

Functional Approach on the nature of so called Korean double-subject construction

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(Received April 10, 1981)

<Abstract>

The so called Korean double-subject construction has been discussed by many grammarians, but it has many problems which are not solved yet.

In this paper, it is shown that kuno's (1972) Functional Interpretation of Japanese particle 'wa' and "ga" and Dik's (1978) Functional Grammar are appropriate to analyze so called Korean double-subject construction, especially Dik's three levels of Functional relation in a sentence: semantic function, syntactic function and pragmatic function.

It also needs perceptual mechanism to interpret the multiple focus function.

국어의 이중주어 현상에 대한 기능론적고찰

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<요 약>

국어의 이중주어 현상은 이때까지 많은 문법학자들의 논의의 대상이 되어 왔으며, 많은 논문이 나왔으나 아직까지 만족할 만한 설명을 못하고 있는 실정이다. 이에 대해, Kuno(1972)의 일본어 조사에 대한 기능론적 분석 방법과 Dik (1978)의 기능문법(Functional Grammar)에 입각한 세가지 기능, 즉 의미적 기능(Semantic function), 통사적 기능(Syntactic function) 및 화용론적 기능(Pragmatic function)에 의한 분석 방법이 국어의 이중주어 현상을 분석하는데 적합하며, 이런 국어의 현상은 단순한 통사론적 현상이 아니라 기능론적 현상임을 밝혔다.

특히 이 이중주어 현상은 우리의 지각능력(perceptual mechanism)과 밀접한 관계가 있으며, 단순히 문법적인 고찰이 아니라 지각능력과 관련된 인식적 고찰(cognitive research)도 필요함을 시사했다.

head hurt

I. Introduction

"It is John that his head hurts. or It is John that has a headache."

1. The particle (n)in and i/ka

b. John-in mæri-ka aphī-ta.

The term "Korean double-subject construction" will be used to refer to sentences such as:

"Speaking of John, he has a headache."

(1) a. John-i mæri-ka aphī-ta.

The particle '(n)in' and 'i/ka' which indicate subjective form in a sentence appear twice in

a sentence. It has been known that the particle '(n)in' is a theme marker and that 'i/ka' is a nominative case marker. The similarity has been found in Kuno's (1972) Japanese particle 'wa' and 'ga'.⁽¹⁾ The theme and contrast introduced by the Japanese particle 'wa' represents old information and the exhaustive listing and neutral description introduced by the Japanese particle 'ga' represents new information. The distinction among theme, contrast, exhaustive listing and neutral description is so semantically basic that it can be expected that the same phenomena, either overtly or covertly, are found in other languages.

(2) Alexander kissed Mary.

The English sentence (2) can represent any of the following four meanings:

- (3) a. Speaking of Alexander, he kissed Mary. (theme)
 b. As for Alexander, he kissed Mary. as in "Alexander kissed Mary, but Bill didn't." (contrast)
 c. It was Alexander who kissed Mary. as in "Who kissed Mary? (Only) Alexander kissed Mary." (exhaustive listing)
 d. It happened that Alexander kissed Mary. as in "What happened next? Alexander kissed Mary." (neutral description)

Note the following sentences:

- (4) a. kǎnkang-enin tingsan-i coh-ta.
 health mountain-climbing good
 "Speaking of health, the mountain-climbing is good for it."
 b. insam-i mom-e coh-ta.
 ginseng body good

"Ginseng is good for body."

As for (4a), we can interpret that the speaker states his experience after he climbed the mountain. But as for (4b), we may interpret that either the speaker only states the fact having Ginseng, (neutral description) or the speaker emphasizes the Ginseng's effect on body (exhaustive listing).⁽²⁾ Therefore we may say that the Korean particle (n)in (theme marker) represents old information and the particle i/ka (nominative marker) represents new information.

2. The framework

Dik(1978) specified the functional relation in a sentence at three different levels:

(i) Semantic Function: Agent, Goal, Recipient, ect.

