving more than one noun whether or not the second one surfaces. In my stories I have found several examples of passives that report important foreground information.

## Example 16

- (BM 4) . . . holangi ulpujin-nan soli-ka tal-ly-øt-ta.  
 tiger roar-prM sound-SP hear-Passive-Past-D  
 'a tiger's roaring sound was heard.'
- (SC 85) . . . najung-e-nan wangpi-lo ppop-hi-ke.twe-øss-upnita.  
 later-at-TP queen-as choose-Passive-Inchoa-Past-fD  
 '(Shim Chung) was chosen later as queen.'
- (GM 35) Palo i ttã ttengkalong.ttengkalong.ttengkalong ttatpakketo  
 right this time clang.clang.clang unexpectedly  
 jong-i se pön ul-ly-øss-upnita.  
 bell-SP three time cry-Passive-Past-fD  
 'Right at this time the bell unexpectedly was rung three  
 times--clang! clang! clang!'
- (SM 55) Kongjung-e jhã pan-to ola-ji.mot.ha-ko jul-i  
 space-at yet half-even climb-unable.to.do-and rope-SP  
 kkan-ø.jyø-sø holangi-nan susu-path-e  
 break-Passive-so tiger-TP Indian.millet-field-at  
 ttøløjyø juk-ko.mal-ass-upnita.  
 fall die-Compl-Past-fD  
 'Before (he) was halfway into the sky, the rope was broken and  
 the tiger died when he fell into the Indian-millet field.'

Although passive clauses are far less frequently used than their active counterparts, when they are used they often report important events. In the first example above, the passive is used to shift the topic and focus

on the new topic, "the sound." In the second example, the passive is employed to keep the thematicity line unchanged and avoid mentioning the agent as to who chose her as queen. The third example certainly reports the pivotal event of the story, "The Grateful Magpies"; the sound of the bell at the peak of the story saves the young man from being killed by the snake. In this case also, the agent is suppressed since it is yet to be known. In the last example, passive is used because there is no agent; the rope broke by itself for it is a rotten one.

These illustrations and others in the texts point discourse functions of passives in Korean in the opposite direction from the Hopper and Thompson (1980: 293) hypothesis that "passives, in languages like English, will tend to occur in the backgrounded portions of texts." They distinguish these passives from the "0-focus construction" passives found in the Philippine languages, which are high in Transitivity and tend to occur with agents. I think Korean passives are more like those in English or Wappo (as illustrated by Hopper and Thompson) than those in the Philippine languages, in that they tend to occur without agents. Yet our illustrations show that they report important on-the-line events in terms of the narrative. Therefore, I take the position that the Korean passives do not normally demote the level of information importance to any considerable degree, but that they belong perhaps between the transitive and the intransitive in our continuum. They often occur without agents, thus reducing the number of nouns, and they tend to report accidental or unexpected events rather than a volitional action of an agent. The choice of passive voice over active may be largely dependent on the thematicity

line of the nouns involved in a discourse, as Longacre (1977:21-2) observes:

If a language has voice or focus shifts, these are frequently used to maintain thematicity of a given participant or abstract theme. Thus, a passive voice can be used in English to maintain as theme an element, while to make the verb active with that noun as object would impair the thematicity of the paragraph.

The existential and equative clauses are typically used for introducing a participant or prop and for providing background information. The equative is the lower of the two types in that often its function is simply to connect two nominals. In several languages the equative clauses are manifested in fact as nominal clauses with no verbs on the surface. Thus I present the continuum of transitivity according to six clause types ranging high to low in the scale: ditransitive, transitive, passive, intransitive, existential and equative.

#### 4.2.5. Types of Verbs According to Case Frames

Following Chafe (1970), Longacre (1976) categorizes the verbs broadly into four basic types: State (S), Process (P), Action-Process (AP), and Action (A). These four basic types are further related in another parameter to characteristic roles of cooccurring nouns, such as Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Locative, etc. In addition, he posits two further categories of verbs, the existential and equative. I earlier applied his scheme of case frames to Korean clauses for their deep structure roles (cf. Hwang 1975). Now, in my study of discourse, I find that the broad categorization of verbs into four basic types gives a helpful insight in discriminating information in terms of its relative structural importance.<sup>12</sup>

The classification of verbs into State type--those descriptive, stative, or psychological verbs treated as exceptions (4) and (6) by Miehle--will take care of their being off-the-line. In contrast, the remaining three types are on-the-line, but in different degrees of importance, from the highest to the lowest as given in the following order: Action-Process, Action, and Process. Action-Process type corresponds to Hopper and Thompson's high or cardinal transitivity relationship, in that the verbs in this type characteristically involve two nouns--the Agent and the Object (or Patient or Experiencer in Longacre's case terms)--and the latter is affected more (often totally) than those occurring in Action verbs. For example,

Example 17

- (1) John broke the dish (AP)
- (2) John kicked the chair (A)

The dish undergoes a more drastic change (by being broken), i.e., totally affected, than the chair (by being kicked).

Furthermore, by having a systematic classification system such as case frames, we are able to make a distinction between the foregrounded psychological verbs and those backgrounded:

Example 18

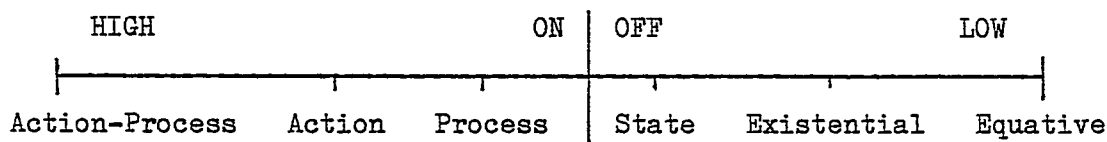
- (1) I knew all of a sudden that . . . (P)
- (2) I knew all along that . . . (S)

where the first sentence is Process by virtue of its sudden realization as expressed by an adverbial phrase, all of a sudden, whereas the second one

is State, as attested by the phrase, all along.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Korean this difference between Process and State is often cued morphologically by derivation. For the verb al 'know,' which is inherently a Process verb in Korean, the addition of the progressive aspect turns it into State: al-ko.iss-øt-ta (know-Prog-Past-D) 'knew (all along).'

A systematic consideration of types of verbs by way of case frames enables an analyst to determine the different functions that different types of verbs play in discourse. These functions, I believe, would be to a large extent cross-linguistic. Then we would not need to have several, language-specific, exceptions.

If we add the existential and the equative verb types to these four basic types of predication, the scale of importance in terms of verb types may be represented as another continuum:



his continuum overlaps with that of transitivity at the low end in respect to the existential and equative types. Both continua represent clause or verb types (with verb as the central element within a clause), but one is concerned with the deep structure roles and the other with the surface types. There may be, however, non-isomorphism between the two structures, i.e., an existential verb in the surface structure may denote locative state in case frames:

## Example 19

Phen-i jhāk-sang-wie it-ta.  
 pen-SP book-table-on exist-D  
 'The pen is on the desk.'

By analyzing the verbs in terms of this continuum, we can distinguish Action verbs from Process verbs although both may be realized as intransitives, or Action-Process verbs from Action verbs when both are transitives. For example, in "The Beauty and the Monk"

## Example 20

(BM 5) . . . hwätpul-ul tal-ko naka-po-at-ta.  
 torch-OP hold-and go.out-see-Past-D  
 '(The monk) held a torch and went out to see.'

the first clause is transitive and the second is intransitive, but both belong to Action case frame. The further parameter of sentence structure (4.2.6) places the independent clause higher in the information scale than the dependent clause, thus showing that the fact the monk went out is more important than the fact that he held a torch. In section 4.3.3 I have analyzed the story in terms of all six parameters, of which one is the verb types by case frames.

## 4.2.6. Sentence Structure

We have in Korean a chain of dependent clauses and only one independent clause occurring finally in a sentence (as a characteristic of a "choo-choo train language" by Longacre 1976), in contrast to English ("a flight formation language"), which may have more than one independent clause within the nucleus of a sentence as in the case of coordinate clauses. However, many of the dependent (or non-final) clauses in the

Korean language are coordinate clauses even though they are not independent in form, i.e., they do not normally carry tense, aspect, or mode. As mentioned earlier, much of the event-line information is reported through these non-final coordinate clauses, although I do not believe that they function on the same level of prominence as the independent clauses. When the dependent clauses are clearly subordinate, as in the temporal, conditional, cause, or purpose margins, I consider them to be off the main-line, as Miehle has done for English (exception 1). For example,

Example 21

(BM 5) (1) Hato kusongji-ko sulphake ul-kie  
very plaintive-and sadly cry-because

(2) hwatpul-al tal-ko  
torch-OP hold-and

(3) naka-po-at-ta.  
go.out-see-Past-D

'Since (he) was crying so plaintively and sadly that (the monk) held a torch and went out to see.'

The first clause is subordinate as a reason margin, the second is a coordinate dependent clause, and the third is an independent clause with tense and mode. while the subordinate clause is off the main-line, the other two are on the main-line, clearly reporting the actions of the monk.

There are some verbs in coordinate clauses that are marked by the topic particle nun. More commonly, this topic particle is attached to subject, object, or locational and temporal nouns to mark the topic of a clause. However, the information in the coordinate clauses may not possibly be called topic, since it is new information, usually the



immediately preceding event before the one reported in the independent clause.

The topic particle nən is one of the tertiary particles (cf. Hwang 1975:9), which can be attached to subject and object (by replacing ka/i and lal/al); and to locational and temporal nouns, indirect object, agent, instrument and role, and accompaniment (by adding to existing particles). The other particles in this set are:<sup>14</sup> ya 'at least, taken for granted'; to 'even, also'; man 'only, exactly'; na 'rather as the second choice'; and lato 'as the last recourse.' I.S. Yang (1972, 1973) calls all these tertiary particles "delimiters," which delimit or specify the elements to which they are attached.

The topic particle nən occurs frequently throughout a discourse, mainly attached to known or registered elements, but on occasion tagging some new information such as the verb in the dependent clause. This particular usage of nən attached to verbs makes it to be a typical "mystery" particle (cf. Longacre 1977), for which we cannot give a simple gloss or explanation without resort to discourse structure. Furthermore, the particle in this position may very well be left out without affecting much, specially in terms of the local consideration within the sentence. However, somehow it makes the flow of discourse better and smoother. What is this subtle function of nən in a discourse? I present the hypothesis here that nən at the end of the coordinate but dependent verb indicates that the event reported in that clause is more important than those in other coordinate dependent clauses, but not as important as the one in the following independent clause, which typically carries higher information load.<sup>15</sup> Now let us look at some examples:

## Example 22

- (SM 4) (1) Nal-i jòmul-ja (2) ómóni-nan jip-esø kitali-l  
 day-SP get.dark-as.soon.as mother-TP home-at wait-fuM
- ai-tal-ul sǎngkak.ha-si-ko (3) koki-wa susu  
 child-Pl-OP think-Honor-and meat-and Indian.millet
- ttøk-ul ssa-kaji-ko-nan (4) ppalli jip-ulo  
 cake-OP wrap-take-and-TP quickly home-to
- tola.ka-si-øss-upnita.  
 go.back-Honor-Past-fD

- '(1) As soon as it got dark,  
 (2) mother thought about the children who would be waiting at home,  
 (3) packed meat and Indian-millet cake, and -nan  
 (4) went back home quickly.'

In this sentence the hypothesis holds since the meat and cake are important props, which trigger a tiger to attack the mother and to go after the children. I give two more examples in English translation only with coordinate clauses numbered to support my hypothesis (see Appendix A for Korean texts):

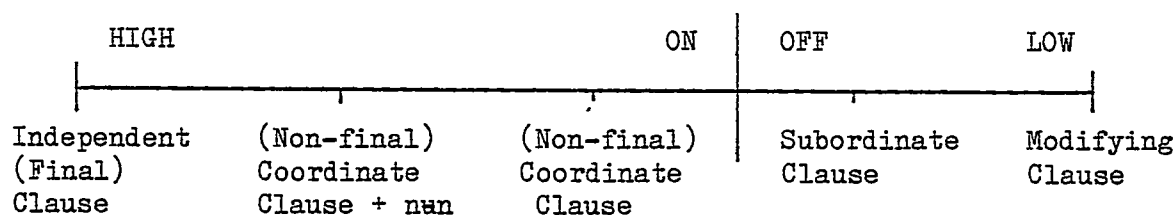
## Example 23

- (GM 8) '(1) The young man surely couldn't pass (them) as they were, so  
 (2) (he) shot the snake with (his) arrow, and  
 (3) let it fall,  
 (4) thus saving the baby magpies, and -nan  
 (5) went on (his) way again.'
- (BM 16) '(1) A big tiger came  
 (2) carrying a woman and  
 (3) was crying; then  
 (4) as soon as (he) saw the monk coming out,  
 (5) (he) put the woman on the ground, and -nan  
 (6) disappeared slowly.'

In the story of "The Grateful Magpies," the information that the young man has saved the baby magpies is important in that it is the reason why the parent magpies help the man later. Similarly, the information that the

tiger left the woman with the monk is very important in the plot structure of the story, since the woman becomes his sister and together they make up the legend regarding the Brother-and-Sister Pagoda. In all the examples, which tend to be long run-on sentences, those coordinate clauses with the topic particle report relatively more important information than the other coordinate clauses do.

We have the following levels or gradations as indicated by different types of clauses within a sentence, with the independent clause at the high end and the modifying (relative) clause within a noun phrase at the low end:



#### 4.3. Relative Importance of Information as Continua or as Multiple Levels

##### 4.3.1. Relative Importance of Information as Continua

The relative structural importance of information may be represented in terms of all six continua, which I bring here together:<sup>16</sup>

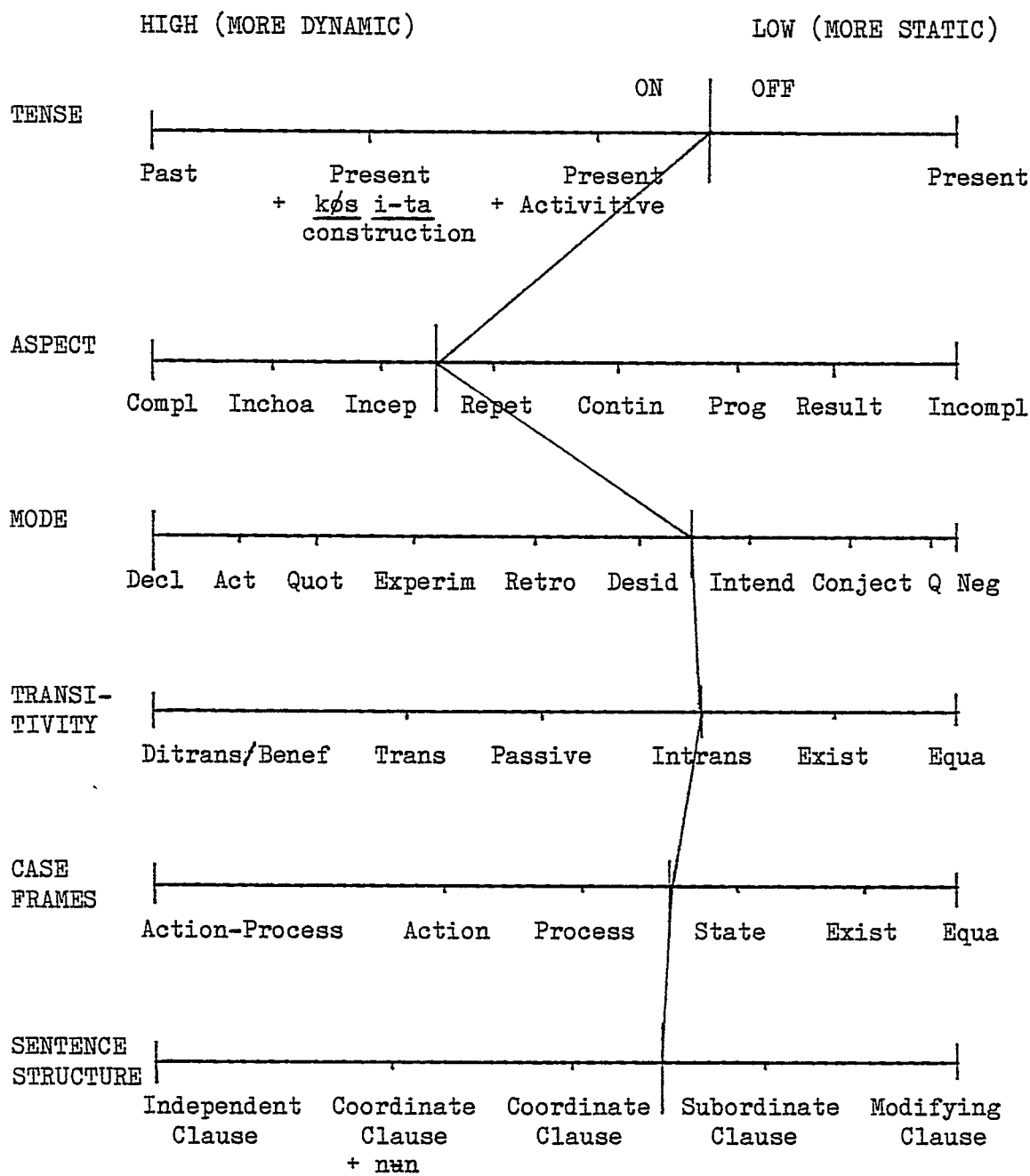


Figure 37. Continua of Relative Importance of Information

The high and low in importance of information should be determined in terms of all these factors (except for aspect, which is an optional feature occurring only occasionally). As suggested in the discussion of each type of feature, I have shown a rough indication as to the main division between

foreground (ON) and background (OFF) materials. Since these five or six features need to be analyzed as simultaneously intersecting factors, foreground in one continuum does not guarantee that given information will be on-the-line. Thus the closer the information is to the left extreme in these continua, the more important the information is with respect to the narrative. As far as these features of the continua contribute to the degree of Transitivity as discussed by Hopper and Thompson, what I present here with Korean narration corresponds closely to their hypothesis. The major difference, however, between my hypothesis and theirs is that I view that these grammatical features correlate to different degrees of importance in information, not just two levels of information, foreground and background; i.e., a continuum not a polar concept.

Another way to present these continua graphically would be as follows:

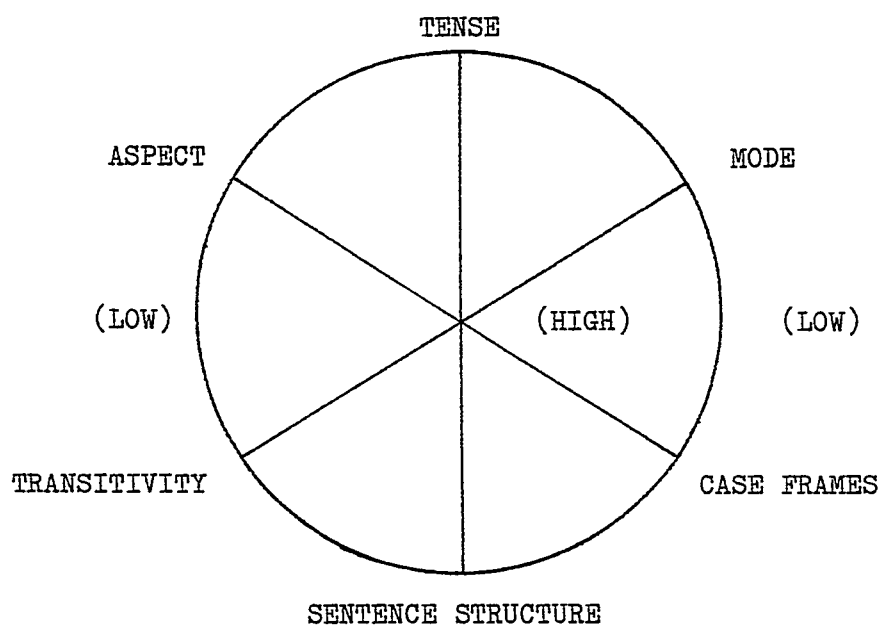


Figure 38. Continua of Relative Importance of Information Represented as a Circle Graph

The importance of information increases as it goes closer to the center of the circle in all six features and decreases as it diffuses out towards the periphery.

The use of continua has both merits and drawbacks. It is good since we do not need to cut the gradient into discrete levels, which may be rather arbitrary or forced divisions. On the other hand, this device does not show which of the six features are more important and should be weighed more in determining the point in the scale of importance.

The concept of continuum relates to the wave perspective as discussed by Pike (1978a) and Cassirer (1961). The indeterminacy or fuzziness lies in the data with borderline cases. We may have borderline cases in a given continuum (e.g., when it is difficult to tell which of the two mode markers is higher in the scale), or borderline cases where a clause or sentence is toward the left on some continua and toward the right on others. This fuzziness of the wave view may explain the different summaries written by different readers (or different macro-structures even at the same level of abstraction as Kintsch and van Dijk 1975 point out), while there is an overall correlation. It must be that people perceive the cues provided by the grammatical features differently.

#### 4.3.2. Relative Importance of Information as Multiple Levels

One might opt for multiple levels of information (as many did in L.K. Jones 1979). This alternative is exactly the reverse of the previous in respect to merits and drawbacks. While we can show some overriding features as compared with others (e.g., the parameter of verb types may be a more crucial determining factor than that of the tense), we are forced to

make cuts into levels. This represents the particle perspective in contrast to the other alternative, which represents the wave perspective. As Pike (1978a) warns us, we have to be aware of the "partitioning fallacy" that occurs in strictly following the particle view only. Therefore, I think that we need to maintain both perspectives--as continua and as multiple levels--to complement each other within the overall perspective of the field.

Here I present the following hypothesis of five levels of information with characteristic features in Korean narration (where ~ is to be read as "correlate with" and braces signal alternative choices):

Pivotal Events:

Past Tense  
 Declarative  
 Ditransitive or Transitive  
 Action-Process  
 Independent Clause  
 (+ Completive Aspect)

Prominent Events:

Past Tense  
 Declarative  
 Ditransitive or Transitive  
 {Action-Process ~ Coordinate Cl + nan}  
 {Action ~ Indep Cl  
 (+ Inchoative Aspect)

Ordinary Events:

Past Tense; or Present Tense ~ {kø's.i-ta  
 {Activitive Mode}  
 Declarative (+ Retrospective, Experimentative, or  
 Desiderative Mode)  
 {Transitive ~ Process  
 {Passive ~ {Action-Process}  
 {Intransitive} ~ {Action}}  
 {Transitive ~ Action ~ Coordinate  
 (+ Inceptive Aspect)

Prominent Background:

|  |                                     |   |  |        |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|--------|
| Past Tense or Present Tense<br>State; or | Action-Process<br>Action<br>Process | ~ | Continuative<br>Progressive<br>Resultative | Aspect |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|--------|

Ordinary Background:

Negative  
or Existential or Equative  
or Subordinate or Modifying Clause

As we can see from above (especially those marked with or), a much finer distinction into more number of levels of information is possible. However, I have tried to bring together several groups of similar prominence into one in order to prevent a multiplicity of levels. At the two levels of background, we need only one or two features that are crucial in determining the relative importance of information. Regardless of the points in other continua, for example, the negative signals the information to be low in the scale.

#### 4.3.3. Summary Analysis of a Narrative: "The Beauty and the Monk"

For an illustrative analysis of the relative structural importance of information, I have chosen "The Beauty and the Monk," for it is the only story without direct speeches, which require altogether different types of consideration further removed from the immediate writer-reader (or speaker-hearer) perspective of narration. Moreover, as I have reported in Chapter 3, I have conducted an experiment of summarization of this story. Thus I can compare the analysis of the grammatical features of the text



with the more intuitive or semantic interpretation of the story as reflected in the summaries.

The following chart mainly shows the features of two continua, i.e., the verb types by case frames and the clause types on the surface. For both there are six points in the continua from the high (more dynamic) to low (more static) in the scale. In the deep structure we have the verb types: Action-Process (AP), Action (A), Process (P), State (S), Existential (Ex), and Equative (Eq). In the surface structure we have clause types: ditransitive (dt), transitive (tr), passive (pass), intransitive (in), existential (ex), and equative (eq). When the boxes are filled toward the left in both, the information reported in the clause would be high in the scale. In order to reflect the features of the other continua as well, I set up an extra column before the first box of AP and dt to supply relevant information: such as the present (pres)--all others are in the past tense, the quotative mode or conjecture mode 'seem,' the benefactive (Benef) or causative (Caus) voice, the completive or progressive or resultative aspect, and the coordinate clause plus the topic particle nun. The last clause in each sentence represents the independent clause, which is also indicated by D in the morpheme translation for the declarative mode. See Appendix A.2 for the full text, for here only the verbs (and some direct objects) are given.

|                                       |                | AP<br>dt | A<br>tr | P<br>pass | S<br>in | Ex<br>ex | Eq<br>eq |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|----------|----------|
| 1 sǫ-it-ta<br>stand-Result-D          | Result<br>pres |          |         |           | S<br>in |          |          |
| 2 jǫnsǫl-i it-ta<br>legend-SP exist-D | pres           |          |         |           |         | Ex<br>ex |          |

|    |  |        |          |         |           |    |  |  |
|----|--|--------|----------|---------|-----------|----|--|--|
| 3  | jø1-ul jikhi-myø<br>temple-OP keep-while               |        |          | tr      |           | S  |  |  |
|    | tali-ko.iss-øt-ta<br>hold-Prog-Past-D                  | Prog   |          | tr      |           | S  |  |  |
| 4  | tal-ly-øt-ta<br>hear-Passive-Past-D                    |        |          |         | P<br>pass |    |  |  |
| 5  | hwätpul-ul tal-ko<br>torch-OP hold-and                 |        |          | A<br>tr |           |    |  |  |
|    | naka-po-at-ta<br>go.out-see-Past-D                     |        |          | A       |           | in |  |  |
| 6  | akali-lul pølli-ko<br>mouth-OP open-and                |        |          | A<br>tr |           |    |  |  |
|    | ulpujju-myø<br>roar-while                              |        |          | A       |           | in |  |  |
|    | äwøñ.ha-nan tat hä-t-ta<br>implore-prM as.if do-Past-D | 'seem' | AP       | tr      |           |    |  |  |
| 7  | al-ko<br>know-and                                      |        |          | tr      | P         |    |  |  |
|    | ka-sø<br>go-and  |        |          | A       |           | in |  |  |
|    | talyøta.po-at-ta<br>look.into-Past-D                   |        |          | A<br>tr |           |    |  |  |
| 8  | kø1-ly-ø.iss-øt-ta<br>stick-Passive-Result-Past-D      | Result |          |         | pass      | S  |  |  |
| 9  | -ilako jikkam.ha-ko<br>Quot perceive-and               | Quot   |          | tr      | P         |    |  |  |
|    | son-ul nøø-sø<br>hand-OP put.into-and                  |        | AP       | tr      |           |    |  |  |
|    | ppop-a.ju-øt-ta<br>pull.out-Benef-Past-D               | Benef  | AP<br>dt |         |           |    |  |  |
| 10 | ulam-ul mõmjhu-ko<br>cry-OP stop-and                   |        |          | A<br>tr |           |    |  |  |
|    | kkoli-lul hwijøa-myø<br>tail-OP wag-while              |        |          | A<br>tr |           |    |  |  |

|    |  |                                |    |         |           |         |    |          |  |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----|---------|-----------|---------|----|----------|--|
|    | salaj- $\phi$ .p $\phi$ ly- $\phi$ t-ta<br>disappear-Compl-Past-D    | Compl                          |    | A       |           | in      |    |          |  |
| 11 | piny $\phi$ y- $\phi$ t-ta<br>hair.rod be-Past-D                     |                                |    |         |           |         |    | Eq<br>eq |  |
| 12 | -ilako s $\ddot{a}$ ngkak.h $\ddot{a}$ -t-ta<br>Quot think-Past-D    | Quot                           |    | tr      | P         |         |    |          |  |
| 13 | s $\ddot{a}$ py $\phi$ k i- $\phi$ t-ta<br>dawn be-Past-D            |                                |    |         |           |         |    | Eq<br>eq |  |
| 14 | tal-ly- $\phi$ t-ta<br>hear-Passive-Past-D                           |                                |    |         | P<br>pass |         |    |          |  |
| 15 | naka-po-at-ta<br>go.out-see-Past-D                                   |                                |    | A       |           | in      |    |          |  |
| 16 | $\phi$ p-ko<br>carry-and   |                                |    | A<br>tr |           |         |    |          |  |
|    | wa-s $\phi$<br>come-and  |                                |    | A       |           | in      |    |          |  |
|    | ul-ko.it-taka<br>cry-Prog-while                                      | Prog                           |    |         |           | S<br>in |    |          |  |
|    | po-ja<br>see-as.soon.as  |                                |    | tr      | P         |         |    |          |  |
|    | n $\ddot{a}$ ly $\phi$ .no-kho-n $\ddot{a}$ n<br>put.down-and-TP     | <u>n<math>\ddot{a}</math>n</u> | AP |         | tr        |         |    |          |  |
|    | salajy- $\phi$ .p $\phi$ ly- $\phi$ t-ta<br>disappear-Compl-Past-D   | Compl                          |    | A       |           |         | in |          |  |
| 17 | y $\phi$ in- $\ddot{a}$ l po-ass-una<br>woman-OP see-Past-but        |                                |    | A<br>tr |           |         |    |          |  |
|    | kij $\phi$ l.h $\ddot{a}$ -iss- $\phi$ t-ta<br>faint-Result-Past-D   | Result                         |    |         |           | S<br>in |    |          |  |
| 18 | mul- $\ddot{a}$ l ph $\phi$ .put-ko<br>water-OP pour.down-and        |                                | AP |         | tr        |         |    |          |  |
|    | munjila-ko h $\ddot{a}$ -s $\phi$<br>rub-and do-so                   |                                | AP |         | tr        |         |    |          |  |
|    | kk $\ddot{a}$ $\phi$ na-ke.h $\ddot{a}$ -t-ta<br>wake.up-Caus-Past-D | Caus                           | AP |         | tr        |         |    |          |  |

|    |   |       |          |    |   |   |    |          |
|----|---|-------|----------|----|---|---|----|----------|
| 19 | jhønyø y-øt-ta<br>girl be-Past-D                                |       |          |    |   |   |    | Eq<br>eq |
| 20 | ttanim i-øt-ta<br>daughter be-Past-D                            |       |          |    |   |   |    | Eq<br>eq |
| 21 | kwøenko.hä-t-ta<br>advise-Past-D                                |       | AP<br>dt |    |   |   |    |          |
| 22 | ttämum i-ta<br>reason be-D                                      | pres  |          |    |   | S |    | eq       |
| 23 | i-läl køjøl.hä-t-ta<br>this-OP refuse-Past-D                    |       | AP       | tr |   |   |    |          |
| 24 | jinä-ya-ket-ta-nan køs i-ta<br>spend-Oblig-Volit-D-pM fact be-D | pres  | AP       |    |   |   |    | eq       |
| 25 | tanghwang.hä-t-ta<br>be.embarrassed-Past-D                      |       |          |    | P |   | in |          |
| 26 | ttämum i-ta<br>reason be-D                                      | pres  |          |    |   | S |    | eq       |
| 27 | nui-lo sam-ko<br>sister-as set.up-and                           |       | AP       | tr |   |   |    |          |
|    | møli-läl kkakk-a.ju-ko<br>hair-OP cut-Benef-and                 | Benef | AP<br>dt |    |   |   |    |          |
|    | jøngjin.ha-yøt-ta<br>devote-Past-D                              |       |          | A  |   |   | in |          |
| 28 | thap-ul sew-ø<br>pagoda-OP erect-and                            |       | AP       | tr |   |   |    |          |
|    | thap-ilako.hä-t-ta<br>pagoda-Quot-Past-D                        | Quot  | AP       | tr |   |   |    |          |

Among the sentences with AP in the chart, there is a reinforcing factor of the ditransitive in S9 and 27. In contrast, S6 carries a demoting factor of 'seem.' Generally, from the distribution of AP and of tr in the chart we can see that the information reported in S9, 16, 18, 21, 23, 27, and 28 are high in the scale of importance.

When we compare this with the result of the summarization experiment reported in Chapter 3 (3.2.3), we find the correlation in S9, 16, 27, and 28. However, only one or two out of eleven subjects included in their summaries the meanings included in S18, 21, and 23. In Chapter 3 I have analyzed the syntagmatic structure of the story, in which Sentences 21 to 26 belong to the peak of the embedded discourse filling Episode 2 (which itself is the peak of the overall story: S13-27). Since it is not unusual to have skewing in the level of information at the peak, we have in summaries S24 or even S26 which are low in the scale with the equative clauses, instead of S21 and 23 which are high.

It is noteworthy that only two people included the information reported in S18, which turns out to be high in the scale (that the monk helped and revived the woman). I believe the reason why this sentence is deleted in most summaries may be found in S24 (the fact is that the girl should stay with the monk who has saved her life). In other words, the information in S18 is reiterated by the modifying clause in S24. Therefore, most subjects stated the meaning of S24--which is an overt statement of didactic theme--and deleted that of S18. Another source of the reason may be the apparent expected causal dependence relationship. If a tiger leaves a fainted woman with a monk (S16), we expect that he would take care of her and help her.

This same sentence (S24) carries in effect the condensed meaning of the series of interaction at the peak: when the monk advised her to go back to Seoul (S21), she refuses to do so (S23) and instead decides to stay with her savior (S24). That is, to a certain extent, the meanings of S21 and 23 are deduceable from that of S24. We can also account for the omission of

S21 in summaries by way of the expected causal dependency; i.e., after one person saves another, he would try to send the other back home. What is unexpected is the information in S23 and 24; thus we have the meaning conveyed by S24 in summaries.

#### 4.4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have attempted to describe discourse functions of such grammatical features as tense, aspect, and mode in Korean narration. I have noticed that different features within each category correlate with the differential degree of prominence in a given discourse. Thus while most of the foregrounded material is encoded by the past tense and declarative mode plus or minus completive aspect, the backgrounded material is encoded by different combinations of the features, e.g., the present tense, the past tense plus durative or stative aspect, the past tense plus negative mode, etc.

In the analysis of Korean narratives, however, I have noticed that there are at least three more intersecting factors, influencing the relative importance of information: (1) transitivity of surface clause types, (2) types of verbs as classified by case frames, and (3) sentence structure with regard to the position and function of a clause within a sentence. The reason why I feel that these additional considerations are necessary may be partly due to the fact that in Korean we do not have an elaborate tense system and the aspects occur only occasionally. In fact, the majority of verbs do not have any aspect suffix. If we were to mark the perfective or imperfective aspect, as in some other languages (such as the Romance and the Slavic languages, cf. Hopper 1979 and Hopper and Thompson 1980), then perhaps we would not need to resort to the classification

system of verbs as used in case frames. These case frames, based on notional or semantic features, are not as clear and apparent as the surface structure features. The distinction between the dynamic action verbs and the stative verbs, however, has been a basic dichotomy in all analyses of this type (L.K. Jones 1979, Miehle 1978, Hopper 1979, and Hopper and Thompson 1980). Furthermore, I think the use of Longacre's scheme of case frames, which is already systematically developed, gives us an insight in making a structural statement on the relative importance of information. In an effort to make such a structural statement encompassing all relevant factors, I have isolated here six types of features: tense, aspect, mode, transitivity, verb types, and sentence structure. The necessity of taking into consideration all six of these types of features, instead of only the one feature of tense, may reflect the action-orientation of Korean narratives in terms of event line rather than simple temporal orientation.

There are two ways of viewing these six simultaneously intersecting grammatical features: one as continua and the other as multiple but discrete number of levels. Each has its merits and drawbacks, and both may prove to be useful in the analysis of information, each complementing the other.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>In talking about foreground and background, or on and off the main line, I do not mean to imply any value connotation to the given information. In good stories all information is relevant and significant in making stories what they are.

<sup>2</sup>It is based on the earlier version of Hopper's paper as presented at the Symposium on Discourse and Syntax in 1977.

<sup>3</sup>They assume the so-called "model-free" approach that has grown out of the transformational-grammar framework.

<sup>4</sup>I have excluded from this study reported speeches within quotations, since they have different reference points in time and space from those in regular narration. The use of tense, for example, within dialogues between participants is from the perspective of the time of conversation. As such, it has no relation to the speaker-hearer (or the author-reader) horizon in actual narration. Therefore, I believe that tense, aspect, and mode within quotations need to be studied separately from the usual narrative type, although they may exhibit related characteristics. Perhaps they are more closely akin to those in dialogue (or drama).

<sup>5</sup>While this is generally true, I have found an exception, in which the dependent clauses need to be interpreted as the past although the final clause has its verb in the present tense. See Example 3 and discussion in 4.2.1.2.2.

<sup>6</sup>Unlike coordinate clauses in Indo-European languages, which are independent in form, non-final coordinate clauses in Korean are dependent and defective, occurring without the sentence-final mode, much as the medial-verb clauses in Papua New Guinea languages. Longacre (1972:3) specifically points out that "the surface distinction medial-final is something different in kind than the subordinate-coordinate distinction found in an Indo-European language." See Longacre 1972 for further discussion on characteristics of clause-chaining languages. See also James 1970 for a transformational treatment of the coordination of medial-final clauses in Siane.

<sup>7</sup>This construction may be related to cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences. To use an example cited in L.K. Jones (1977) to make a cleft sentence in Korean:

(1) Uli-ka onal mǒk-nan kǒs-un talk i-ta.  
 we-SP today eat-prM thing-TP chicken be-D  
 'What we are eating today is chicken.'

In contrast, the construction with kǒs i-ta may be described as having the whole clause put aside leaving nothing before 'that' (instead of leaving a noun like 'chicken'):



- (2) Uli-nan onal talk-al mǝk-nan kǝs i-ta.  
 we-TP today chicken-OP eat-prM fact be-D  
 'It is that we are eating chicken today.'

