Interclausal Semantic Functions of the -E Connectives in Korean

Sangbok Kim
University of California Los Angeles, USA
sbkim@ucla.edu

INTRODUCTION

1. What are the –E connectives?

: a group of suffixes (i.e., *-e, -ese, -e kaciko* or phonological variants) attached to V1 of a multi-verb construction (AKA, complex verb construction, SVC), where two full lexical verbs (not compounds) occur in sequence with a shared subject (and, if any, object).

For example,

Hanson-ulo	melikal-ul	ssul(V1)-**e**	oli(V2)-mye	namca-ka	hicwuki	wut-ess-ta.
with one hand	hair-Acc	sweep-**E**	raise-while	man-Nom	beamingly	smile-Pst-Dec

'While sweeping his hair up, the man gave a wide and happy smile.'

2. Research Questions on the –E connectives

1) Free variations interchangeable with one another in the same environment (e.g., cause-result)?
2) Is ***-e kaciko*** a spoken-oriented form, compared to the others?

DATA

1. The 21st Century Sejong Project Modern Korean corpus run with the Korean concordance (i.e., 'Geuljabi 2') http://www.sejong.or.kr/eindex.php

2. Genre

Spoken: Transcribed texts from spontaneous conversations (interviews, talk shows on TV)
Written: Texts from newspapers, educational books, magazines, and novels

3. Size of corpora

Types of corpora	The number of words used
Spoken	450,330 words
Written	5,848,146 words
	Total 6,298,476 words

4. # of –E connective constructions found from the corpora (6,298,476 words):
30,849 constructions

METHODS

1. **To address whether the –E connectives are in free variation**

: *Interclausal Semantic/Temporal Relations* (ISR) in RRG (Role & Reference Grammar) and *Interclausal Semantic/Temporal Relations Hierarchy (IRH)* were coded for **30,849 –E connective constructions.**

1) Interclausal Semantic Relations & IRH in English(Valin, 2005: Figure 6.21)

Causative [1]
Phase
Manner
Motion
Position
Means
Psych-Action
Purposive

…..

Cognition
Indirect Discourse
Direct discourse
Circumstances
Reason
Conditional
Concessive
Simultaneous actions
Sequential actions
Situation-situation: unspecified

Closest:
facets of a single event or action

Loosest:
distinct events or actions

2) Why is “Interclausal Semantic Relations” ?

According to Van Valin and Wilkins (1993) and Van Valin (2002, 2005), *cross-linguistically* the semantic relations *among complex structures,* including those like the –E connective constructions, form the ‘degree’ of semantic/temporal cohesion between the linked propositional units (i.e., clauses), as shown (1).

Thus, I posit that the different forms of the -E connectives have something to do with **ways in which they connect two verbs or semantic/temporal relations of V1 toV2** in the constructions (i.e., either two separate events or a single event,)

METHODS

2. **To investigate different distributional pattern of –E between Spoken and Written registers,**

: Frequency of the three different forms of –E between the two registers counted

FINDINGS

1. Interclausal Semantic Relations (ISR) and IRH in –E connective constructions

1) Semantic relations in the range toward the '**closest'** extreme (*e.g. 'Manner-Action')*

Hanson-ulo melikal-ul ssul(V1)-**e** oli(V2)-mye namca-ka hicwuki wut-ess-ta.
with one hand hair-Acc sweep-**E** raise-while man-Nom beamingly smile-Pst-Dec

'While sweeping his hair up, the man gave a wide and happy smile.'

2) Semantic relations in the range of the **medium (***Causal-Resulting State/Action)*

Kosoktoloe selchitoyn panghopyek-ul
protection equipment that was built on a highway-Acc

kwasillo tulipat(V1)-ase sumcy(V2)-ess-ta.
mistakenly run into-E die-Past-Dec

'(He) drove into a dirt bank that was built on a highway and died.'

3) Semantic relations in the range of the '**loosest**' extreme
(e.g., *Non-overlapping-with-an-interval Actions in Sequence')*

Na-nun ttukeun mul-ul tephy(V1)-e kaciko mokyokh(V2)-ass-ta.
I-Nom hot water-Acc heat-E bathe-Past-Dec

'I heated water and then bathed (=took a bath).'