(ii) Syntactic Function: Subject and Object

(iii) Pragmatic Function: Theme and Tail, Topic and Focus.

Semantic functions specify the roles which the referents of the terms involved play within the 'state of affairs' designated by the predication in which they occur. Syntactic functions specify the perspective from which that state of affairs is presented in the linguistic expression. Pragmatic functions specify the informational status of the constituents within the wider communicative setting in which they occur.

He also proposed a functional schema such as:⁽³⁾

(5) (x_i) Theme, Predication, (x_j) Tail

Note the following sentences:

- (6) a. As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is really spectacular.
 b. As for the students, adolescents alm-

(1) Kuno (1972) presented the analysis of Japanese particle 'wa' and 'ga' that can be summarized in the following:
 A. Wa marks either the theme or the contrasted element of the sentence. The theme must be either anaphoric (i.e. previously mentioned) or generic, while there is no such constraint for the contrasted element.

B. Ga as subject case marker is either for neutral description or for exhaustive listing. When the predicate represents a state (but not existence) or a habitual-generic action, only the exhaustive-listing interpretation is obtained.
 (2) Im, H.B. (1974) also proposed two kinds of interpretation. The one is the same as neutral description, the other is the statement the speaker says after he ate Ginseng, which is so called Topicalization.

(3) When we delete the Theme and Tail from any construction, we are left with a predication which is complete in itself. The Tail is presented as an after-thoughtness to the predication 'He is a chap, your brother.'

ost never have any sence.

The term 'Paris' and 'student' is the theme of that predication and is located outside of that predication. Compare the following Korean examples:

- (7) a. khokkili-nin kho-ka kil-ta.
elephant nose long
"As for elephants, his nose is long.
b. əməni-nin mal-i manh-ta.
mother talk much
"As for mother, she is talkative.

II. Functional analysis

1. Inalienable possession

Compare the following sentences:

- (8) a. John-ii məli-ka aphī-ta.
"John's head hurts."
b. John-i məli-ka aphī-ta.
"It is John whose head hurts."
c. John-in məli-ka aphī-ta.
"Speaking of John, his head hurts."

Dik's (1978) framework can predict that (8c) is the most natural because in his framework, the position of the theme is outside of that predication. Shibatani (1977) argues that (8b) is derived from the possessive construction like (8a) by means of so called Nominativization. This rule removes the possessor NP from the original possessive construction which is in the nominative, and then marks it with the nominative marker depending on what case the original possessive construction is in.⁽⁴⁾ Just like so called Topicalization in (8c), Nominativization changes the meaning of a sentence slightly. Namely, the derived nominative NP is associated with what Kuno(1972) calls exhaus-

tive listing reading. He also argues that the mere fact that a particular NP is in the nominative is not a reliable indication for the conclusion that that is a subject: all NPs that are in the nominative are not necessarily subjects. In other words the so called "double-subject" construction does not in fact have two subjects.

Note the following examples:

- (9) a. Nu-ka məli-ka aphī-nja?
who head hurt
"Who has a headache? or Who hurts on the head?
b. John-i məli-ka aphī-ta.
(focus) (subj)
"It is John that has a headache, or It is John that hurts on the head."
(10) a. John-i əti-ka aphī-nja?
where
"Where does John hurt? or What's the matter with John?"
b. John-i məli-ka aphī-ta.
(subj.) (focus)
"It is on the head that John hurts."

Even if we assume only one subject in a sentence like Shibatani (1977), we are left with the problem which of the two nominatives is a real subject of that sentence. So we cannot accept the Nominativization rule which derives (8b) from (8a). Instead of the derivational rule, we may assume Dik's (1978) functional three levels and Kuno's (1972) functional interpretation of the particle.