<sup>8</sup>See D.W. Yang 1978 for a detailed discussion on the tense in modifying clause. This clause type has been variously labeled: embedded, modifying, relative, or adnominal clause. The modifying clause endings are:

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| <u>-nan</u>  | Present for verbs (prM)   |
| <u>-(u)n</u> | Present for adjectives and copula (prM)<br>or Past for verbs (pM) |
| <u>-(u)l</u> | Future (fuM)  |
| <u>-tǝn</u>  | Retrospective (rM)  |

The tense in the verb of the modifying clause has to do with the time of the modifying clause only, while the independent clause tense relates to the whole sentence. Therefore, the tenses in the two clauses, in fact, need not be identical. Thus we have cases when the tense in the modifying clause is the past and that in the independent clause is the present as in S52, which gives the reason why the narrator himself followed others in cheering for the other musician.

- (TC 52) Silsang paiollin-to jal hǎ-k-kǝniwa kalǝna  
 in.reality violin-also well do-Past-in.addition.to but
- na-nan paiollin-pota ssik.ssik.ha-n ka ungwǝn-al  
 I-TP violin-than gallant-prM the cheering-OP
- jǎjhǝng.ha-n kǝs i-ta.  
 encore-pM fact be-D

'Though the violin was played well, but the fact is that I was calling for an encore to that wonderful cheering.'

While the time for the action is cast in the past tense (-n pM), the whole sentence assumes the present tense by its final clause kǝs i-ta 'it is that . . .' rather than its past counter part kǝs i-ǝt-ta 'it was that . . .' This use of the present for reporting an important reason seems to raise the level of immediacy and vividness from mere background to highly relevant background.

<sup>9</sup>The conditional and subjunctive modes are expressed by a construction with two clauses, the first ending with -myǝn 'if' and the second with -ket-ta (Volit-D) 'will' or -l.thente 'would.' Since we do not have examples from our stories, I have not included them in the discussion.

<sup>10</sup>This retrospective suffix has been called variously: a tense (Choi 1971:455-63), an aspect (Martin 1954:37), a mood (I.S. Yang 1972:4), or manner (Chang 1973:40). In an article called "Retrospection in Korean" Sohn (1975) analyzes this unique suffix in Korean as including the meaning: a reporter's perception (in the past) of a propositional content. The

propositional content itself may have a different time horizon, as shown in the following examples that I supply: (1) Ku-ka o-t $\phi$ -la '(I saw that) he was coming'; (2) Ku-ka wa-t-t $\phi$ -la 'I saw that he had come'; and (3) Ku-ka o-ket-t $\phi$ -la '(I saw that) he would presumably come.' Following Sohn, therefore, I treat it as a mode suffix in that it is primarily concerned with the speaker's perception and only secondarily with time.

<sup>11</sup>Wallace (1978) presents a study on adversative passives, i.e., in many languages of southeastern Asia the subject of passive clauses is portrayed as the victim of some unfortunate event. As many passive clauses in Korean are agentless, they tend to report accidental and involuntary events, but I do not think all of them are adversative. For example, Lee's (1974) illustrations of Korean passives include the following, which are far from adversative:

- (1) Ai-ka       $\phi$ m $\phi$ ni-eke      an-ki- $\phi$ t-ta.  
 child-SP mother-by      embrace-Passive-Past-D  
 'The child was embraced by Mother.'
- (2) Ka      s $\phi$ ns $\phi$ ng-un      haks $\phi$ ng-tal-eke      jonky $\phi$ ng-pat-nun-ta.  
 the teacher-TP      student-Pl-by      respect-Passive-Act-D  
 'The teacher is respected by students.'

<sup>12</sup>While I find the parameter of case frames involving four basic verb types helpful, the other parameter involving cooccurring nouns seems too complicated and unmanageable to be useful for the present purpose. I might find the latter also helpful, however, in further analysis as suggested by Longacre (1976:38): "a given discourse can be shown to have related sets of verbs--not a helter-skelter ensemble--in its basic main-line structure."

<sup>13</sup>Longacre (in lecture, 1980) mentioned that Helen Dry was considering a similar distinction between on- and off-the-line information, cued by adverbial expressions.

<sup>14</sup>I have excluded the other five particles from this study in that they are not as frequently used as nan, and that most of them at least carry some definite semantic meanings which we can gloss in English.

<sup>15</sup>Larson (1978) reports that the particle -ka in Aguaruna discourse functions in a similar way as the topic particle nan in Korean discourse.

<sup>16</sup>This composite representation of continua is similar in type to Mayers' (1979) representation of six continua utilizing different categories of thought.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

#### 5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4 we have seen how the features in verbs function in discourse in such a way as to signal the relative importance of information reported in clauses. In this chapter we focus our attention on nouns, pronouns, and zero anaphora to determine how these are used to refer to participants in narratives.<sup>1</sup> We are concerned with how the participants are introduced and how they are tracked throughout the story until they move off the stage or until the story ends. In tracking the participants we try to find out why they are referred to overtly--in most cases by noun phrases and occasionally by pronouns. Reference to participants will even be frequently omitted in Korean since the clause structure permits omission of both the subject or the object.<sup>2</sup> There are three options in the participant reference system in Korean narration: (1) most frequently by zero anaphora, (2) by a noun, or (3) by a pronoun. When a participant is to be referred to overtly, we need to know how, which involves two choices: (1) the choice of the noun phrase among possible paraphrases/identifications or pronouns, and (2) the choice of particle between the subject particle and the topic particle (when the participants assume the subject slot in a clause, as they frequently do as agents).

These brief introductory remarks show that the study of participant reference in Korean narration relates to several areas of research--pronominalization, definitivization, (endophoric or exophoric)

anaphora, theme and rheme, and subject and topic--that have been considered as belonging to a grammar beyond the sentence, the discourse grammar (with situational/contextual/pragmatic considerations). There have been a number of studies on these areas of linguistic research: e.g., the functional sentence perspective of the Prague School linguists (cf. Mathesius 1928, Firbas 1964, and Danes 1964, 1974); Hockett (1958) on topic and comment with Chinese examples; Halliday (1970) on theme-rheme and new-given information; Chomsky (1971, 1976) on the relation of topic-comment as distinct from that of subject-predicate, on focus and presupposition, and on free anaphora; van Dijk (1972, 1977a) on pronominalization, definitivization, and topic and comment; many articles on subject and topic in Li (1976); L.K. Jones (1977) on theme as referential prominence; articles on participant reference in Ica, Guahibo, and Muinane languages (Longacre and Woods 1977); participant reference in two Mesoamerican languages (L.K. Jones 1979); Bolinger (1979) on pronouns in discourse; Li and Thompson (1979) on anaphora in Chinese discourse; etc.

To review each study in detail is clearly beyond the scope of the present study. I will take an example from each of the two general areas in relation to the present study, anaphora and subject-topic. In the article "Third-Person Pronouns and Zero-Anaphora in Chinese Discourse" Li and Thompson (1979) consider zero anaphora as the normal, unmarked mode of NP-anaphora in Chinese and provide explanations of the occurrence of pronouns in terms of the degree of conjoinability of a clause with the preceding clause. That is, pronouns are more likely to occur when the degree of conjoinability is low. They conducted an experiment, in which they removed all occurrences of pronouns from text and had Chinese subjects

insert them when necessary. While there was a wide range of variation in the results, they found some tendencies: Conjoinability is impaired (thus overt anaphora by pronouns) (1) "when the clauses involved contain a switch from background information to foreground information or vice versa" (331), (2) "when the second clause is marked with adverbial expressions such as time phrases or contrastive morphemes like however, but, etc." (332), and (3) "when the two clauses in question constitute different turns, that is, are spoken by different participants" (333). Had they considered the case of overt reference by nouns (assuming that participants are referred to by nouns as well) in addition to anaphora by zero and pronouns, they would have presented a three-way choice system. Unlike this Chinese case, we have in Korean a basic dichotomy between nouns vs. zero anaphora; the occurrences of third-person pronouns are extremely limited.<sup>3</sup> A major difference in focus between Li and Thompson's study and mine is that they focus on anaphora across clause boundaries, whereas my focus is on anaphora across sentence boundaries (since anaphora across clauses within a sentence is characteristically zero in Korean narratives unless two different participants are involved).<sup>4</sup>

Another article by the same authors exemplifies the research on subject and topic. Li and Thompson's (1976) study is by far the most comprehensive on the topic at hand in trying to develop an overall view covering as many languages as possible. Based on the grammatical relations subject-predicate and topic-comment, they classify the languages of the world into four basic types:

- (1) subject-prominent languages, e.g., Indo-European languages:
- (2) topic-prominent languages, e.g., Chinese and Lahu:

- (3) both subject- and topic-prominent languages, e.g., Japanese and Korean;
- (4) neither subject- nor topic-prominent languages, e.g., Tagalog and Ilocano.

They set up seven criteria for distinguishing topic from subject, which amount to sorting out the properties associated with each notion. Topic (1) is definite (including generic and proper NPs), (2) has no selectional restriction with the verb, (3) is not determined by the verb but by discourse constraints, (4) is constant across sentences in its function, i.e., announces the theme of the discourse, (5) rarely has agreement with its predicate (comment), (6) is in sentence-initial position,<sup>5</sup> and (7) is syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence, so not playing a prominent role in grammatical processes as subject does. They conclude that "the topic is a discourse notion, whereas the subject is to a greater extent a sentence-internal notion"; (466) subjects are essentially "grammaticalized topics."

Their conclusion is true, however, only when we view these notions in relation to their basic domains. The basic domain of subject may be said to be a sentence in that subject does not usually assume any prior knowledge or information on it when it occurs in a single-sentence discourse (or in a decontextualized sentence, if there is such a thing) or at the beginning of a discourse. Topic, on the other hand, is generally assumed to be already known, so its basic domain is admittedly larger than a single sentence. In the case of Korean discourse, however, subjects as well as topics need to be accounted for in terms of a domain larger than the sentence; both receive discourse-level constraints.

In this chapter we will first deal with the question of why, i.e., what are the conditions that trigger overt participant reference (5.2). Secondly, we will look at the form of the noun phrase used in participant reference (5.3). Finally, we will view the use of the subject and topic particles in relation to their functions in narrative discourse (5.4).

## 5.2. Overt Reference by a Noun Phrase ✓

When it is clear who is referred to in a particular moment, the reference to a participant is zero, i.e., omitted, not only in a sequence of clauses within a sentence but also in a sequence of sentences in the paragraph. By saying this, I take the position that zero anaphora is the unmarked and normal phenomenon in Korean discourse, much as Li and Thompson (1979) have claimed for Chinese discourse. Therefore, I present next some conditions that tend to trigger an overt reference to a participant in Korean narration. I depart from Li and Thompson, however, in considering the nature of these conditions to be mainly grammatical and semantic, rather than pragmatic as they did.

### 5.2.1 Role Switch

Whenever there is a role switch among participants, the one who becomes the agent or initiator (realized as the surface subject) is overtly referred to. Notice in the following example from "The Ungrateful Tiger" that tiger (in S11) and the traveller (in S12) as agents are overtly referred to whereas the traveller as an indirect object (in S11) and the tiger as an object (in the final clause of S12) are omitted.

## Example 1

(UT 11) Holangi-nan jakkuman pil- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ pnita.  
 tiger-TP over.and.over beg-Past-fD  
 'The tiger begged over and over again.'

(UT 12) Nakane-nan holangi- $\phi$ y mal- $\phi$ l mik-ko jakt $\ddot{a}$ ki-lal hamj $\phi$ ng  
 traveller-TP tiger-Poss word-OP trust-and pole-OP trap  
 an-e k $\phi$ ljhy- $\phi$ s $\phi$  kkal $\phi$ .n $\ddot{a}$ - $\phi$ .ju- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ pnita.  
 inside-at stretch.over-so pull.out-Benef-Past-fD

'The traveller trusted the tiger's words and helped (him) out by stretching a pole over the trap.'

For further illustration I take four sentences from "The Beauty and the Monk" in English translation:

## Example 2

(BM 15) The monk went out to see, wondering what happened.

(BM 16) A big tiger came carrying a woman and was crying; then as soon as (he) saw the monk coming out, (he) put the woman on the ground and disappeared slowly.

(BM 17) The monk saw the woman quickly, but (she) was already fainted.

(BM 18) (He) poured cold water (on the woman) and rubbed (her), so awoke (her) up again.

The monk (in S15 and 17) and the tiger (S16) as agents are referred to overtly, perhaps to clarify and disambiguate who is the agent of the action. In contrast, the reference to the monk in S18 is zero since there is no role switch from the earlier sentence.

Some of the data, however, show that there are constraints to this prevalent tendency. When there is a role switch within the sentence boundary involving quotes and quotation formulas, the speaker may not be marked overtly (cf. 5.2.6). Also there is another constraint to this tendency as regards the thematic participant of a paragraph (cf. 5.2.3).



## 5.2.2 Resumption After Non-Events

When the event-line action is resumed after description of non-events such as setting, background, evaluation, and collateral information (cf. Grimes 1975), the participant is overtly referred to. Background information includes reflections of participants:

## Example 3

(WC 57) Tø pøllyø no-kho kanyang anja-ttājja jip-alo  
more spread put-and as.such sit-although home-to

tola.ka-nan jiketkkun-ina jangnan.pajhi ai-tal-i  
go.back-prM burden.carrier-or mischievous child-Pl-SP

øjjita køl-lyø tal-myøn tal-əl køt pakke  
by.chance catch-Passive enter-if enter-fuM fact except

øps-øt-ta.  
not.exist-Past-D

'Even if (he) left (his things) out and sat longer, there would be nothing except that a few laborers on the way home or a few mischievous children might be caught by chance.'

(WC 58) Tuø pøn tø ai-tal-əl kukyø.po-taka noin-un kaman  
two time more child-Pl-OP look.at-after old.man-TP finally

jim-əl ssa.kaji-ko iløso-t-ta.  
luggage-OP pack.up-and stand-Past-D

'After looking at the children a couple more times, the old man finally packed up (his) things and stood up (to leave).'

After a series of sentences (S52-57) reporting the inner thoughts of the old man, he is referred to overtly in the second clause of S58, which resumes his action on-the-line. Another example occurs in the same text in S73 'The man came back with worried eyes, not sure what to expect' after S69-72, which reports the old man's reflections.

Let's look at another example from "The Beauty and the Monk":

## Example 4

- (BM 7) The monk knew that (he) was not going to harm him, went closely, and looked into the mouth with the torch.  
 (BM 8) Something long was stuck in the throat (of the tiger)  
 (BM 9) Perceiving that (the tiger) was doing so because of this, the monk put his hand into (the throat) and pulled out the thing.

Sentence 8 provides background information, clearly indicated by the resultative aspect in the verb køl-ly-ø.iss-øt-ta (stick-Passive-Result-Past-D) 'was stuck'; in S9 the monk is referred to, not sentence initially but right before the important action of putting his hand into tiger's throat and pulling out the hair-rod. We see a similar phenomenon in the following example:

## Example 5

- (SM 52) Namu-e olla.o-n holangi-to tongajul-ul talla-ko  
 tree-at come.up-pM tiger-also rope-OP give-Quot

hananim-kke pil-øss-upnita.  
 God-to pray-Past-fD

'The tiger, who went up the tree, also prayed to God to give (him) a rope.'

- (SM53) Tongajul-i nälyø.wa-ss-upnita.  
 rope-SP come.down-Past-fD  
 'A rope came down.'

- (SM54) Ka tongajul-un ssøk-un tongajul i-øss-upnita.  
 the rope-TP rotten-prM rope be-Past-fD  
 'That rope was a rotten rope.'

- (SM 55) Kongjung-e jhä pan-to ola-ji.mot.ha-ko jul-i  
 space-at yet half-even climb-unable.to.do-and rope-SP

kkan-ø.jyø-sø holangi-nun susu-path-e ttøløjyø  
 break-Passive-so tiger-TP Indian.millet-field-at fall

juk-ko.mal-ass-upnita.  
 die-Compl-Past-fD

'Before (he) was halfway into the sky, the rope broke and the tiger died when (he) fell into the Indian-millet field.

After the background information on the rope in S54, the tiger is marked overtly in S55 at the third dependent clause to focus on the important event of him falling into the field, which leads to his death, instead of at the sentence-initial clause reporting collateral information.

An exception to this category is found in BM 27, the closure to the story proper:

#### Example 6

(BM 25) The monk was embarrassed.

(BM 26) (It) is because he cannot marry (her) as a person who is practicing asceticism.

(BM 27) Therefore, (he) took the girl as a sister, cut (her) hair, and devoted (himself) to Buddhism together (with her).

We expect an overt reference to the monk in S27, since the sentence resumes the event-line action after the reason sentence of S26. However, the reference to the monk is omitted here. I think it may be because S26 is considered as if it is a reason margin of S25, i.e., as if the two sentences are collapsed into one 'The monk was embarrassed because he cannot marry (her). . . ' although they are in fact separated into two sentences with different tense markers, as part of the peak.

#### 5.2.3. Thematic Participant of a Paragraph

In the sentence immediately following the introduction of a participant, the participant is again marked overtly when the initial reference is used as a reference point and a comment is made on that participant. This two-part construction is commonly found at the stage of

discourse or at the setting of a paragraph to establish the thematic participant of the paragraph.

Example 7

- (HS 1) Once upon a time at a certain place there was a hat seller.
- (HS 2) One summer day this hat seller put many hats in a box and went out to sell (them).
- (HS 5) On the tree there were ten monkeys.
- (HS 6) These monkeys, seeing that the hat seller came under the tree and rested, also wanted to put the hats on themselves like the hat seller.
- (GM 1) In a deep and deep mountain a young man was walking, carrying an arrow.
- (GM 2) The young man studied hard for a long time . . .
- (SC 84) Then, out of the flower, Shim Chung who had jumped into the sea appeared unexpectedly.
- (SC 85) Shim Chung became known as a beautiful girl sent by the King of Sea, and later was chosen as queen.

The first and the third sets of examples occur at the stage of stories; while the second set occurs at the setting of a paragraph, in which the monkeys are thematic. The last set marks Shim Chung at her reappearance on the stage. In each set the first reference occurs with the subject particle ka while the second occurs with the topic particle nun. Another illustration of this category is shown in Example 5 above, where the prop "rope" is introduced in S53 and commented on with a demonstrative ka 'that' in S54.

Another example suggests that the thematic participant of a paragraph tends to be overtly marked more frequently than others, when the participant is newly being established as thematic in the discourse. In the following example the woman is marked even twice within a single sentence

(which has seven clauses), perhaps because in this case she is not an agent but an object who is greatly affected.

#### Example 8

- (BM 16) A big tiger came carrying a woman and was crying; then as soon as (he) saw the monk coming out, (he) put the woman on the ground and disappeared slowly.
- (BM 17) The monk saw the woman quickly, but (she) was already fainted.
- (BM 18) (He) poured cold water (on her) and rubbed (her), so woke up the woman again.

I do not think that the frequent marking of the woman is due to the need to keep the three participants distinguished, for in each case (except the initial reference to her) it is clear who is the object from the sequence of events.

In connection with the thematic participant of a paragraph, let us look at the following sentences from the stage of "The Story of Shim Chung":

#### Example 9

- (SC 1) Once upon a time in the country a dutiful girl Shim Chung lived.
- (SC 2) In the hand of (her) widowed father, (she) grew up being nursed by neighborhood mothers.
- (SC 3) Shim Chung's mother was a good and pretty person, but (she) got sick and passed away.
- (SC 4) (Father) raised little Chung, holding or carrying (her) on the back, wandering around the village and having the (neighborhood) mothers nurse (her).

After the introduction of Shim Chung in S1, she is not marked overtly in S2; instead, the second reference to her is delayed one sentence in that S3 marks her in connection with her mother. While I consider the overt reference to her in the second sentence would have been more natural and normal, I do not think that our understanding process is in any way

impaired by zero anaphora in this case. This illustration reflects the fact that while there is a dominant tendency to use noun-phrase reference in one way there may be other cases in which this tendency is not exactly followed. Without conducting an experiment like the one reported by Li and Thompson (1979), it is difficult to tell the range of variation. Through the comparison of cases occurring in the eight stories, however, it appears doubtful that the range of variation in the case of Korean would be as wide as they found in the case of Chinese.

In addition, the author did not make an overt reference to father in S4, although there is a role switch from S3. This may be due to the fact that the central participant of the story is being so carefully established as to suppress the overt reference to other participants. However, I consider this to be rather an exception than a rule, since as a Korean speaker I suspect that for many speakers the reference to father would have surfaced.

#### 5.2.4. Paragraph Boundary

After a paragraph break, a participant is referred to overtly. Since by definition paragraph assumes a break of some kind in the flow of discourse, it is not unusual to reidentify the participant in a new paragraph. The reidentification is done by a noun phrase with or without descriptive modifying clause. More often than not this condition overlaps with another one; e.g., the existence of time expressions (cf. 5.2.5) or role switch (cf. 5.2.1).

## Example 10

- (SC 85) Shim Chung became known as a beautiful girl sent by the King of Sea, and later was chosen as queen.  
 (SC 86) Deeply dutiful Shim Chung, even after (she) became queen, never had peace of mind because of (her) thoughts for (her) father.

Between the two sentences is the paragraph boundary, marked by a change in topic and time expression. In S86 Shim Chung is marked again with a descriptive clause, which asserts something about her nature.<sup>6</sup>

## Example 11

- (SM 2) The widowed mother would go to the rich man's house everyday. . .  
 (SM 3) One day the widowed mother was leaving home and said. . .  
 (SM 4) As soon as it got dark, mother thought about the children. . .

Both S3 and 4 here follow the paragraph boundaries, clearly marked by time expressions as well. Thus S3 displays a one-sentence paragraph, the minimal size of the paragraph, just as a clause reflects the minimal size of a simple sentence. We notice that after each paragraph break there is an overt reference to the mother.

I have found exceptions to this tendency, however, in "The Water Cicada" and "This Kind of Concert."

## Example 12

- (WC 73) The old man came back with worried eyes, not sure what to expect.  
 (WC 74) The night is late.  
 (WC 75) Suddenly (he) heard murmuring sounds outside the gate, and when (he) went out, the roast-chestnut seller, Mr. Kwon, was coming in with Youngdon.

There is a paragraph break between S73 and 74, clearly indicated by the time expression given in a separate sentence (S74) which sets a new time setting for the paragraph running till the end of the story. There is, in

addition, a locational change from school to home as indicated by S73. Therefore, it is beyond doubt that the new paragraph (which encodes the peak) starts with S74; yet the old man is not overtly marked in S75. Perhaps we can find an explanation for this unusual failure to mark the participant after a paragraph break in the following reasons. First, the author's vantage point has so long been fixed with the old man that readers have no difficulty understanding who acts (and thinks) when the action is described without an overt marking of the agent. Secondly, the reference to the old man is suppressed in order to spotlight the new participant, Mr. Kwon, who is dominant in this paragraph and instrumental in bringing the climax of the story.

Similarly, in "This Kind of Concert" the reference to the narrator ('I') is omitted at the beginning (S33) of paragraph 4 (which marks the peak of Episode 2):

#### Example 13

- (TC 32) . . . therefore, it seems not so very unreasonable that I put  
 (my) head on the back of the seat in front of me and snored.  
 (TC 33) (I) don't know about how long (I) slept, but, because Hwang Chul  
 next to me shook (me) and woke (me) up, (I) lifted (my) head and  
 found out that our musician was on the stage.

As a first-person narrative, the vantage point stays with the narrator always, thus allowing the omission of the overt marking of 'I' after a paragraph break (even though the verbs are not marked for person in Korean). The first-person pronoun, after all, is not like the third person; it is treated differently.



## 5.2.5. Time Expression

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.1.3), temporal and locational expressions play important roles in demarcating elements from each other, often marking paragraph boundaries, and yet linking one paragraph to another as well. Thus they tend to provide conditions for overt marking of the participants. Li and Thompson (1979) also report that time phrases impair conjoinability of two clauses, resulting in overt third-person anaphora in Chinese discourse. Here is an example that suggests that time expressions which occur within a paragraph also trigger overt reference:

## Example 14

- (HS 11) The hat Seller did not know what to do, so slapping his knee,  
 11a. "Why, who took all my hats?" saying, (he) looked up the tree.  
 (HS 12) At that time the hat seller was not able to say even a word, and  
 only opened his mouth wide.

The two sentences belong to the same paragraph, reporting events closely tied together temporally, but the phrase ka ttä 'at that time' triggers an overt reference to the hat seller. Reference to the hat seller may be omitted if I replace the time expression by a conjunction like kaliko-nan 'and-TP,' whereas ka-ttä 'at that time' requires the overt reference.

More frequently, however, the time phrase occurs at the paragraph boundary as Example 11 above (5.2.4) shows. After each time expression in the example, there is an overt reference to the mother.

As in other categories, I have found a counter example to this tendency:

## Example 15

- (SC 86) Deeply dutiful Shim Chung, even after (she) became queen, never had peace of mind because of (her) thoughts for (her) father.
- (SC 87) Therefore, one day, in order to find (her) blind father, (she) asked the king, and had a feast for all the blind men who lived in country.

In this case the time expression halu-nan 'one day-TP' occurring within a paragraph does not trigger an overt marking of Shim Chung. The occurrence of the topic particle nan at the end of the time phrase is responsible for the omission. After halu-nan 'one day-TP' we either have zero anaphora or Shim Jhøng-i-ka 'Shim Chung-Voc-SP' but not one topic noun after another: \*halu-nan Sim Jhøng-i-nan 'one day-TP Shim Chung-Voc-TP' (cf. 5.4.1.4).<sup>7</sup>

When we need to use the topic particle with the participant, we use another time phrase which occurs without the topic particle øna nal 'certain day' as in Sim Jhøng-i-nan øna nal 'Shim Chung-Voc-TP one day.' To sum up, my speculation is that since the author chose to use halu-nan, i.e., the time phrase as the topic of the sentence, he omitted the overt reference to Shim Chung rather than marking her with the subject particle ka, which puts an emphasis on the participant rather than on her action (cf. 5.4). Clearly, he needed to emphasize not Shim Chung, who was already in focus in S86, but her action of having a feast for the blind men.

## 5.2.6 Quotation Formula

In quotation formulas that occur as separate sentences after direct speeches, the speaker tends to be referred to overtly. Commonly, there is also a role (speaker) switch in exchange of speeches, but there are examples without such a switch.

## Example 16

- (SC 75) . . . Shim Bongsu realized that (she) would die.  
 (SC 76) "Baby! What's the use (of my eyes) if I lose you and open my eyes?  
 (SC 77) It is (my) wish to rather live with you and (my) eyes dark."  
 (SC 78) Father cried bitterly, but the time was already too late.

The quotation formula in S78 marks father overtly, even though there is no speaker switch. We notice, however, that the form of noun phrase changed from a name to a relational term to the heroine. In the following example the same noun phrase kulongi 'snake' occurs before and after the quote:

## Example 17

- (GM 31) As the young man looked up the high belfry, (he) was only sighing saying, 31a. "(It seems that I) will die for sure"; then the snake appeared again from somewhere.  
 (GM 32) "Well, it is almost midnight.  
 (GM 33) Get ready to die."  
 (GM 34) The snake pounced upon the young man, rolling (its) tongue in and out.

When these quotation formulas are more closely connected with quotes, as when they occur within the same sentence often with the quotative particle hako, we have zero anaphora or overt reference. Let us start with those with zero anaphora.

## Example 18

- (GM 13) . . . ah, a thick snake like a pillar has coiled around (his) body tightly and is rolling (its) bright red tongue in and out.  
 (GM 14) While the young man turned pale into deep blue color at that and couldn't even speak a word, 14a. "you villain! 14b. (My) enemy who killed my husband," saying, (the snake) started to strangle (him).  
 (SC 89) Shim Chung found Shim Bongsu sitting in a corner seat.  
 (SC 90) "Father, I am Chung."  
 (SC 91) "Oh, my daughter Chung. Is this a dream or real?  
 (SC 92) Let (me) see if (this is) my daughter," (he) screamed loudly, and while (he did), opened (his) eyes wide.  
 (SC 93) Thus Shim Bongsu met (his) dear daughter. . .

In GM 14 the snake is not overtly referred to in the quotation formula after direct speech. In the sentences from "The Story of Shim Chung," Shim Bongsu is not overtly marked in S92, which also includes his speech, although there is a speaker switch from Shim Chung (S89-90). After zero anaphora in S92, however, he is overtly marked in the next sentence, which functions as the closure of the story.

There are several examples of this type in "This Kind of Concert"; (S4, 11, 13, 39, 55 and 57). That is, there are speaker switches but no overt reference to speakers within a sentence. Thus we have to consult the larger discourse to know who the speaker is.

#### Example 19

- (TC 12) "You can go, but I don't like concerts."  
 (TC 13) Thus I shook off (his) hand and was getting away, but (he) said,  
 13a. "Hey! Hey! I will buy pork wontons later when we are done";  
 at that, (I) couldn't help but turn (my) head and ask, 13b. "By  
 the way, how long will (it) take?"

Sentence 55 in TC includes examples of both zero and overt anaphora corresponding to speaker switches within the sentence boundary:

#### Example 20

- (TC 55) I nom-un sŏng-i na-myŏn nal i kkol-i twe-nan  
 this fellow-TP anger-SP occur-if always this state-SP become-prM

kŏs-ul jal al-malo  
 fact-OP well know-because

55a. "Nŏ wă kalŏkhe sŏng-ul nă-ni?"  
 you why like.that anger-OP raise-Q

55b. "Ani nŏ mwŏ ha-lŏ ye wa-n-nya mal i-ya?"  
 why you what do-Intend here come-Past-Q word be-Q

55c. "Ŭgwŏn.ha-lŏ wa-j-ji!"  
 cheer-Intend come-Past-Suspect

ha-nikka nom-i tättam jumǒk-alo nǎ pokjang-ul  
do-then fellow-SP at.once fist-with my chest-OP

khwak jilu-myǒ  
hard strike-while

55d. "Yei, i jasik!  
hey! this chap

55e. Uli kǒ-n koman napjjak.hǎ-n-nante nam-ul  
we(Poss) thing-TP unfortunately be.flat-Past-while other-OP

angwǒn.hǎ-jw-ǒ?"  
cheer-Benef-cQ

'Since (I) know well that this fellow behaves this way whenever (he) is angry, (I respond), 55a. "Why are you so angry?" 55b. "Well, (I) want to know what you came here for!" 55c. "(I) came to cheer!" At that he [lit., the fellow] strikes me a blow on the chest with (his) fist (and shouts), 55d. "Hey, what a help you are! 55e. While ours failed, (you) cheer for the other!"'

The narrator 'I' is the speaker of 55a and c, while Hwang Chul is the speaker of 55b, d, and e. Thus 55b illustrates zero anaphora (in that there is no quotation formula at all); 55c also illustrates zero anaphora in the formula ha-nikka (do-then), which may be translated as 'at that' or 'when (I) said that.' The last speech by Hwang Chul, however, is indicated by overt reference to him by nom 'fellow' in reporting his action. I have treated the whole stretch of material above as belonging to a single sentence, since non-final verbs are used to connect parts of it (cf. fn.16 of Chapter 3 for another example of a similar kind).

In "The Water Cicada," on the other hand, we have one example (S7) with zero anaphora and three (S5, 92, and 86) with overt marking, after the sentence-internal quotative particle hako. To illustrate one of the three cases with overt reference (see Example 24 in 5.4.1 for the illustration of S5):

## Example 21

(WC86) "Why, where (did you), Mr. Kwon, bring that child from. . . ," the old man said, confronting (Mr. Kwon).

Without a role switch or a sentence break between the quote and quotation formula, the second reference to the old man is made in S86, in reporting important information of him confronting Mr. Kwon. This overt reference is perhaps to emphasize his action of challenge, which sharply contrasts with his later behavior when he is so ashamed that he is even unable to say good-night.

We have looked through the examples for the six conditions that tend to trigger overt reference. The conditions are: role switch, resumption after non-events, thematic participant of a paragraph, paragraph boundary, time expression, and quotation formula. In each condition, however, we have counterexamples that suggest that there may be further constraints operating at the lower level, or conditioned rules applicable to limited cases after the application of general rules. Therefore, while I consider these conditions as tendencies rather than rigid rules for overt reference at the present stage of analysis, I would like to point out the possibilities (or need for further research) of handling these exceptional cases more systematically.

### 5.3. Form of the Noun Phrase in Participant Reference ✓

The particular form of the noun phrase used in participant reference is generally repetition of the head noun of the NP used for initial introduction of the participant, whether it is a proper noun, social role noun, generic class term, or term of actional role: e.g., Shim

Jhóng 'Shim Chung,' Hwang Jhól 'Hwang Chul,' moja jangsa 'hat seller,' holangi 'tiger,' kulóngi 'snake,' jólmani 'young man,' noin 'old man,' nakune 'passer-by, traveller,' etc. When there is a motivation in terms of sociolinguistic considerations, other forms may be used, reflecting the author's point of view.

At the initial introduction, thematic participants tend to be established by longer phrases than others, often with appositional structure: e.g., (1) Shim Chung is introduced as: hyosóng.saló-n sonyó Sim Jhóng (dutiful-prM girl Shim Chung) 'a dutiful girl Shim Chung'; (2) Shim Bongsá is referred to in the second paragraph as: Sim Jhóng-i apóji Sim Pongsá-nim (Shim Chung-Voc father Shim Bongsá-Honor) 'Shim Chung's father Shim Bongsá,' although he has already been mentioned in paragraph 1; (3) hol ómoni-wa atal ttal ilókhe se sikku (lone mother-and son daughter like.this three family.member) 'a family of three, a widowed mother, a son, and a daughter'; moja jangsa han salam (hat seller one person) 'a hat seller'; etc.

In "The Story of Shim Chung", Shim Bongsá is referred to as apóji 'father' at the Peak of the embedded discourse in the Peak Episode. Since Shim Chung is thematic here, the reference point is chosen as the daughter and Shim Bongsá is referred to by the relational term 'father' instead of the usual reference term for him throughout the text, 'Shim Bongsá.' In contrast, Shim Chung is referred to by name only (with or without descriptive modifying clause hyosóng.saló-n 'dutiful') throughout the whole text, except within quoted speeches of Shim Bongsá, where he calls her 'my daughter.' As the central character of the story, she is highlighted by being referred to by name, while others may be related to

her in relational terms, e.g., 'Shim Chung's mother,' 'father,' and 'neighbors.'

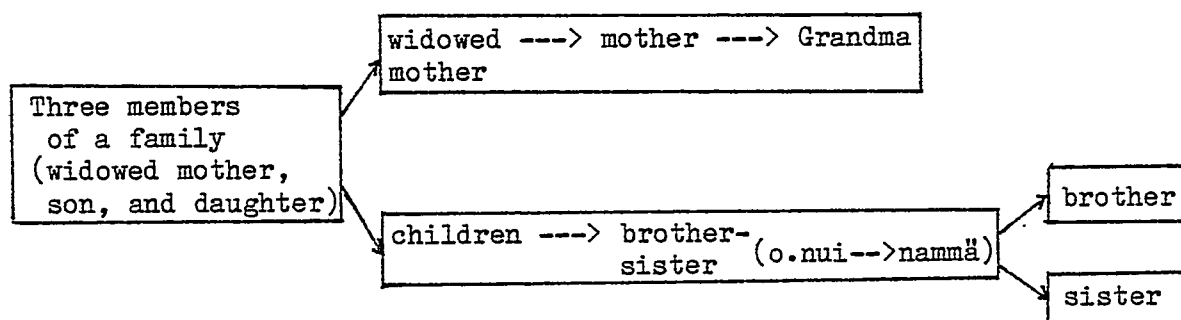
While the monk in "The Beauty and the Monk" is called sunim 'monk' all the time, the girl is referred to as yøin 'woman' until she is identified through the background information as alæmtau-n jhønyø 'beautiful girl' and mo tækam tæk-uy kwiyøu-n ttanim 'a precious daughter of a nobleman.' From then on, reference to her is jhønyø 'girl or virgin.'

In the story about the sun and the moon (SM) the mother is at first referred to as hol ømøni 'widowed mother,' apparently emphasizing the fact that the father is not living. Then she is called ømøni 'mother' once by the narrator and halmøm 'Grandma' by the tiger in dialogue. Prompted by the tiger's calling her so, the narrator himself refers to her as such before she goes off the stage. The children are introduced as atal ttal 'son, daughter' to be explicit at first, and then referred to as ai-tal 'children' several times. Right after they open the door to the tiger, they are referred to as o.nui 'brother.sister' and then nammä 'brother.sister' (the latter originating from Chinese characters). As I mentioned in Chapter 3 in discussing the structure of the story, the progressive changes in participant-reference terms signal their impending fate and the supernatural resolution of the story.

In terms of participant reference this story presents a situation similar to what Grimes (1975) describes as the expansion and shrinkage of participant groups; or a kind of referential shift, scope change, with the effect of a zoom lens on a camera changing the area under attention. At Stage all three members of the family are introduced as a group. In



Episode 1 the author presents the mother's confrontation with a tiger, and in Episode 2 the children's conflict with the tiger. The children behave so much as a group that in dialogue it is not at all clear which one of the two is talking at a particular moment. It is not until the Closure of the discourse that the children are separated each with a definite identity of his own when the brother becomes the moon and the sister becomes the sun in the sky. The change in participant reference within the group may be shown as follows:



In "The Water Cicada" the central participant is referred to as noin 'old man' throughout. At Closure, in the very last sentence of the discourse, he is called nalk-un apøji 'old father' while his son is referred to as ølin jasik 'young offspring.' The two participants are here marked by relational terms with an explicit contrast in age. Before this last sentence, the man's son has been variously referred to (1) as jaki jasik 'own offspring' in relation to the man in his inner thoughts, (2) as mangnä 'youngest.child,' a relational term among siblings, or (3) by his name plus the vocative particle Yøngton-i 'Youngdon-Voc,' especially in the school setting.