11 types of Interclausal Semantic Relations **Temporal Relations**

Psych-Action	CLOSEST	Facets of a single event or action
Purposive-Locomotion		
Manner-(Path)-Locomotion		
Manner-Action		
Tightly-bound actions in sequence		
Causal-Result action/state		
Inchoative-Result state		
Non-overlapp immediately follow actions in sequence		
Cause-Effect		Distinct events or actions
Comitative-Locomotion		
Non-overlapp actions in sequence with an interval	LOOSEST	

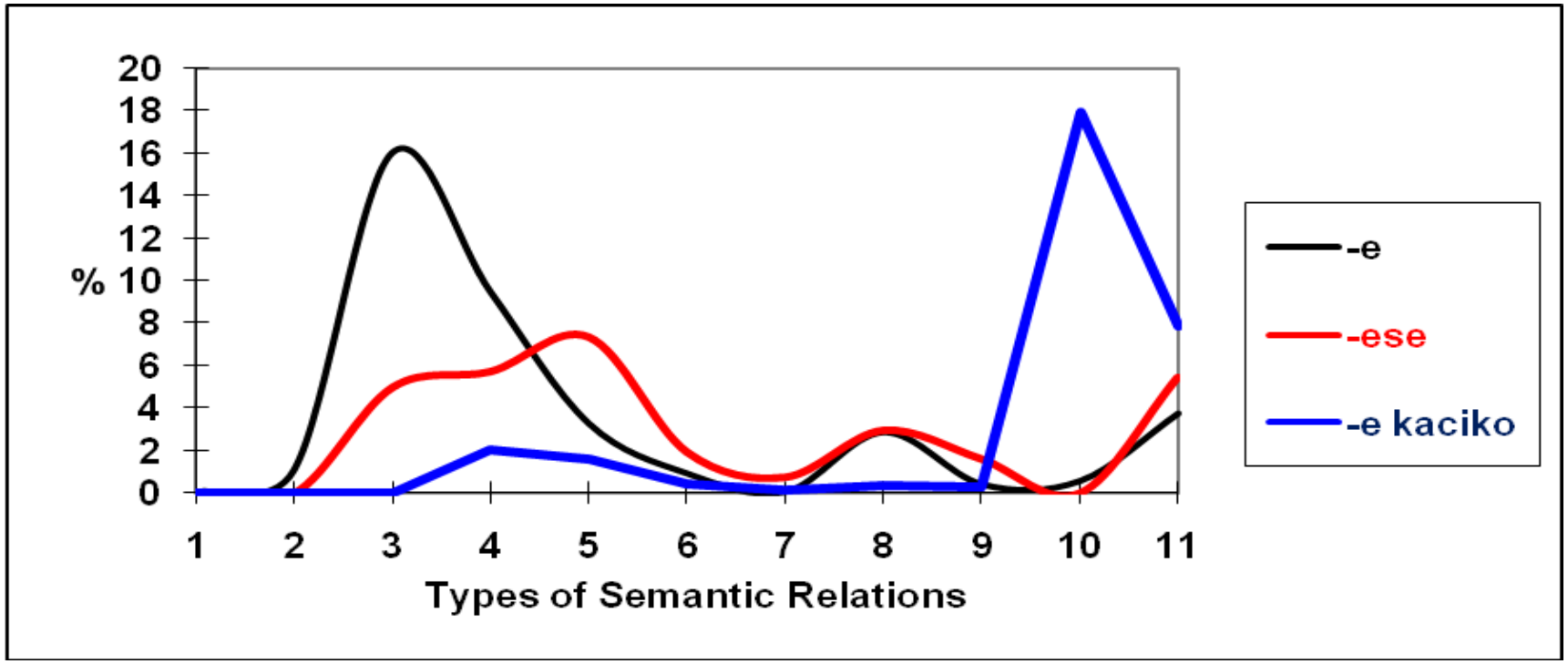
Distributional patterns of the three different forms of –E connectice constructions (Wrtn & Spkn)

	Types of semantic relations												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
-e	0.03% (9)	1.05% (325)	9.48% (2,924)	16.04% (4,948)	3.27% (1,009)	0.91% (281)	0.03% (119)	2.85% (878)	0.39% (119)	0.55% (170)	3.74% (1,153)	(11,816)	Total
-ese	0% (0)	0.01% (2)	5.74% (1,771)	5% (1,542)	7.36% (2,271)	1.95% (601)	0.77% (239)	2.97% (917)	1.63% (502)	0.01% (2)	5.46% (1,685)	(9,541)	**100**%
-e kaciko	0% (0)	0.01% (2)	2.07% (638)	0% (0)	1.58% (487)	0.42% (130)	0.13% (41)	0.4% (122)	0.31% (95)	17.97% (5,543)	7.89% (2,433)	(9,492	(**30,849** constructions)

Explanation of Types of Interclausal Semantic Relations(ISR):