The term 'məli' in(9) has the semantic function 'Loc',⁽⁵⁾ syntactic function 'subject' and pragmatic function 'topic or neutral description' and the term 'John' has '∅' semantic function⁽⁶⁾ and 'focus or exhaustive listing' pra-

(4) Shibatani (1977) discusses not only Nominativization but also Accusativization. Note the following:

(i) a. na-ii məli-ka aphī-ta. "My head hurts."
b. nə-ka məli-ka aphī-ta. "It is I whose head hurts."
(ii) a. nə-ka Yunshik-ii məli-lil ttali-ət-ta. "I hit Yunshik on the head."
b. nə-ka Yunshik-lil məli-lil ttali-ət-ta. "It is Yunshik that I hit on the head."

(5) I am not sure of the semantic function of the term 'məli' but only assume that it may be 'Loc' because we can paraphrase it such as: John hurts on the head.

(6) Dik (1980) introduces various kinds of semantic function such as: Agent(Ag), Positioner (Po), Processed

gmatic function. On the other hand, the term 'John' in (10) has 'ø', 'subject' and 'topic' function and the term 'mæli' has 'ø', 'focus' function.

- (9b') aphi-ta_v (John)_ø focus (mæli) Loc Subj
topic
(10b') aphi-ta_v (John)_ø subj topic (mæli) Loc
focus

We can think of the following situation:

- (11) a. John-in æti-ka aphi-nja?
"Speaking of John, where does he hurt?"
b. John-in mæli-ka aphi-ta.
(x_i) theme (x_j) subj. focus
"Speaking of John, his head hurts."

In interpretation of (11b), we may first assume the pragmatic function of the term 'John' is theme and that of the term 'mæli' is focus. But note that the particle '(n)in' has not only theme function but also contrast function.

- (12) John-in mæli-ka aphi-na, Bill-in ani-ta.
(x_i) contrast (x_j) contrast not

"John has a headache, but Bill doesn't."

We can think of the similar relationship in the following examples:⁽⁷⁾

- (13) a. æti-ka John-in aphi-nja?
"Where does John hurt?"
b. mæli-ka John-in aphi-ta.
(x_i)focus (x_j)contrast
"As for John, it is on the head that he hurts."

The order of the term 'mæli' and 'John' in a predication is relatively free in such cases.⁽⁸⁾

The following examples all belong to the inalienable possession cases:

- (14) a. Jane-i ælkul-i ipi-ta.
face pretty
"It is Jane whose face is pretty. or
It is Jane's face that is pretty."
b. khokkili-ka ko-ka kil-ta.
elephant nose long
"It is elephant whose nose is long. or
It is elephant's nose that is long."
c. nuna-ka son-i kil-ta.
sister hand long
"It is my sister whose hand is long.
or It is my sister's hand that is long."

We can expand the inalienable possession in the following:

- (15) a. ki chæk-ii pjoci-ka kkik-ki-æss-ta.
the book's cover be torn up
"The cover of the book is torn up."
b. ki cha-ii sokto-ka ppari-ta.
the car speed fast
"The speed of the car is fast."

2. Alienable possession

Compare the following sentences:

- (16) a. i-chæksang-ii chæk-i manh-ta.
this desk book many
"There are many books on this desk."
b. i-chæksang-i chæk-i manh-ta.
"It is on this desk that many books are."
c. i-chæksang-in chæk-i manh-ta.
"Speaking of this desk, there are many books on it."

(Proc) or Force (Fo) and Zerco (ϕ).

(i) Action: John(Ag) ran away.

(ii) Position: John (Po) stayed in the hotel (Loc).

(iii) Process: John(Proc) fell down. The wind(Fo) opened the door(Go).

(ix) State: The roses (ϕ) are beautiful.

(7) In this case, I am not sure of which term is a real subject of that sentence. We may only assume that the term 'John' in (13), is a subject because the primary responsibility of that predicate is in the animate 'John', but in (12) the primary responsibility of that predicate is in not 'John' but 'someone's head'.

(8) We can think of the particle ,i/ka':

(i) a. æti-ka John-i aphi-nja? "Where does John hurt?"

b. mæli-ka John-i aphi-ta. "It is on the head that John hurts."

(ii) a. mæli-ka nu-ka aphi-nja? "Who hurts on his head?"

b. mæli-ka John-i aphi-ta. "It is John that hurts on his head."