The neighbor, Mr. Kwon, is introduced with his job description (clearly to contrast with the old man's job): kunpam jangsu Kwøn söpang

'roast-chestnut seller Mr. Kwon.' Then he is referred to Kwŏn sŏpang 'Mr. Kwon' regularly. In reference to the children at large around the water-cicada tank, we find two occurrences of ka-tal (he-P1) 'they,' in addition to nom-tal 'fellows' (1 occurrence), ai-tal 'children' (6), and ŏlin haksāng-tal 'young students' (1). This third-person plural pronoun is the only pronoun found in the whole discourse. That is, not even once is the central participant or anybody else referred to by ka 'he' or any other pronoun. Between the two forms referring to the children, i.e., ai-tal and ka-tal, I see little difference in meaning or implication. Potentially, however, ai-tal may be marking indefinite, as opposed to ka-tal, which must be definite. In this discourse, however, ai-tal is used more often in a definite sense (4 times) than in an indefinite sense (2 times). Thus ka-tal correlates with ai-tal, except that while the latter may or may not be definite the former must be definite.

As a first-person narrative, "This Kind of Concert" greatly utilizes the pronoun na (or nā before the subject particle ka) 'I'; there are twenty-one occurrences of this first-person singular pronoun in the discourse. In addition, there are seven occurrences of the first-person plural pronoun uli (which may be followed by the plural suffix -tal) 'we' in referring to the group to which the narrator belongs. The frequent use of the first-person pronoun is expected for a discourse cast in the first-person point of view. What is unusual in this discourse is the one occurrence of the third-person pronoun ka instead of the usual form of reference by a noun in S45.

*Whale*

## Example 22

- (TC 43) Moreover, in spite of (our) demands for encore, a nicely-dressed gentleman is already coming out, carrying a violin at (his) side.
- (TC 44) The gentleman bows neatly and puts the violin neatly under (his) chin; and the music that (he) plays is wonderful even though (I) do not know what it is.
- (TC 45) He is so absorbed in his performance that (his) arm and head and even (his) shoulder follow the bow of the violin; looking at (him), (one) cannot help but admire (him); Hey, this fellow is a true musician.

The Korean text shows that the man is referred to initially as sinsa han pun (gentleman one Counter(Honorific)) 'a gentleman;' then sinsa 'gentleman;' and finally as ku 'he,' exemplifying an extremely rare occurrence of the third-person pronoun in a Korean discourse. He is the thematic participant of the paragraph, who receives a temporary spotlight in the story, presenting us a sharp contrast with the earlier violinist. Although rare, this use of ku 'he' after he is established as the thematic participant with a two-part construction (cf. 5.2) seems quite natural in the flow of the discourse.

The most important participant in the story other than the narrator himself is Hwang Chul. He is mostly marked by his full name Hwang Chul (11 occurrences) and never by his first name only although he is apparently presented as a friend of the narrator. At three times he is referred to as nom 'fellow' once with the demonstrative i 'this'; two occurrences of this form are found at the Peak at the end of the discourse where he confronts the narrator.

The choice of the noun phrase in dialogue shows an even more interesting correlation with the motivation of the speaker. I have not covered this area of research (i.e., the study of direct speeches) in this study, but want to illustrate one case. In "The Story of Shim Chung," Shim

Bongsa calls the monk at first tangsŏn 'you (Honor)' and ötton pun 'what person (Honor),' i.e., 'who'; then calls him with an extremely polite title posal-nim 'Buddhist saint-Honor' when he is anxious to find out from the monk the way of getting his eyes open; and finally calls him out loud sanim 'monk,' a rather neutral form for a monk, when he realizes that he has made a promise that is impossible for him to keep.

As we have seen, the form of the noun phrase that is used in participant reference in Korean narration is in general the repetition of the head noun of the NP used initially. When there is a motivation, however, another form may be used. It seems that the choice of a particular noun phrase for reference closely ties into the plot structure (e.g., the use of a relational term 'father,' which overtly relates him to his daughter who is thematic at the peak) as well as various pragmatic and sociolinguistic considerations (e.g., the use of a name in the school setting).

#### 5.4. Choice of Particles in Participant Reference

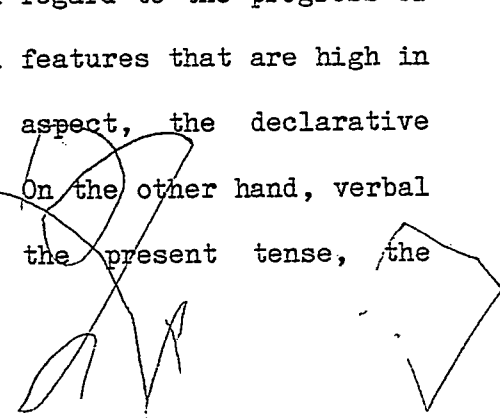
After the two questions regarding participant reference are answered, i.e., when do we refer to a participant overtly and what noun phrase do we use in making that reference, there remains a further question concerning the choice of particles in Korean. It is the question of choosing between the topic particle nan and subject particle ka (when the participant is to be the subject of a clause).

In general, a participant in Korean narrative is typically first introduced with the subject particle ka (or i after consonants) after the noun phrase. Once introduced, the participant takes the topic particle nan (or un after consonants) in further reference. Putting it in a more

general terms applicable to any type of discourse, ka corresponds to new information, and nun to old information. This rule of thumb, however, is subject to further constraints and exceptions, which I will deal with.

Kuno (1972) presents a functional study on the use of ga vs. wa, i.e., the subject particle vs. the topic particle, in Japanese. He says that ga marks either (1) for "neutral description" or (2) "exhaustive listing," and wa marks either (1) the "theme" (generic or anaphoric) or (2) the "contrasted element" of the sentence (296). While I do not agree with a few details of his discussion, I find his generalizations largely satisfying for Korean as well, as far as sentence grammar is concerned. Remarkably, these two "both subject- and topic-prominent languages" (cf. Li and Thompson 1976) are similar even to the subtle usage of particles. As Kuno does not, however, go beyond the sentence boundary in his analysis, at times his illustrations and solutions seem rather arbitrary and unclear. In order to study such notions as topic and subject, a consideration of discourse seems to be necessary.

In examining the information reported by the clauses with NP-ka as opposed to those with NP-nun, I have found an interesting correlation with the scale of relative importance of information as described in Chapter 4. This scale deals with information as seen from the perspective of narrative structure. On the one hand, what is important in regard to the progress of a story is characteristically reported by verbal features that are high in the scale, e.g., the past tense, the completive aspect, the declarative mode, the ditransitive and transitive, etc. On the other hand, verbal features that are low in the scale such as the present tense, the



progressive aspect, the existential and equative mark information that is less relevant.

My hypothesis based on the correlation found between the use of the particles and the scale of information importance follows: The clauses with NP-ka (the subject particle) are more characteristic of information low in the scale of importance, whereas those with NP-nun (the topic particle) are more characteristic of information high in the scale. A correlate to this hypothesis is that ka focuses on the preceding NP (the participant) rather than on his action or the event in which he is involved, whereas nun implies the reverse focus, i.e., it focuses on the action or event while playing down the participant. In presenting this hypothesis, I postulate that the action/event-line and the agent-line in a narrative are intricately intertwined. To put it another way, the features in the verbs and the particles which occur after nouns are correlated with each other to function together in a discourse as a whole. In the remainder of this section (5.4), we will examine the use of each particle in the light of the hypothesis.

#### 5.4.1. Use of the Subject Particle ka for Supportive Material

The general rule is to use ka for new information--for an introduction of a new participant--whenever the NP is placed in the subject slot. In the stage of the narrative we focus on the noun (the participant) rather than on the verb. This low focus on the verb is signaled by verbal features such as existential clause type and the progressive aspect--corresponding to the static side or low end of the continuum of information importance. Now with the use of ka we have

another feature, that occurs with nouns and also signals the low level of information in relation to event line.

Example 23

(GM 1) Kip-ko kiph-un sanjung-e hwal-al me-ko  
 deep-and deep-prM mountain-at arrow-OP carry-and

jølməni han salam-i kəlø.ka-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
 young.man one person-SP walk-Prog-Past-fD

'In a deep and deep mountain a young man was walking, carrying an arrow.'

(UT 1) Yet nal onə kiph-un san sok-e holangi han  
 old day certain deep-prM mountain inside-at tiger one

mali-ka sal-ko.iss-øn-nante san kil ka-nən salam-al  
 Counter-SP live-Prog-Past-then mountain way go-prM person-OP

jaju japa-møk-nən il-i iss-øss-upnita.  
 frequently catch-eat-prM event-SP exist-Past-fD

'Once upon a time there lived a tiger deep in the mountains, and (he) would frequently catch and eat people who were passing by.'

This general rule is followed in all stories in introducing a new participant, except in "The Water Cicada". As a modern short story written for adults, it displays an off-norm characteristic in that the central character, the old man, is introduced with the topic particle in a quotation formula after description of his action and speech. This beginning resembles those of modern style fictions that start the story in the middle of an action of a participant and identify him later (or give clues for his identity). In English also we have similar narratives that start with an anaphoric pronoun 'he' or 'she.' As the text in the following example shows, he is covertly introduced in S4 by zero anaphora (which I translated into 'he' in English) and overtly marked as noin-un 'old.man-TP' in the middle of the long sentence 5.

## Example 24

(WC 4) Onal-to ton jhøn Wøn-ina sa no-khe-twe-n køs-un  
today-also money 1,000 Won-at.least buy put-become-pM fact-TP

yøksi ohu ne si-ka jinasø-puthø ta.  
the.same afternoon 4 o'clock-SP past-since D

'Indeed, today (he) has earned at least 1,000 Won since after 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

(WC 5) Jikam-to øullyø o-tøn han phä-ka säloi jjuuk  
now-also together come-rM one group-SP newly in.a.row

mollyøtal-ja mul mämi-läl mul-e ttwiu-n yangjhøl  
storm.in-as.soon.as water cicada-OP water-at float-pM tin

japäki kajangjali-lo tolakamyø kan-al musuhi tu-ko  
large.vessel edge-to around slot-OP many put-and

kan-mata pønho-läl ssønø-un ka pønho-wa kkok kath-un  
slot-each number-OP write.in-pM that number-with exactly same-prM

pønho-läl yøksi il-esø isip-kkaji jjuk illyøl-lo kønno  
number-OP the.same one-from twenty-to in.a.row one.row-as cross

ssa-n jongi-wie amuløkhena no-at-tøn milukku kap-al  
write-pM paper-on at.random put-Past-rM milk.candy box-OP

jipø.tal-ko  
pick.up-and

5a. "Ja kwaja-n kwaja-tälu sasø møk-ku-tu jal-man täsø  
well cookie-TP cookie-as buy eat-and-also well-only bet

nao-myøn milukku-na hokak-ina kø-n sojhøng-tälu køjø  
come.out-if milk.candy-or whistle-or that-TP wish-as free

kajyøka-ke.twe-n-ta.  
take-Inchoa-Act-D

5b. "Ja nuku tanji?"  
well who ever

hako noin-un milukku kap-al tolo.no-kho joli-läl talø  
Quot old.man-TP milk.candy box-OP put.back-and strainer-OP pick.up

mul mämi-läl kønny-øøø japäki han pokphan-e kulktala-n  
water cicada-OP scoop.up-and vessel right middle-at thick-prM



jhølsa-lo tongkālhake hwiø kongjung talanoh-un ka tongkalami  
 wire-with round bend in.the.air hang-pM that circle

sok-alo molanø-øt-ta.  
 in-to force.in-Past-D

'And just now, as a group (of fellows) storm in together all in a row, (he) picks up a box of milk candy which had been left on the paper where the numbers 1 to 20 were written. These numbers matched the numbers for all of the slots around the edge of the large metal tank, where a water cicada was floating in water. And (he) says, 5a. "You will get to choose one of these milk candies or a whistle, if you bet well and win. 5b. So who wants to play?" The old man put the box of milk candy down, picked up a strainer, scooped up the water cicada, and dropped it through a loop, which had been made by bending a thick wire and hanging it in the air over the middle of the tank.'

The remainder of this section (5.4.1.1-5.4.1.5) deals with those exceptional occurrences of the subject particle with the participant who has already been introduced.

#### 5.4.1.1. Reintroduction of Participants

The subject particle ka is employed to re-focus attention on a participant upon reintroducing him on the stage:

#### Example 25

(SC 84) Kuløja ka kkojh sok-esø ttatpakketo mul-e  
 right.afterwards the flower inside-from unexpectedly water-at

ttwiø.tal-øt-tøn Sim Jhøng-i-ka nathana-ss-apnita.  
 jump.into-Past-rM Shim Chung-Voc-SP appear-Past-fD

'Then, out of the flower, Shim Chung, who had jumped into the sea, appeared unexpectedly.'

(GM 31) Jølmani-nan noph-un jongkak-ul jhøta.po-myø  
 young.man-TP high-prM belfry-OP look.up-while

31a. "Inje kkomjjak-øpsi juk-kek-kuna."  
 now stir-without die-Presum-Apper

ha-my $\phi$       hansum-man      swi-ko.in-nante       $\phi$ ti.s $\phi$ .inji      tto  
 Quot-while    sigh-only      draw-Prog-while      from.somewhere    again

kul $\phi$ ngi-ka      nathana-ss- $\phi$ yo.  
 snake-SP      appear-Past-sfD

'As the young man looked up the high belfry, (he) was only sighing, saying, 31a. "(It seems that I) will die now for sure"; then snake appeared again from somewhere.'

Also in BM the tiger is reintroduced with ka in S16: kha-n holangi-ka 'the big tiger.' While SC 84 and GM 31 above use a verb of appearance, nathana 'appear,' for reintroduction, BM 16 does not ('The big tiger came, carrying a woman . . . and disappeared'). Concerning a verb of appearance, Li and Thompson (1979:331) notes:

A clause with a verb of appearance performs a dual function in discourse. On the one hand, it forms part of the action sequence; on the other hand, it introduces a new discourse topic. Because it introduces the topic that the following clause goes on to describe, it is highly conjoinable with that clause, hence the nonappearance of a pronoun.

Since we mark in Korean narrative the participant who appears or reappears distinctively with the subject particle with a focus on the NP, perhaps we emphasize the function of a clause with a verb of appearance as that of introducing a new discourse topic rather than that of reporting an action.

#### 5.4.1.2. Modifying Clauses

A noun phrase in a modifying (embedded or relative) clause takes ka, although the NP is already known:

## Example 26

(GM 12) Jólmani-nan nómu kotan.hä-só ka yója-ka annä.hä-ju-nan  
 young.man-TP too be.tired-so the woman-SP guide-Benef-prM

pang-e taló.ka-só kot jam-i tal-óss-óyo.  
 room-at go.in-so immediately sleep-SP slip.in-Past-sfD

'The young man was so tired that (he) fell asleep immediately  
 after going into the room where the woman had led (him).'

(HS 8) Moja jangsa-nan hanjham ja-ko ilóna-só moja  
 hat seller-TP for.a.while sleep-and get.up-and hat

kwak-ul kaji-ko ka-lyóko.ha-nante ka kwak-e  
 box-OP take-and go-Intend-while the box-in

moja-ka man-jhi.an-an kós-ul po-ko kkamjjak  
 hat-SP many-Neg-prM fact-OP see-and very

nolla-ss-upnita.  
 be.surprised-Past-fD

'After sleeping for a while, the hat seller got up and was about  
 to go with the hat box; then (he) was very surprised, seeing  
 that not many hats were in the box.'

In both examples, the hats and the woman are already established as old information in the preceding sentences, and yet they take ka because they occur in the modifying clauses, which are typically the lowest end of the scale of information importance.

I.S. Yang (1972: 232) points out examples of rare exception to this category, i.e., modifying clauses occurring with certain adverbials:

## Example 27

(a) Koyangi-ka apóji-nan ólyópke jap-un koki-lul  
 cat-SP father-TP with.difficulty catch-pM fish-OP

mók-ó.póly-ót-ta.  
 eat-Compl-Past-D

'A cat ate up the fish which father caught with difficulty.'

(b) Jon-i na-nan musimkho ha-n mal-ul ohähä-t-ta.  
 John-SP I-TP without.malice do-pM word-OP misunderstand-Past-D  
 'John misunderstood what I said with no malice whatever.'

In both examples, we must use ka after 'father' (in a) and after 'I' (in b) if the modifying clauses do not contain adverbs. With the adverbs either the subject or topic particle may follow the nouns. Then what is the difference in meaning associated with the use of each particle? Following the hypothesis, I explain the difference in relation to relative importance of information. Since nan occurs in a sentence reporting the information high in the scale, the examples (a) and (b) above focus on the events (the event of father catching the fish with difficulty, and the fact that I said something with no malice). On the other hand, the same sentences with the subject particle in place of the topic particle focus on the participant, e.g., the fact that it is father who caught the fish with difficulty. These adverbs in some way function to make the events in modifying clauses more important or higher in the scale.

#### 5.4.1.3. Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses in most cases take ka noun phrases as their subjects, e.g., those with the meaning 'if,' 'when,' 'as soon as,' 'after,' etc.

#### Example 28

(SC 76) Sim Pongsa: "Aka! Nä-ka nø-lul il-kho nun-ul tta-myøn-un  
 Shim Bongsa baby I-SP you-OP lose-and eye-OP open-if-TP

musun soyong-i ik-ken-nanya?  
 what use-SP exist-Presum-Q

'Shim Bongsa: "Baby! What's the use (of my eyes) if I lose you and open my eyes?"

(SC 75) Sim Pongsa-nan Sim Jhøng-i-ka pät salam-tal-ul ttala  
 Shim Bongs-a-TP Shim Chung-Voc-SP ship person-Pl-OP follow

jip-ul ttøna-l ttä-e-ya piloso juk-um-uy kil-lo  
 home-OP leave-fuM time-at-certainly finally die-Nom-Poss way-to

ttøna-n-ta-nan køs-ul al-ke.twe-øss-upnita.  
 leave-Act-D-prM fact-OP know-Inchoa-Past-fD

'Finally when Shim Chung was leaving home with the seamen, Shim Bongs-a realized that (she) would die.'

We have seen in Chapter 4 that these subordinate clauses characteristically report information that is low in the scale of importance.

#### 5.4.1.4. One Topic per Clause (Event at the Stage)

There is normally one topic with nun per clause unless there is a contrastive nun additionally (cf. wa in Japanese marking the contrastive element, Kuno 1972). In the following example, therefore, since the temporal setting is taken as topic, the reference to the participant already introduced in the preceding sentence is made with ka in this sentence (which serves as the Stage of Episode 1 in SM):

Example 29

(SM 3) Halu-nan hol ømøni-ka jip-ul ttøna-si-myønsø  
 one.day-TP lone mother-SP home-OP leave-Honor-while

3a. "ssalit-mun jal tat-ko jip jal po-ko.ik-køla."  
 bush.clover-door well close-and home well see-Prog-Imp

3b. "Ne."  
 yes

ikøkhe illu-si-ko jip-ul ttøna-si-øss-upnita.  
 like.this tell-Honor-and home-OP leave-Honor-Past-fD

'One day the widowed mother was leaving home and said, 3a. "Close the bush-clover door well and look after the house well." 3b. "Yes, (we will)." (She) left the house after saying that.'

The word halu 'one day' is a noun used only in combination with nun when marking the temporal setting. If we do not want to make 'one day' a topic, then we need to paraphrase it as ónu nal 'certain day.' With the latter, the participant may take nun: ónu nal hol ómóni-nun . . . 'One day the widowed mother . . .' While the translation into English is identical for both, I think the choice between the two (one day-ka mother-nun vs. one day-nun mother-ka) is not arbitrary but has a structural correlation in discourse, the former with the high level of information (main-line) and the latter with the low level of information (supportive) in terms of the event-line of the narrative.

#### 5.4.1.5. Focus on Nouns

Ka is employed to focus attention on the preceding NP (whether known or unknown information). To quote a connected sequence of sentences from I.S. Yang (1972:90):

#### Example 30

- (i) Speaker: Jon-i mu $\phi$ s-ul m $\phi$ k- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ yo?  
 John-SP what-OP eat-Past-sfQ  
 'What did John eat?'
- (ii) Hearer 1: Jon-un kimjhi-l $\phi$ l m $\phi$ k- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ yo.  
 John-TP kimchi-OP eat-Past-sfD  
 'John ate kimchi.'
- (iii) Hearer 2: Nu-ka kimjhi-l $\phi$ l m $\phi$ k- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ yo?  
 who-SP kimchi-OP eat-Past-sfQ  
 'Who ate kimchi?'
- (iv) Speaker: Jon-i kimjhi-l $\phi$ l m $\phi$ k- $\phi$ ss- $\phi$ yo.  
 John-SP kimchi-OP eat-Past-sfD  
 'John ate kimchi.'

Whenever the subject is in focus, the subject particle ka is used. In sentence (ii), John is topic, known information, so marked with the topic

particle. The question word nuku (short form nu) 'who' necessarily takes ka because that is the information sought after, except in rare cases when it is contrastive.

Hwang Chul in the following example is known information, but takes ka due to its being the focal point:

Example 31

(TC 6) The reason is that whenever there is an athletic meet, Hwang Chul-i-ka (Hwang Chul-Voc-SP) steps out as a cheer-leader.

The implication is that Hwang Chul, among all the people at school, steps out. This example illustrates what Kuno calls "exhaustive listing."

In each of the five cases discussed in this section (5.4.1), the subject particle is used in relation to supportive material, that is material low in the scale of importance: in introducing or reintroducing participants, in modifying and subordinate clauses, in reporting an event at the stage, and in focusing attention on nouns.

#### 5.4.2. Use of the Topic Particle for Main-Line Material

In this section we treat the use of nun only as an alternative for ka, excluding its occurrences following objects, location, time, etc.<sup>8</sup> As a general rule we have nun occurring in every successive reference to a participant after the introduction with ka. Therefore, we have a predominant use of this topic particle in narratives, compared with the subject particle, which shows a more restricted distribution. When we add to this wide distribution the exceptional cases in which we may use nun even at the initial introduction of a participant, the occurrence of nun is more frequent. For example, in "The Water Cicada" the old man is referred

to fourteen times with the topic particle, and none with the subject particle. In "This Kind of Concert," the narrator 'I' occurs with nun eleven times, and with ka three times (all three occurrences in modifying clauses).

#### 5.4.2.1. Known Information

The topic particle is employed for old information that is known and shared between the speaker and hearer, endophorically in verbal context and exophorically in situational context. Situationally established information includes immediate family members of the speaker or of the major participant, references to the speaker and hearer, and even the neighbors of a participant:

#### Example 32

##### (1) Reference to the hearer:

(SC 15) Tangsin-un nwi s-i-o?  
 you(Honor)-TP who Honor-be-sfQ  
 'Who are you?'

##### (2) Reference to the participant's mother, when the participant is known:

(SC 3) Sim Jhǒng-i-ay ǒmǒni-nun maum jhak.ha-ko . . .  
 Shim Chung-Voc-Poss mother-TP mind be.good-and  
 'Shim Chung's mother was good and . . .'

##### (3) Reference to the participant's neighbors, when the participant is known:

(SC 73) I somun-ul tal-un tongne salam-tal-un  
 this rumor-OP hear-pM neighbor person-Pl-TP

Sim Jhǒng-i-ləl jhaja.wa-sǒ . . .  
 Shim Chung-Voc-OP visit-and

'The neighbors who heard this came to Shim Chung and . . .'



The topic particle may be used at the introduction of a new participant, who may be established exophorically as related to a location or an event, much as the use of the definite article in English in the first-mention reference when the author assumes that the item is in the reader's "foregrounded frame" (cf. L.B. Jones 1980). Here is an example of that kind:

Example 33

- (WC 62) Unable to wait any longer, the old man went to school and asked  
(about his son).  
(WC 63) The night-duty teacher-un said that it had been long since the  
children had gone (home) . . .

In this case the reference to the night-duty teacher takes the topic particle since the author assumes that in the school frame and in the time setting of evening such a teacher may be invoked in our foregrounded frame. Let us compare it with another sentence in the same text:

Example 34

- (WC 59) Jip-esø-nan manula-ka pólssø jønyøk-al jip.no-kho . . .  
home-at-TP wife-SP already supper-OP cook-and  
'At home (his) wife had already cooked supper and . . .

We ask the question here: why doesn't the word for 'wife' take the topic particle instead of the subject particle? Is it not enough to have home-frame foregrounded to assume the existence of his wife? In fact, we have seen in Example 30 (2) that Shim Chung's mother is introduced with nan because Shim Chung is known. We can find the explanation to this situation in the locational phrase 'at home.' Since the location is already made the topic of the sentence, 'wife' is not followed by nan, in order to prevent having two topics one after another in the same sentence (cf. SM 3 in

5.4.1.4). As in the case of SM 3, WC 59 occurs at the Stage of Episode 2 and reports supportive material (with the progressive aspect in its verb).

#### 5.4.2.2. Generic Nouns

Generic nouns referring to the entire membership of a class are marked with nun, in that generic nouns are shared information for most people.

#### Example 35

(UT 24) Salam-tul-un jimsung-ul maum-tälo juk-i-ki-to ha-ko. . .  
 person-Pl-TP beast-OP mind-as die-Caus-Nom-also do-and  
 'People would freely kill animals. . .'

#### 5.4.2.3. Contrasted Nouns

When there is a contrast of the NP with something else in the verbal or situational context, nun is employed:

#### Example 36

(GM 11a) "Täjöp.ha-l amsik-un øps-upnita-man jumu-si-ko-man  
 serve-fuM food-TP not.exist-fD-but sleep-Honor-and-only  
 ka-si-ket-ta-myön talø.o-se-yo."  
 go-Honor-Volit-D-if come.in-Honor-sfImp

"(I) don't have food to serve, but please come in if (you) only intend to spend the night."

(TC 41) Ikøkhe uli-tul-un ki-ka olla-sø ungwøñ-ul ha-lyønman  
 like.this we-Pl-TP spirit-SP rise-so cheering-OP do-although  
 Hwang Jhøl-i-nun simuluk.ha-ni jo-jhi.an-un kisäk i-ta.  
 Hwang Chul-Voc-TP be.sullen-and good-Neg-prM look be-D

'Though we are in high spirits and cheering like this, Hwang Chul looks sullen and not well.'

In the first example food is contrasted with bedding or room to sleep,

i.e., 'there is no food, but you can have a sleep.' In TC 41 'we' is contrasted explicitly in the text with 'Hwang Chul.'

In conclusion, in addition to marking the participants in their further reference, the topic particle marks non-anaphoric information in text when the author assumes that the information is either shared with the reader (e.g., generic nouns) or derivable from discourse and its context (e.g., family members of the participant, items in the foregrounded frame, etc). As such, this particle is widely distributed in discourse and associated with the main-line information. It occurs in clauses reporting dynamic information in terms of the scale of importance and serves to further the progress of the narrative.

I do not claim, however, that all occurrences of the topic particle correlate with the main-line material; e.g., we have cases in which a comment (off-the-line) is made with nun in an independent or coordinate clause for a participant or prop previously introduced:

Example 37

(BM 11) Mok-esø      ppänä-n      kø's-un      un      pinyø      y-øt-ta.  
throat-from pull.out-pM thing-TP      silver hair.rod be-Past-D  
'The thing pulled out of the throat was a silver hair-rod.'

I hypothesize that most (if not all) of the main-line material is reported in a clause with its agents marked by nun or with zero anaphora (which, as known information, I treat as equivalent to marking with nun). In the clauses that require the topic particle after nouns, the focus is on the verbal elements rather than on the nouns in that nouns referring to the participants, already known to the reader, clearly carry a lower

information load (or communicative dynamism, as called by Firbas 1964) than their actions.

#### 5.4.3. Comparison of the Subject and Topic Particles

Given the general rule for using the subject particle ka for new information (in the introduction of a participant) and the topic particle nan for old information (in further reference), we have examined the exceptional cases in the use of each particle. The following table provides a concise comparison of the two particles involved:

| SUBJECT PARTICLE <u>ka</u>        | TOPIC PARTICLE <u>nan</u>          |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Focus on NP (participants):       | Low focus on NP (participants):    |
| Introduction and reintroduction   | Further reference                  |
| New information                   | Old and shared information         |
| Non-anaphoric                     | Anaphoric                          |
| Items not in foregrounded frame   | Items in foregrounded frame        |
| Low focus on VP (actions/events): | Focus on VP (actions/events):      |
| Modifying and subordinate clauses | Coordinate and independent clauses |
| Static                            | Dynamic                            |
| Supportive material               | Main-line material                 |
| Low in the scale of importance    | High in the scale of importance    |

By occurring in the stage of narrative and modifying/subordinate clauses, the subject particle is considered to be more characteristic of the supportive and off-the-line material. In addition, it tends to focus on nouns (participants), thus correlating with static type of information. On the other hand, the topic particle is much more prevalent in a narrative by marking the participants in their further references. We may add the cases of zero anaphora to the occurrences of the topic particle, in that zero anaphora--which corresponds to the third-person pronoun in a language like English--is by definition assumed to be known to the hearer (reader), thus

old information. As such, it is associated more frequently with the main-line material and serves to cause the story-line to progress along the temporal horizon. With its focus on verbs, i.e., actions and events, it correlates more with dynamic type of information.

While we have more rigid cases in which we must use only one or the other particle, we have instances when we can use either one, affecting very little in terms of the flow of discourse. These varying degrees of constraint reflect the fact that there is a gradation in acceptability of usages in these particles. This, however, is to be expected if we correlate the use of particles with the relative importance of information, in that we have a scale of information importance consisting of several continua (cf. Chapter 4) rather than one with only two levels.

#### 5.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have dealt with the topic of participant reference in Korean narration from three perspectives: (1) Why is a participant referred to overtly and not omitted? (2) By what noun phrase is he referred to? (3) With which particle (topic or subject) is he referred to?

As regards the first question (5.2), I have found that a participant tends to be referred to overtly in the following conditions: (1) when there is a role switch; (2) when the narrator resumes the event line after description of non-events; (3) when the participant is the thematic participant of the paragraph; (4) when starting a new paragraph; (5) after time expressions; (6) in quotation formulas that occur as separate sentences after direct speeches. While these are general conditions that trigger the overt reference, there are, however, a few exceptional cases in each of the six categories. For these exceptions I have provided some

explanations, which suggest that there may be secondary conditions or constraints systematically operating for these exceptions. At the moment I consider the six categories as conditions that tend to trigger overt reference.

As to the form of the noun phrase in participant reference (5.3), the form used in introduction is normally repeated in further reference whether it is a proper noun, social role noun, relational term, generic class term, etc. When there is a motivation in terms of sociolinguistic considerations, other forms may be used, often reflecting the author's point of view toward the participant--a consideration that is closely tied into the plot structure. I also comment on the rare occurrences of the third-person pronouns in narration in the two short stories (2 occurrences of ka-tul 'they' and 1 occurrence of ka 'he').

The choice of particles in participant reference (5.4) is found to be correlated with the distinction of information in terms of relative structural importance. In general, the subject particle ka occurs with new information at the introduction of a participant, and the topic particle nan with old information at further reference. However, there are exceptions to this general rule, which have attracted a considerable attention of those linguists studying Korean and Japanese (cf. I.S. Yang 1972, Hinds 1973, and Kuno 1972). There are cases when one particle must be used, and in other cases either one is acceptable. Mixing up of the two particles often results in putting a focus on a wrong element and reflecting a non-native usage, much like the incorrect/imperfect use of the definite and indefinite articles in English.

While others interested in this topic have viewed the choice of particles within individual sentences or at best within a small sequence of sentences, I have chosen to look at the matter from the perspective of discourse. The subject particle is found to occur in clauses that characteristically report supportive material: clauses in stage and modifying and subordinate clauses. This particle tends to focus on the nouns, i.e., participants in narrative, while the topic particle tends to focus on the verbs, i.e., actions and events as related to participants. The prevalent occurrence of the topic particle in a discourse explains its characteristic function of reporting main-line (and some supportive) material.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>The term "participants" includes both participants and props; however they are distinguished by such criteria as animate vs. inanimate, or by distinctions based on activity relative to plot, or, otherwise (Grimes 1975).

<sup>2</sup>See Hwang 1975 for a detailed discussion of Korean clause structure.

<sup>3</sup>Ishikawa (1980) finds not a single occurrence of third-person pronoun in the Peach Taro narrative from Japan and notes that its occurrence would make the narrative unnatural as Japanese narrative discourse.

<sup>4</sup>A cursory reading through the English translation of the texts in Appendix A would show how frequent a phenomenon this zero anaphora is in Korean narratives, as I have used parenthesis for supplied information--mostly pronouns--that is required in English but not in Korean.

<sup>5</sup>Topic is generally, but not always, the sentence-initial NP in Korean.

<sup>6</sup>Bolinger (1979:308) notes in English also that most reidentifications occur after a break of some kind and that "other reidentifications respond to some implied or underlying assertion about the referent."

<sup>7</sup>For the proper nouns ending with consonants, a sort of epenthetic vowel i occurs before postpositional particles: e.g., Sim Jhŏng-i-ka 'Shim Chung-Voc-SP' and Yŏngton-i-lal 'Youngdon-Voc-OP.' This i may also be considered as a vocative particle which occurs at certain levels of speech, e.g., an older person addressing to a younger one (who is, however, not a child). Thus I have put Voc for Vocative in the morpheme gloss for all occurrences of this vowel although in many cases in the texts there are no addressees.

<sup>8</sup>Ka marks only subject, while nan may replace, object, or complement particle or may be added to the location, time, etc. particles (Hwang 1975). In other words, nan has no restriction as to its occurrence in any part of the sentence, even to a verb in a dependent clause, as pointed out in the discussion of sentence structure (cf. 4.2.6).



## CONCLUSION

This is a study of discourse in two parts. The first part (Chapter 2) provides a theoretical base for the study of discourse. The main part of the study (Chapters 3 to 5) is a descriptive analysis, dealing with a few specific aspects of Korean narration.

In the first part, the study of discourse is related to topics in philosophy and linguistics. Particularly, I have found the reflections of philosophers on the question of the whole in relation to its parts (rather than simply parts in relation to parts) illuminating to my study of discourse grammar. Discourse as the whole cannot be specified completely in terms of the sentences and clauses that constitute it. This attention to parts without regard to the whole may explain the inadequacy of sentence grammars as has been pointed out by scholars, especially those interested in semantics and pragmatics. To the question, how big a whole is the whole in the study of language, I answer that it has to be at least the size of discourse level in order to be appropriate. This implies that one may go up to a higher or larger context than the discourse. For a linguistic study, however, I believe that discourse forms an adequate and natural size level, corresponding to the concept of wholeness.

The major value of the first part lies in the fact that I relate the subject matter of linguistics to studies in another discipline, for I think it desirable to bring together insights from different academic fields for mutual illumination in a specific area. The topic of discourse grammar has provided such a point of contact. The association of the concept of

discourse in linguistics with the concept of the whole in philosophy argues for the value of looking at language from the perspective of the whole, namely, discourse.

Based on the data consisting of eight Korean texts (six folktales and two short stories), I have studied Korean narration in three aspects: (1) syntagmatic organizational structure, (2) features in verbs signaling the relative structural importance of information, and (3) use of nouns in participant reference. While I focus in the first on the whole structure of each discourse, in the last two I take up two specific areas from the perspective of discourse, i.e., how the verbs and nouns function in discourse.

The syntagmatic structure of each story is analyzed in both surface and plot (deep) levels. Each story consists of stage and episodes (pre-peak, peak, and/or post-peak) on the surface; these surface slots are correlated with plot structure slots such as exposition, inciting moment, climax, and denouement. More often than not, a story displays a structure with embedded discourses, showing hierarchical arrangement of discourses within an overall story. Thus in addition to charting whole discourses, I have further charted included wholes, i.e., embedded discourses. The syntagmatic structures in terms of the whole are graphically represented in profiles. The highest point in a profile corresponds to the peak of the story, in which there are some unusual linguistic features correlating with the climactic point in the plot structure. In addition, the episode encoding the inciting moment of the plot structure is also found to carry peak-like features. The unusual features that mark the peak are listed,

e.g., the use of verbal features that normally characterize the off-the-line material in reporting pivotal events at peak.

With regard to the second aspect of study, six types of verb features are found to function in discourse in such a way as to signal the relative importance of information. The features are tense, aspect, mode, transitivity/voice, verb types according to case frames, and sentence structure. Thus the past tense, completive aspect, declarative mode, transitive verb, action-process and action verbs, and independent (final) clause verb are shown to be more characteristic of event-line material. On the other hand, the present tense, progressive aspect, negative mode, state/existential/equative verbs, and subordinate clause verb are found to signal off-the-line material, which is less important to the progression of the story. Thus I have drawn together several considerations in weighing bits of information and tried to handle these features in a systematic way, while building upon the results from earlier studies of similar type. A hypothesis is presented on a scale of information importance as signaled by the above-mentioned features both in terms of continua and of five levels.

The third aspect of this study has to do with participant reference. It is found that a participant tends to be marked overtly in the following conditions: (1) when there is a role switch, (2) when the narrator resumes event line after describing non-events, (3) when the participant is thematic in the paragraph, (4) after paragraph boundary, (5) after time expressions, and (6) in quotation formulas after quotes across sentence boundary. While these conditions generally trigger overt reference to the participant, there are exceptional cases. With illustrations of both types

I suggest the possibility of having hierarchically-ordered rules, i.e., higher-level rules with broader applications and the lower-level rules with limited applications. Further research on this question might provide a more insightful and systematic treatment.

When marking a participant overtly, we need to make further choices: (1) the form of the noun phrase and (2) the choice between subject and topic postpositional particles. In further reference to a participant, the head noun used at the initial introduction is generally repeated. In extremely rare cases do we have the third-person pronouns occurring in discourse. Earlier studies on the topic particle vs. the subject particle (both in Korean and Japanese) do not handle the question from the discourse perspective. Here the subject particle ka is found to occur in the stage and in modifying and subordinate clauses, which characteristically report supportive material. The topic particle nun, on the other hand, occurs much more frequently, generally marking the noun phrase as known/shared information between the speaker and hearer. It is used for non-initial reference to participants. Much of the important event-line material is thus reported in a clause with the topic particle. Therefore, I correlate the use of these two particles with the scale of importance of information (which is, however, mainly based on verbal features). The use of particles after nouns provides an additional clue in weighing bits of information with regard to their functions in discourse. My hypothesis of correlating ka with supportive material and nun with main-line material reflects the fact that the agent line and event line of a discourse are intricately intertwined.