1 = Psycho-Action
2 = Purposive-Locomotion
3 = Manner-(Path)-Locomotion
4 = Manner-Action
5 = Tightly-bound actions in sequence
6 = Causal-Resulting action/state
7 = Inchoative-Resulting states
8 = Non-overlapping immediately following actions in sequence
9 = Cause-Effect
10 = Comitative-Locomotion
11 = Non-overlapping immediately following actions in sequence

CLOSEST ⟷ LOOSEST



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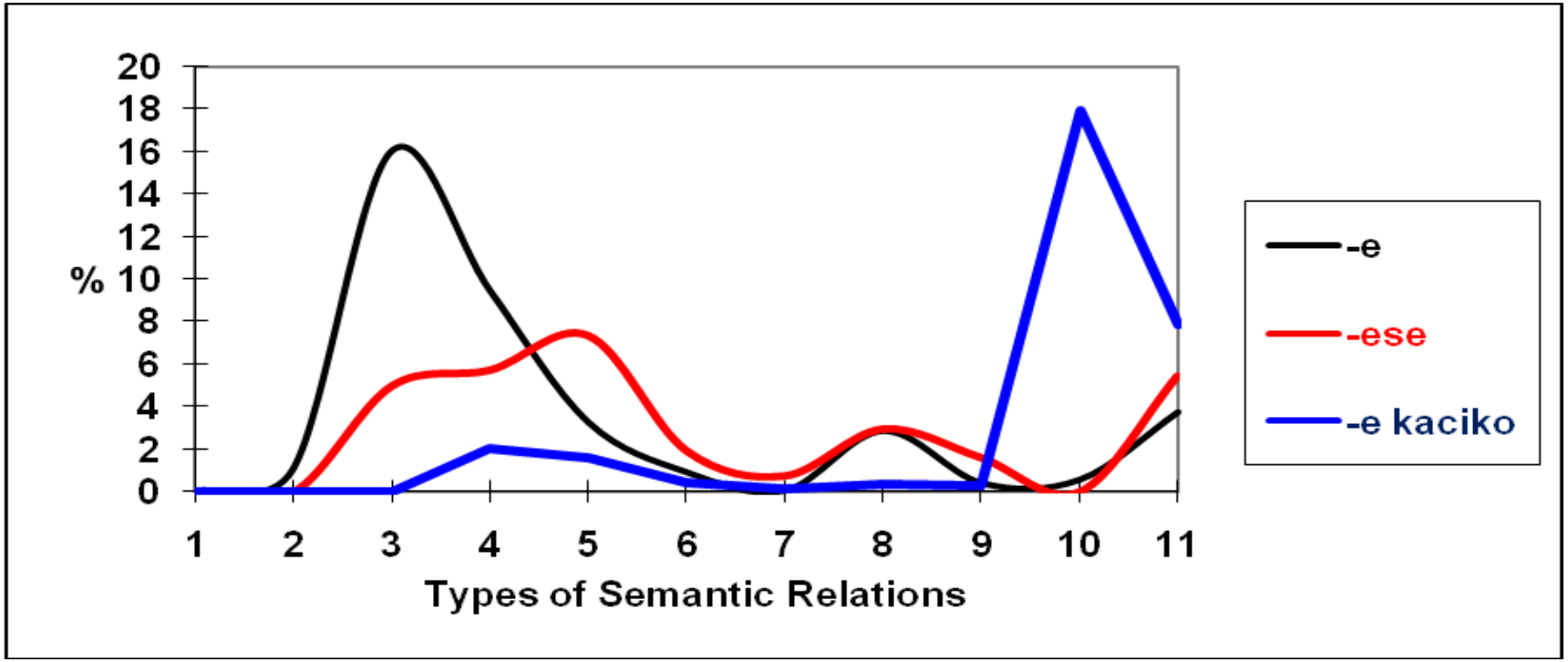

(1) The ***-e*** tends to appear toward the range of the ***closest ISR***.
(2) The ***-ese*** tends to appear *in* ***a range*** of ISR.
(3) The ***–e kaciko*** tends to appear toward the range of the ***loosest ISR***

FINDINGS

2. Distributional pattern of the –E in *spoken* vs. *written* registers

Table 2: Raw frequencies

	Size (words)	Frequencies of –E in multi-verb constructions			
		-e	-ese	-e kaciko	
Spoken	450,330	141	468	145	754
Written	5,848,146	11,675	9,073	9,347	30,095
Total	6,298,476	11,816	9,541	9,492	**30,849**

Normed frequencies (per 100,000 words)