Just like the inalienable possession, these alienable cases are interpreted as exhaustive listing and theme reading. So we can attach the focus pragmatic function on the term 'chæksang' in (16b) and theme, in (16c), even if the position of theme is outside of that predication. But we can notice the difference between them. The first nominative 'chæksang' has locative semantic function and cannot be a subject of that predication.⁽⁹⁾

- (16b') manh-ta_v (chæksang) Loc focus
(chæk) ϕ subj topic

The second nominative can only be a subject of that predication. Compare with the inalienable possession: both nominatives can be the subject of that predication⁽¹⁰⁾ and the first nominative's semantic function is stative(ϕ). (see 9 or 10). The relative order of two nominatives is not free because the conversed ordered sentence is not natural.

- (17) a. ? chæk-i i-chæksang-i manh-ta.
b. chæk-i i-chæksang-e manh-ta.
locative

"Many books are on this desk."

Compare the superficial possessive constructions:

- (18) a. cuk-ii cangmak-i chachim
bamboo curtain gradually
kæthiko-iss-ta.
be cleared up
"The bamboo's curtain has gradually
been cleared up."
b. *cuk-i changmak-i chachim
kæthiko-iss-ta.
(19) a. cængleoul-ii eoin-i chac-a wat-ta.
passionate girl visit come
"A passionate girl has come to me."
b. *cængleoul-i eoin-i chac-a wat-ta.

Both of them have the superficial possessive form, but they cannot allow Shibatani's(1977) Nominativization. We may argue that these constructions cannot be derived by transformation rule and that they are only introduced in the lexicon. We can also notice that only the stative predicate allows this nominative construction. Note the following examples having non-possessive particles:

- (20) a. ki-eke buchæ-ka manh-ta.
him debt much
"He has much debt."
b. ki-ka buchæ-ka manh-ta.
"It is he that has much debt."
(21) a. Seoul-e cihachæl-i sængin-ta.
subways exist
"There will be a subway in Seoul."
b. Seoul-i cihachæl-i sængin-ta.
"It is in Seoul that there will be a
subway."
(22) a. chong-soli-e ai-ka nollæss-ta.
gun sound child surprised
"The child has got surprised at the
sound of a gun."
b. *chong-soli-ka ai-ka nollæss-ta.

We can predict that both (20) and (21) allow this construction but (22) doesn't because the predicate of (22) is not stative

3. Quantifier

Compare the following examples:

- (23) a. se-ai-ka æce wat-ta.
three children yesterday come
"Three children came yesterday."
b. ai-ka ses-i æce wat-ta.
children three yesterday come
"It is three children that came yesterday."

(9) Note the following example:

(i) a. i-chæksang-i manh-ta. "There are many desks."
b. chæk-i manh-ta. "There are many books."

(a) sentence is different from (b) sentence which is derived from (16b)

(10) We can think of the possibility of subject of two nominatives. Compare the following:

(i) John-i mæli-ka aph-i-ta.

(ii) a. John-i aph-i-ta. "John hurts."

b. (John-i) mæli-ka aph-i-ta. "John's head hurts."

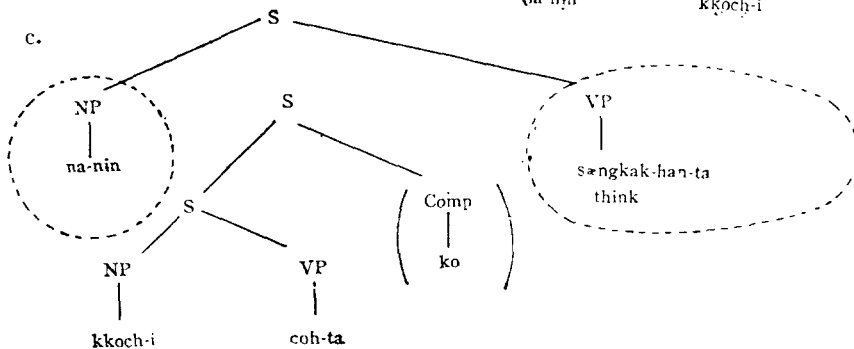
Shibatani (1977) suggests that one postposed a quantifier and copies the case of the original NP from which the postposed quantifier has come from. He also argues that the term 'ai' is a real subject of that predication and the quantifier 'ses' has exhaustive listing function by the application of Quantifier Movement⁽¹¹⁾ and Nominativization. We cannot accept this transformation method. We may assume that the quantifier 'ses' has the focus pragmatic function and the term 'ai' has agent semantic function, subject syntactic function and topic pragmatic function.