Further research is desired to test the hypotheses presented here as regards verbs and nouns (and particles) in other types of discourses. I expect that the application of the scale of information importance would be quite different according to discourse type. Thus later studies may show that the scale is to be applied in just the opposite way in the expository discourse, e.g., state, existential, and equative verb types may be found to report main-line material, while action and process verbs report supportive material. The use of particles in other types of discourse may or may not have the same correlation as found in narrative discourse.

This study illustrates that a holistic approach to the study of language from the perspective of discourse can give us insights that we cannot obtain by merely studying the parts, i.e., the units in the lower levels, in and of themselves. In particular, this conceptual model of discourse has made it possible for the present study (1) to relate the study of language to the communication setting, (2) to gain new information that is not available from lower-level studies (e.g., relating verb features not just to the verb or sentence but to the whole discourse), (3) to achieve an increased power of generalization (e.g., relating the use of the subject particle ka to supportive material in discourse rather than only to sporadic grammatical constructions such as modifying clauses or subordinate clauses).

The framework of discourse has delimited the scope of the study in two major ways. First, detailing the syntagmatic structure of each narrative with a holistic approach from the perspective of discourse is a natural starting point in this framework. Second, the discourse approach has also allowed me to see the importance of nouns and verbs in the

language: narrative discourse is basically an interplay between its participants (nouns) and their actions (verbs). Thus these concerns have been highlighted in the analysis of Korean by taking account of participant reference and of the relative structural importance of information as reflected in the features of verbs.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TEXTS

1. The Story of Shim Chung

Hyonyø Shim Jhøng  
dutiful.girl Shim Chung

1. Yet nal øna sikol-e-nan hyosøng.salø-n sonyø Sim Jhøng-i-ka  
old day certain country-at-TP dutiful-prM girl Shim Chung-Voc-SP

sal-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
live-Prog-Past-fD

2. Hol apøji son-esø tongni puinne-tal-ay jø-s-ul  
lone father hand-at neighborhood woman-Pl-Poss milk-OP

øtø-møk-amyø jala.na-ss-upnita.  
get-eat-while grow.up-Past-fD

3. Sim Jhøng-i-ay ømøni-nan maum jhak.ha-ko øyøppa-n  
Shim Chung-Voc-Poss mother-TP mind be.good-and be.pretty-prM

pun i-sy-øn-nante kaman nappa-n pyøng-i  
person be-Honor-Past-but unfortunately bad-prM sickness-SP

tal-ø sesang-ul ttøna-pøli-si-øss-upnita.  
get.in-so world-OP leave-Compl-Honor-Past-fD

4. øli-n Jhøng-i-lal an-ko hokan øp-ko  
little-prM Chung-Voc-OP hold-and or carry.on.the.back-and

maul-ul tola.tani-si-myø puinne-tal-ay jø-s-ul  
village-OP wander.about-Honor-while woman-Pl-Poss milk-OP

øtø-møk-i-myønsø khiw-øss-upnita.  
get-eat-Caus-while raise-Past-fD >

5. Sim Jhøng-i-nan jala-l.sulok apøji-lal wiha-nan hyosøng-i  
Shim Chung-Voc-TP grow.up-as father-OP help-prM filial.pietty-SP

jikak.ha-ss-amyø kønnø maul-e sa-nan Jang  
be.abundant-Past-while across village-at live-prM Chang



Jǒngung-nim                      tāk-e      ka-sǒ      il-ul      ha-myǒ  
 minister.(of.state)-Honor    house-at    go-and    work-OP    do-while

apǒji-lul      mosi-ke.twe-ǒss-upnita.  
 father-OP      take.care-Inchoa-Past-fD

1. Once upon a time in the country a dutiful girl Shim Chung lived.  
 2. In the hands of (her) widowed father, (she) grew up being nursed by neighborhood mothers. 3. Shim Chung's mother was a good and pretty person, but (she) got sick and passed away. 4. (Father) raised little Chung, holding or carrying (her) on the back, wandering around the village and having the (neighborhood) mothers nurse (her). 5. Shim Chung, as (she) grew up, became devoted to (her) father and supported him, working at the Minister (of state) Chang's house.

6. ǒna      nal      i-ǒss-upnita.  
 certain day      be-Past-fD

7. Sim Jhǒng-i      apǒji      Sim Pongsa-nim-un                      ttal-i  
 Shim Chung-Voc    father    Shim Bongsa (blindman)-Honor-TP    daughter-SP  
 tola.o-ki-lul      kitali-ko.iss-ǒss-upnita.  
 return-Nom-OP    wait-Prog-Past-fD

8. Kitali-ta      jijihi-n              Sim Pongsa-nim-un      ttal-i              o-nanka  
 wait-after      be.tired-pM    Shim Bongsa-Honor-TP    daughter-SP    come-if  
 po-lyǒko              jiphangi-lul      uyjiha-ko      ǒtuu-n              pakk-ul  
 see-in.order.to    cane-OP              lean-and      dark-prM              outside-OP  
 naka-si-ke.twe-ǒss-upnita.  
 go.out-Honor-Inchoa-Past-fD

9. Sim Pongsa: "Jhǒng-i-nan      ǒjjǒn      il-lo              nat-tolok  
 Shim Bongsa      Chung-Voc-TP    what      matter-with      be.late-until  
 tola.o-ji.an-ulkka?      u u u . . ."  
 come.back-Neg-Q              u u u

10. Senim: "Ani! ǒtisǒ      khung      soli-ka      na-t-ta.  
 monk      no      somewhere    khung      sound-SP      occur-Past-D

11.      Aha,      i-lul      ǒjjǒna!  
       ah      this-OP    what.to.do

12.      Sim Pongsa-nim-i      kǎjhǒn-e              ppaji-sy-ǒk-kun-yo.  
       Shim Bongsa-Honor-SP    stream-at              fall.into-Honor-Past-Apper-sfD

13.      Kha-n      il              na-n-ne.  
       big-prM    event      occur-Past-Apper

14. Øsø nă son-ul jap-ko na.o-se-yo."  
quickly my hand-OP hold-and come.out-Honor-sfD
15. Sim Pongsa: "Tangsin-un nwi-si-o?  
Shim Bongsa you-TP who-Honor-sfQ
16. Øttøŋ pun-i-si-nte na-lal kukă-ju-si-o?"  
what person-be-Honor-then I-OP save-Benef-Honor-sfQ
17. Sənim: "Namuami.Thapul Kwanseum.posal.  
monk save.us.merciful.Buddha the.merciful.Goddess
18. Na-nan Mongun sa-e in-nan hwaju.sang  
I-TP Mongun temple-at exist-prM monk.in.charge.of.goods  
  
i-la-o.  
be-Quot-sfD
19. Kulønte ap mot-po-nan pun-i muøt ha-lø  
by.the.way front unable-see-prM person-SP what do-in.order.to  
  
pam.jung-e iløŋ kos-ul na.o-sy-øss-o?"  
night-at like.this place-OP come.out-Honor-Past-sfQ
20. Sim Pongsa: "Nă ttal Jhøng-i-ka pakk-e naka-n-ji  
Shim Bongsa my daughter Chung-Voc-SP outside-at go.out-pM-since  
  
oldă twe-øŋ-nante pam.jung-kkaji tola.o-ji.an-asø  
long become-Past-but night-until come.back-Neg-so  
  
majung-ul na.w-at-taka kaman . . ."  
reception-OP come.out-Past-while unfortunately
21. Sənim: "An-twe-ss-əpnita-kalyø Namuami.Thapul  
monk Neg-become-Past-fD-(I feel) save.us.merciful.Buddha  
  
Kwanseum.posal."  
the.merciful.Goddess
22. Sim Pongsa: "Ap mot-po-nan sinse han.suløp-səpnita.  
Shim Bongsa front unable-see-prM fate be.grief-fD
23. Ønje-na uli ttal Jhøng-i-əy ølkul-ul  
when-at.least we(Poss) daughter Chung-Voc-Poss face-OP  
  
han pøŋ po-ko juk-ke.twe-l.ji . . ."  
one time see-and die-Inchoa-if
24. Sənim: "Han kaji pangpøp-i ik-ki-nan ha-o-man . . .  
monk one kind way-SP exist-Nom-TP do-sfD-but

- Namuami.Thapul                      Kwanseum.posal."  
 save.us.merciful.Buddha    the.merciful.Goddess
25. Sim Pongsa: "Ka pangpǝp-i    muǝs i-nkayo?  
 Shim Bongsa    the    way-SP            what    be-sfQ
26.        Poa-ha-ni        naǝ-l        kǝ-nka            malssǝm-ina  
           see-do-so        heal-fuM fact-whether    word-at.least
- hǎ-po-si-psyo."  
           do-see-Honor-fImp
27. Sanim: "Mal-ul    ha-ji.an-nǝn    phyǝn-i    poa-ha-ni    na-ul  
           monk        word-OP    do-Neg-prM    side-SP    see-do-so    better-fuM
- kǝt    kath-uo."  
           fact    seem-sfD
28. Sim Pongsa: "Posal-nim,                      siwǝnhi        malssǝm-man-ilato  
           Shim Bongsa        Buddhist.saint-Honor    frankly        word-only-even
- tak-ko.sip-so.ita."  
           hear-Desid-sfD
29. Sanim: "Pujhǝ-nim-kke    kongyang-mi    sam.pǎk sǝk-man    siju.ha-si-ko  
           monk        Buddha-Honor-to offering-rice 300        suk-only    donate-Honor-and
- jǝngsǝng-alo        pi-si-myǝn        sowǝn-ul    ilu-si-l                      ssu  
           earnestness-with    pray-Honor-if    wish-OP    achieve-Honor-fuM way
- ik-kess-upnita-man . . . ,    Namuami.Thapul  
           exist-Presum-fD-but            save.us.merciful.Buddha
- Kwanseum.posal."  
           the.merciful.Goddess
30. Sim Pongsa: "Sanim, nǎ    nun-man        ttu-ke.twe-n-ta-myǝn  
           Shim Bongsa    monk    my    eye-only    open-Inchoa-Act-D-if
- ha-ko.malko-yo."  
           do-of.course-sfD
31. Sanim: "Kǝlǝm    siju.pu-e                      jǝk-kess-upnita."  
           monk        then        donation.book-at    write-Volit-fD
32. Sim Pongsa: "Kǝlǝkhe    ha-si-o."  
           Shim Bongsa        like.that do-Honor-sfImp
33. Sanim: "Kǝlǝm    annyǝngghi kesi-o,                      Namuami.Thapul  
           monk        then        well        stay(Honor)-sfImp        save.us.merciful.Buddha

Kwanseum.posal."  
the.merciful.Goddess

34. Sim Pongsa: "Ø! Yøpo! sunim, sanim, aiku nã-ka  
Shim Bongsa oh here monk monk ah I-SP

mijh-øj-ji.  
be.crazy-Past-Suspect

35. Kongyang-mi sam.pãk søk-i øti-sø na-n-ta-ko  
offering-rice 300 suk-SP where-from occur-Act-D-Quot

sungnak-ul hã-ss-alkka?  
consent-OP do-Past-Q

36. Kha-n il na-n-ne kha-n il na-n-ne,  
big-prM event occur-Past-Apper big-prM event occur-Past-Apper

yøpo sunim! yøpo sunim!"  
here monk here monk

6. (It) was one day. 7. Shim Chung's father Shim Bongsa [lit., Blindman] was waiting for (his) daughter to come back. 8. Tired of waiting, Shim Bongsa went outside in the dark, leaning over his walking cane, to see if (his) daughter was coming.

SB (Shim Bongsa): 9. "Why isn't Chung coming back? u u u . . ."

Monk: 17. "Why! A 'khung' sound occurred somewhere. 11. Ah, what do I do? 12. Shim Bongsa fell into the stream. 13. (It's) a big event. 14. Quickly, hold my hand and come out.

SB: 15. "Who are you? 16. Who is saving me?"

Monk: 17. "Save us, merciful Buddha; the merciful Goddess [i.e., Buddhist Scriptures]. 18. I am a monk in charge of goods at Mongun Temple. 19. Well, why did (you), a person who does not see, come out here at night?"

SB: 20. "My daughter Chung has been gone for a long while and not been back until night, so (I) came out to meet her, but . . ."

Monk: 21. "Too bad [i.e., You have my sympathy]. Save us, merciful Buddha; the merciful Goddess."

SB: 22. "(It) is a grief not being able to see. 23. When will (I) even be able to see the face of my daughter Chung and die . . .!?"

Monk: 24. "There is a way to do it, but . . . Save us, merciful Buddha; the merciful Goddess."

SB: 25. "What is the way? 26. Please tell me if I will be able to see."

Monk: "Looking at (you), it seems better not to tell."

SB: 28. "Buddhist Saint, (I) would still like to hear the words."

Monk: 29. "If (you) donate 300 suks of rice to Buddha and pray with all (your) heart, then (you) will have (your) wish come true, but . . . Save us, merciful Buddha; the merciful Goddess."

SB: 30. "If only my eyes would open, of course, (I) would do (that)."

Monk: 31. "Then, (I) will write it in the donation book."

SB: 32. "Do so."

Monk: 33. "Then, stay well [i.e., good-bye]. Save us, merciful Buddha; the merciful Goddess."

SB: 34. "Oh, here, Monk, Monk; ah, I was crazy. 35. Where (in the world) would (I) get 300 suks [1 suk = 5 bushels] of rice; why did (I) agree? 36. What do I do now, what do I do now! Hey, Monk, hey, Monk."

37. Sim Jhøng: "Apøji apøji Jhøng-i-ka wa-ss-øyo.  
Shim Chung father father Chung-Voc-SP come-Past-sfD

38. Ani! Apøji wä kalø-se-yo?"  
no father why do.so-Honor-sfQ

39. Sim Pongsa: "A a nä-ka juk-ji.an-kho wä sal-asø . . .  
Shim Bongsa Ah ah I-SP die-Neg-and why live-so

40. Kuman kalø-n il-ul jøjill-øss-ulkka?  
by.mistake such-prM event-OP comment-Past-Q

41. Nä-ka mijh-øj-ji.  
I-SP be.crazy-Past-Suspect

42. Nä-ka mijh-øj-ji."  
I-SP be.crazy-Past-Suspect

43. Sim Jhøng: "Musun il-i iss-øn-nayo?  
Shim Chung What event-SP exist-Past-sfQ

44. Je-ka nakke tola.wa-sø musun il-i  
I(Humble)-SP late come.back-so what event-SP

iss-øk-kun-yo?"  
exist-Past-Apper-sfQ

45. Sim Pongsa: "Nø-lul jhaj-ulø naka-t-taka koman  
 Shim Bongsa you-OP look.for-Intend go.out-Past-then by mistake  
 kähjøn-e ppajy-øt-ta-n-ta.  
 stream-at fall.into-Past-D-Act-D
46. Sim Jhøng: "Nee! Kähjøn-e-lul-yo?"  
 Shim Chung yes stream-at-OP-sfQ
47. Sim Pongsa: "Kalä, kulønte na-lul kuhä-ju-n sunim-eke  
 Shim Bongsa yes well I-OP save-Benef-pM monk-to  
 koman . . ."  
 by.mistake
48. Sim Jhøng: "Sunim-hanthe musøn malssum-ul ha-sy-øk-killä  
 Shim Chung monk-to what word-OP do-Honor-Past-because  
 køkjøng-ul ha-si-øyo?  
 worry-OP do-Honor-sfQ
49. Øsø malssum-ul hä-po-se-yo."  
 quickly word-OP do-see-Honor-sfImp
50. Sim Pongsa: "Mal-ul hä-sø muø-l ha-nanya?  
 Shim Bongsa word-OP do-so what-OP do-Q
51. Nhä-ka mijh-øss-øk-kuna kuman."  
 I-SP be.crazy-Past-Past-Apper by.mistake
52. Sim Jhøng: "Apøji je-ke mot-ha-l malssum-i  
 Shim Chung father I(Humble)-to unable-do-fuM word-SP  
 iss-usi-øyo?"  
 exist-Honor-sfQ
53. Sim Pongsa: "Mongun sa sunim-i kongyang-mi sam.päk  
 Shim Bongsa Mongun temple monk-SP offering-rice 300  
 søk-man Pujhø-nim-kke siju-lul ha-myøn nun-ul  
 suk-only Buddha-Honor-to donation-OP do-if eye-OP  
 tta-ke.hä-ju-n-ta-kie koman kaløkhe  
 open-Caus-Benef-Act-D-because by.mistake like.that  
 ha-ket-ta-ko.hä-k-kuna."  
 do-Volit-D-Quot-Past-Apper
54. Sim Jhøng "Ai jal ha-si-øss-øyo.  
 Shim Chung Ah well do-Honor-Past-sfD

55. Siju.ha-ko pāk nal jongsong.kkōt pil-myōn apōji  
 donate-and 100 day earnestly pray-if father  
 nun-ul tta-ke.ha-si-n-ta-ko kalā-yo?"  
 eye-OP open-Caus-Honor-Act-D-Quot do.so-sfQ
56. Sim Pongsa: "Sunim malssam-i kalō-khi-n ha-jiman uli-ka  
 Shim Bongsa monk word-SP be.so-Nom-TP do-but we-SP  
 kongyang-mi sam.pāk sōk-i ōti-sō na-nanya?  
 offering-rice 300 suk-SP where-from occur-Q
57. Nā-ka koman mangnyōng-ul hā-j-ji."  
 I-SP by.mistake stupidity-OP do-Past-Suspect
58. Sim Jhōng: "Apōji kōkjōng.ha-ji.ma-si-ōyo.  
 Shim Chung father worry-not.do-Honor-sfImp
59. Je-ka jongsong.kkōt hā-po-kess-ōyō."  
 I(Humble)-SP earnestly do-see-Volit-sfD
60. Sim Pongsa: "Jhōng-a! aiko Jhōng-a ne-ka ōttōkhe ka  
 Shim Bongsa Chung-Voc ah Chung-Voc you-SP how the  
 kō-l hō-nya? aiku jhammal . . .  
 thing-OP do-Q ah really

SC (Shim Chung): 37. "Father, father. I am home now. 38. Why, Father, what is the matter?"

SB: 39. "Ah, ah why didn't I die, why do I live . . . 40. Why did I do such a thing? 41. I was crazy. 42. I was crazy."

SC: 43. "What happened? 44. Something happened because I came back late?"

SB: 45. "(I) went out to look for you and fell into a stream."

SC: 46. "What! Into a stream?"

SB: 47. "Yes. Well, to the monk who saved me . . ."

SC: 48. "What did (you) tell the monk--which makes (you) worry? 49. Please tell me quickly."

SB: 50. "What's the use of telling (you)? 51. I have been crazy."

SC: 52. "Father, is there anything that you cannot tell me?"

SB: 53. "Since the monk of the Mongun Temple told me that (I) could open my eyes if (I) donated 300 suks of rice to Buddha, (I) said that (I) would do so."

SC: 54. "Well, (you) did well. 55. Does (he) say your eyes would open if we donate (it) and pray earnestly for 100 days?"

SB: 55. "The monk's words were so, but where do we get 300 suks of rice? 57. I was stupid."

SC: 58. "Father, don't worry. 59. I will do my best."

SB: 60. "Chung, ah, Chung. How can you do it? Ah, really . . ."

61. Ønatat kongyang-mi sam.päk søk-ul pajhi-l nal-i  
all.too.soon offering-rice 300 suk-OP donate-fuM day-SP

taka.w-ass-upnita.  
come.close-Past-fD

62. Hyosøng.sulø-n Sim Jhøng-i-nan kongyang-mi sam.päk søk-ul  
filial-prM Shim Chung-Voc-TP offering-rice 300 suk-OP

øttøkhe ha-myøn malyøn.ha-l ssu iss-ulkka hako køkjøng-ul  
how do-if prepare-fuM way exist-Q Quot worry-OP

ha-myø mäil ajhim iljjiki päk nal kito-lul  
do-while everyday morning early 100 day prayer-OP

jøngsøng.kkøt taly-øss-upnita.  
earnestly give-Past-fD

63. Halu-nan iut jip Kwitøk-i ømøni-ka wa-sø  
one.day-TP neighborhood house Kwiduck-Voc mother-SP come-and

iyaki kkath-e päť salam-tal-i jhønyø-lul sa-lø  
chat end-at sea person-Pl-SP virgin-OP buy-Intend

tani-n-ta-nan mal-ul hä-ss-upnita.  
wander.about-Act-D-prM word-OP do-Past-fD

64. Sim Jhøng: "Jhønyø-lul sa-sø mwø-s-e ssa-n-ta-ko.hä-yo?  
Shim Chung virgin-OP buy-so what-at use-Act-D-Quot-sfQ

65. Kwitøk ømma: "Yongwang-nim-kke jesa jinä-ko  
Kwiduck mother King.of.the.Sea-Honor-to sacrificial.rite observe-and

pata-e nøn-nan-tä.  
sea-at put.in-Act-Quot

66. Kuløkhe ha-myøn pä-ka phungnang-ul manna-ji.an-kho  
like.that do-if ship-SP strong.wind-OP meet-Neg-and

jangsa-to jal tve-n-ta-nan-kun.  
trade-also well become-Act-D-Act-Apper



67. Kaløjhiman móljjøngħa-n jhønyø-lul pata-e  
 however healthy-prM virgin-OP sea-at

tønji-ta-ni . . .  
 throw-D-(how.in.the.world)

68. Kaps-un ølma-tønji ju-n-ta-jiman . . ."  
 price-TP how.much-no.matter give-Act-D-but

61. All too soon, (it) was near the day when (they) had to donate the 300 suks of rice. 62. Dutiful Shim Chung, while worrying about the way to get the 300 suks of rice, prayed with all (her) heart early every morning for 100 days. 63. One day Kwiduck's mother from the neighborhood came and mentioned that seamen were looking for a girl to buy.

SC: 64. "What do they say they will use the girl for after they buy (her)?"

Kwiduck's Mother: 65. "(They) will have a sacrificial rite to the King of the Sea and put (her) into the sea. 66. If they do that, (they say) that the ship won't meet strong wind and waves and also (they) will have a good trade. 67. But, (how could they) throw a perfect girl to the sea? 68. (They say) they would pay as much as wanted, but . . ."

69. I mal-ul tat-ke.twe-n Sim Jhøng-i-nan i køs-un hanal-i  
 this word-OP hear-Inchoa-pM Shim Chung-Voc-TP this fact-TP sky-S

jaki-lul wihäsø ponä-n salam-tal-ilako sängkak.ha-ko  
 self-OP for send-pM person-Pl-Quot think-and

Kwitøk-i ømøni-lul joll-a pät.sakong-ul  
 Kwiduck-Voc mother-OP beg-and ship.person-OP

manna-ke.twe-øss-upnita.  
 meet-Inchoa-Past-fD

70. Sim Jhøng: "Jø-ay apønim-ul wihäsø ssal sam.päk  
 Shim Chung I(Humble)-Poss father(Honor)-OP for rice 300

søk-ul ju-si-ko jø-lul telyø.ka-ju-si-øyo."  
 suk-OP give-Honor-and I(Humble)-OP .take-Benef-Honor-sfImp

71. Iløkhe Sim Jhøng-i-nan jaki-ay kyølsim-ul mal.hä-ss-upnita.  
 like.this Shim Chung-Voc-TP self-Poss decision-OP say-Past-fD

72. Pät salam-tal-un Sim Jhøng-i-ay hyosim-e  
 ship person-Pl-TP Shim Chung-Voc-Poss filial.pietty-at

kamtong-twä-sø-n han.øpsi Sim Jhøng-i-läl jhingjhan.ha-ko  
 move-Passive-so-TP without.limit Shim Chung-Voc-OP praise-and

kongyang-mi sam.päk søk-iwee-to Sim Pongsa-ka  
 offering-rice 300 suk-in.addition-also Shim Bongsa-SP

phyøngsäng-tholok møk-ko ip-ko jina-l.man.ha-n  
 life-through eat-and wear-and spend-be.enough.to-prM

jäsän-ul ttalo tø ju-ki-kkaji hä-ss-upnita.  
 fortune-OP separately more give-Nom-even do-Past-fD

73. I somun-ul tal-an tongne salam-tal-an Sim Jhøng-i-läl  
 this rumor-OP hear-pM neighbor person-Pl-TP Shim Chung-Voc-OP

jhaja.wa-sø wilo-to hä-ju-ko hokan jhingjhan-to  
 visit-and consolation-also do-Benef-and or compliment-also

ha-myø motu nunmul-ul hally-øss-upnita.  
 do-and all tear-OP shed-Past-fD

74. Sim Jhøng-i-nän apøji-ka køkjøng.ha-si-l køs-ul  
 Shim Chung-Voc-TP father-SP worry-Honor-fuM fact-OP

yømlyø.hä-sø kanyang mølli ttøna-n-ta-ko-man mal.hä-t-tøn  
 be.concerned-so just far.away leave-Act-D-Quot-only say-Past-rM

køs i-pnita.  
 fact be-fD

69. Upon hearing this, Shim Chung thought that these people were sent for herself from God, so (she) begged Kwiduck's Mother (to find them) and (she) came to meet the seamen.

SC: 70. "Please give 300 suks of rice for my father and take me (with you)."

71. Thus, Shim Chung told (them) her decision. 72. The seamen were deeply moved by the filial piety of Shim Chung, praised Shim Chung a lot, and, in addition to 300 suks of rice, even gave enough fortune for Shim Bongsa to eat, wear, and spend for life. 73. The neighbors who heard this came to see Shim Chung, consoled or praised (her); and all (of them) cried. 74. Shim Chung was worried that Father might be overcome with anxiety, so just told (him) that (she) would leave for a far away place.

75. Sim Pongsa-nän Sim Jhøng-i-ka pät salam-tal-ul ttala  
 Shim Bongsa-TP Shim Chung-Voc-SP ship person-Pl-OP follow

jip-ul ttøna-l ttä-e-ya piloso juk-am-uy kil-lo  
 home-OP leave-fuM time-at-certainly finally die-Nom-Poss way-to

ttøna-n-ta-nan køs-ul al-ke.twe-øss-upnita.  
leave-Act-D-prM fact-OP know-Inchoa-Past-fD

76. Sim Pongsa: "Aka! Nã-ka nø-lul il-kho nun-ul tta-myøñ-un  
Shim Bongsa baby I-SP you-OP lose-and eye-OP open-if-TP

musun soyong-i ik-ken-nunya?  
what use-SP exist-Presum-Q

77. Na-nan jhalali nun-i otuu-n-jhã nø-wa hamkke  
I-TP rather eye-SP dark-prM-as you-with together

sa-l-ki-ka wøñ i-ta."  
live-fuM-Nom-SP wish be-D

78. Apøji-nan thongkok-ul ha-sy-øj-jiman ttã-nan imi  
father-TP loud.cry-OP do-Honor-Past-but time-TP already

nãj-øss-upnita.  
be.late-Past-fD

79. Sim Jhøng-i-ka pät salam-tal-ul ttala pä-lul tha-ss-upnita.  
Shim Chung-Voc-SP ship person-Pl-OP follow ship-OP ride-Past-fD

80. Kajang mulkyøl-i se-ta-nan pata han.kaunte-e  
most wave-SP turbulent-D-prM sea middle-at

ila-ja pät salam-tal-un man-un jemul-ul  
arrive-as.soon.as ship person-Pl-TP many-prM offering-OP

jhalýø.no-kho puk-ul tung.tung ul-li-myø jesa-lul  
display-and drum-OP (drum.sound) cry-Caus-while sacrificial.rite-OP

jinã-ss-upnita.  
observe-Past-fD

81. I kos-i Imtangsu-la-nan kos i-øss-upnita.  
this place-SP Imdangsoo-Quot-prM place be-Past-fD

82. Sim Jhøng: "Jhøñji sinmyøng-iyø Jø-uy apønim  
Shim Chung sky.earth God-Voc I(Humble)-Poss father(Honor)

nun-ul tta-ke.hã-ju-si-opsosø."  
eye-OP open-Caus-Benef-Honor-Imp(extremely.formal)

75. Finally when Shim Chung was leaving home with the seamen, Shim Bongsa realized that (she) would die.

SB: 76. "Baby! What's the use (of my eyes) if I lose you and open my eyes? 77. It is (my) wish to rather live with you and (my) eyes dark."

78. Father cried bitterly, but the time was already too late. 79. Shim

Chung went aboard a ship following the seamen. 80. When (they) got to the middle of the sea, where the wave was known to be the most turbulent, the seamen had a sacrificial rite, displaying many offerings of food and drumming 'tung tung'. 81. This was the place (called) Imdangsoo.

SC: 82. "God! Please open my father's eyes!"

83. *ø*lma hu-e nølp-un pata-wie-nan han songi yeppa-n  
a.while after-at wide-prM sea-on-TP one Counter pretty-prM

*yø*n.kkojh-i phiøna sejha-n mulkyø1-e mil-ly-ø  
lotus.flower-SP bloom strong-prM wave-by pull-Passive-and

øna nassø-n pata.kka-e taa-ss-upnita.  
certain strange-prM sea.shore-at arrive-Past-fD

84. Kuløja ka kkot sok-esø ttatpakketo mul-e  
right.afterwards the flower inside-from unexpectedly water-at

ttwiø.tal-øt-tøn Sim Jhøng-i-ka natha.na-ss-upnita.  
jump.into-Past-rM Shim Chung-Voc-SP appear-Past-fD

85. Sim Jhøng-i-nan yongkung-esø ponä-o-n alamtan-n  
Shim Chung-Voc-TP sea.palace-from send-come-pM beautiful-prM

jhønyø-la-nan somun-i na-sø najung-e-nan wangpi-lo  
virgin-Quot-prM rumor-SP occur-so later-at-TP queen-as

ppop-hi-ke.twe-øss-upnita.  
choose-Passive-Inchoa-Past-fD

83. After a while, a pretty lotus flower bloomed in the middle of the sea and arrived at a certain shore being pushed by the strong waves. 84. Then, out of the flower, Shim Chung who had jumped into the sea appeared unexpectedly. 85. Shim Chung became known as a beautiful girl sent by the King of the Sea, and later was chosen as queen.

86. Hyosøng-i jikak.ha-n Sim Jhøng-i-nan wangpi-ka tve-n  
filial.piety-SP be.abundant-prM Shim Chung-Voc-TP queen-SP became-pM

hu-e-to jamsi-to apøji sängkak-e maam phyøn.ha-l  
after-at-even little.time-even father thought-at mind be.at.ease-fuM

nal-i øps-øss-upnita.  
day-SP not.exist-Past-fD

87. Kaläsø halu-nan nun mø-n apøji-lø1 jhak-ki.wihayø  
therefore one.day-TP eye close-pM father-OP find-in.order.to

imkam-nim-kke jhøng-ul taly-øso nala an-e sa-nun  
king-Honor-to request-OP make-so country inside-at live-prM

motan sokyøng-tal-ul jhøng.hå-sø janjhi-lal  
all blindman-Pl-OP invite-so feast-OP

pephul-øss-upnita.  
hold-Past-fD

88. Janjhi-ka kkanna-nun majimak nal i-øss-upnita.  
feast-SP end-prM last day be-Past-fD

89. Sim Jhøng-i-nun kusøk jali-e kkiø anj-un  
Shim Chung-Voc-TP corner seat-at squeeze sit-pM

Sim Pongsa-nim-ul palkyøn.hå-ss-upnita.  
Shim Bongsa-Honor-OP find-Past-fD

90. Sim Jhøng: "Apønim je-ka Jhøng i-øyo."  
Shim Chung father(Honor) I(Humble)-SP Chung be-sfD

91. Sim Pongsa: "O! Næ ttal Jhøng-a! Ike(<i køs-i) kkum i-nya  
Shim Bongsa Oh my daughter Chung-Voc this fact-SP dream be-Q

sängsi-nya?  
real.time-Q

92. Næ ttal i-myøn øti po-ja."  
my daughter be-if where see-Prop

hako khuke wejhi-nun palam-e nun-ul pønjjøk  
Quot loudly scream-prM ardour-at eye-OP widely

tta-ko.mal-ass-upnita.  
open-Compl-Past-fD

93. Kålihåso Sim Pongsa-nun sängjøn jhøum-ulo kwangmyøng.ha-n  
thus Shim Bongsa-TP this.life first.time-with bright-prM

jhønji-esø kaliu-n ttal-ul manna tåkwoł an-esø olå olå  
world-at miss-prM daughter-OP meet palace inside-at long long

jal sal-ass-upnita.  
well live-Past-fD

86. Even after she became queen, Shim Chung, who maintained filial piety, never had peace of mind because of (her) thoughts for (her) father. 87. Therefore, one day, in order to find (her) blind father, (she) asked the king, and had a feast for all the blindmen who lived in the country. 88. (It) was the last day of the feast. 89. Shim Chung found Shim Bongsa sitting in a corner seat.

SC: 90 "Father, I am Chung."

SB: 91 "Oh, my daughter Chung. Is this a dream or real? 92. Let (me) see if (this is) my daughter," he screamed loudly, and while (he did), opened (his) eyes wide. 93. Thus, Shim Bongsa met (his) dear daughter for the first time in (his) life in a bright world, and lived well in the palace for a long time.

## 2. The Beauty and the Monk

Minyø-wa                      Sunim  
beautiful.woman-and monk

1. Jhungjhoŋg    Nam-to                      Tonghak-sa                      twi-e  
Chungchong    South-province              Tonghak-Temple                  behind-at  
  
O.nui                      thap-i                      jikam-to                      uttuk                      sŏ-it-ta.  
brother.sister              pagoda-SP                      now-also                      loftly                      stand-Result-D
  2. I                      thap-e-nan                      nangman-kwa                      kongpho-ka                      sŏly-ŏ.in-nan  
this                      pagoda-at-TP                      romance-and                      horror-SP                      bear-Result-prM  
  
jŏnsŏl-i                      it-ta.  
legend-SP                      exist-D
1. Behind the Tonghak Temple in Chungchong Namto Province, there stands the Brother-and-Sister Pagoda loftly even now. 2. About this pagoda there is a legend bearing romance and horror.
3. Øttŏn                      sunim-i                      honjasŏ                      jŏl-ul                      jikhi-myŏ                      yŏlsimhi  
certain                      monk-SP                      alone                      temple-OP                      keep-while                      earnestly  
  
pulkong-ul                      tali-ko.iss-ŏt-ta.  
Buddhist.mass-OP                      hold-Prog-Past-D
  4. Ønæ                      nal kiph-an                      pam                      pakk-esŏ                      holangi                      ulpujin-nan  
certain                      day deep-prM                      night outside-at                      tiger                      roar-prM  
  
soli-ka                      tal-ly-ŏt-ta.  
sound-SP                      hear-Passive-Past-D
  5. Hato                      kusŏngji-ko                      sulphake                      ul-kie                      hwätpul-ul                      tal-ko  
very                      plaintive-and                      sadly                      cry-because                      torch-OP                      hold-and  
  
naka-po-at-ta.  
go.out-see-Past-D

6. Kwayón      khu-n      holangi-ka      ka      khu-n      akali-ləl      pølli-ko  
 as.expected    big-prM    tiger-SP      the      big-prM    mouth-OP    open-and
- yøjønhi      ulpujijə-myø    muøsinka-ləl    äwøn.ha-nən      tat  
 as.before'    roar-while      something-OP    implore-prM      as.if
- hä-t-ta.  
 do-Past-D
7. Sunim-un      jaki-ləl      häjhi-ji.an-alyø-nən    jul      al-ko  
 monk-TP      self-OP      harm-Neg-Intend-prM    Nom      know-and
- kakkai      ka-sø      hwätpul-lo      ka      ip-an-əl  
 closely      go-and      torch-with      the      mouth-inside-OP
- talyøta.po-at-ta.  
 look.into-Past-D
8. Mok-e      muøsinka      kitala-n      køs-i  
 throat-at      something      long-prM      thing-SP
- køl-ly-ø.iss-øt-ta.  
 stick-Passive-Result-Past-D
9. I      køt      ttämune      kælø-nən      køs-ilako      jikkam.ha-ko  
 this thing    because      do.so-prM      fact-Quot    perceive-and
- sunim-un      son-əl      nøø-sø      ka      køs-əl  
 monk-TP      hand-OP      put.into-and    the      thing-OP
- ppop-a.ju-øt-ta.  
 pull.out-Benef-Past-D
10. Holangi-nən      pilosø      ulam-əl      mømjhu-ko      kamsa.ha-ta-nən  
 tiger-TP      finally      cry-OP      stop-and      thankful-D-prM
- tasi      kkoli-ləl      hwijøə-myø      salajy-ø.pøly-øt-ta.  
 as.if      tail-OP      wag-while      disappear-Compl-Past-D
11. Mok-esø      ppänä-n      køs-un      ən      pinyø  
 throat-from    pull.out-pM      thing-TP      silver      hair.rod
- y-øt-ta.  
 be-Past-D
12. Øttøn      yøin-əl      japa-møk-taka      køl-li-n  
 certain    woman-OP      catch-eat-while      stick-Passive-prM
- køs-ilako      sunim-un      sängkak.hä-t-ta.  
 fact-Quot    monk-TP      think-Past-D

3. A monk was keeping the temple alone and holding the Buddhist masses earnestly. 4. One day in the middle of night, a tiger's roaring sound was heard from outside. 5. Since (he) was crying so plaintively and sadly that (the monk) held a torch and went out to see. 6. Really, a big tiger had his big mouth open, roared as before, and looked as if (he was) imploring something. 7. The monk knew that (he) was not going to harm him, went closely, and looked into the mouth with the torch. 8. Something long was stuck in the throat. 9. Perceiving that (the tiger) was doing so because of this, the monk put his hand into (the throat) and pulled out the thing. 10. The tiger finally stopped crying and disappeared, wagging the tail as if (he) was thankful. 11. The thing pulled out of the throat was a silver hair-rod. 12. The monk thought that (it) must have been stuck while (he) had caught and eaten a woman.

13. I    il-i        iss-un-ji            myøjhil        hu-uy        säpyøk  
 this event-SP exist-pM-after        several.days after-Poss dawn

i-øt-ta.  
 be-Past-D

14. Pakk-esø        tto        holangi-uy        phohyo-ka    tal-ly-øt-ta.  
 outside-from again tiger-Poss roar-SP hear-Passive-Past-D

15. Sunim-un        tto        musan        il-l        in-na-hä-sø  
 monk-TP again what event-SP exist-Q-think-so

naka-po-at-ta.  
 go.out-see-Past-D

16. Khu-n        holangi-ka    øttøn            yøin-ul        øp-ko        wa-sø  
 big-prM tiger-SP certain woman-OP carry-and come-and

ul-ko.it-taka    sunim-i        nao-nan        køs-ul        po-ja        ka  
 cry-Prog-while monk-SP come.out-prM fact-OP see-as.soon.as the

yøin-ul        ttang-e        nälyø.no-kho-nan    øsulløng.ø-sulløng  
 woman-OP ground-at put.down-and-TP (manner.of.slow.walk)

salajy-ø.pøly-øt-ta.  
 disappear-Compl-Past-D

17. Sunim-un        kaphi        yøin-ul        po-ass-una        imi  
 monk-TP quickly woman-OP see-Past-but already

kijøl.hä-iss-øt-ta.  
 faint-Result-Past-D

18. Jhan    mul-ul        phø.put-ko        munjila-ko    hä-sø        kyøu  
 cold water-OP pour.down-and rub-and do-so barely



ka yŏin-ul tasi kkäŏna-ke.hä-t-ta.  
the woman-OP again wake.up-Caus-Past-D

19. Myolyŏng-uy alŏmtau-n jhŏnyŏ y-ŏt-ta.  
young-Poss beautiful-prM girl be-Past-D

20. Sŏul sa-nan , mo tākam tāk-uy kwiyŏu-n  
Seoul live-prM certain nobleman house-Poss precious  
ttanim i-ŏt-ta.  
daughter be-Past-D

13. (It) was dawn several days after this event took place.  
14. From outside a tiger's roar was heard again. 15. The monk went out to see, wondering what happened. 16. A big tiger came carrying a woman and was crying; then as soon as (he) saw the monk coming out, (he) put the woman on the ground and disappeared slowly. 17. The monk saw the woman quickly, but (she) was already fainted. 18. (He) poured cold water (on the woman) and rubbed (her), so woke up the woman again. 19. (She) was a beautiful young girl. 20. (She) was a precious daughter of a nobleman who lived in Seoul.

21. Sanim-un yŏin-eke kot sangkyŏng.ha-tolok  
monk-TP woman-to immediately go.to.Seoul-to  
kwŏnko.hä-t-ta.  
advise-Past-D

22. Jip-esŏ-nan holangi-eke jap-hyŏ-ka-sŏ  
home-at-TP tiger-by catch-Passive-go-since  
juk-ŏss-ulila-ko kŏkjŏng.ha-ko.ik-kek-ki ttämun  
die-Past-Presum-Quot worry-Prog-Presum-Nom reason  
i-ta.  
be-D

23. Kälŏna ka jhŏnyŏ-nan i-lŏl kŏjŏl.hä-t-ta.  
but the girl-TP this-OP refuse-Past-D

24. Jaki-uy sängmyŏng-ul kuhä-ju-si-n sanim-kwa  
self-Poss life-OP save-Benef-Honor-prM monk-with  
phyŏngsäng-ul hamkke jinä-ya-ket-ta-nan kŏs i-ta.  
lifetime-OP together spend-Oblig-Volit-D-pM fact be-D

25. Sanim-un tanghwang.hä-t-ta.  
monk-TP be.embarrassed-Past-D

26. Suto.ha-nan mom-ulo kyølhon.ha-l ssu-ka øp-ki  
 practice.asceticism-pM body-as marry-fuM way-SP not.exist-Nom

ttämun i-ta.  
 reason be-D

27. Kalihayø ka jhønyø-lul nui-lo sam-ko møli-lul  
 therefore the girl-OP sister-as set.up-and hair-OP

kkakk-a.ju-ko hamkke pul-to-e jøngjin.ha-yøt-ta.  
 cut-Benef-and together Buddhism-to devote-Past-D

21. The monk advised the woman to go to Seoul immediately.  
 22. (It) is because (people) at home would be worried that (she) must have died, being captured and taken by a tiger. 23. However, the girl refused to do so. 24. The fact is that she should spend (her) life together with the monk who saved her own life. 25. The monk was embarrassed. 26. (It) is because he cannot marry (her) as a person who is practicing asceticism. 27. Therefore, (the monk) took the girl as a sister, cut (her) hair, and devoted (himself) to Buddhism together (with her).

28. Twit salam-tal-i i kijøk-kwa kath-un  
 later person-Pl-SP this miracle-with same-prM

o-nui-ay sangpong-kwa ka kyaløk.ha-n  
 brother-sister-Poss meeting-and the commendable-prM

jøngsøng-ul kinyøm.ha-ki.wihäsø thap-ul sew-ø  
 sincerity-OP commemorate-in.order.to pagoda-OP erect-and

ilam-ul O.nui thap-ilako.hä-t-ta.  
 name-OP brother.sister pagoda-Quot-Past-D

28. In order to commemorate this miracle-like meeting of the brother and the sister and their commendable sincerity, people later erected a pagoda and called (it) the Brother-and-Sister Pagoda.

## 3. The Grateful Magpies

Unhe.kap-nan      Kkajhi  
 repay.debts-prM   magpie

1. Kip-ko   kiph-un   sanjung-e   hwal-ul   me-ko   jŏlmŏni   han  
 deep-and deep-prM   mountain-at   arrow-OP   carry-and   young.man   one  
 salam-i   kŏlŏ.k-a-ko.iss-ŏss-upnita.  
 person-SP   walk-Prog-Past-fD
2. Jŏlmŏni-nan   olŏ.tongan   kongpu-lul   yŏlsimhi   hŏ-sŏ   jikam  
 young.man-TP   for.a.long.time   study-OP   hard   do-so   now  
 sŏul-lo   kwakŏ-lul   po-lŏ   ka-nan  
 Seoul-to   higher.public.service.ex-OP   see-in.order.to   go-prM  
 kŏ   yŏ-yo.  
 fact   be-sfD
3. Mŏl-ko   mŏ-n   sŏul   kil-ul   yŏlŏ   nal   jijhi-n   kŏlum-ulo  
 far-and   far-prM   Seoul   wa-OP   several   day   be.tired-pM   pace-with  
 ka-tŏn   ŏna   nal   i-ŏss-upnita.  
 go-rM   certain   day   be-Past-fD
4. Kapjaki   nathi-namu-wi-esŏ   kwi-lul   jjin-nan   tat.ha-n   kkajhi  
 suddenly   zelkova-tree-top-from   ear-OP   tear-prM   as.if-prM   magpie  
 soli-ka   na-ss-ŏyo.  
 sound-SP   occur-Past-sfD
5. "Kkak.kkak.kkak"  
 (sound.of.magpie)
6. Kha-n   il   na-ss-upnita.  
 big-prM   event   occur-Past-fD
7. Namu-wie   kkajhi   jip-e   khŏtala-n   kulŏngi-ka   sŏkki  
 tree-on   magpie   house-at   huge-prM   snake-SP   baby(animal)  
 kkajhi-tal-ul   japja-mŏk-alyŏko   hyŏ-lul   nallam.kŏli-ko  
 magpie-Pl-OP   catch-eat-in.order.to   tongue-OP   roll.in.and.out-and  
 ŏmma   appa   kkajhi-nan   sŏkki-tal-ul   sal-lyŏ-tal-lako   alŏ  
 mommy   daddy   magpie-TP   baby-Pl-OP   live-Caus-give-Quot   down  
 wi-lo   nala-myŏ   ulpujik-ko.iss-ŏss-ŏyo.  
 top-to   fly-while   cry-Prog-Past-sfD

8. Jǒlməni-nən jhama kahyang jina.ka-l ssu-ka øps-øso kuløngi-ləl  
 young.man-TP surely as.such pass-fuM way-SP not.exist-so snake-OP

hwal-lo sswa-sø ttølø.ttali-ko sǎkki kkajhi-tal-ul  
 arrow-with shoot-so let.fall-and baby magpie-Pl-OP

sal-lyø-ju-ko-nən tasi kil-ul ttøna-ss-øyo.  
 live-Caus-Benef-and-TP again way-OP leave-Past-sfD

1. In a deep and deep mountain a young man was walking, carrying an arrow. 2. The young man studied hard for a long time, and it happens that (he) is now going to Seoul to take the higher public service examination. 3. (It) was one day after (he) had been walking tiredly for several days on the way to Seoul. 4. Suddenly, from the top of the zelkova tree, an ear-piercing magpie sound was heard. 5. "Kkak kkak kkak." 6. What can we do? 7. In the magpie nest on the tree a huge snake was rolling (its) tongue in and out in order to catch and eat the baby magpies, and the mommy and daddy magpies were crying (for help) to save their babies, flying up and down. 8. The young man surely couldn't pass by (them) as (they) were, so (he) shot the snake with (his) arrow and let it fall, thus saving the baby magpies, and (he) went on (his) way again.

9. ølma.jjum-ul ka-nikka nal-un jømul-ko khøm.khøm.hǎ-sø jal  
 for.a.while-OP go-after day-TP be.late-and be.dark-so well

po-i-ji-ləl an-nante mølli pulpijh-i  
 see-Passive-Nom-OP Neg-while far light-SP

panjjak.panjjak.ha-tø-lǎ-yo.  
 flash-Retro-Quot-sfD

10. Jǒlməni-nən pankawa-sø pujilønhu ka jip ap-kkaji wa-sø-nən  
 young.man-TP be.glad-so diligently that house front-to come-so-TP

10a. "Yøposeyo.  
 hello

10b. Jina.ka-nən nakane i-nte halu pam swiø ka-psita."  
 pass-prM traveller be-while one night rest go-fProp

11. Kitaly-øt-ta-nən tasi tǎmun-i ssæk yøl-li-tø-ni  
 wait-Past-D-prM as.if gate-SP rapidly open-Passive-Retro-so

jølm-un yøja-ka na.wa-sø  
 young-prM woman-SP come.out-and

11a. "Tǎjøp.ha-l ǎmsik-un øps-ǎpnita-man jumu-si-ko-man  
 serve-fuM food-TP not.exist-fD-but sleep-Honor-and-only

ka-si-ket-ta-myǝn      talǝ.o-se-yo."  
go-Honor-Volit-D-if      come.in-Honor-sfImp

12. Jǝlmǝni-nǝn      nǝmu      kotan.hǎ-sǝ      ka      yǝja-ka      annǎ.hǎ-ju-nǝn      pang-e  
young.man-TP      too      be.tired-so      the woman-SP      guide-Benef-prM      room-at

talǝ.ka-sǝ      kot      jam-i      tal-ǝss-ǝyo.  
go.in-so      immediately      sleep-SP      slip.in-Past-sfD

13. Kalǝnte      jam.kyǝl-e      hato sum-i      mak-hi-nǝn.kǝt.kajhi  
such.being.the.case      while.asleep-at so      breath-SP      block-Passive-seem

tap.tap.hǎ-sǝ      nun-ǝl      ttǝ-po-ni      a      kitung-kajhi  
feel.heavy-so      eye-OP      open-see-then (exclamation)      pillar-like

kulk-un      kulǝngi-ka mom-ǝl      jhing.jhing.kam-ko      ka      sǎppalka-n  
be.thick-prM      snake-SP      body-OP      coil.tightly-and      the bright.red-prM

hyǝt.patak-ǝl      nallǝm.kǝli-ko.ij-ji.an-khess-ǝyo?  
tongue.tip-OP      roll.in.and.out-Prog-Neg-Presum-sfQ

14. Jǝlmǝni-nǝn      kaman      sǎphalakhe      jilly-ǝsǝ      mal-to      mot  
young.man-TP      at.that in.deep.blue      turn.pale-so      word-even      unable

ha-ko.in-nante  
do-Prog-while

- 14a. "I      nom.  
this      fellow

- 14b. Nǎ      namphyǝn-ǝl      juk-i-n      wǝnsu      nom-a."  
my      husband-OP      die-Caus-pM      enemy      fellow-Voc

ha-tǝ-ni      mok-ǝl      jolu-ki.sijak.hǎ-ss-ǝyo.  
Quot-Retro-and      neck-OP      strangle-Incep-Past-sfD

15. Jǝlmǝni-nǝn      jǝngsin-ǝl      pajjak      jhǎli-ko      kulǝngi-eke  
young.man-TP      mind-OP      entirely      strain-and      snake-to

sajǝng-ǝl      hǎ-ss-ǝpnita.  
supplication-OP      do-Past-fD

16. "ǝlisǝk-un      thas-ǝlo      kalǝ-n      jwe-lul      ji-ǝss-ǝpnita.  
foolish-prM      reason-with      such-prM      sin-OP      commit-Past-fD

17. Jepal      moksum-man      sal-lyǝ-ju-si-myǝn      ǝnhe-nǝn  
please      life-only      live-Caus-Benef-Honor-if      debt-TP

ij-ji.an-khess-ǝpnita."  
forget-Neg-Volit-fD

18. "Ølim.øp-nan soli!  
impossible-prM sound
19. Nā namphyøn-ul ssoa juk-i-n nø-lal jap-alyøko  
my husband-OP shoot die-Caus-pM you-OP catch-in.order.to  
nā-ka iløkhe salam-kkaji tve-øn-nante."  
I-SP like.this person-even become-Past-while
20. "Namphyøn-ay wønsu-lal kaph-alyø-nan maum-an al-kess-æpnita-man  
husband-Poss revenge-OP repay-Intend-prM mind-Tp know-Presum-fD-but  
sasil-un tangsin namphyøn-i øli-n kkajhi säkki-lal  
truth-TP you(Honor) husband-SP young-prM magpie baby-OP  
japa-møk-alyø-nan kø-l jhama po-l ssu-ka øps-øso  
catch-eat-Intend-prM fact-OP surely see-fuM way-SP not.exist-sp  
ha-n jis i-pnita.  
do-pM act be-fD
21. Säkki-lal sal-li-lyøko ul-ø.tä-nan ømi kkajhi-ka hato  
baby-OP live-Caus-in.order.to cry-Repeat-prM mommy magpie-SP too  
pulssang.hä-so mijhø twit il-ul sängkak-mot.hä-ss-æpnita.  
be.pitiful-so yet late event-OP think-unable-Past-fD
22. Kulønte jølmuni-ay mal-e kuløngi-ka musun sängkak-ul  
such.being.the.case young.man-Poss word-at snake-SP what thought-OP  
hä-t-tøn-ji  
do-Past-rM-Nom
- 22a. "Nø-ay yäki-lal tal-uni nø-to jimsung-ul salang.ha-nan  
you-Poss story-OP hear-since you-also beast-OP love-prM  
maum-i in-nan.køt.katha thukpyølhi yongsø.ha-ket-ta."  
mind-OP exist-seem specially forgive-Volit-D
23. "Komap-supnita.  
thank-fD
24. Kæ ænhe-nan phyøngsäng ij-ji.an-kess-æpnita."  
the debt-TP lifetime forget-Neg-Volit-fD
25. Jølmuni-nan sala.na-ke.twe-na.po-ta hako jøl-ul  
young.man-TP be.saved-Inchoa-look.like-D Quot bow-OP  
kkupøk.kkupøk hä-ss-øyo.  
(manner) do-Past-sfD

26. "Hang! Nø-ləl aju sal-lyø-ju-n-ta-nən køs-un  
 (pish.sound) you-OP completely live-Caus-Benef-Act-D-prM fact-TP  
 ani-ya.  
 be.not-D
27. Onəl pam yøl.tu si-kkaji-man sal-lyø-tu-l.the-nikka  
 today night twelve o'clock-until-only live-Caus-leave-Intend-so  
 ka ttä-kkaji i jøl.kan-e jong-i se pøn u-n-ta-myøn  
 that time-until this temple-at bell-SP three time cry-Act-D-if  
 nø-ləl aju sal-lyø-ju-ket-ta."  
 you-OP completely live-Caus-Benef-Volit-D
28. Iløkhe mal.ha-ko kuløngi-nən øti.lonji ka-pøly-øss-øyo.  
 like-this say-and snake-TP to.somewhere go-Compl-Past-sfD
29. Jølmani-nən huu hansum-ul swi-ko jøl.kan-ul tola  
 young.man-TP (sigh.sound) sigh-OP draw-and temple-OP around  
 po-ni jøngkak-e jong-i in-nən.tat.ha-na japa.tangki-l jul-to  
 see-as belfry-at bell-SP exist-seem-but pull-fuM rope-even  
 øp-ko noph-asø olla.ka-l.läya olla.ka-l ssu-to  
 not.exist-and high-so go.up-even.if go.up-fuM way-even  
 øps-øss-øyo.  
 not.exist-Past-sfD
30. Sikan-un jakku ka-nante øttøkhe jong-ul jhi-l pangpøp-i  
 time-TP continuously go-but how bell-OP ring-fuM means-SP  
 iss-ø.ya.ji-yo.  
 exist-Oblig-sfQ
31. Jølmani-nən noph-un jøngkak-ul jhøta.po-myø,  
 young.man-TP high-prM belfry-OP look.up-while
- 31a. "Inje kkomjjak-øpsi juk-kek-kuna."  
 now stir-without die-Presum-Apper  
 ha-myø hansum-man swi-ko.in-nante øti.sø.inji tto  
 Quot-while sigh-only draw-Prog-while from.somewhere again  
 kuløngi-ka nathana-ss-øyo.  
 snake-SP appear-Past-sfD
32. "Ja jajøng-i ta twe-øt-ta.  
 well midnight-SP all become-Past-D

33. Juk-ul kako-lal hä-la."  
die-fuM readiness-OP do-Imp
34. Kulongi-nan hyø-lal nallam.køli-myø jølmuni-lal hyanghä  
snake-TP tongue-OP roll.out.and.in-while young.man-OP toward  
tallyø.tal-øss-øyo.  
pounce.upon-Past-sfD
35. Palo i ttä ttengkaløng.ttengkaløng.ttengkaløng ttatpakketo  
right this time clang.clang.clang unexpectedly  
jong-i se pøn ul-lyø-ss-upnita.  
bell-SP three time cry-Passive-Past-fD
36. Jong soli-lal tak-ko jølmuni-wa kulongi-nan ttok.kajhi  
bell sound-OP hear-and young.man-and snake-TP equally  
nolla-ss-øyo.  
be.surprised-Past-sfD
37. "Häm. Nø-lal kkok juk-i-lyø.hä-n-nante jong  
hmm you-OP by.all.means die-Caus-Intend-Past-but bell  
soli-ka na-ss-uni ha-l ssu øpsi yaksok-tälo  
sound-SP occur-Past-so so-fuM way not.exist promise-as  
sal-lyø-ju-ket-ta."  
live-Caus-Benef-Volit-D
38. Kulongi-nan sulphu-n ølkul-lo øti.lonji salajyø-pøly-øss-upnita.  
snake-TP sad-prM face-with to.somewhere disappear-Compl-Past-fD

9. (It) is said that after going for a while a light was flashing far away, when it was getting late and dark, and (he) couldn't see very well. 10. The young man was glad to see (it), so he came to the front of that house quickly, 10a. "Hello. 10.b (I am) a passing traveller; may (I) rest a night?" 11. As if (she) were waiting, the gate opened right away, and a young woman came out, 11a. "(I) don't have food to serve, but please come in if (you) only intend to spend the night." 12. The young man was so tired that (he) fell asleep immediately after going into the room where the woman had led (him). 13. During the sleep, (he) feels heavy as if (he is) suffocating, so (he) opens his eyes; ah! a thick snake like a pillar has coiled (his) body tightly and is rolling (its) bright red tongue in and out. 14. While the young man turned pale into a deep blue color at that and couldn't even speak a word, 14a. "You villain! 14b. (My) enemy who killed my husband," saying, (the snake) started to strangle (him). 15. The young man had every nerve strained and supplicated to the snake. 16. "Since (I) was foolish, I committed such a sin. 17. If only (you) would spare (my) life, (I) will never forget (your) kindness." 18. "What an impossible word! 19. I even became a person like this in order to catch you who had killed my husband by shooting (him)." 20. "(I)



understand (your) mind trying to avenge (your) husband, but the truth is that (I) did so, since (I) couldn't just watch your husband trying to catch and eat the young baby magpies. 21. (I) couldn't think about what would come next, because the mommy magpie was so pitiful, who kept on crying to save (her) babies. 22. At the young man's words, the snake must have had some thought, 22a. "Hearing your story, (it) seems that you have a loving heart for animals, so (I) will forgive (you) as a special favor." 23. "Thank (you). 24. (I) will never forget (your) kindness in (my) lifetime." 25. The young man bowed several times, thinking that (he) would be saved. 26. "Hung! (it) is not that (I) will let you live completely. 27. (I) will save you until twelve o'clock tonight; and if the bell at this temple rings three times until that time, then (I) will let you live completely." 28. After saying that, the snake went away somewhere. 29. As the young man sighed deeply and looked around the temple, (it) seemed that (there) was a bell at the belfry, but there was no rope to pull and no way to go up even if (he wanted to) since it was so high. 30. The time goes by continuously, but there is no way to ring the bell. 31. As the young man looked up the high belfry, (he) was only sighing, saying, 31a. "(It seems that I) will die now for sure;" then the snake appeared again from somewhere. 32. "Well, it is now midnight. 33. Get ready to die." 34. The snake pounced upon the young man, rolling (its) tongue in and out. 35. Right at this time the bell unexpectedly was rung three times -- clang! clang! clang! 36. Hearing the bell sound, the young man and the snake were equally surprised. 37. "Hmmm, (I) was going to kill you by all means, but (I) will let (you) live as promised since the bell sound was heard." 38. The snake disappeared somewhere with a sad face.

39. Nal-i sä-ki-ka pappuke jølmuni-nan jongkak-mith-alo  
day-SP break-Nom-SP at.once young.amn-TP belfry-under-to

ka-po-ass-upnita.  
go-see-Past-fD

40. Noptala-n jongkak-e-nan jong-man tøngkaløni  
high-prM belfry-at-TP bell-only lonesomely

mätal-lyø-iss-øss-øyo.  
hang-Passive-Result-Past-sfD

41. "Pujhø-nim-i sal-lyø-ju-sy-øss-alkka."  
Buddha-Honor-SP live-Caus-Benef-Honor-Past-Q

42. Iløkhe sängkak.ha-myø ttang patak-al po-tøn jølmuni-nan  
like.this think-while ground floor-OP see-rM young.man-TP

kkamjjak nolla-ss-øyo.  
very be.surprised-Past-sfD

43. Kōki-e-n jong-ul jhi-nalako mōli-ka kkā-ji-n  
 there-at-TP bell-OP ring-by.doing.that head-SP break-Passive-pM

kkajhi tu mali-ka phi-lal halli-n-jhā isul-e  
 magpie two counter-SP blood-OP shed-pM-as dew-at

jōj-ō.iss-ōss-ōyo.  
 get.wet-Result-Past-sfD

44. Jōlmani-nan unhe-lal kap-ki-wihāsō kwijungha-n moksum-kkaji  
 young.man-TP debt-OP repay-Nom-in.order.to precious-prM life-even

pōli-n ōmma appa kkajhi-lal ōlumanji-myō yangji.pala-n  
 cast.away-pM mommy daddy magpie-OP stroke-while sunny-prM

ōntōk-e yeppa-n mutōm-ul mantal-ō.ju-ōt-ta-pnita.  
 hill-at pretty-prM grave-OP make-Benef-Past-D-fD

39. As soon as it was light, the young man went to the foot of the belfry. 40. On the high belfry the bell was hanging there alone. 41. "Is it Buddha who saved (me)?" 42. While thinking this the young man was looking at the ground and was very surprised. 43. There, two magpies were lying in (their) shed blood and were wet with the dew; they had broken (their) heads in ringing the bell. 44. Stroking the mommy and daddy magpies, who had cast away (their) precious lives to repay the kindness, the young man made a pretty grave (for them) on a sunny hill.

#### 4. The Ungrateful Tiger

Unhe Mōlu-nan Holangi  
 gratitude not.know-prM tiger

1. Yet nal onā kiph-un san sok-e holangi han mali-ka  
 old day certain deep-prM mountain inside-at tiger one Counter-SP

sal-ko.iss-ōn-nante san kil ka-nan salam-ul jaju  
 live-Prog-Past-then mountain way go-prM person-OP frequently

japa-mōk-nan il-i iss-ōss-upnita.  
 catch-eat-prM event-SP exist-Past-fD

2. Kulāsō ka san alā-e sal-ko.in-nan maul salam-tal-i  
 therefore that mountain below-at live-Prog-prM village person-Pl-SP

halu-nan san-e olla.ka-sō holangi-ka jal tani-nan  
 one.day-SP mountain-at go.up-so tiger-SP frequently pass-prM

kil mok-e kiph-un hamjǒng-ul yǒlǒ kǎ pha  
 way neck-at deep-prM trap-OP several Counter dig

noa-t-tǒ-niman ka nal pam-ulo holangi han mali-ka  
 put-Past-Retro-then that day night-within tiger one Counter-SP

hamjǒng-e ppaji-ko.mal-ass-ǒyǒ.  
 trap-at fall.into-Compl-Past-sfD

1. Once upon a time there lived a tiger deep in the mountains, and (he) would frequently catch and eat people who were passing by.  
 2. Therefore, the village people who lived near the mountains went up a mountain one day and dug several deep traps on the tiger run; that same night the tiger fell into a trap.

3. I ttǎ-e kil-ul ka-tǒn nakane han salam-i hamjǒng-e  
 this time-at way-OP go-rM traveller one person-SP trap-in

ppaji-n holangi-lal po-ass-upnita.  
 fall.into-pM tiger-OP see-Past-fD

4. "A! Yǒki holangi han mali-ka ppajy-ǒ.in-ne."  
 ah here tiger one Counter-SP fall.into-Result-Apper

5. "Yǒposeyo nakane-nim jǒ-l sal-ly-ǒ.nǎ-man  
 hello traveller-Honor I(Humble)-OP live-Caus-accomplish-only

ju-si-myǒn unhe-nan kkok kap-kess-ǒyo."  
 give-Honor-if debt-TP without.fail repay-Volit-sfD

6. "Nǒ-nan salam-ul hǎjhi-nan jimsung i-nte ǒttǒkhe  
 you-TP person-OP harm-prM beast be-then how

kuhǎ-ju-l ssu ik-ken-nanya?"  
 save-Benef-fuM way exist-Presum-Q

7. "Nakane-nim nakane-nim jamkan-man . . . kkok unhe-lal  
 traveller-Honor traveller-Honor moment-only without.fail debt-OP

kaph-ul the-ni jepal sal-ly-ǒ.ju-se-yo."  
 repay-fuM intention-so please live-Caus-Benef-Honor-sfImp

8. Ne-ka manil salam-ina kajhunk-ul hǎjhi-ji.an-khet-ta-myǒn  
 you-SP if person-or domestic.animal-OP harm-Neg-Volit-D-then

sal-ly-ǒ.ju-ket-ta-man. . . ."  
 live-Caus-Benef-Volit-D-but

9. "Komap-supnita.  
 thank-fD

10. Kkok                nakune-nim                malssam-tālo                ha-kess-upnita."  
without.fail    traveller-Honor    word(Honor)-as    do-Voit-fD

11. Holangi-nan    jakkuman                pil-ōss-upnita.  
tiger-TP                over.and.over    beg-Past-fD

12. Nakune-nan    holangi-ay                mal-ul                mik-ko                jaktāki-lal  
traveller-TP    tiger-Poss                word-OP                trust-and                pole-OP

hamjōng    an-e                kōljhy-ōsō                kkalō.nā-ō.ju-ōss-upnita.  
trap                inside-at                stretch.over-so                pull.out-Benef-Past-fD

3. At that time a passing traveller saw the tiger who had fallen into the trap. 4. "Ah, here is a tiger fallen (in the trap)." 5. "Hello, traveller, if only (you) would save me, (I) will surely repay (you) the debt." 6. "You are a harmful animal to people; why should (I) save (you)?" 7. "Traveller, traveller, just a minute . . . (I) will repay the debt without fail, so please save (me)." 8. "If you will not harm people or domestic animals, then (I) will save (you), but. . . ." 9. "Thank (you). 10. (I) will certainly do as (you) say, traveller." 11. The tiger begged over and over again. 12. The traveller trusted the tiger's words and helped (him) out by stretching a pole over the trap.

13. "Sal-ly-ō.jw-ōsō                komap-ki-n                ha-ji-man                pā-ka  
live-Caus-Benef-so    thank-Nom-TP                do-Suspect-but                stomach-SP

kopha-ni                yōngkam-ul                japa-mōk-ōya-kess-o."  
hungry-because    old-man-OP                catch-eat-Oblig-Presum-sfD

14. "Nō-lal    sal-ly-ō.ju-n                salam-ul                japa-mōk-ta-ni                amuli  
you-OP    live-Caus-Benef-pM                person-OP                catch-eat-D-so                no.matter.how

unhe-lal    molu-nan                jimsung    i-ki.losōni . . ."  
debt-OP    not.know-prM                beast                be-although

15. "Ūam    unhe-lal    molu-n-ta-ko-yo?  
well    debt-OP    not.know-Act-D-Quot-sfQ

16. Na-lal    hamjōng-e                ppapji-ke.hā-sō                juk-i-lyōko.ha-n                ke(<kōs-i)  
I-OP    trap-at                fall.into-Caus-so                die-Caus-Intend-pM                thing-SP

nuku-yo?  
who-sfQ

17. Ka    kō-n                salam-i                ani-yo?"  
the thing-TP                person-CP                be.not-sfQ

18. "Kulōjhiman    hamjōng-ul                pha-no-an                kō-n                nā-ka                ani-nte . . ."  
but                trap-OP                dig-put-pM                thing-TP                I-SP                be.not-and.yet

19. "Salam-un ta kath-un salam ani-yo?  
 person-TP all same-prM person be.not-sfQ
20. Tangsin-ul japa-møk-ø.ya-kess-o."  
 you(Honor)-OP catch-eat-Oblig-Presum-sfD
13. "(I) am thankful that (you) saved (me), but since (I) am hungry (I) will have to eat (you), old man." 14. "How in the world could (you) eat a person who had saved you, even though (you) are an animal which does not understand gratitude?" 15. "Well, (do you say that I) do not understand gratitude? 16. Who is it that tried to kill (me) by making me fall into a trap? 17. Isn't it a person?" 18. "But, it is not me who dug the trap . . ." 19. "Isn't it all the same--(you are) all people? 20. (I) will have to eat you."
21. "Ja ja jamkan-man ik-køla.  
 ah ah moment-only exist-Imp
22. Nuku mal-i ol-un-ji jøki hwangso-hanthe mul-øna  
 who word-SP right-pM-Nom over.there bull-to ask-at.least  
 po-ja-kkuna."  
 see-Prop-Apper
23. "E he he ka kø-ya mal-ul tal-ul køt-to øpsi  
 ha ha ha the thing-certainly word-OP hear-fuM thing-even without  
 salam-i nappa-o.  
 person-SP be.bad-sfD
24. Salam-tal-un jimsang-ul maum-tålo juk-i-ki-to ha-ko  
 person-Pl-TP beast-OP mind-as die-Caus-Nom-also do-and  
 hotweke pulyø-møk-ki-to ha-o.  
 cruelly work-eat-Nom-also do-sfD
25. Uli so-hanthe-to jim-ul ji-u-ko non path-ul  
 we cow-to-also burden-OP carry-Caus-and rice.field field-OP  
 kal-li-ko kaliko juk-y-øso koki-lul. . . .  
 plough-Caus-and and die-Caus-so meat-OP
26. Kap pun i-n jul a-sy-u?  
 that merely be-prM Nom know-Honor-sfQ
27. Kajuk-ul pøk-ky-ø ssa-ki-kkaji ha-ni salam-i ølmana  
 skin-OP take.off-Caus-and use-Nom-even do-so person-SP how.much  
 nappa-n-ka al-man.ha-ji.an-ssø?"  
 bad-prM-Nom know-be.enough-Neg-sfQ

28. "Kalø-kho.mal.ko-yo.  
be.such-of.course-sfD

29. Ja hwangso mal-ul tal-øss-o?  
well bull word-OP hear-Past-sfQ

30. Ije-n japa-møk-øto mal mot-ha-o."  
now-TP catch-eat-even.though word unable-do-sfD

21. Uh! Uh! just a minute! 22. Let's ask the bull over there to see whose words are right." 23. "Ha, ha, as for that matter, certainly people are bad without even having to listen to words. 24. People would freely kill animals or work (them) hard. 25. (They) would make us cattle carry burdens, plough rice paddies and (other) fields, and would kill (us) to (eat) the meat . . . 26. That is not all. 27. (They) would even peel off (our) skin and use (it), so isn't this enough to show how bad people are?" 28. "Of course, (they) are. 29. Well, did (you) hear the bull? 30. Now (you) cannot say (anything) even if (I) catch and eat (you)."

31. "Holang-a jøki so.namu-hanthe han pøn-man tø mul-ø.po-ja."  
tiger-Voc over.there pine.tree-to one time-only more ask-see-Prop

32. "Tø mul-ø.pwa mwø-l ha-o, salam-i ol-tha-ko.ha-l li-nan  
more ask-see what-OP do-sfQ person-SP right-D-Quot-fuM reason-TP  
øps-ul the-nte. . . . "  
not.exist-fuM expectation-and.yet

33. "Kaläto so.namu-nan palu-n mal-ul ha-l the-ni  
yet pine.tree-TP right-prM word-OP do-fuM expectation-so  
øti han pøn-man tø mul-ø.po-ko-na juk-ket-ta."  
where one time-only more ask-see-and-at.least die-Volit-D

34. "Kaløm kaløkhe ha-psita."  
then so do-fProp

35. "Salam-tal-manjhi nappu-n kø-n øps-so.  
person-Pl-as.much be.bad-prM thing-TP not.exist-sfD

36. Uli namu-lul pe-øta jip-ul an-jin-na, ttä-l namu  
we tree-OP cut-then house-OP Neg-build-or burn-fuM tree  
kam-ul an-mantu-na, tto sujh-ul mantal-ji.an-na,  
material-OP Neg-make-or also charcoal-OP make-Neg-or  
mullon salam-i nappu-ji-yo."  
of.course person-SP be.bad-Suspect-sfD

37. "Ka k<sup>h</sup>t po-si-yo.  
that thing see-Honor-sfImp
38. So.namu-nim-to nappu-ta-ko.ha-ji.an-sso?"  
pine.tree-Honor-also be.bad-D-Quot-Neg-sfQ
31. "Tiger, let's ask the pine tree over there one more time."  
32. "What's the use of asking any more, when there is no way that (the tree) would say that people are right?" 33. "Since the pine tree would say right words, however, (I) will die at least after asking one more time." 34. "Then, let's do so." 35. "There is nothing as bad as people. 36. (They) would cut us trees to build houses, to make fire wood, or to make charcoal; of course, people are bad." 37. "Listen to (him). 38. The pine tree also says that people are bad, doesn't (he)?"
39. "Holangi-ya n<sup>h</sup> majimak sow<sup>h</sup>n i-ta.  
tiger-Voc my last wish be-D
40. Motu-tal n<sup>h</sup>-hanthe jap-hy<sup>h</sup>-m<sup>h</sup>k-hy-<sup>h</sup>.ya.ha-n-ta-ni ha-l ssu  
all-Pl you-to catch-Caus-eat-Caus-Oblig-Act-D-so do-fuM way  
  
o<sup>h</sup>p-kuna.  
not.exist-Apper
41. Kul<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>himan j<sup>h</sup>ki thokki-ka majhim ili-lo ttwi<sup>h</sup> o-ni  
but over.there rabbit-SP just.now here-to run come-so  
  
thokki-hanthe han p<sup>h</sup>n t<sup>h</sup> mul-<sup>h</sup>.po-ja."  
rabbit-to one time more ask-see-Prop
42. "Kul<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>m jo-sso.  
then be.good-sfD
43. Mul-<sup>h</sup>.pwa-j-ja py<sup>h</sup>l ssu o<sup>h</sup>ps-ul.kk<sup>h</sup>l. . . ."  
ask-see-Past-even.if peculiar way not.exist-Presum
44. "Thokki-ya thokki-ya il<sup>h</sup>-l ssu-ka in-nanya?  
rabbit-Voc rabbit-Voc like.this-fuM way-SP exist-Q
45. Hamj<sup>h</sup>ng-e ppaji-n holangi-lul kuh<sup>h</sup>-jw-<sup>h</sup>t-t<sup>h</sup>-ni  
trap-at fall.into-pM tiger-OP save-Benef-Past-Retro-then  
  
toli<sup>h</sup> na-lul japa-m<sup>h</sup>k-aly<sup>h</sup>ko.ha-ni o<sup>h</sup>jj<sup>h</sup>-my<sup>h</sup>n jo-khen-ni?"  
instead I-OP catch-eat-Intend-so how-if be.good-Presum-Q
46. "Ani-yo salam-i na-lul sa-n-jh<sup>h</sup>lo jap-alyoko.h<sup>h</sup>-ss-o."  
no-sfD person-SP I-OP live-pM-as catch-Intend-Past-sfD
47. "Al-ass-upnita. N<sup>h</sup>-ka aju kongphy<sup>h</sup>ng.ha-n j<sup>h</sup>phan-ul  
know-Past-fD I-SP very be.fair-prM justice-OP

- hã-tali-l the-ni motu-tal hamjông in-nan  
do-Benef(Honor)-fuM intention-so all-Pl trap exist-prM
- te-lo ka-sø josa.hã-po-psita."  
place-to go-and investigate-see-fProp
48. "Kaløm kaløkhe ha-psita."  
then so do-fProp
49. "Holangi-nim mønjø øttøkhe ppaji-ke.twe-n-nan-ji han  
tiger-Honor first.of.all how fall.into-Inchoa-Past-prM-Nom one  
pøn hyungnä-lul nä-po-si-psiyo."  
time imitation-OP do-see-Honor-fImp
50. "Ai jham jôngmal ppajy-øss-øss-anikka ppajy-øt-ta-nan  
ah well really fall.into-Past-Past-since fall.into-Past-D-prM  
ke(<køs-i) ani-yo.  
fact-CP be.not-sfD
51. Iløkhe ppajy-øt-ta-n mal i-yo."  
like.this fall.into-Past-D-prM word be-sfD
52. "A! jôngmal-lo holangi-nim-i ppaji-sy-øt-tøn ke(<køs-i)  
ah truth-in tiger-Honor-SP fall.into-Honor-Past-rM fact-SP  
thullim øp-kun-yo?  
mistake not.exist-Apper-sfQ
53. Jal al-ass-upnita.  
well know-Past-fD
54. Ije-n ansim.ha-si-ko øsø ka-l kil-ina  
now-TP feel.at.ease-Honor-and quickly go-fuM way-certainly  
ka-po-se-yo."  
go-see-Honor-sfImp
55. Thokki-nan nakane-lul po-ko pangkat us-amyønsø øti.lonji  
rabbit-TP traveller-OP see-and (manner) smile-while to.somewhere  
kkangjhung.kkangjhung ttwiø.ka-pøly-øss-upnita.  
(manner.of.hopping) go.running-Compl-Past-fD
56. Holangi-nan kiph-un hamjông an-esø øng.øng.ul-ko.man-iss-øss-øyo.  
tiger-TP deep-prM trap inside-at cry.loudly-only-Prog-Past-sfD
39. "Tiger, (this) is my last wish. 40. (I suppose) there is no  
way since everybody says that (I) should be caught and eaten by you.  
41. But, here comes a rabbit this way, so let's ask the rabbit one more  
time." 42. "Then, it's alright. 43. But (I suppose) that it is no use,



even if (you) ask." 44. "Rabbit, rabbit, how in the world could this kind of thing happen? 45. What should (I) do, since a tiger whom (I) saved from a trap is trying to catch and eat me?" 46. "No, people tried to catch me alive." 47. "(I) see. As I will do a very fair justice, let's all go to the place where the trap is and investigate (the matter)." 48. "Then, let's do so." 49. "Tiger, first of all, show (us) how (you) fell into the trap." 50. "Why should (I), (I) say so since (I) really did fall into (the trap)." 51. "(I) mean that (I) fell like this." 52. "Ah, it's true that you, tiger, really fell." 53. "(I) understand (the matter) well." 54. Now, don't worry and hurry on your way." 55. The rabbit smiled at the traveller and went hopping away to somewhere. 56. The tiger was left crying loudly in the deep trap.