(23b'). wat-ta_v (ai) Ag Subj Top^(ses) quantifier Foc.

This quantifier case is very different from that of possessive construction. It can occur without restriction of stative predicate and the relative order of two nominatives is fixed. Note the following:

(24) a. ttang-i pæk-peong-i palleot-ta.

(27) a. na-nin kkoch-i coh-ta.
I flower fond of
"I am fond of a flower."



"I think that the flower is good.

(11) Shibatani(1977) proposes the Quantifier Movement rule to derive the following example from the above(23a).

(1) a. ai-ka æce ses wat-ta.

b. ai-ses-i æce wat-ta.

The former is the case he wants to discuss to refer to surface case marking, the latter is shifting a quantifier

earth hundred of acre sold out

"It is hundred of acre that the earth is sold out."

b. mos-i tukæ-ka pæk-hæt-ta.

nail two driven into

"it is only two that the nail is driven into."

4. psychological predicate.

Note the following examples:

(25) a. s'nsæng-nim-i kx-lil musæp-æhan-ta

t. eacher dog be afraid of

"the teacher is afraid of the dog."

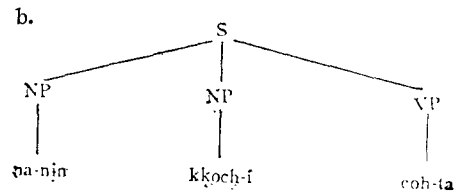
b. s'nsæng-nim-i kx-ka musæp-ta.

"It is to the teacher that the dog is fearful. or The teacher thinks that the dog is fearful to him."

c. s'nsæng-nim-in kx-ka musæp-ta.

"Speaking of the teacher, (he thinks that) the dog is fearful to him. or Speaking of the teacher, I think that he is afraid of the dog."

Shibatani(1977) suggests that the term 'kæ' is

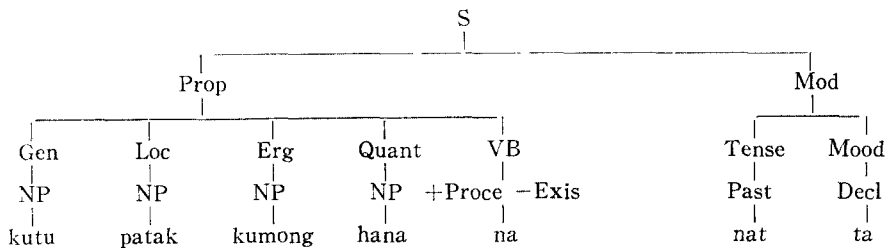


not subject and that (25b) seems to be derived from (25a) even if it is difficult to provide purely syntactic evidence. We cannot accept his proposal because the sentence "kæ-ka musəp-ta." is fully grammatical and the term 'kæ' is thought of the subject of that predication. We may assume that (25b) is similar to the non-possessive construction. Note the following:

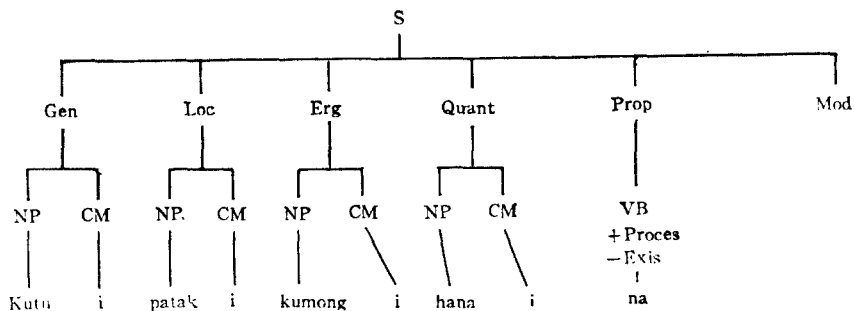
- (26) a. sənsəng-nim-eke kæ-ka musəp-ta.
 teacher dative dog fearful
 "The dog is fearful to the teacher."
 b. sənsəng-nim-i kæ-ka musəp-ta.
 nominative
 "It is to the teacher that the dog is fearful."

But since the predicate 'musəp-ta' is a psychological predicate we can think of the constraint of psychological verb. Yun(1980) suggests that the psychological verb needs first person subject and term 'kæ' has a complement property or ergative property.⁽¹²⁾ In fact, many people think (26b) is not natural. Yun(1980) introduces Ross's Higher Clause Analysis: (see pp. 384) In the structure (27b), the first NP is the subject, and the second NP is the complement.

(31) a.



b.



(12) Yun (1980) argues that the term 'kæ' has both subjecthood and objecthood of that clause.

According to the higher clause analysis, the meaning of (25b) is that "I think that it is to the teacher that the dog is fearful." or "I think that the teacher is afraid of the dog, in the view of complement analysis like (27b) and that of (25c) is that "Speaking of the teacher, I think that he is afraid of the dog."

The same kind of analysis can be found in the following examples:

- (28) a. na-nin ki-ka khi-ta.
 I he tall
 "He is tall for me." or "I think he is tall."
 b. na-nin Namsan-i nop-ta.
 I mounuain high
 „The mountain Nam is high for me.”
 or "I think The mountain Nam is high."

III. Development

Note the following:

- (29) a. kutu-ii patak-e kumong-i
 shoe bottom hole
 hana-ka nat-ta.

one be made
 "one hole is made on the bottom of
 the shoe,"

b. kutu-ka patak-i kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta.

(30) a. i-path-e tta[ki-ii mas-i itim-ita.
 this field strawberry taste best
 "The taste of the strawberry in this
 field is best."

b. i-path-i ttalki-ka mas-i itim-ita.

Pak S.H. (1970) introduces the following analysis according to the Case Grammar: (see 31) Pak. S.H. (1970) proposes that (31b) is derived from (31a) by the Topicalization rule and the final topicalized term 'hana' is a real subject of that predication, but as we have shown the quantifier 'hana' is not subject but has only focus function. We can notice that (29b) is grammatical but awkward because it has too many focus function. Our perceptual mechanism specifies multiple focus function as difficult to interpret and that multiple focus function is usually avoided in the domain like natural language. Compare the following:

(32) a. kutu-ii patak-e kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta

"It is only a hole that is made on
 the bottom of the shoe."

b. kutu-ii patak-in kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta

"Speaking of the bottom of the shoe,
 it is only a hole that is made on it."

c. kutu-nin patak-e kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta.

"Speaking of the shoe, it is only a
 hole that is made on the bottom of
 it."

d. ? kutu-nin patak-i kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta.

e. ?? kutu-ka patak-i kumong-i hana-ka
 nat-ta.

It is difficult to interpret (32d) and (32e)

because they have multiple focus functions.

Ⅶ. Conclusion

We have shown that shibatani's (1977) relational Grammar and Case Grammar are not appropriate to interpret the Korean double subject construction but Functional Grammar is adequate. These are Kuno's (1972) Functional interpretation of Japanese particle 'wa' and 'ga' and Dik's (1978) three levels of functional relation (semantic function, syntactic function, and pragmatic function). It also needs perceptual mechanism to interpret the multiple focus function. We may say that the Korean double-subject construction is not purely syntactic phenomena, but functional and cognitive phenomena.

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