### 5. The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon

Hä-wa Tal-i Twe-n o.nui  
sun-and moon-SP become-pM brother.sister

1. Yet nal óna kiphu-n san kol-e hol ómóni-wa atal  
old day certain deep-prM mountain village-in lone mother-and son  
  
ttal ilókhe se sikku-ka sal-ko.iss-óss-upnita.  
daughter like-this three family.member-SP live-Prog-Past-fD
2. Hol ómóni-nan nal-mata kokhá nómpó maul puja jip-e  
lone mother-TP day-each hill across village rich.person house-at  
  
ka-só ppalä-to hä-ju-ko panga-to jjió-ju-ko hä-só  
go-and laundry-also do-Benef-and mill-also grind-Benef-and do-so  
  
ka phumssak-ulo ssal-ina pap-ul ótó-taka  
that wage-as uncooked.rice-or cooked.rice-OP get-then  
  
ai-tal-kwa kyóu sal-a.ka-ko.iss-óss-upnita.  
child-Pl-with barely live-Contin-Prog-Past-fD

1. Once upon a time there lived a family of three, a widowed mother, a son, and daughter, in a village deep in the mountains. 2. Everyday the widowed mother would go to the richman's house over the hill, do the laundry, grind a mill, etc., and receive either uncooked rice or cooked rice as a wage; thus (she) managed to go on living with the children.

3. Halu-nan hol ómóni-ka jip-ul ttóna-si-myónsó  
one.day-TP lone mother-SP home-OP leave-Honor-while

3a. "ssalit-mun jal tat-ko jip jal po-ko.ik-køla."  
bush.clover-door well close-and home well see-Prog-Imp

3b. "Ne."  
yes

ikøkhe illa-si-ko jip-ul ttøna-si-øss-upnita.  
like.this tell-Honor-and home-OP leave-Honor-Past-fD

3. One day the widowed mother was leaving home and said, 3a. "Close the bush-clover door well and look after the house well." 3b. (Children said:) "Yes, (we will)." (She) left the house after saying that.

4. Nal-i jømul-ja ømøni-nan jip-esø kitali-l ai-tal-ul  
day-SP get.dark-as.soon.as mother-TP home-at wait-fuM child-P1-OP

sångkak.ha-si-ko koki-wa susu ttøk-ul ssa-kaji-ko-nan  
think-Honor-and meat-and Indian.millet cake-OP wrap-take-and-TP

ppalli jip-ulo tola.ka-si-øss-upnita.  
quickly home-to go.back-Honor-Past-fD

5. "Øikumønnina! aiku jø! aiku jø . . ."  
(exclamations)

6. "Halmøm møli-e i-ko ka-nan ke(<kø-s-i) mwø-yo?"  
grandma head-at carry-and go-prM thing-SP what-sfQ

7. "Jø . . . janjhi jip-esø ttøk-ul øtø ka-nan kil i-ta."  
well feast house-from cake-OP get go-prM way be-D

8. "Ka ttøk han kã-man ju-myøn an-japa-møk-ji."  
that cake one piece-only give-if Neg-catch-eat-Suspect

9. "Kulã-la, yetta møk-øla."  
do.so-Imp here eat-Imp

10. Putal.putal ttøl-myønsø ttøk han kã-lul tønnyø-ju-øss-upnita.  
(manner) tremble-while cake one piece-OP throw-Benef-Past-fD

11. Holangi-nan ka ttøk han kã-lul nømjjøk  
tiger-TP that cake one piece-OP without.hesitation

pata-mul-ko-nan sup sok-ulo tola.ka-pøly-øss-upnita.  
receive-bite-and-TP forest inside-to go.back-Compl-Past-fD

12. "Aiku! Ije-n tasi na.o-ji-nan an-khej-ji?"  
Ah now-TP again come.out-Nom-TP Neg-Presum-Suspect

13. Øsø ka-ya-ket-ta."  
quickly go-Oblig-Presum-D
14. Kəløna holangi-nən tto nathana-sø ai-tal ju-lyøko  
but tiger-TP again appear-so child-Pl give-Intend
- kaji-ko ka-nən ttøk-ul motu  
take-and go-prM cake-OP all
- ppåasa-møk-ø.pøli-ko.mal-ass-upnita.  
snatch-eat-Compl(finish)-Compl(accidental)-Past-fD

15. Halmøm-un holangi-hanthe ttøk-ul motu ppåak-ki-ko  
grandma-TP tiger-by cake-OP all snatch-Passive-and
- pin son-ulo tola.ka-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
empty hand-with go.back-Prog-Past-fD

4. As soon as it got dark, mother thought about the children who would be waiting at home, packed meat and Indian-millet cake, and went back home quickly. 5. "Oh, my goodness! Wow! 6. "Grandma, what is it that (you) carry on your head?" 7. "Well, with a cake from a feast (I) am on the way (home)." 8. "(I) won't eat (you) if you give (me) a piece of cake." 9. "All right, here (you are)." 10. Trembling, (she) threw a piece of cake. 11. The tiger took the piece of cake in the mouth and went back to the forest. 12. "Ah, (I hope he) won't come out again now. 13. I'd better go fast." 14. But the tiger appeared again, and snatched up and ate up all the cake that (she was) taking to her children. 15. Grandma had been robbed of all the cake by the tiger and was going back (home) empty-handed.

16. Ilø-l ttä holangi-nən han kølum apjang.sø-sø mak  
like.this-fuM time tiger-TP one step stand.ahead-so fast
- tallyø-ka-ss-upnita.  
run-go-Past-fD
17. Kəliko namu iph-i ukøji-n sup sok-ulo talø.ka-sø  
and tree leaf-SP thick-prM forest inside-to go.in-so
- phølittøk.phølittøk jäju-lul nøm-tø-ni kampang salam-ulo  
(manner) somersault-OP turn-Retro-then right-away person-to
- pyønha-yø ai-tal-ul jhaja.ka-ss-upnita.  
change-thus child-Pl-OP visit-Past-fD
18. "Ømma-ka o-sy-øn-nka.po-ta.  
mommy-SP come-Honor-Past-seem-D

19. Ømma-ya?"  
mommy-Q
20. "Yä-ya kamanhi iss-ø.  
kid-Voc quietly exist-cD
21. Mun yø1-ji.mal-ko al-a.pwa-ya.ji nuku-nka."  
door open-Neg-and know-see-Oblig who-Q
22. "Nuku-se-yo?"  
who-Honor-sfQ
23. "Na-ta. Øsø mun yø1-øla."  
I-D quickly door open-Imp
24. "Ø! ømøni moksoli kaj-ji.an-ante-yo?  
ah mother voice be.same-Neg-yet-sfQ
25. Uli ømma-myøñ mun tham-ulo son jom  
we(Poss) mommy-if door crack-to hand a.little  
nämil-ø.po-se-yo."  
push.out-see-Honor-sfImp
26. "Ja."  
here
27. ømøni son-i wä iløkhe køjhil-øyo?"  
mother hand-SP why like.this be.rough-sfQ
28. "Il-ul mani hä-sø kælø-jhi."  
work-OP a.lot do-so be-so-Suspect
29. "Any-ayo uli ømma-nan ani-n kø-1 . . ."  
be.not-sfD we(Poss) mommy-TP be.not-prM fact-fuM
30. "Ap pal-e pun jhil-ul hä-ya-ji.  
front foot-at powder paint-OP do-Oblig
31. Yä-ya ä-tal-a nä-ka wa-t-ta.  
Sonny-Voc child-Pl-Voc I-SP come-Past-D
32. Øsø mun yø1-øla.  
quickly door open-Imp
33. Øti uli ømma-myøñ pal-ul jom nämil-ø.po-se-yo."  
where we(Poss) mommy-if foot-OP a.little push.out-see-Honor-sfImp
34. "Ja po-ala."  
here see-Imp
35. "Ømma posøñ-i thallim øp-ji?"

mommy sock-SP mistake not.exist-Suspect

36. Nā (<nā-ka) mun yōl-kke-yo."  
I-SP door open-Volit-sfD

37. "ø ømøna! ømma ani-ya ømma-ka ani-ya!"  
(exclamation) mommy be.not-cD mommy-CP be.not-cD

16. At this time, the tiger stepped out ahead of her and ran fast.

17. And he went into the thick forest, turned somersaults, and became a person right away, and went on to the children. 18. "Mommy must have come. 19. (Is this) Mommy?" 20. "Her, (you) keep quiet. 21. (We) should find out who (it) is before opening the door." 22. Who is (this)?" 23. "(It's) me, hurry, open the door." 24. "Ah, (you) don't sound like (my) mother. 25. If (you) are my Mommy, please push (your) hand a little through the crack of the door." 26. "Here!" 27. "Why is mother's hand so rough?" 28. It is because (I) worked a lot." 29. "No, (you) are not, (you) are not my Mommy . . ." 30. "(I) will put some powder on (my) front foot. 31. Children, I have come. 32. Hurry, open the door." 33. "Well, please push (your) foot in a little of you are my Mommy." 34. "Here, look." 35. "(It) certainly is Mommy's sock, isn't it? 36. I will open the door. 37. "Oh, what! It's not Mommy, it's not Mommy!"

38. Jip twit ttal-e in-nan namu-wi-lo kansinhi olla.ka-n  
house back yard-at exist-prM tree-top-to barely go-up-pM

o.nui-nan namu kaji-e kōlthø.anj-asø sum-øl  
brother.sister-TP tree branch-at stride.over-and breath-OP

juk-i-ko holangi-øy kōtong-øl salphi-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
die-Caus-and tiger-Poss movement-OP watch-Prog-Past-fD

39. "Yä-tal-a øttøkhe namu-e olla.ka-n-nanya?"  
Sonny-Pl-Voc how tree-at go.up-Past-Q

40. "Uli puøk-e in-nan jham kilum-øl palu-ko  
olla.wa-ss-øyo."  
we(Poss) kitchen-at exist-prM sesame oil-OP rub-and  
come.up-Past-sfD

41. "Mwø? kilum-øl palu-ko olla.ka-t-ta-ko?"  
what oil-OP rub-and go.up-Past-D-Quot

42. "Jøngmal i-øyo."  
truth be-sfD

43. "Nøhi-tal na-l soki-nan-kuna.  
you-Pl I-OP cheat-Act-Apper

44. Kilum-ul pall-at-tø-niman tø mikkaløji-nante øttøkhe  
 \*oil-OP rub-Past-Retro-then more slip-and.yet how  
 olla.ka-n-nunji na jom kalujhø-ju-lyøm!"  
 go.up-Past-Nom I a.little teach-Benef-Imp(mitigated)
45. Tokki-lo pal titi-l jakuk-ul jjikø-ka-myønsø män  
 ax-with foot step.on-fuM foot.step-OP cut-go-while bare  
 pal-lo olla.o-myøn twä-yo."  
 foot-with come-up-if become-sfD
46. "Mwø-lako? Tokki-lo jjik-umyø olla.ka-n-ta-ko?  
 What-Quot ax-with cut-while go.up-Act-D-Quot
47. Oljhi al-at-ta, al-ass-ø."  
 right know-Past-D know-Past-cD

38. The brother and sister, who managed to go up a tree in the back yard, were straddled over a branch, holding (their) breath, and watching the tiger's movement. 39 "Children, how did (you) go up the tree?" 40. "(We) rubbed on the sesame seed oil from our kitchen, then came up." 41. "What? (Are you saying that you) went up after rubbing on the oil?" 42. "It is true." 43. "You (children) are tricking me. 44. When I rub on the oil, it is more slippery; won't (you) let me know how (you) went up." 45. (You can) do (it) if (you) cut foot-steps with an ax and come up with bare feet." 46. "What? (Are you saying that you) can go up cutting with an ax? 47. Right, (I) got (it), (I) got (it)."

48. "Hananim hananim jøhi nammä-läl  
 God God we(Humble) brother.sister-OP  
 sal-lyø-ju-se-yo.  
 live-Caus-Benef-Honor-sfImp
49. Jøhi nammä-läl sal-lyø-ju-si-lyø-myøn  
 We(humble) brother.sister-OP live-Caus-Benef-Honor-Intend-if  
 søng.ha-n tongajul-ul nälyø-ju-si-ko  
 be.intact-prM rope-OP send.down-Benef-Honor-and  
 juk-i-si-lyø-køtan ssøk-æn tongajul-ul  
 die-Caus-Honor-Intend-if rotten-prM rope-OP  
 nälyø-ju-se-yo."  
 send.down-Benef-Honor-sfImp
50. Hanul-esø-nan kulttara-n tongajul-i nälyø.wa-ss-upnita.  
 sky-from-TP thick-prM rope-SP come.down-Past-fD

51. Tu nammä-nan tongajul-e mätal-li-n yón-ul tha-ko  
two brother.sister-TP rope-at hang-Passive-prM kite-OP ride-and  
hanal-lo hwø1.hwø1 olla.ka-ss-upnita.  
sky-to (manner) go.up-Past-fD
52. Namu-e olla.o-n holangi-to tongajul-ul talla-ko  
tree-at come.up-pM tiger-also rope-OP give-Quot  
hananim-kke pil-øss-upnita.  
God-to pray-Past-fD
53. Tongajul-i nälyø.wa-ss-upnita.  
rope-SP come.down-Past-fD
54. Ka tongajul-un ssøk-un tongajul i-øss-upnita.  
the rope-TP rotten-prM rope be-Past-fD
55. Kongjung-e jhä pan-to ola-ji.mot.ha-ko jul-i  
space-at yet half-even climb-unable.to.do-and rope-SP  
kkan-ø.jyø-sø holangi-nan susu-path-e ttø1øjyø  
break-Passive-so tiger-TP Indian.millet-field-at fall  
juk-ko.mal-ass-upnita.  
die-Compl-Past-fD
56. Hanal-lo olla.ka-n o.nui-nan hananim-ay ttattatha-n  
sky-to go.up-pM brother.sister-TP God-Poss warm-prM  
salang-ul pata oppa-nan tal-i tve-ko nui-nan  
love-OP receive brother-TP moon-SP become-and sister-TP  
hä-ka tve-ø pam-kwa naj-alo on sesang-ul palkke  
sun-SP become-so night-and day-throughout whole world-OP brightly  
pijhyø-ju-n-ta-pnita.  
illuminate-Benef-Act-D-fD

48. "God, God, please save both of us. 49. If (you) intend to save us, please send down a strong rope; and if (you) intend to kill us, please send down a rotten rope." 50. A thick rope came down from the sky. 51. The brother and sister went up to the sky, riding a kite tied at the end of the rope. 52. The tiger, who went up the tree, also prayed to God to give (him) a rope. 53. A rope came down. 54. That rope was a rotten rope. 55. Before (he) was halfway into the sky, the rope broke and the tiger died when he fell into the Indian-millet field. 56. The brother and sister who went up to the sky received God's warm love, and the brother became the moon and the sister became the sun. So they shine brightly on the whole world night and day.

## 6. The Hat Seller

Moja Jangsa  
hat seller

1. Yet        nal        øttøñ        kos-e        moja jangsa han        salam-i  
old        day        certain        place-at        hat seller one        person-SP
- iss-øss-upnita.  
exist-Past-fD
2. øttøñ        yølum        nal        i        moja        jangsa-nan        moja-lal        khu-n  
certain        summer day        this hat        seller-TP        hat-OP        big-prM
- kwak-eta        mani        nøø        kaji-ko        phal-lø        naka-ss-upnita.  
box-in        many        put.in        take-and        sell-to        go.out-Past-fD
3. Kil-e        tani-myønsø,  
street-at        wander-while
- 3a. "Moja        sa-si-yo.  
hat        buy-Honor-sfImp
- 3b. Moja        yo.  
hat        be-sfD
- 3c. Namja        moja-to        ik-ko        puin-tal        moja-to        ik-ko        ahi-tal  
man        hat-also exist-and        woman-Pl        hat-also exist-and        child-Pl
- moja-to        iss-upnita.  
hat-also        exist-fD
- 3d. Kap-to        ssa-pnita,"  
price-also        be.cheap-fD
- hako        wen.jongil        tola.tany-øss-una        han        salam-to  
Quot        all.day.long        wander.around-Past-but        one        person-even
- moja sa-nan        salam-i        øps-øss-upnita.  
hat buy-prM        person-SP        not.exist-Past-fD
4. Moja        jangsa-nan        nõmu        kon.hä-sø        hamjham        ka-taka  
hat        seller-TP        too        be.tired-so        for.a.while        go-after
- øttøñ        khu-n        namu-mithe        moja kwak-ul        nälyø.no-kho  
certain        big-prM        tree-under        hat        box-OP        put.down-and
- moja-lal        ssun-tälo        kanyang        anja-sø        swi-taka        jam-i  
hat-OP        put.on-as        as.such        sit-and        rest-while        sleep-SP



tal-øss-upnita.  
come.in-Past-fD

1. Once upon a time at a certain place there was a hat seller.  
2. One summer day this hat seller put many hats in a box and went out to sell (them). 3. Wandering around the streets he said, 3a. "Buy hats. 3b. Hats. 3c. (There) are men's hats, women's hats, and children's hats. 3d. The price is also cheap," (he) wandered around all day long, but (there) was not even one person who bought a hat. 4 The hat seller was too tired, so after going for a while, (he) put down the hat box under a big tree; having the hat on and sitting as such, (he) fell asleep.

5. Ka namu wi-e-nan wønsungi yø1 mali-ka  
the tree top-at-TP monkey ten Counter-SP

iss-øss-upnita.  
exist-Past-fD

6. I wønsungi-tal-un moja jangsa-ka namu-mithe wa-sø  
this monkey-Pl-TP hat seller-SP tree-under put.down-and

swi-nan køs-ul po-ko jaki-tal-to moja jangsa-wa.kajhi  
rest-prM fact-OP see-and self-Pl-also hat seller-like

moja-lul ssu-ko.siph-øss-upnita.  
hat-OP put.on-Desid-Past-fD

7. Käläsø kaman.kamanhi namu-mith-ulo nällyø.wa-sø  
Therefore quietly tree-under-to come.down-and

moja kwak-ul yø1-ko hana-ssik ssu-ko tasi  
hat box-OP open-and one-each put.on-and again

kaman.kamanhi wi-lo ollaka ja-nan moja jangsa-lul  
quietly top-to go.up sleep-prM hat seller-OP

nällyøta.po-ko.iss-øss-upnita.  
look.down-Prog-Past-fD

5. On the tree there were ten monkeys. 6. These monkeys, seeing that the hat seller came under the tree and rested, also wanted to put the hats on themselves like the hat seller. 7. Therefore, (they) came down the tree quietly, opened the hat box, put on a hat each, went quietly up the tree again, and were looking down at the sleeping hat seller.

8. Moja jangsa-nan hanjham ja-ko iløna-sø moja  
hat seller-TP for.a.while sleep-and get.up-and hat

kwak-ul kaji-ko ka-lyøko.ha-nante ka kwak-e  
 box-OP take-and go-Intend-while the box-in

moja-ka man-jhi.an-an køs-ul po-ko kkamjjak  
 hat-SP many-Neg-prM fact-OP see-and very

nolla-ss-æpnita.  
 be.surprised-Past-fD

9. Wen il i-nji molla-sø sapang-ul tola  
 what matter be-Nom not.know-and four.directions-OP around

po-myønsø jhaj-ø.pwa-ss-æpnita.  
 see-while look.for-see-Past-fD

10. Kuløna moja-nan hana-to po-i-ji.an-ass-æpnita.  
 However hat-TP one-even see-Passive-Neg-Past-fD

11. Moja jangsa-nan øttøkhe ha-l.jul-ul molla-sø jaki  
 hat seller-TP how do-Nom-OP not.know-and own

mulap-ul thak jhi-myønsø,  
 knee-OP (slap.sound) slap-while

11a. "Ani nu-ka nã moja-tal ta kaji-ko ka-n-nanya?"  
 no who-SP my hat-Pl all take-and go-Past-Q

ha-myønsø namu-lal jhøta.pwa-ss-æpnita.  
 do-while tree-OP look.up-Past-fD

12. Ka ttã moja jangsa-nan amu mal-to mot.ha-ko  
 the time hat seller-TP any word-even unable.to.do-and

ip-man khake pølly-øss-æpnita.  
 mouth-only big open-Past-fD

13. Wønsungi-tal-i moja-lal ta ssa-ko.in-nan kkatalk  
 monkey-Pl-SP hat-OP all put.on-Prog-prM reason

i-øss-æpnita.  
 be-Past-fD

8. After sleeping for a while, the hat seller got up and was about to go with the hat box; then (he) was very surprised, seeing that not many hats were in the box. 9. (He) did not know what happened, so (he) looked for (them), looking all around. 10. However, not a single hat was visible. 11. The hat seller did not know what to do, so slapping his knee, 11a. "Why, who took all my hats?" saying, (he) looked up the tree. 12. At that time the hat seller was not able to say even a word, and only opened his mouth wide. 13. (It) was because all the monkeys were wearing the hats.

14. Hanjham        it-taka        moja        jangsa-nan    mal.ha-ki-lal,  
for.a.while    exist-after    hat        seller-TP     say-Nom-OP
- 14a. "Wønsungi-tal-un    moja-lal        ssuji.an-uni    nã-ke  
      monkey-Pl-TP        hat-OP        put.on-Neg-so    I-to
- tolu    kajyø-o-nøla,"    hako    mal.hã-ss-upnita.  
      back    bring-come-Imp    Quot    say-Past-fD
15. Kaløna        wønsungi-tal-un    moja-to        ju-ji.an-kho    amu  
      However    monkey-Pl-TP        hat-also        give-Neg-and    any
- mal-to        øps-øss-upnita.  
      word-even    not.exist-Past-fD
16. I            moja        jangsa-nan    talu-n        sãngkak-i  
      this        hat        seller-TP     different-prM    thought-SP
- na-ss-upnita.  
      occur-Past-fD
17. "Wønsungi-nan        kkok        salam-tal        ha-nan-tãlo  
      monkey-TP        exactly    person-Pl        do-prM-as
- ttala-ha-nan    tongmul    i-ni    nã-ka    moja-lal    pø-s-ø-sø  
      follow-do-prM    animal    be-so    I-SP    hat-OP    take.off-and
- ttang-e    tønji-myøñ        wønsungi-tal-to        ttala-sø  
      ground    throw-if        monkey-Pl-also        follow-and
- ha-kej-ji,"        sãngkak.ha-ko    jaki    moja-lal    pø-s-ø-sø  
      do-Presum-Suspect    think-and        own    hat-OP    take.off-and
- ttang-e    tønny-øss-upnita.  
      ground-at    throw-Past-fD
18. Wi-esø        po-ko.it-tøn    wønsungi-tal-un    kitali-ji.an-kho  
      top-at        see-Prog-rM    monkey-Pl-TP        wait-Neg-and
- kkok        kajhi        moja-lal        pø-s-ø-sø        ttang-e  
      exactly    likely        hat-OP        take.off-and        ground-at
- tønny-øss-upnita.  
      throw-Past-fD

14. After a while, the hat seller said, 14a. "Monkeys do not wear hats, so bring (them) back to me." 15. However, the monkeys neither gave (him) the hats nor said any word. 16. This hat seller had a different thought. 17. "Monkeys are the animals which do exactly as people do; so, if I take off (my) hat and throw it on the ground, the monkeys will probably do (so) following (me)," so (he) thought and took off his own hat and threw (it) on the ground. 18. The monkeys, which were watching from

the tree top, did not wait and took off the hats as he did and threw (them) on the ground.

### 7. The Water Cicada

Mul Mämi  
water cicada

1. Mul mämi nollim-un yóksi ajhim kyól-pota jónyók  
water cicada play-TP after.all morning time-than evening  
  
kyól-i je sijól i-ta.  
time-SP own season be-D
2. Hakkyo-lo ka-l ttä-pota-nun o-l ttä-ka amuläto maum-i  
school-to go-fuM time-than-TP come-fuM time-SP after.all mind-SP  
  
nohi-nun moyang i-ta.  
be.at.ease-prM appearance be-D
3. Ajhim-e-nun kiutkøliki-man ha-taka näppä-tøn nom-tal-i  
morning-in-TP peeping-only do-after run.away-rM fellow-Pl-SP  
  
tolao-l ttä-myøn ka jók-e-ya aju je sesang  
come.back-fuM time-then that time-at-certainly really own world  
  
i-n tasi pal-tal-al khwak pujhi-ko tolla put-nun-ta.  
be-prM as.if foot-Pl-OP tightly put-and around stick-Act-D
4. Onal-to ton jhøn Wøn-ina sa no-khe-twe-n kós-un  
today-also money 1,000 Won-at.least buy put-become-pM fact-TP  
  
yóksi ohu ne si-ka jinasø-puthø ta.  
the.same afternoon 4 o'clock-SP past-since D

1. Water-cicada play is, after all, at its peak in the evening rather than in the morning. 2. It appears that, after all, minds are more at ease when coming from school than when going to school. 3. The fellows, who run away after only peeping (at the water cicada) in the morning, put (their) feet tightly (against the tank) and stick around when coming back as if they own the world at that time. 4. Indeed, today (he) has earned at least 1,000 Won since after 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

5. Jikam-to øullyø o-tøn han phä-ka säloi jjuuk  
now-also together come-rM one group-SP newly in.a.row

mollyøtal-ja mul mami-lul mul-e ttwiu-n yangjhø1  
 storm.in-as.soon.as water cicada-OP water-at float-pM tin

japaki kajangjali-lo tolakamyø kan-ul musuhi tu-ko  
 large.vessel edge-to around slot-OP many put-and

kan-mata pønho-lul ssønø-un ka pønho-wa kkok kath-un  
 slot-each number-OP write.in-pM that number-with exactly same-prM

pønho-lul yøksi il-esø isip-kkaji jjuk illyø1-lo kønno  
 number-OP the.same one-from twenty-to in.a.row one.row-as cross

ssu-n jongi-wie amuløkhena no-at-tøn milukku kap-ul  
 write-pM paper-on at.random put-Past-rM milk.candy box-OP

jipø.tal-ko  
 pick.up-and

5a. "Ja kwaja-n kwaja-tälu sasø møk-ku-tu jal-man täsø  
 well cookie-TP cookie-as buy eat-and-also well-only bet

nao-myøn milukku-na hokak-ina kø-n sojhøng-tälu køjø  
 come.out-if milk.candy-or whistle-or that-TP wish-as free

kajyøka-ke.twe-n-ta.  
 take-Inchoa-Act-D

5b. "Ja nuku tanji?"  
 well who ever

hako noin-un milukku kap-ul tolo.no-kho joli-lul talø  
 Quot old.man-TP milk.candy box-OP put.back-and strainer-OP pick.up

mul mami-lul kønny-øso japaki han pokphan-e kulktala-n  
 water cicada-OP scoop.up-and vessel right middle-at thick-prM

jhølsa-lo tongkalhake hwiø kongjung talanh-un ka tongkalami  
 wire-with round bend in.the.air hang-pM that circle

sok-alo molanø-øt-ta.  
 in-to force.in-Past-D

6. Ka tongkalami-lul thong.hayø mul-wie ttø1øji-n mul mami-nan  
 that circle-OP through water-on fall-pM water cicada-TP

mul sok-ul pøjiløk.pøjiløk heø tol-tø-ni sa  
 water in-OP (manner.of.movement) swim around-Retro-after four

jja pønho kan-alo taløka-n-ta.  
 letter number slot-to go.in-Act-D

7. "Ja po-aj-ji?  
well see-Past-Suspect

7a. Sa jja-eta milukku-lal tä-ko iløkhe twe-myøn milukku-lal  
four letter-at milk.candy-OP bet-and like.this become-if milk.candy-OP

kajyøka-ke.twe-nan phan i-ta.  
take-Inchoa-prM situation be-D

7b. Ja nuku tanji?"  
well who ever

hako ai-tal-ul ssak hulthø.po-at-ta.  
Quot child-Pl-OP (manner) look.through-Past-D

5. And just now, as a group (of fellows) storm in together all in a row, (he) picks up a box of milk candy which had been left on the paper where the numbers 1 to 20 were wrtitten. These numbers matched the numbers for all of the slots around the edge of the large metal tank, where a water cicada was floating in water. And he says, 5a. "You will get to choose one of these milk candies or a whistle, if you bet well and win. 5b. So who wants to play?" The old man put the box of milk candy back down, picked up a strainer, scooped up the water cicada, and dropped it through a loop, which had been made by bending a thick wire and hanging it in the air over the middle of the tank. 6. The water cicada, which fell into the water through the loop, swims around in the water and then goes into the Number 4 slot. 7. "Well, did (you) see it? 7a. If (you) bet milk candy on Number 4 and this happens, then the milk candy will be (yours). 7b. Well, who wants to play?" he asks, looking at the children.

8. Kalø-ji.ana-to kumi-ka tong-hayø han jjok son-ul hojumøni  
such-Neg-even appetite-SP move-thus one side hand-OP pocket

sok-e nø-kho omulkøli-tøn han ai-ka japäki aph-ulo  
inside-at put.in-and wriggle-rM one child-SP vessel front-to

passak nasø-myø lantosel-ul me-n-jhä jjokali-ko  
closely step.out-and back.pack-OP carry-pM-as squat-and

ant-tø-ni sip wøn jjali han jang-ul milønä non-nan--ta.  
sit-Retro-and ten Won bill one piece-OP push.out put-Act-D

9. Noin-un nä.noh-un sip wøn jjali-lal mulap aph-ulo  
old.man-TP put.out-pM ten Won bill-OP knee front-to

tangkiø no-kho jongi pongji sok-e son-ul ssak  
pull put-and paper sack inside-at hand-OP (manner)

nø-øt-taka nä-tø-ni  
put.in-Past-after put.out-Retro-after

- 9a. "Ja pat-ø?  
well receive-cImp
- 9b. Iløkhe kwaja-nan kwaja-tälu ju-ku . . ."  
like.this cookie-TP cookie-as give-and
- hako khongal mankhum.ina.ha-n kasi-ka ppyojok.ppyojok.tot-un  
Quot bean size-prM thorn-SP sharp.pointed-pM
- allak.tallak.ha-n säk kwaja se al-al sonyøn-ay son-alo  
colorful-prM color cookie three piece-OP boy-Poss hand-to
- køñne-n-ta.  
pass.over-Act-D
10. Sonyøn-un kwaja-lal pat-a usøn han al-un  
boy-TP cookie-OP receive-and first.of.all one piece-TP
- ip-e nø-kho milukku kap-al tangki-ø phal pøn-eta  
mouth-in put.in-and milk.candy box-OP pull-and eight number-at
- täi-ko joli-lal tal-ø mul mämi-lal ttø-sø  
bet-and strainer-OP hold-and water cicada-OP scoop.up-and
- tongkalami sok-e mola.nø-øt-ta.  
circle inside-at force.in-Past-D
11. Mul-wie kongjung ttøløji-n mul mämi-nan jamky-øt-ta  
water-on air fall-pM water cicada-TP sink-Past-D
- sos-at-ta suyøm-al näjøa-myø twit-tali-lal  
surface-Past-D moustache-OP stir-while back-leg-OP
- pøjiløk.pøjiløk heø tolaka-n-ta.  
(manner of movement) swim go.around-Act-D
12. Phal jja jupyøn kakkai-lo mul mämi-ay  
eight letter circumference close-to water cicada-Poss
- suyøm-i khi-lal tolli-l ttä-mata sonyøn-ay kasum-un  
moustache-SP helm-OP turn-fuM time-each boy-Poss heart-TP
- hotuk.hotuk ttwi-øt-ta.  
boom.boom jump-Past-D
13. Kaunkanhake maum-ul joly-øt-tøn køs i-ta.  
inwardly mind-OP be.in.suspense-Past-rM fact be-D
14. Kaløna høsa y-øt-ta.  
but futility be-Past-D

15. Mul māmi-nan jhil jja kan-ulo taløka-ko.mal-at-ta.  
water cicada-TP seven letter slot-to go.in-Compl-Past-D
16. Sonyøn-un yak-i ola-nan tasi sip wøn jjali-lal tto  
boy-TP irritation-OP rise-prM as.if ten Won bill-OP again  
kkønä i pøn-e-n jhil jja pøn-eta tä-øt-ta.  
take.out this time-in-TP seven letter number-at bet-Past-D
17. Kuløna mul māmi-nan i pøn-e-n tto phal pøn-ulo  
but water cicada-TP this time-at-TP again eight number-to  
taløka-t-ta.  
go.in-Past-D
18. Myøt pøn-ul tä-po-ass-øto mul māmi-nan milukku  
several time-OP bet-see-Past-even water cicada-TP milk.candy  
täi-n pønho-lo-nan han pøn-to taløka-ji.an-at-ta.  
bet-pM number-to-TP one time-even go.in-Neg-Past-D
19. Päk wøn jjali-kkaji han jang-ul ilkhona-n sonyøn-un inje  
hundred Won bill-even one piece-OP lose-pM boy-TP now  
mijhøn-i jinha-n tasi ølkul-i ppalkä-sø mulløna-n-ta.  
money-SP used.up-pM as.if face-SP red-and withdraw-Act-D
20. Noin-un jom mianha-n tasi  
old.man-TP a.little sorry-prM as.if
- 20a. "Han pøn majhwønäji-n mot.hä-ss-øtu sonhä-ka na-n  
one time hit.right-TP unable-Past-even loss-SP occur-pM  
kø-n øp-ji?  
fact-TP not.exist-Suspect
- 20b. Kwaja-n kwaja-tälu ton kaps-e pat-ass-unikka.  
cookie-TP cookie-as money worth-at receive-Past-because
- 20c. Ja tto nuku?"  
well again who  
hako ai-tal-ul tto han pøn kønnohta po-at-ta.  
Quot child-Pl-OP again one time across look-Past-D

8. One child, with his hand wriggling in (his) pocket--he had been interested even before the demonstration--steps up close to the tank, squats down with (his) back pack, and pushes out a 10 Won bill. 9. The old man pulls the 10 Won bill to the front of (his) knee, puts (his) hand in the paper sack, and takes (it) out, saying, 9a. "Well, here are (your) cookies. 9b. (I am) giving them (to you)..." As he speaks, he hands the boy three colorful cookies, which are sharp-pointed with bean-sized thorns.



10. The boy took the cookies and put one in his mouth. Then he picked up the milk-candy box and bet it on Number 8, took the strainer, scooped up the water cicada, and dropped it through the loop. 11. The water cicada fell into the water and started splashing with its legs and waving its antenna, sinking and surfacing (in the water). 12. Each time the water cicada's antenna turned toward Number 8, the boy's heart throbbed in suspense. 13. The fact is that (he) really wanted to win. 14. However, it was useless. 15. The water cicada went into the Number 7 slot. 16. Getting irritated, the boy took out a 10 Won bill again and bet on Number 7 this time. 17. The water cicada, however, went into Number 8 this time. 18. Even though (the boy) tried betting several times, not even once did the water cicada go into the number where the milk candy was bet. 19. After losing even a 100 Won bill, the boy withdraws red-faced since (his) money is now all used up. 20. The old man, who was a little sorry (for the boy), said, 20a. "Although (you) didn't hit right once, at least there is no loss. 20b. Because (you) got the cookies for (your) money's worth. 20c. Well is anybody else (ready to play)?", he asked, looking across the children once more.

21. "Jø yo!"  
I(humble) sfD

22. Han ai-ka tto talo-sø-t-ta.  
one child-SP again walk.in-Past-D

23. Kaløna yøksi mul mami-nan milukku tæi-n sujja-lo-nan  
but the.same water cicada-TP milk.candy bet-pM number-to-TP  
  
jomjhe taløka-ji.an-at-ta.  
easily go.in-Neg-Past-D

24. Pæk wøn jjali søk jangi-i kosulanhi nakaki-kkaji kyøu  
hundred Won bill three piece-SP entirely go.out-till barely  
  
han pøn-ul majhu-øss-ul ppun i-ta.  
one time-OP hit.right-Past-fuM only be-D

25. "Yo kkakjængi jasik-i!"  
this stingy chap-SP

26. Sonyøn-un yak-i pajjak olla-sø mul mami yok-ul  
boy-TP irritation-SP tightly rise-and water cicada abuse-OP  
  
ha-myø pæk wøn jjali han jang-ul tto kkønæ  
do-while hundred Won bill one piece-OP again pull.out  
  
i pøn-e-nan amulæto han pøn majhu-ko-ya  
this time-at-TP no.matter.what one time hit.right-and-certainly

- mal-ket-ta-nan tasi motu samu kumøng-esø jølpan-ina  
 Compl-Volit-D-prM as-if all twenty hole-from half-even
- jhajiha-nan yøl kumøng-eta pønho-lul kolla jijøkha-ko  
 occupy-prM ten hole-at number-OP choose indicate-and
- ka pæk wøn-ul tan.thä-e ta tä-øt-ta.  
 that hundred Won-OP all.at.once-at all bet-Past-D
27. Kuliko-nan josimsale mul mämi-lul ttø nø-øt-ta.  
 and-TP carefully water cicada-OP scoop.up put.in-Past-D
28. Yøki-e-n jang.ponin-i-n sonyøn jasin ppun-i ani-la  
 here-at-TP prime.mover-be-prM boy self only-CP be.not-and
- tullø sø-t-tøn ai-tal-un nuku-na ha-l køt øpsi  
 around stand-Past-rM child-Pl-TP who-ever do-fuM fact without
- ta kajhi maum-i joy-øt-ta.  
 all the.same mind-SP be.in.suspense-Past-D
29. Tongkalami-lul thonghayø mul-wie ttøljøji-n mul mämi-ka  
 circle-OP through water-on fall-pM water cicada-SP
- jijøk.hayø-no-un ka pønho kakkailo heø to-l ttä-mata  
 indicate-put-pM that number closely swim turn--fuM time-each
- homjhil.homjhil maum-tal-ul nollä-t-ta.  
 (manner) mind-Pl-OP be.surprised-Past-D
30. kaløna mul mämi-nan yo pøn-eto talø.ka-l tasi ka  
 but water cicada-TP this time-also go.in-fuM as.if that
- jijøk-ha-n pønho-uy jupyøn-ul myøt pøn-iko  
 indicate-pM number-Poss circumference-OP several time-rather
- tol-ass-ul ppun najung.kasø-n øngttungha-n  
 turn.around-Past-fuM only later.on-TP extraordinary-prM
- kumøng-e suyøm-ul jhø.pak-ko nøpjuluki tta-ko.ma-n-ta.  
 hole-at moustache-OP put.in-and flatly surface-Compl-Act-D
31. Sonyøn ka k-e majimak thä y-øt-ta.  
 boy-TP that thing-SP last bet be-Past-D
32. Tø-nan mihøn-i øp-ta.  
 more-TP money-SP not.exist-D
33. Kaman ulsang-i twe-ø iløssø-n-ta.  
 there crying.face-SP become-and get.up-Act-D

34. "Ko nom-ay jimsung jham isang.haketu onal-un milukku  
 the chap-Poss beast very strangely today-TP milk.candy  
 t'ai-n kumong-alu-n an-talø.ka-ne."  
 bet-pM hole-to-TP Neg-go.in-Apper
35. Noin-un nòmuto ton-ul mani ilh-un sonyon-i ttakhä  
 old.man-TP too money-OP much lose-pM boy-SP pitifully  
 poy-øso wilo-sama hä-po-n mal i-øss-ana sonyon-un i  
 look-so consolation-as do-see-pM word be-Past-but boy-TP this  
 mal-e toliø pua-ka tokkw-i-øt-ta.  
 word-at instead anger-SP arouse-Passive-Past-D
36. Khing-ha-tø-ni son jantang-i nun-alo olla.ka-n-ta.  
 khing-do-Retro-then hand back-SP eye-to go.up-Act-D

21. "I am!" 22. Another child stepped up. 23. However, (his luck) was the same; the water cicada did not easily go into the number where the milk candy was bet. 24. After spending all of three 100 Won bills, (the boy) only managed to win once. 25. "What a stingy chap it is!" 26. The boy was highly irritated; saying abusive words towards the water cicada, (he) pulled out a 100 Won bill again, and picked up the numbers of ten slots, which are a half of the possible slots, and bet all 100 Won at once. 27. And then (he) carefully scooped up the water cicada and dropped (it). 28. At this, not only the boy himself but also all the children standing around were in suspense. 29. Each time the water cicada, which fell into the water through the loop, swam close to the winning numbers, (their) hearts throbbed. 30. However, this time also, the water cicada only swam by the winning numbers several times; eventually (it) ends up surfacing flatly with (its) antenna in the wrong slot. 31. For the boy that was the last bet. 32. For more (bets), (he) has no money. 33. Now (he) is about to cry and gets up. 34. "That stupid thing, today he just won't go into the slot where the milk candy is bet." 35. The old man said that in consolation, for the boy, who lost so much money, looked pitiful, but these words aroused anger in the boy instead. 36. (The boy) makes a cry and wipes a tear with the back of (his) hand.

37. Noin-ay maum-to jo-jhi.an-at-ta.  
 old.man-Poss mind-also be.good-Neg-Past-D
38. Nolum-e ton-ul il-kho nunmul-ul halli-myø tola.ka-nun  
 game-at money-OP lose-and tear-OP shed-while go.back-prM  
 ai-lal onal piloso tä.ha-n ke(<kø/s-i) ani-ta.  
 child-OP today for.the.first.time confront-pM fact-CP be.not-D
39. Nal-mata han tul ssik-un alye in-nun il  
 day-each one two by-TP as.a.matter.of.course exist-prM event

i-øk-ko kalø1 ttä-mata noin-un jaki-uy jikøp-i han.øpsi  
 be-Past-and such time-each old.man-TP own-Poss job-SP boundlessly

miw-ø.jy-øt-tøn køs i-ta.  
 hate-become-Past-rM fact be-D

40. Møli-eta hin mul-ul janttak talyø-kaji-ko sonja  
 hair-at white water-OP plentifully dye-take-and grandson

ppø1-ina twe-nan ølin haksång-tal-uy kho mut-un ton  
 relation-rather become-prM young student-Pl-Poss nose stain-pM money

phun-ul olka.nä-ja-ko mul mämi nolam-ul  
 chip-OP snatch.up-Prop-in.order.to water cicada gamble-OP

sikyø ul-lyø-ponä-n-ta-nan køs-un hwaksilhi  
 make.(one).do cry-Caus-send-Act-D-prM fact-TP certainly

hyangkilop-ji.mot.ha-n nolus i-øt-ta.  
 fragrant-unable-prM role be-Past-D

41. Musan jikøp-iyä mot kajy-øso haphil iløn  
 what job-certainly unable take-since of.all.things like.this

nolus-alo pap-ul møk-øya-man twe-nan køs i-lkka?  
 role-with rice-OP eat-must-only become-prM fact be-Q

42. Jaki jasik-to ka-tal-kwa kkok kath-un øli-n køs-i  
 own offspring-also he-Pl-with exactly same-prM young-prM thing-SP

hakkyo-e-l ka-ko.it-ta.  
 school-to-OP go-Prog-D

43. Ai-tal-ul palu-n kil-lo into.ha-ko kalujhy-ø.ju-ji-nan  
 child-Pl-OP right-prM way-to lead-and teach-Benef-Neg-TP

mot.ha-l mangjông ka-tal-ul kkwe-øso olka  
 unable.to.do-fuM instead he-Pl-OP allure-and snatch

møk-ja-nan køs-un amuli sängkak.hä-to nai-ka  
 eat-Prop-prM fact-TP no.matter.how think-even age-SP

pukkaløu-n il i-øt-ta.  
 shameful-prM fact be-Past-D

44. (pap-ul kulm-øtu . . .) hako kamsi jipøjhiu-ko.siph-un  
 rice-OP skip-even Quot right.away quit-Desid-prM

sängkak-i tal-taka-to (jôngmal?) hako tasi  
 thought-SP come.in-while-also really Quot again

ttajy- $\phi$ .po-l      ttä-n      kaman      yongki-ka      juk-kon.hä-t-ta.  
 count-see-fuM      time-TP      there      courage-SP      die-Repet-Past-D

45. Pam-to      kuw- $\phi$ .po-ko      kokuma-to      kuw- $\phi$ .po-ko      ppang-to  
 chestnut-also      bake-see-and      sweet.potato-also      bake-see-and      bread-also

jyy- $\phi$ .po-ko      tampä-to      phal-a.po-ko      kaju-n      jis-ul  
 steam-see-and      cigarette-also      sell-see-and      all.sorts.of-prM      means-OP

ta hä-po-ass- $\phi$ to      siwönjhi-ka      an-as $\phi$       tto      ilön  
 all do-see-Past-although      good.sale-CP      be.not-thus      again      like.this

nolam-ulo      jik $\phi$ p-ul      ani-pakku- $\phi$ .po-l      ssu       $\phi$ ps-s $\phi$ -tön  
 game-to      job-OP      Neg-change-see-fuM      way      not.exist-Past-rM

k $\phi$ s-ul, kaliko      kaläto      i      nolam-i      jep $\phi$ p      ssal  
 fact-OP      and      still      this game-SP      fairly      rice

tweppak-inama      malyön-twe-nan      nolam      i-n  
 measuring.gourd-at.least      prepare-Passive-prM      game      be-prM

k $\phi$ s-i      twimijy $\phi$       sängkak.ha-l      ttä      noin-un      maum-ul  
 fact-SP      follow      think-fuM      time      old.man-OP      mind-OP

nängjöng.hake      kaji-ji.an-ul      ssu       $\phi$ ps-s $\phi$ -tön      k $\phi$ s      i-ta.  
 coolly      take-Neg-fuM      way      not.exist-Past-rM      fact      be-D

46. Y $\phi$ ji-kk $\phi$ t      nä-ji.mot.ha-ko      mil-ly $\phi$       tola.ka-tön  
 now-until      hand.in-unable-and      push-Passive      go.around-rM

hakkyo      jungjhuk-pi      putam.äk      ijhön      wön-ul      onul  
 school      remodelling.fee      payment      two.thousand Won-OP      today

ajhim-e-ya      tal-ly $\phi$       ponä-n      k $\phi$ t-to      i      nolam-i  
 morning-at-finally      hold-Passive      send-pM      fact-also      this      game-SP

sijak-twe-myöns $\phi$       i      my $\phi$ jhil      tongan-e      malyön-twe-n  
 begin-Passive-while      this      several.days      while-at      prepare-Passive-pM

ton      i- $\phi$ t-ta.  
 money      be-Past-D

47. Sängkak.ha-myön      kaj $\phi$       nängjöng.hä-ya      sa-l      k $\phi$ t  
 think-if      constantly      keep.cool-Oblig      live-fuM      fact

kath-at-ta.  
 seem-Past-D

48. Nängjöng.ha-ja,      kaj $\phi$       nängjöng.hä-ya.twe-ket-ta.  
 keep.cool-Prop      constantly      keep.cool-Oblig-Presum-D

37. The old man did not feel good, either. 38. Today is not the first time when (he) has seen a child going (home) shedding tears after losing money in the game. 39. Everyday it happened to one or two as a matter of course, and the fact is that at each such time the old man came to hate his own job deeply. 40. It was certainly an unpleasant role (to play for a man) with plenty white hair; to make students, who are so young that they would only be his grandsons, play the water-cicada game to snatch up their small changes and send them (home) crying. 41. Why is it (he thought) that, of all possible things, he has to eat rice by this kind of work? 42. His own child is as young as they are and going to school. 43. No matter how much he thought (about it), it was a shameful thing for (his) age to allure the children in order to snatch (their money) instead of leading and teaching (them) to the right way. 44. Thinking, "I would rather go hungry," he wanted to quit right away, and yet when (he) thought about it twice, (his) resolve would die out. 45. As he thought about the fact that (he) had tried to bake chestnuts, bake sweet potatoes, steam bread, sell cigarettes, and do all sorts of things, and yet the sales were never good, so (he) couldn't help changing (his) job to this kind of game, and as he thought that at least this game was earning (him) some rice, the old man could not help keeping (his) mind cool. 46. Also (he remembered) the fact that finally this morning (he) sent (with his son) the school remodelling fee of 2,000 Won, which he had put off, and this money he had saved during these several days since this game had begun. 47. As (he) thought (about this), it seemed that (he) would survive only if (he) would keep cool. 48. Let's keep cool, (he thought), (we) should constantly keep cool.

49. Jikam-to sāngkak.ha-taka noin-un kamsi maum-ul tasi  
now-also think-after old.man-TP right.away mind-OP again

salyø.møk-ko ka sonyøn-i-ya ton-ul il-kho ul-myø  
set.hard-and that boy-SP-certainly money-OP lose-and cry-while

tola.ka-tan.maltan alankot.øp-ta-nan tasi sonyøn-eke  
go.back-whether.or.not not.care-D-prM as.if boy-to

hyang.ha-yøt-tøn nun-ul tasikam mul mami japäki-lo  
direct.toward-Past-rM eye-OP again water cicada vessel-to

tol-ly-øt-ta.  
turn-Caus-Past-D

50. Kaliko maum-ul kusseke katatam-nan tasi "ehem" hako  
and mind-OP hard compose-prM as if ehem Quot

mokjhøng-ul sälopke totu-myø  
voice-OP newly raise-while

50a."Ja tto nuku?  
well again who

50b.kwaja-n kwaja-tälu sip wón øjhi-l pat-ku-tu jäsu-man  
cookie-TP cookie-as ten Won worth-OP receive-and-also luck-only

jou-myón päk wón jjali milukku han kap-ul kongalo  
be.good-if 100 Won worth milk.candy one box-OP freely

øt-ke.twe-nan jämina-nan nolam!  
get-Inchoa-prM interesting-prM game

50c.Ja tto nuku?"  
well again who

hako ka-tal-uy piwi-läl tokku-ki.wihayø mul mämi-läl tto  
Quot he-Pl-Poss humor-OP raise-in.order.to water cicada-OP again

ttø-sø tongkalami sok-ulo nøø-po-i-n-ta.  
scoop.up circle in-to put.in-see-Caus-Act-D

51. Kaløna ai-tal-un inje ta-tal malkkomhi maju kønnoða  
but child-Pl-TP now all-Pl steadily face.to.face across

po-ki-man ha-nan phä-tal i-l ppun ssøk na an-nan  
see-Nom-only do-prM group-Pl be-fuM only boldly out sit-prM

ai-ka øp-ta.  
child-SP not.exist-D

52. Hojumøni-tal-i kkul-un moyang i-ta.  
pocket-Pl-SP kneel-pM appearance be-D

53. Hojumøni kkul-un ai-tal-ul sangtä-lo-nan amuli  
pocket kneel-pM child-Pl-OP company-with-TP no.matter.how

ttøta-n.täjja nao-l køs-i øps-ul kø-n  
make.a.noise-although come.out-fuM thing-SP not.exist-fuM fact-TP

ppanha-n il i-ta.  
apparent-prM fact be-D

54. Nal-to jømul-øt-ta.  
day-also grow.dark-Past-D

55. Pølssø hä kalimja-ka ttang-wi-esø ta mal-lyø  
already sun shadow-SP ground-on-from all fold-Passive

tal-øt-ta.  
enter-Past-D

56. Hakkyo phä-tal-to ijen-n ta-tal jø ka-l te-lo  
 school group-Pl-also now-TP all-Pl own go-fuM place-to

heøjyø ka-ko.mal-ass-ul.køsi-ta.  
 scatter go-Compl-Past-Conject-D

57. Tø pøllyø no-kho kanyang anj-at-täjja jip-ulo  
 more spread put-and as.such sit-Past-although home-to

tola.ka-nan jike.kkun-ina jangnan.pajhi ai-tal-i øjjita  
 go.back-prM burden.carrier-or mischievous child-Pl-SP by.chance

kø1-lyø tal-myøn tal-ul køt pakke øps-øt-ta.  
 catch-Passive enter-if enter-fuM fact except not.exist-Past-D

58. Tuø pøn tø ai-tal-ul kukyø.po-taka noin-un kaman  
 two time more child-Pl-OP look.at-after old.man-TP finally

jim-ul ssa.kaji-ko iløøø-t-ta.  
 luggage-OP pack.up-and stand-Past-D

49. So now, after thinking (about it), the old man set (his) mind firmly, and turned (his) eyes, which had been directed toward the boy, to the water-cicada tank again as if (he) did not care one bit whether or not the boy lost money and was going back crying. 50. And, hardening (his) thoughts, (he) speaks up, saying "Ahem," 50a. "Well, anybody else? 50b. An interesting game, in which (you) get to have a milk-candy box worth 100 Won free if (you) are lucky, in addition to receiving 10 Won's worth of cookies. 50c. Well, anybody else?" he says as (he) scoops up the water cicada again and drops (it) through the loop in order to raise their interest. 51. However, now there are only those groups of children who would only look across steadily; there is no child who comes out and sits boldly. 52. It appears that (their) pockets are empty. 53. It is obvious that no matter how much noise (he) makes no more money will be coming from children with empty pockets. 54. It was getting late, too. 55. Already the shadows disappeared from the ground. 56. It must be that the groups of school children also have all scattered and gone to their own places by now. 57. Even if he left (his things) out and sat longer, there would be nothing except that a few laborers on the way home or a few mischievous children might be caught by chance. 58. After looking at the children a couple more times, the old man finally packed up (his) things and stood up (to leave).

59. Jip-esø-nan manula-ka pølssø jønyøk-ul jiø.no-kho  
 home-at-TP wife-SP already supper-OP cook-and

yøngkam-nim-kwa mangnä-ka hakkyo-esø tola.o-ki-lul  
 husband-Honor-and youngest.child-SP school-from come.back-Nom-OP



kitali-ko.iss-øt-ta.  
wait-Prog-Past-D

60. Mangnä-ka tola.o-l hakkyo sikan-un imi  
youngest.child-SP come.back-fuM school time-TP already

naj-øñ-nante wen kkatakk i-nji-lal al ssu-ka øps-øt-ta.  
be.late-Past-while what reason be-Nom-OP know way-SP not.exist-Past-D

61. jønyøk-ul ta møk-ko na-sø-to mangnä-nan  
supper-OP all eat-and finish-and-even youngest.child-TP

tola.o-ji.an-at-ta.  
return-Neg-Past-D

59. At home (his) wife had already cooked supper and was waiting for (her) husband and for the youngest child coming from school. 60. The youngest child was already late coming back from school, and there was no way of knowing what the reason was. 61. Even after (they) all finished eating supper, the youngest child did not return.

62. Kitali-ta.mot.ha-yø noin-un hakkyo-lo ka mul-ø.po-at-ta.  
wait-unable-so old.man-TP school-to go ask-see-Past-D

63. Sukjik sønsäng-un ai-tal-i tola.ka-n.ji-nan imi  
night.duty teacher-TP child-Pl-SP go.back-since-TP already

olä-t-ta-ko.ha-ko myøt hangnyøn i-nya-ko muk-kie  
be.long-Past-D-Quot-and which grade be-Q-Quot ask-since

i hangnyøn-ilako.hä-t-tø-ni Jhwe Yøngton-i ka ä-nan  
two grade-Quot-Past-Retro-then Choi Youngdon-Voc the child-TP

onal kyølsøk-ilako.hä-t-ta.  
today absence-Quot-Past-D

64. Noin-uy møli sok-e-nan musan al ssu øp-nan  
old.man-Poss head in-at-TP what know way not.exist-prM

pulkil.ha-n yekam-i sajhi-ko jina.ka-t-ta.  
unlucky-prM presentiment-SP flit-and pass-Past-D

65. Jønjha-ka po-y-øt-ta.  
electric.car-SP see-Passive-Past-D

66. Jatongjha-ka po-y-øt-ta.  
automobile-SP see-Passive-Past-D

67. "Punmyøngghi kä-ka onal o-ji.an-ass-øyo?"  
certainly the.child-SP today come-Neg-Past-sfQ

68. Mian.jjokkŏ noin-un tasi han pŏn jŏjhŏ mul-ŏss-una  
be.not.sure old.man-TP again one time repeat ask-Past-but
- 68a."Je-ka Jhwe Yŏngton-i pan tanim-i twä-sŏ  
I(Humble)-SP Choi Youngdon-Voc class home.room.teacher.-SP become-so  
o-ku an-o-nan kŏ-l jal a-pnita.  
come-or Neg-come-prM fact-fuM well know-fD
- 68b.Kalsse han pŏn-tu kyŏlsŏk-i ŏp-tŏn ä-nten onal  
well one time-even absence-SP not.exist-rM child-while today  
jhŏum.ulo kyŏlsŏk i-kie na-to isanghi  
for.the.first.time absence be-because I-also strangely  
yŏki-ku.iss-upnita.  
consider-Prog-fD
- 68c.Kalŏm jip-esŏ-nan Yŏngton-i-ka hakkyo-lu ka-n-ta-ku  
then home-at-TP Youngdon-Voc-SP school-to go-Act-D-Quot  
na.o-ki-nan hä-k-kun-yo?"  
come.out-Nom-TP do-Past-Apper-sfQ  
hako phyŏngsang.si-ay jhulsŏk sanghwang-kkaji jŏnghwakhi  
Quot usual.time-Poss attendance condition-even accurately  
al-ko mal.ha-nan sŏnsäng-ay tätap-ul tal-amyŏn  
know-and say-prM teacher-Poss answer-OP hear-if  
Yŏngton-i-ka hakkyo-e o-ji.an-at-tŏn kŏt-man-un  
Youngdon-Voc-SP school-at come-Neg-Past-rM fact-only-TP  
aysim.ha-l yŏji-ka ŏps-ŏt-ta.  
doubt-fuM room-SP not.exist-Past-D
69. ŏti-lo ka-ss-ulkka.  
where-to go-Past-Q
70. ŏti-lo ka-sŏ jongil.tholok jip-ulo tola.o-ji.an-ulkka.  
where-to go-and all.day.long home-to come.back-Neg-Q
71. Jŏnjha jatongjha sŏlma kalŏjhi-ya  
electric.car automobile by.no.means be.such-certainly  
an-khej-ji?  
Neg-Presum-Suspect
72. Onal hakkyo putam.kam i jhŏn wŏn-ul nŏ-kho naka-n ka  
today school payment two thousand Won-OP put.in-and go.out-pM that

ton-alo kwanlyǒn.tweǒ musun il-i hok sāngki-n kǒs-un  
 money-with related what event-SP by.any.chance occur-pM fact-TP

ani-lkka.  
 be.not-Q

73. Noin-un al ssu ǒp-nan sāngkak-ul an-un-jhǎ  
 old.man-TP know way not.exist-prM thought-OP embrace-pM-as

nun-i tungkale.jyǒ twe tola.w-at-ta.  
 eye-SP become.round back come.back-Past-D

62. Unable to wait any longer, the old man went to school and asked (about his son). 63. The night-duty teacher said that it had been long since the children had gone (home); when (the old man) said that (the child) was in the second grade--for (the teacher) asked what grade (he) was in--(the teacher) said that his child, Choi Youngdon, had been absent today. 64. Inside the old man's head some uncertain, unlucky presentiment passed. 65. (He) saw an electric car. 66. (He) was a car. 67. "Are you sure that the child didn't come today?" 68. Not sure, the old man asked once again, but it was beyond doubt that Youngdon didn't come to school, after hearing the teacher, who certainly knows the usual attendance condition: 68a. "I know well whether or not (he) comes, since I am the home room teacher of Choi Youngdon's class. 68b. Since the child has never been absent until today, I am also considering (it) strange. 68c. So, (you mean that) Youngdon left the house saying that (he) was going to school?" 69. Where would (he) have gone? 70. Where could (he) have gone and not come home all day long? 71. Electric cars, cars, surely such could not be the situation, or could it? 72. What about the money, the school payment of 2,000 Won, that (he) had with him; would the money have caused something to happen to him? 73. The old man came back with worried eyes, not sure what to expect.

74. Pam-i isuk.hǎ-sǒ-ta.  
 night-SP be.late-then-D

75. Mun pakk-esǒ tulǒn.kǒli-nan soli-ka na-kie  
 gate outside-at murmur-prM sound-SP occur-because

nǎta.po-at-tǒ-ni kunpam jangsu Kwǒn sǒpang-i  
 look.outside-Past-Retro-then roast.chestnut seller Kwon Mr.-SP

Yǒngton-i-lal teli-ko talǒ.o-ko.iss-ǒt-ta.  
 Youngdon-Voc-OP accompany-and come.in-Prog-Past-D

76. "Aani nǒ ǒti ka-t-ta ije o-ni?  
 (exclamation) you where go-Past-and now come-Q

77. A Kwǒn sǒpang-un ǒttǒkhe tto . . ."  
 ah Kwon Mr.-TP how also

78. Noin-un tola.o-nun mangnǎ-lal po-ko pankawa  
 old.man-TP come.back-prM youngest.child-OP see-and be.glad  
 maju na.ka-t-ta.  
 opposite go.out-Past-D
79. "Hø nø inje talø.ka-køla.  
 well you now go.in-Imp
80. Kalønte yøngkam-nim Yøngton-i-l nømu kkuji-ji.ma-psio.  
 by.the.way old man-Honor Youngdon-Voc-OP too scold-do.not-fImp
81. Å-tal-i jhø1-i øps-ø kalǎ-k-kess-uni  
 child-Pl-SP discretion-SP not.exist-so do.so-Past-Presum-since  
 jhahu.illang kalø-ji.mal-laku ilu-ku . . .  
 hereafter do.so-do.not-Quot tell-and
82. Øsø nø talø.kaa . . ."  
 quickly you go.in-cImp  
 hako Kwøñ søpang-un mangnǎ-ay tung-ul an-ulo mil-øt-ta.  
 Quot Kwon Mr.-TP youngest.child-Poss back-OP inside-to push-Past-D
83. Yøksi kkatalk-un iss-øk-kuna, noin-un ka køs-i  
 after.all reason-TP exist-Past-Apper old.man-TP that fact-SP  
 kungkamha-ji.an-ul ssu øps-øt-ta.  
 be.anxious-Neg-fuM way not.exist-Past-D
84. "Aani nø øti-l ka-t-tø-læssø?  
 (exclamation) you where-OP go-Past-Retro-Q
85. A Kwøñ søpang-i øttøkhe kǎ-l teli-ku . . .  
 ah Kwon Mr.-SP how the.child-OP accomany-and
86. Ani øti-sø Kwøñ søpang-i kǎ-l . . ."  
 why where.from Kwon Mr.-SP the.child-OP  
 hako noin-un pussøk maju sø-t-ta.  
 Quot old.man-TP rapidly opposite stand-Past-D
87. "Ani mwø kaløñ ke (køs-i) ani-ku-yo.  
 well what such thing-SP be.not-and-sfD
88. Ama Yøngton-i-ka ajhim-e hakkyo-e ka-l ttǎ jøø  
 perhaps Youngdon-Voc-SP morning-at school-at go-fuM time there  
 jongjøm-kkesø mul mǎmi nolam-ul hǎ-n-na.po-jyo.  
 (bus)stop-around water cicada game-OP do-Past-seem-sfD

89. Kālā ton-ul il-khu-n hakkyo-tu an-ka-ku uli nom-haku  
 So money-OP lose-and-TP school-even Neg-go-and our fellow-with  
 uli jip-ulu mil-lyō talō.wa-sō-n jongil nol-ku.ik-kie  
 our house-to push-Passive come.in-then-TP all.day play-Prog-because  
 jōnyōk-ina mōk-ku-n jip-ulu ka ja-lā-t-tō-ni  
 supper-at.least eat-and-TP house-to go sleep-Imp-Past-Retro-since  
 apōji-hanthe kkujung-ul tak-ket-taku mot ka-ket-ta-kie  
 father-from scolding-OP hear-Presum-Quot unable go-Volit-D-because  
 nā-ka teli-ku wa-t-jyo.  
 I-SP accompany-and come-Past-sfD
90. Mwō kkujij-ul kōt-tu ōps-ōyo.  
 what scold-fuM thing-even not.exist-sfD
91. Ai-tal-eke mul māmi nolam-ul sikhi-nan ōlan-i  
 child-Pl-to water cicada game-OP make.(one).do-prM adult-SP  
 kall-ōj-jiyo.  
 be.wrong-Past-sfD
92. Kakkajit jhōl ōp-nan ā-tal-iya ka kō  
 so.trivial discretion not.exist-prM child-Pl-certainly that thing  
 mwō a-nayo.  
 what know-sfQ
93. ōsō talō.ka ja-kōla!"  
 quickly go.in sleep-Imp
94. Noin-un kaman tō jhukung.ha-l yongki-ka  
 old.man-TP at.that more press.hard-fuM courage-SP  
 ōps-ōt-ta.  
 not.exist-Past-D
95. Kwōn sōpang po-ki-ka pukkalōw-ōt-tōn kōs i-ta.  
 Kwon Mr. see-Nom-SP be.ashamed-Past-rM fact be-D
96. ōlkul-i tal-li-ji.an-at-ta.  
 face-SP hold-Passive-Neg-Past-D
97. "ōsō talōka jumusi-psiyo.  
 quickly go.in sleep(Honor)-fImp
98. nō-tu talō.ka ja-ku . . .  
 you-also go.in sleep-and

99. Ai jham tal-tu palk-ta  
well very moon-also be.bright-D
100. Jøntang-i øps-unikka-n tø palk-un køt  
electric.light-SP not.exist-because-TP more be.bright-prM fact  
kak-kun."  
seem-Apper
101. Tola.sø-nan Kwøn søpang-ul mønghani pala-man po-ass-ul  
stand.around-prM Kwon Mr.-OP blankly look.at-only see-Past-fuM  
ppun mwø-lako insa.mal-to nao-ji.an-at-ta.  
merely what-Quot greeting-even come.out-Neg-Past-D
102. Mal-to øpsi katälo matang ka-e utukhøni sø-in-nan  
word-even without as.such yard side-at idly stand-Result-prM  
nalk-un apøji-wa øli-n jasik-ul hula-nan tal  
old-prM father-and young-prM offspring-OP flow-prM moon  
pit-man-i yunanhi ølumanji-ko.iss-øt-ta.  
light-only-SP unusually stroke-Prog-Past-D

74. The night is late. 75. Suddenly he heard murmuring sounds outside the gate, and when he went out, the roast-chestnut seller, Mr. Kwon, was coming in with Youngdon. 76. "Why, where have you been, why are you so late? 77. Ah, and Mr. Kwon, too?" 78. The old man was glad to see the youngest child coming back as (he) greeted (him). 79. Mr. Kwon said (to the child), "Well, you go in now. 80. By the way, Old Man, don't scold Youngdon too much. 81. Children do this sort of thing since they are not old enough to know better, so just tell (him) not to do (it) any more . . . 82. (To the child) Quickly now, you go in," as (he) pushed the back of the youngest child toward the house. 83. There was a reason after all, and the old man could not help wondering what it was. 84. "Why, where have you been? 85. Ah, Mr. Kwon, why are (you) with the child . . .? 86. Why, where (did you), Mr. Kwon, bring that child from . . ." the old man said, confronting (Mr. Kwon). 87. (Mr. Kwon replied:) "Well, it's not anything like that. 88. It seems that Youngdon perhaps played the water-cicada game around the bus stop over there when going to school in the morning. 89. So, after losing money, (he) didn't even go to school, but came into my house with my son, and they were playing all day long. So after supper (I) told (him) to go home and sleep, but (he) said that (he) could not go for (fear of) being scolded by father, so I brought (him myself). 90. Well, there is no reason to scold him. 91. The adult was wrong who made the children play the water-cicada game. 92. (It's only natural that) children do not know any better. 93. (To the child:) Go in quickly and sleep!" 94. At that, the old man did not have the courage to press any more. 95. The fact is that (he) was ashamed to look at Mr. Kwon. 96. (He) could not hold up his face. 97. (Mr. Kwon to the old man:) "Go on in and get to bed. 98. (To the child:) You, too, go in and sleep. 99. (To himself:) Well, the moonlight is very bright. 100. It seems brighter since

there is no electric light." 101. (The old man) merely looked blankly at Mr. Kwon, who was turning around; (he) couldn't even say good-night. 102. Only the flowing moonlight was shining brightly on the old father and the young child who were still standing silently at the edge of the yard.

## 8. This Kind of Concert

Iløn Umak.hwe  
like.this concert

1. Nã-ka jønyøk-ul møk-ko-sø Jongno køli-lo na.o-n køs-un  
I-SP supper-OP eat-and-after Chongro street-to come.out-pM fact-TP

kaløk.jøløk yøsøj-jøm pan-i nøm-øt-ta.  
somehow six-o'clock half-SP pass-Past-D

2. Nøphøl.tã-nan uwaki jumøni-e tu son-ul kkwak  
flutter-prM jacket pocket-at two hand-OP firmly

jjilã-ko kaliko hwiphalam-ul pul-myø ola.o-ja-nikka  
put.in-and and whistle-OP blow-while come.up-as-then

- 2a. "Yã!"  
hey

hako phal-ul twi-lo japa.jhã-myø  
Quot arm-OP back-to pull-while

- 2b. "Nø øti ka-ni?"  
you where go-Q

iløkhe hwangkaphi mun-nan køs i-ta.  
like.this in.a.great.hurry ask-prM fact be-D

3. Na-nan ppøkkat.ha-han mom-ul kolajap-ko tol-lyø-po-ni  
I-TP slant-prM body-OP balance-and turn-Caus-see-so

kyomo-lal phuk nullø ssu-n Hwang Jhøl i-ta.  
school.hat-OP deeply push.down wear-pM Hwang Chul be-D

4. Pønhi søngmi-ka køp.køp.ha-n nom-i-n-jul-un a-na  
clearly temper-SP quick-pM fellow-be-prM-Nom-TP know-but

kalãto itholok ssikan.køli-ko kin tallyø.tal-m-e-nan  
however so.much puff-and quickly pounce.upon-Nom-at-TP

hako  
Quot

4a. "Wä kalø-ni?"  
why do.so-Q

4a. "Nø onal khongkhul umak tãhwe-n kø a-ni?"  
you today contest music meeting-prM fact know-Q

4c. "Khongkhul umak tãhwe?"  
contest music meeting

hako na-nan jom ttølum.ha-taka ka je-sø-ya  
Quot I-TP a.little be.not.sure-after the time-at-finally

ka sok-i mwø-s-i-n-jul-ul al-at-ta.  
the inside-SP what-be-prM-Nom-OP know-Past-D

5. I Hwang Jhø1-i-nan jhamalo uli hakkyo-uy khu-n  
this Hwang Chul-Voc-TP really we(Poss) school-Poss big-prM

kongno-ja i-ta.  
distinguished.service-person be-D

6. Wä-nya-myøn hakkyo-esø musan untong.sihap-ul  
why-Q-if school-at what athletic.meet-OP

ha-ke.twe-myøn nal matha.no-kho Hwang Jhø1-i-ka ungwøn  
do-Inchoa-if always take.charge.of-and Hwang Chul-Voc-SP cheer

tãjang-ulo na.sø-n-ta.  
leader-as step.out-Act-D

7. Ppun-man ani-la je ton-ul talyø.ka-myønsø sønsu-tal-ul  
merely-only be.not-and own money-OP spend-while player-Pl-OP

(hakkyo-esø møk-yø-ya ol-ul kø-nte)  
school-at eat-Caus-Oblig be.right-fuM fact-while

je-ka kkumi.kkumi kkal-ko tani-myø møk-i-ko  
self-SP in.groups drag-and come.and.go-while eat-Caus-and

nol-li-ko ilø-n-ta.  
play-Caus-and do.so-Act-D

8. Kaliko sihap ka ithan.nal-e-nan mok-e pungtä-lal  
and competition that next.day-at-TP neck-at bandage-OP

jhing.jhing.hake kam-ko wa-sø ttok pøngøli soli-lo  
all.around wind-and come-then exactly dumb sound-with



- 8a. "Øttø-nya?  
how-Q
- 8b. Nã øje angwøn-ul jal hä-sø iki-ji.an-an-ni?  
I yesterday cheering-OP well do-so win-Neg-Past-Q  
hako janttak ppom-ul nã-ko-nan  
Quot a.lot boast-OP show-and-TP
- 8c. "Kajø sihap-e-n angwøn-ul jal hä-ya.hä!"  
just competition-at-TP cheering-OP well do-Oblig
9. Kalønikka iløn salam-an yøng.yøng nam angwøn.ha-ki-e  
thus like.this person-TP forever other cheer-Nom-in  
mok-i jamki-ko ton-ul ssa-ko ilä-ya.twe-nan  
neck-SP get.hoarse-and money-OP spend-and do.such-Oblig-prM  
mal.hajamyøn phalja-ka angwøn täjang i-n-ji-to  
in.other.words fate-SP cheer leader be-prM-Nom-even  
mola-n-ta  
not.know-Act-D
10. I pøn-e-to khongkhul umak tähwe-e uli pan  
this time-at-also contest music meeting-at we(Poss) class  
tongmu-ka naka-k-ko tto yohänghi yesøn-e-kkaji  
friend-SP go.out-Past-and also luckily preliminary.contest-at-even  
puk-ki-to hä-sø nom-i øje-puthø angwøn-tä  
pass-Nom-also do-so fellow-SP yesterday-from cheer-group  
mou-ki-e papp-at-ta.  
gather-Nom-in be.busy-Past-D
11. Kaløna na-eke-nan amu mal-to øp-tø-ni wä  
but I-to-TP any word-even not.exist-Retro-and why  
pujjap-na.siph-øssø  
grasp-wonder-so
- 11a. "Kaløm øllan ka-po-ji wä ilø-ku.in-ni?"  
then fast go-see-Suspect why do.so-Prog-Q
- 11b. "Tasi sängkak.hä-po-nikka amman.häto salam-i  
again think-see-because from.every.point.of.view person-SP  
pujok.ha-kess-ø"  
be.insufficient-Presum-cD

hako n̄-to kajhi ka-ja-ko phal-ul mak japa.kka-nan  
 Quot you-also together go-Prop-Quot arm-OP wildly pull-prM

k̄s i-ta.  
 fact be-D

12. "N̄-na ka-k̄la, na-n umak.hwe sil-tha."  
 you-certainly go-Imp I-TP concert not.like-D

13. Na-nan il̄khe ka son-ul th̄l-ko ȳph-ulo  
 I-TP like.this the hand-OP shake.off-and side-to

tt̄l̄ji-taka  
 get.away.from-while

13a. "J̄! J̄! N̄ itta na.o-taka tw̄ji-koki mantu  
 hey hey I later come.out-while pig-meat wonton

sa-ju-ma"  
 buy-Benef-Promis

ha-m-e-nan ̄jj̄l.ssu.̄psi kok̄-l̄l mo-lo tol-li-̄  
 do-Nom-at-TP inevitably nape-OP side-to turn-Caus-so

13b. "T̄kwanj̄l mȳt sikan-ina ha-na?"  
 by.the.way how.many hour-for do-Q

hako muj-ji.an-ul ssu ̄p-ta.  
 Quot ask-Neg-fuM way not.exist-D

14. Kal̄na ka t̄tap-i kkik tu sikan-imȳn  
 but the answer-SP at.most two hour-if

kkanna-lila.ha-m-ulo na-nan ansim.ha-ko ttala.s̄-t-ta.  
 end-Quot-Nom-as I-TP feel.at.ease-and follow-Past-D

1. It was already after six thirty when I came out to the Chongro Street after eating supper. 2. As (I) put both hands firmly in the pockets of (my) fluttering jacket and am coming up (the street) whistling, (someone) says, 2a. "Hey!" and pulls (my) arm back, and asks (me) in a great hurry, 2b. "Where are you going?" 3. I regained (my) balance and looked back. It was Hwang Chul, who was wearing (his) school hat pulled down (over his forehead). 4. Although (I) knew that (he) was impetuous, yet (I) wondered what he) was so excited about. 4a. "What's the matter?" 4b. "Don't you know that today is music-contest day?" 4c. "Music-contest day?" First I wasn't sure, but now I finally realized what was in (his) mind. 5. This Hwang Chul is really a person who does a lot for our school. 6. The reason is that whenever there is an athletic meet, Hwang Chul steps out as a cheer-leader. 7. Moreover, (he) takes players, feeds (them), and gives (them) some fun, spending his own money--though usually the school would have fed them. 8. And on the day after a competition, (he) would come with (his) neck bandaged and sounding hoarse with his voice

lost; 8a. "What (do you think)? 8b. Didn't we win because I did the cheering well?" (He) would boast a lot, and then would say, 8c. "(We) just need to cheer well at competitions." 9. Thus (he) is a kind of person who is always hoarse and spending money, cheering others on; (he) obviously will forever be a cheer-leader. 10. This time also, since a friend in our class entered the music contest and luckily passed the preliminary contest, he (lit., the fellow) has been busy since yesterday collecting a cheering party. 11. But to me he hadn't said anything, so (I) was wondering why (he) stopped (me). 11a. "Then, why don't (you) go (there) quickly, why are (you) here?" 11b. "As I think about it again, it seems that (we) are not enough people," (he) said, pulling (my) arm and inviting me to come along. 12. "You can go, but I don't like concerts." 13. Thus I shook off (his) hand and was getting away, but he said, 13a. "Hey! Hey! I will buy pork wontons later when we are done." At that, I couldn't help but turn my head and ask, 13b. "By the way, how long will (it) take?" 14. The answer, however, was that (it) would take, at the most, two hours, so I gave in and followed (him).

15. Tul-i umak.hwe jang ipku-e hǒlle.pǒlittǒk.ha-ko  
two-SP concert place entrance-at be.short.of.breath-and
- tatal-ass-ul ttǎ-nan uli pan tongmu yǒl.se myǒng-un  
arrive-Past-fuM time-TP we(Poss) class friend thirteen Counter-TP
- pǒlssǒ wa-sǒ-tal kitali-ko sǒ-t-ta.  
already come-and-Pl wait-and stand-Past-D
16. Jǒhi.kkili kkil.kkil.kǒli-ko sukun.kǒli-ko ha-nan kǒs-i  
among.themselves giggle-and whisper-and do-prM fact-SP
- ama hanjhang-tal hyungkye-ka pǒlǒji-n moyang i-ta.  
perhaps the.summit-Pl plot-SP be.open-pM appearance be-D
17. Hwang Jhǒl-i-nan usǒn ipjang-kwǒn-ul sa.kaji-ko wa  
Hwang Chul-Voc-TP first.of.all entrance-ticket-OP buy-and come
- uli-eke han jang-ssik nanwǒ-ju-myǒ myǒnglyǒng-ul ha-nan  
we-to one piece-each divide-Benef-while order-OP do-prM
- kǒs i-ta.  
fact be-D
18. Jak uli-tal-i ne mutǒki-lo nanw-i-ǒsǒ hwejang-uy  
that.is we-Pl-SP four pile-as divide-Passive-so hall-Poss
- jǒn-hu-jwa-u-lo han kusǒk-e han mutǒki-ssik ank-ko  
front-back-left-right-as one corner-at one pile-each sit-and
- sijhimi-lul ttak tte-ko.it-taka uli aksa-man  
feigned.ignorance-OP firmly feign-Prog-while we(Poss) musician-only

na.o-myøŋ tɔphøŋnokho son patak-ul jhi-myø jäjhøŋg-ilako  
 come.out-if unquestioningly hand palm-OP clap-while encore-Quot

ak-ul ssa-la-nun kòs i-ta.  
 scream-OP cry-Imp-prM fact be-D

19. Kalømyøŋ amman simsawøŋ-ilato jhøŋgjung-ul musiha-nun  
 then no.matter judge-even audience-OP ignore-prM

pøp-un øps-unikka il.tang-an pantasi uli-uy son-e  
 way-TP not.exist-since first.prize-TP certainly we-Poss hand-at

it-ta-ko, hana talu-n aksa-ka na.o-l jøk-e-nun  
 exist-D-Quot but different-prM musician-SP come.out-fuM time-at-TP

son patak-khønyøŋg aye kkik soli-to mal-la-hako  
 hand palm-not.only never squeaky sound-even not.do-Imp-Quot

hana-ssik puttal-ko-nun ka kwi-eta,  
 one-each hold-and-TP the ear-at

- 19a. "Al-aj-ji, øng?"  
 know-Past-Suspect right

kaliko tto,  
 and again

- 19b. "Al-aj-ji, jäjhøŋg?"  
 know-Past-Suspect encore

hako kkok.kkok taji-n-ta.  
 Quot firmly make.sure-Act-D

20. "Kalä kalä al-as-sø!"  
 yes yes know-Past-cD

21. Na-to khwähi kkätak-ko Hwang Jhøl-i-uy twi-lul ttala-sø  
 I-also readily understand-and Hwang Chul-Voc-Poss back-OP follow-and

hwejang-ulo olla.ka-t-ta.  
 hall-to go.up-Past-D

22. Sälø kønjuhuk.ha-n nølp-un tä kangtang-e-nun pølssø  
 newly build-pM wide-prM large auditorium-at-TP already

salam-tal møli-lo kkamakhe kkal-li-øt-ta.  
 person-Pl hair-with in.black cover.all.over-Passive-Past-D

23. Sikan-ul kitali-ta jiluhä-n-nunji kokä-tal-ul kilke  
 time-OP wait-while be.bored-Past-whether head-Pl-OP long

ppop-ko susønsale talø.ka-nan uli-lal tola.po-n-ta.  
pull.up-and noisily go.in-prM we-OP look.back-Act-D

24. Uli-nan Hwang Jhø1-i-uy myønglyøng-tälo tøngøli.tøngøli.ji-ø  
we-TP Hwang Chul-Voc-Poss order-as form.piles-and

sapang-ulo hejy-øt-ta.  
four.directions-to part-Past-D

25. Na-nan Hwang Jhø1-i-wa tto tala-n tongmu hana-wa  
I-TP Hwang Chul-Voc-and again different-prM friend one-with

ses-isø wen-jjok-ulo twi han kusøk-e jali-lal  
three-be left-side-to back one corner-at seat-OP

jap-at-ta.  
take-Past-D

15. When the two (of us) arrived at the entrance of the concert hall, short of breath, thirteen friends from our class had already come and were standing waiting. 16. (Seeing them) giggle and whisper among themselves, it seems that (they) are planning (their) strategy. 17. Hwang Chul first of all buys tickets and makes orders while handing one to each of us. 18. His orders are that we divide up into four groups and each group sits in a different corner of the hall and, after acting innocently, (we) clap without hesitation and scream "encore" only for our musician. 19. Then, since no judge would ignore the audience, the first prize would surely be ours; when other musicians are out, however, (we should) not clap or make even the smallest sound; and (he) holds each one and (whispers) in the ear, 19a. "(You) understand, right?" and again, 19b. "(You) understand, encore?" and makes sure that we know what to do. 20. "Yes, yes, (we) understand!" 21. I understood (it) perfectly well and went up the hall following Hwang Chul. 22. The newly-built large auditorium was already filled with people. 23. (They) must have been bored waiting, so with (their) heads up high (they) turn and look at us as we come in noisily. 24. As Hwang Chul ordered, we formed groups and went in four directions. 25. Three of us, I with Hwang Chul and another friend, took seats in a back corner on the left side.

26. Ilkop-jøm jøngkak-i twe-ja puksøk.køli-tøn  
seven-o'clock exact.time-SP become-as.soon.as clamorous-rM

jangnä-ka kapjaki joyong.ha-yø.ji-n-ta.  
hall-SP suddenly be.silent-Inchoa-Act-D

27. Motu-tal mom-ul tanjønghi kak-ko kinjang-twe-n  
all-Pl body-OP straight take-and tense-Passive-pM

sisøn-ul moa-t-ta.  
glance-OP gather-Past-D

28. Jeil jhøam-i sunsø-tälo søngak i-øt-ta.  
 very first-SP schedule-as vocal.music be-Past-D
29. Jaktalmak.ha-n jølm-un yøja-ka nawa kanyalpa-n  
 small-prM young-prM woman-SP come.out soft-prM  
 umsøng-alo nolä-läl 'pula-nante kwi-ka kanjiløp-ta.  
 voice-with song-OP sing-while ear-SP be.scratchy-D
30. Hakinan nolä-potato jokama-n tu son-ul kasum-kke  
 indeed song-than tiny-prM two hand-OP chest-around  
 kopulyø pujhi-ko kokä-läl käusi ängäng.køli-nan  
 bend attach-and head-OP slanted hum-prM  
 ka thäto-ka na-nan kayøp-ta sängkak.ha-ko haphum-ul  
 that attitude-SP I-TP be.pitiful-D think-and yawn-OP  
 kilke ppop-at-ta.  
 long pull.out-Past-D
31. Na-nan søngak-un wøn joa-to an-ha-lyøniwa  
 I-TP vocal.music-TP to.begin.with like-even Neg-do-in.addition.to  
 ilpan umak-e-to ssik.ssik.ha-n nom-i ani-myøn  
 general music-in-also be.manful-prM thing-CP be.not-if  
 kwi-ka kalyøw-ø mot tun-nan-ta.  
 ear-SP be.scratchy-so unable hear-Act-D
32. Ka tam-e-to yøksi yøja-ay søngak, kaliko phiano  
 the next-at-also the.same woman-Poss vocal.music and piano  
 tokju, tasi yøja-ay søngak ... kalønikka nä-ka aph-ay  
 solo again woman-Poss vocal.music therefore I-SP front-Poss  
 salam ayja twi-e kokä-läl thalø.pak-ko kho  
 person chair back-at head-OP force.in-and nose  
 ko-n køt-to kali muli-nan ani-l.tat.sip-ta.  
 snore-pM fact-even so unreasonableness-TP be.not-likely-D

26. As soon as it is 7 o'clock sharp, the clamorous hall all of a sudden becomes silent. 27. Everybody sat up straight and watched expectantly. 28. As scheduled, the first was vocal music. 29. As a small young woman comes out and sings with a soft voice, I get sleepy (lit., my ear gets scratchy). 30. I had a long yawn; besides what (I) felt about the song itself, (I) couldn't help feeling sorry for (the girl), singing with (her) tiny hands clasped and with (her) head slanted. 31. To begin with, I don't even like vocal music; moreover, I cannot listen to any music without getting sleepy unless it is exciting. 32. Next was also a woman's solo, and then a piano solo, and another woman's solo . . . ,

therefore, it seems not so very unreasonable that I put (my) head on the back of the seat in front of me and snored.

33. Ølma jjam-ina ja-n-nan-ji-nan mola-na yøph-ay  
how.long about-at.least sleep-Past-prM-Nom-TP not.know-but side-Poss

Hwang Jhø1-i-ka huntal-ø kkä-u-malo kokä-lul talø-po-ni  
Hwang Chul-Voc-SP shake-so wake-Caus-because head-OP lift-see-as

piloso uli aksa-ka tangjang.ha-n  
for.the.first.time we(Poss) musician-SP appear.on.the.stage-pM

kø-l al-at-ta.  
fact-OP know-Past-D

34. Junghak kyopok-alo jømjani paiollin-ul khyø-ko  
junior.high uniform-with gently violin-OP play-and

sø-n-nan yang-i kwiyøp-ko-to hanpyøn  
stand-Result-prM appearance-SP cute-and-also on.the.other.hand

angjunghä po-i-n-ta.  
tiny look-Passive-Act-D

35. Na-to jolam-ul jham-ji.mot.ha-yø nun-ul kam-un-jhä  
I-also drowsiness-OP control-unable-so eye-OP close-pM-as

son patak-ul sø nø pøn ttäly-øss-una kaløna jal  
hand palm-OP three four time clap-Past-but but well

sängkak.ha-nikka tala-n tongmu-tal-un ta kamanhi  
think-as different-prM friend-Pl-TP all quietly

in-nante na-man jhi-nan køs-i ani-nka.  
exist-while I-only clap-prM fact-CP be.not-Q

36. Keta Hwang Jhø1-i-ka yøph-ul kkwak jhi-myønsø  
- moreover Hwang Chul-Voc-SP side-OP hard hit-while

36a. "Itta kkanna-køtan."  
later be.over-then

hako juay-lul sikhyø-ju-mulo na-to jøngsin-i jom  
Quot attention-OP cause-Benef-because I-also mind-SP a.little

tal-øt-ta.  
come.in-Past-D

37. Na-nan ka paiollin-pota-to angwøn-e hungmi-lul kak-ko  
I-TP that violin-than-even cheering-at interest-OP take-and

øllun kkanna-ki-man kitaly-øt-ta.  
soon be.over-Nom-only wait-Past-D

38. Yønju-ka kkanna-ki-ka musøpke uli-tal-un mok-i  
performance-SP be.over-Nom-SP as.soon.as we-Pl-TP throat-SP

malu-n tasi son patak-ul jhi-ki.sijak.ha-yøt-ta.  
thirsty-prM as.if hand palm-OP clap-Incep-Past-D

39. Iløkhe jhi-ko-to son patak-i an-häji-na sängkak-to  
like.this clap-and-even hand palm-SP Neg-wear.out-if think-also

ha-yøj-jiman i jjok-esø  
do-Past-although this side-at

39a. "Jäjhøng i-o!"  
encore be-sfD

hako ak-ul ssu-myøn  
Quot scream-OP cry-if

39b. "Jäjhøng! Jäjhøng!"  
encore encore

hako koham-ul näpta jilu-n-ta.  
Quot shout-OP hard cry-Act-D

40. Na-to tu kwi-lul mak-ko jäjhøng-ul yønpal.hä-t-tøni  
I-also two ear-OP block-and encore-OP fire.in.succession-Past-so

nä aph-e anj-un yø.haksäng kyejipä-ka kokä-lul twi-lo  
my front-at sit-pM girl.student girl-SP head-OP back-to

tol-li-ø ttak.ha-n phyojøng-ul ha-nun køs-i ani-nka.  
turn-Caus-so regret-prM expression-OP do-prM fact-OP be.not-Q

41. Iløkhe uli-tal-un ki-ka olla-sø angwøn-ul ha-lyønman  
like.this we-Pl-TP spirit-SP rise-so cheering-OP do-although

Hwang Jhøl-i-nun simuluk.ha-ni jo-jhi.an-un kisäk i-ta.  
Hwang Chul-Voc-TP be.sullen-and good-Neg-prM look be-D

42. Ka kkatak-un uli sip-yø myøng-i amman akjang-ul  
the reason-TP we ten-over Counter-SP no.matter.how scream-OP

jhø-to khøng.hake nølp-un ka jangnä ka jhøngjung-ulo  
cry-even.though enormously wide-prM the hall the audience-with

po-myøn øsø(<øti-sø) ttøta-nun-ji al ssu øps-ul.manjhi  
see-if where-at make.noise-prM-Nom know way not.exist-that.much



uli-tal-ay jonjä-ka himi.ha-yøt-ta.  
 we-Pl-Poss existence-SP be.dim-Past-D

33. (I) don't know about how long (I) slept, but, because Hwang Chul next to me shook (me) and woke (me) up, (I) lifted (my) head and found out that our musician was on the stage. 34. The way (he) stands playing (his) violin in (his) junior high uniform looks cute and tiny. 35. Unable to control drowsiness, I clapped three or four times with (my) eyes closed, but why am I clapping while everyone else is quiet? 36. But then Hwang Chul hit (my) side hard and warned (me), 36a. "Later, when (it) is over," so I pulled myself together a little. 37. I waited for (it) to be over soon, with an interest in cheering rather than in the violin. 38. As soon as the performance was over, we started to clap madly. 39. (I) wondered if (my) hands would not wear out in clapping like this; while (we) are screaming, 39a. "Encore!" in our corner, the others are shouting as well, 39b. "Encore! Encore!" 40. As I covered (my) ears and shouted "Encore" repeatedly, the school girl sitting in front of me turns (her) head around and makes a pained expression. 41. Though we are in high spirits and cheering like this, Hwang Chul looks sullen and not well. 42. The reason is that no matter how hard our small group of just over ten people screams our presence was so small when viewed from the enormously wide hall and the audience that (people) couldn't see where the noise came from.

43. Ka ppun ani-la jäjhøng-ul yoku.ha-m-eto.pulku.hako  
 that merely be.not-and encore-OP demand-Nom-in.spite.of

i pøn-e-nan malssuki jhali-n sinsa han pun-i  
 this time-at-TP neatly dress-pM gentleman one Counter-SP

paiollin-ul yøph-e kki-ko na.o-nan køs i-ta.  
 violin-OP side-at carry-and come-out-prM fact be-D

44. Sinsa-nan ye-lal möjjike ha-ko tto yøksi  
 gentleman-TP bow-OP nicely do-and again likewise

möjjike paiollin-ul thøk-e katta.tä-tøni ka musan  
 nicely violin-OP chin-at put-then the what

kokjo i-nji aju jangkhwä.ha-n umak i-ta.  
 tune be-whether very splendid-prM music be-D

45. Käløja øna thum-e ka-nan je møs-e jilli-ø  
 and.then certain gap-at he-TP own style-at be.absorbed-and

phal-ppun ani-la kokä-myø økkä-kkaji paiollin jhä-lal  
 arm-merely be.not-and head-and shoulder-even violin bow-OP

ttala.tani-myø kkøtøk.kkøtøk ha-nan moyang-i yä  
 follow-while (manner.of.movement) do-prM appearance-SP hey

i nom jham jinjja-lokuna hako kamthan an-ha-l ssu  
 this fellow really true-Apper Quot admiration Neg-do-fuM way

øp-ta.  
 not.exist-D

46. Tøkuna apto.jøk inki-lo jhøngjung-ul mähok-khe.ha-n  
 moreover overwhelming popularity-with audience-OP fascinate-Caus-pM

ka køs-ul po-tølato uli akxa-pota myøt pä  
 the fact-OP see-if we(Poss) musician-than several time

ttwiø.na-m-ul al-køs.i-ta.  
 excel-Nom-OP know-conject-D

47. Kuløna nä-ka tø nolla-n køs-un nølp-un kangtang-ul  
 but I-SP more be.surprised-pM fact-TP wide-prM auditorium-OP

twiøp-nun tat.ha-n ka hwanyøng i-ta.  
 overthrow-prM seem-prM that reception be-D

48. Ilpan kunjung-ay sikkaløu-n paksu-nan mal-ko  
 general public-Poss noisy-prM hand.clapping-TP not.count-and

wi.jhang-esø (han sam.sa.sip myøng twe-lila)  
 upstairs-at about thirty.or.forty Counter become-Presum

tteji.ø ak-ul ssu-nan køs-i ani-nka.  
 in.groups scream-OP cry-prM fact-CP be.not-Q

49. Jäjhøng soli-e kwijhøng-i thøji-ji.an-un køt-to  
 encore sound-at eardrum-SP tear-Neg-pM fact-also

tahäng-un-hana sonppyøk-i mojala-l.kkapwa pal-kkaji  
 lucky-TP-but clapping-SP not.enough-for.fear.of foot-even

kullø.ka-myø køki-e jangtan-ul majhu-ø pula-nan  
 stamp-while that-at time-OP beat-and call-prM

jäjhøng-un jhamalo sin-i na-n-ta.  
 encore-TP really exaltation-SP occur-Act-D

50. Umak-to i.man,ha-myøñ na-nan ølma.tanji  
 music-also be.about.this.much-if I-TP no.matter.how.much

tal-ul ssu it-ta sängkak.ha-yøt-ta.  
 hear-fuM way exist-D think-Past-D

51. Kaliko jø-to moluke økkä-ka silluk.silluk.ha-taka  
 and self-even unknowingly shoulder-SP quiver.convulsively-after

kapkiya-e-n na-to ttala pal-ul kula-myø jäjhøng-ul  
 finally-at-TP I-also follow foot-OP stamp-while encore-OP

jhøngku.ha-yøt-ta.  
 demand-Past-D

52. Silsang paiollin-to jal hä-k-køniwa kaløna na-nun  
 in.reality violin-also well do-Past-in.addition.to but I-TP

paiollin-pota ssik.ssik.ha-n ka ungwøñ-ul jäjhøng.ha-n  
 violin-than gallant-prM that cheering-OP encore-pM

kø's i-ta.  
 fact be-D

43. Moreover, in spite of (our) demands for encore, a nicely-dressed gentleman is already coming out, carrying a violin at (his) side. 44. The gentleman bows neatly and puts the violin neatly under (his) chin; and the music that he plays is wonderful even though (I) do not know what it is. 45. He is so absorbed in his performance that (his) arm and head and even (his) shoulder follow the bow of the violin. Looking at (him), (one) cannot help but admire (him); Hey, this fellow is a true musician. 46. Besides, since the entire audience is fascinated by (his) performance as well, it is obvious that (he) is a far better musician than our own. 47. However, what surprises me more is that reaction which is sweeping through the wide auditorium. 48. Not counting the noisy hand-clapping of the general public, (people) upstairs--it must be about thirty or forty people--are screaming in a group. 49. It is lucky that (my) eardrum did not tear at the screams for encore, but the call for encore is really thrilling (to hear); and it is all the louder because of foot stamping added to clapping. 50. I thought that (I) could listen to this kind of music for a long time. 51. And without knowing what I was doing, my shoulders started to move and I suddenly joined in the demands for encore. 52. Though the violin was played well, but the fact is that I was really calling for an encore to that wonderful cheering.

53. Kulä-t-tøni Hwang Jhøl-i-ka pulkkan ilø'sø-myø  
 do.so-Past-then Hwang Chul-Voc-SP suddenly get.up-while

nä økkä-lal jap-ko  
 my shoulder-OP hold-and

53a. "Ili jom na.o-nøla."  
 this.way a.little come.out-Imp

iløkhe kaphi japa.kka-n-ta.  
 like.this in.a.hurry pull-Act-D

54. Kaliko amuto øp-nan pyønso-lo kkul-ko wa  
 and nobody not.exist-prM restroom-to take-and come

se-no-thøni  
stand-put-then

54a. "Nø nuku-l ungwøñ.ha-lø wa-n-ni?"  
you who-OP cheer-Intend come-Past-Q

hako hässäuk.ha-n najh-ulo ipsul-ul palala ttø-n-ta.  
Quot pale-prM face-with lip-OP (manner) tremble-Act-D

55. I nom-un søng-i na-myøñ nal i kkol-i tve-nan  
this fellow-TP anger-SP occur-if always this state-SP become-prM

køðs-ul jal al-malo  
fact-OP well know-because

55a. "Nø wä kaløkke søng-ul nä-ni?"  
you why like.that anger-OP raise-Q

55b. "Ani nø mwø ha-lø ye wa-n-nya mal i-ya?"  
why you what do-Intend here come-Past-Q word be-Q

55c. "Ungwøñ.ha-lø wa-j-ji!" ha-nikka nom-i  
cheer-Intend come-Past-Suspect do-then follow-SP

tättam jumøk-ulo nä pokjang-ul khwak jila-myø  
at.once fist-with my chest-OP hard strike-while

55d. "Yei i jasik!"  
hey this chap

55e. Uli kø-n koman napjjak.hä-n-nante nam-ul  
we(Poss) thing-TP unfortunately be.flat-Past-while other-OP

ungwøñ.hä-jw-ø?"  
cheer-Benef-cQ

56. Kåliko tto jumøk-ul nätä-lyø.ha-ni amman  
and again fist-OP take.out-Intend-so no.matter.how.much

sångkak.hä-to anikkop-ta.  
think-even be.disgusting-D

57. Hayøthan kamanhi iss-ulo son-ulo jumøk-ul mak-ko-nan  
anyhow still exist-Quot hand-with fist-OP stop-and-TP

57a. "Nø wä jumøk-ul nätä-ni?"  
you why fist-OP take.out-Q

57b. Mal-lu mot.hä?"  
word-with unable.to.do

ha-taka  
Quot-while

57c."I nom-a!  
this fellow-Voc

57d.Uli ølkul-e ttong.jhil.ha-n køt sǎngkak mot.hø-ni?"  
we (Poss) face-at disgrace-pM fact thinking unable.to.do-Q

hako tto jumøk-alo tǎtal-lyø-nan te-nan tø  
Quot again fist-with attack-Intend-prM there-TP more

jham-ul ssu øp-ta.  
tolerate-fuM way not.exist-D

58."Twǎji koki mantu an-møk-amyøn kaman i-ta."  
pig meat wonton Neg-eat-if end be-D

59. Iløkhe han mati nǎpǎ-k-ko-nan na-nan yak-i  
like.this one passage speak.out-Past-and-TP I-TP irritation-SP

olla-sø pulinakhe jhangke-lo nǎlyø.wa-t-ta.  
rise-so quickly stairs-to come.down-Past-D

53. When (I) did that, Hwang Chul suddenly gets up and, holding my shoulder, (says), 53a. "Come with me," and pulls me in a hurry. 54. (He) takes me to the restroom where we can be alone and squarely faces me. 54a. "Who did you come to cheer?" he says with quivering lips and a pale face. 55. Since (I) know well that this fellow behaves this way whenever (he) is angry, (I respond), 55a. "Why are you so angry?" 55b. "Well, (I) want to know what you came here for!" 55c. "(I) came to cheer!" At that he (lit., the fellow) strikes me a blow on the chest with (his) fist (and shouts), 55d. "Hey, what a help you are! 55e. While ours failed, (you) cheer for the other!" 56. And (he) is about to hit (me) again, but (I) am getting tired of (his) anger. 57. So grabbing (his) fist with (my) hand and holding (him) still, (I) say, 57a. "Why must (you) use (your) fist? 57b. Why can't (you) just talk?" (He) starts to hit (me) again, saying, 57c. "What a help (you) are! 57d. Don't you realize that (you) have disgraced us?" This is all (I) could take from him. 58. "You can keep your pork wontons!" 59. After saying this in (my) anger, I ran down the stairs.

APPENDIX B

MODE

1. As Prefix

Negative: an-/anh-

(WC 34) 34. "Ko nom-uy jimsang jham isang.haketu onal-un  
the chap-Poss beast very strangely today-TP

milukku tãi-n kumøng-alu-n an-talø.ka-ne."  
milk.candy bet-pM hole-to-TP Neg-go.in-Apper

'That stupid thing, today (he) just won't go into the slot  
where the milk candy is bet.'

2. As Final Suffix

(1) Declarative: -ta

(WC 31) Sonyøn-an ka k-e majimak thã y-øt-ta.  
boy-TP that thing-SP last bet be-past-D  
'For the boy that was the last bet.'

(2) Interrogative: -ni/-lkka

(WC 76) "Aani nø øti ka-t-ta ije o-ni?  
(exclamation) you where go-Past-and now come-Q  
'Why, where have you been; why are (you) coming now?'

(SC 9) Sim Pongsa: "Jhøng-i-nan øjjøn il-lo nat-tolok  
Shim Bongsa Chung-Voc-TP what matter-with be.late-until  
  
tola.o-ji.an-ulkka?  
come.back-Neg-Q

'Shim Bongsa: "Why isn't Chung coming back?"'

(3) Imperative: -la/køla

(SM 3a) "Ssalit-mun jal tat-ko jip jal po-ko.ik-øla."  
 bush.clover-door well close-and home well see-Prog-Imp  
 'Close the bush-clover door well and look after the house well.'

(4) Propositive: -ja

(UT 41) "Køløjhiman jøki thokki-ka majhim ili-lo  
 but over.there rabbit-SP just.now here-to  
 ttwiø o-ni thokki-hanthe han pøn tø mul-ø.po-ja."  
 run come-so rabbit-to one time more ask-see-Prop  
 'But, there comes a rabbit this way, so let's ask the rabbit one more time.'

(5) Suspective: -ji

(SC 34) Sim Pongsa: "ø! Yøpo! sunim, sunim, aiku nã-ka  
 Shim Bongsa oh here monk monk ah I-SP  
 mijh-øj-ji."  
 be.crazy-Past-Suspect

'Shim Bongsa: "Oh, here, Monk, Monk; ah I was crazy."'

(6) Promissive: -ma

(TC 13a) "Jã! Jã! nã itta na.o-taka twãji-koki mantu  
 hey hey I later come.out-while pig-meat wonton  
 sa-ju-ma"  
 buy-Benef-Promis

'Hey! Hey! I will buy pork wontons later when we are done.'

(7) Apperceptive: -kun/-ne

(SC 66) "Køløkhe ha-myøn pã-ka phungnang-øl manna-ji.an-kho  
 like.that do-if ship-SP strong.wind-OP meet-Neg-and

jangsa-to jal twe-n-ta-nan-kun."  
trade-also well become-Act-D-Act-Apper

'If (they) do that, (they say) that the ship won't meet strong wind and waves and also (they) will have a good trade.'

(UT 4) "A! Yøki holangi han mali-ka ppajy-ø.in-ne."  
ah here tiger one Counter-SP fall.into-Result-Apper  
'Ah, here is a tiger fallen (in the trap).'

### 3. As Non-Final Suffix

#### (1) Retrospective: -ti/-tø

(GM 9) Ølma.jjum-ul ka-nikka nal-un jømul-ko khøm.khøm.hä-sø  
for.a.while-OP go-after day-TP be.late-and be.dark-so

jal po-i-ji-lul an-nante mølli pulpijh-i  
well see-Passive-Nom-OP Neg-while far light-SP

panjjak.panjjak.ha-tø-lä-yo.  
flash-Retro-Quot-sfD

'(It) is said that after going for a while, a light was flashing far away, when it was getting late and dark and (he) couldn't see very well.'

#### (2) Intentive: -lyøko(ha)

(UT 16) "Na-lul hamjøng-e ppa.ji-ke.hä-sø juk-i-lyøko.ha-n  
I-OP trap-at fall.into-Caus-so die-Caus-Intend-pM

ke(<kø-s-i) nuku-yo?"  
thing-SP who-sfQ

'Who is it that tried to kill (me) by making me fall into a trap?'

#### (3) Desiderative: -ko.siph

(HS 6) I wønsungi-tal-un moja jangsa-ka namu-mithe wa-sø  
this monkey-Pl-TP hat seller-SP tree-under put.down-and

swi-nan køs-ul po-ko jaki-tal-to moja jangsa-wa.kajhi  
rest-prM fact-OP see-and self-Pl-also hat seller-like



moja-ləl ssu-ko.siph-øss-upnita.  
hat-OP put.on-Desid-Past-fD

'These monkeys, seeing that the hat seller came under the tree and rested, also wanted to put the hats on themselves like the hat seller.'

(4) Experimentative: -ø.po

(WC 62) Kitali-ta.mot.ha-yø noin-un hakkyo-lo ka mul-ø.po-at-ta.  
wait-unable-so old.man-TP school-to go ask-see-Past-D  
'Unable to wait any longer, the old man went to school and asked (about his son).'

(5) Obligatory: -ya(man).ha

(TC 8c) "Kajø sihap-e-n ungwøñ-ul jal hä-ya.hä!"  
just competition-at-TP cheering-OP well do-Oblig  
'(We) just need to cheer well at competitions.'

(6) Quotative: -(ila)ko.ha/-(i)la/-hako

(WC 63) Sukjik sønsäng-un ai-tal-i tola.ka-n.ji-nan imi  
night.duty teacher-TP child-Pl-SP go.back-since-TP already

olä-t-ta-ko.ha-ko myøt hangnyøñ i-nya-ko muk-kie  
be.long-Past-D-Quot-and which grade be-Q-Quot ask-since

i hangnyøñ-ilako.hä-t-tø-ni Jhwe Yøngton-i ka ä-nan  
two grade-Quot-Past-Retro-then Choi Youngdon-Voc the child-TP

onäl kyølsøk-ilako.hä-t-ta.  
today absence-Quot-Past-D

'The night-duty teacher said that it had been long since the children had gone (home); when (the old man) said that (the child was in the second grade--for (the teacher) asked what grade (he) was in--(the teacher) said that (his) child, Choi Youngdon, had been absent today.'

(TC 19b) "Al-aj-ji, jähøng?"  
know-Past-Suspect encore

hako kkok.kkok taji-n-ta.  
Quot firmly make.sure-Act-D

'"(You) understand, encore?" saying (he) makes sure.'

(7) Activitive: -(na)n

(WC 36) Khing-ha-t $\phi$ -ni      son    jantang-i    nun-ulo    olla.ka-n-ta.  
 khing-do-Retro-then hand back-SP    eye-to    go.up-Act-D  
 '(He) makes a cry and wipes a tear with the back of (his)  
 hand.'

(8) Presumptive: -kess

(WC 48) N $\ddot{a}$ ngj $\phi$ ng.ha-ja,    kaj $\phi$       n $\ddot{a}$ ngj $\phi$ ng.h $\ddot{a}$ -ya.twe-ket-ta.  
 keep.cool-Prop    constantly    keep.cool-Oblig-Presum-D  
 'Let's keep cool, (he thought), (we) should constantly  
 keep cool.'

(9) Volitional: -kess

(UT 5) "Y $\phi$ poseyo    nakane-nim      j $\phi$ -l  
 hello    traveller-Honor    I(Humble)-OP  
  
 sal-ly- $\phi$ .n $\ddot{a}$ -man      ju-si-my $\phi$ n      w $\ddot{a}$ he-nan  
 live-Caus-accomplish-only    give-Honor-if    debt-TP  
  
 kkok      kap-kess- $\phi$ yo."  
 without.fail    repay-Volit-sfD

'Hello, traveller, if only (you) would save me, (I) will  
 surely repay (you) the debt.'

(10) Conjecture: -(a)l.k $\phi$ si

(WC 56) Hakkyo    ph $\ddot{a}$ -tal-to      ijen-n    ta-tal    j $\phi$     ka-l    te-lo  
 school    group-Pl-also    now-TP    all-Pl    own go-fuM    place-to  
  
 he $\phi$ jy $\phi$     ka-ko.mal-ass-al.k $\phi$ si-ta.  
 scatter    go-Compl-Past-Conject-D

'It must be that the groups of school children also have all  
 scattered and gone to their own places by now.'

(11) Negative: -ji.an

(UT 38) So.namu-nim-to      nappu-ta-ko.ha-ji.an-sso?"  
 pine.tree-Honor-also    be.bad-D-Quot-Neg-sfQ  
 'The pine tree also says that people are bad, doesn't (he)?'

(12) Possibility/Ability: -l.ssu.iss

(UT 6) "Nø-nan salam-ul häjhi-nan jimsung i-nte øttøkhe  
 you-TP person-OP harm-prM beast be-then how

kuhä-ju-l ssu ik-ken-nanya?"  
 save-Benef-fuM way exist-Presum-Q

'You are a harmful animal to people; why should [lit., how can] (I) save (you)?'

(13) Impossibility: -l.ssu.øps

(GM 8) Jølmuni-nan jhama kanyang jina.ka-l ssu-ka øps-øso  
 young.man-TP surely as.such pass-fM way-SP not.exist-so

kuløngi-lal hwal-lo sswa-sø ttølø.ttali-ko säkki  
 snake-OP arrow-with shoot-so let.fall-and baby

kkajhi-tal-ul sal-lyø-ju-ko-nan tasi kil-ul  
 magpie-Pl-OP live-Caus-Benef-and-TP again way-OP

ttøna-ss-øyo.  
 leave-Past-sfD

'The young man surely couldn't pass by (them) as they were, so (he) shot the snake with (his) arrow and let it fall, thus saving the baby magpies, and (he) went on (his) way again.'

(14) Inability: -(ji).mot.ha

(GM 21) Säkki-lal sal-li-lyøko ul-ø.tä-nan ømi kkajhi-ka  
 baby-OP live-Caus-in.order.to cry-Repeat-prM mommy magpie-SP

hato pulssang.hä-sø mijhø twit il-ul  
 too be.pitiful-so yet late event-OP

sängkak-mot.hä-ss-upnita.  
 think-unable-Past-fD

'(I) couldn't think about what would come next, because the mommy magpie was so pitiful, who kept on crying to save (her) babies.'

(15) Inevitability: -ji.an-ul.ssu.øps

(TC 13b) "Täkwanjøl myøt sikan-ina ha-na?"  
 by.the.way how.many hour-for do-Q

hako muj-ji.an-ul ssu op-ta.  
Quot ask-Neg-fuM way not.exist-D

'I couldn't help ask, "By the way, how long will (it) take?'"

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