		Frequencies of –E in multi-verb constructions			
		-e	**-ese**	**-e kaciko**	Total
Spoken		0.31310	1.03924	0.32199	1.67433
Written		1.99635	1.55143	1.59828	5.14608
Total					**6.8204**

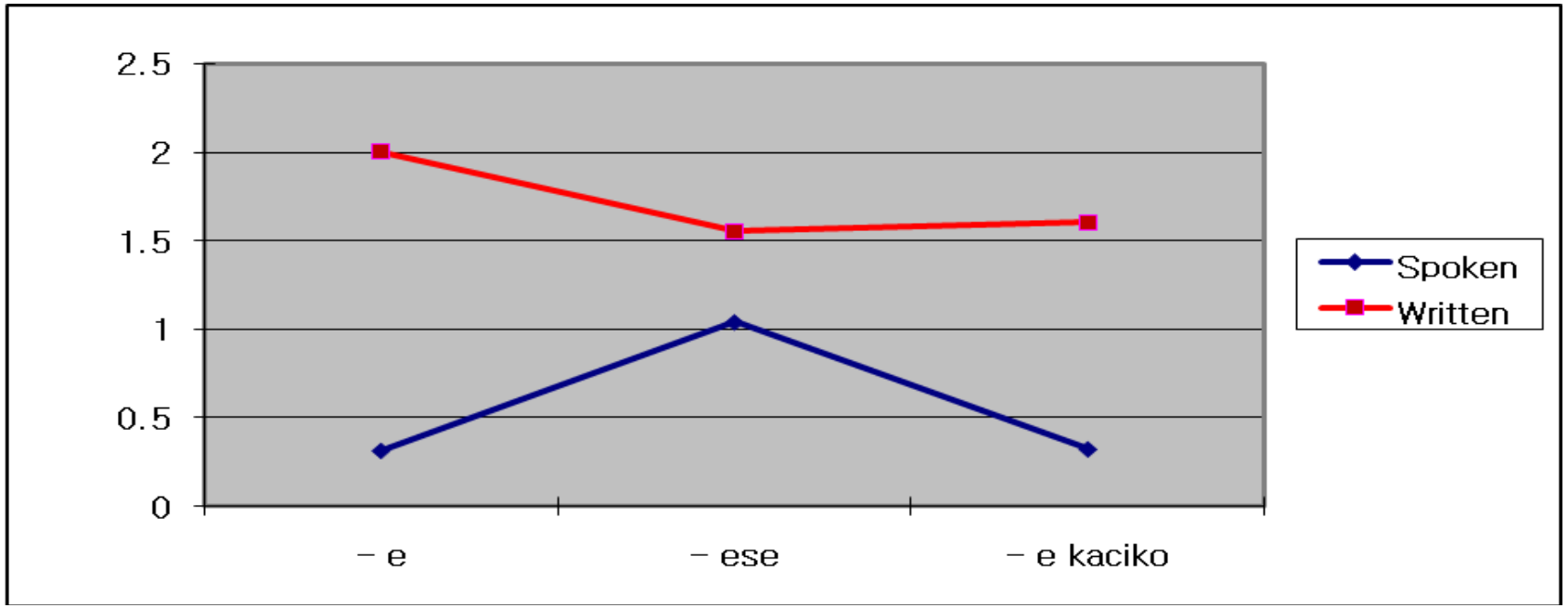

Figure 2. Distributional pattern of the –E in *spoken* vs. *written* registers

a. In *spoken* register, the medial form ***–ese*** is used the most (1.03 word), compared to and the –e kaciko (0.32 word) and the –e (0.31 word)
→ **indicating that *–e/-a kaciko* is NOT the connective for spoken discourse**

b. In *written* register, it seems that there is *no significant tendency* in the use of the three different forms of –E. However, the form ***–e*** is used the most (1.99 word).

c. The *written* and *spoken* data being put together, the construction with **–e** in written data has the highest frequency (1.99 words). That is, *the **–e** has, at least, a written tendency*

CONCLUSIONS

1. –E connectives: not in free variations which can be exchangeable with one another without being restricted to a particular environment (e.g., cause-result). Instead, there is a tendency to the use of –E.

-- **The shortest form *–e*** for the '**closest**' semantic/temporal relation.
-- **The medial form *–ese*** for **a range** of semantic relations
-- The longest form *–e kaciko* for the '**loosest**' clausal relation.

→These findings may be interpreted in the framework of **iconicity theory** (Haiman 1983), a theory claiming that a linguistic dimension (i.e, form) corresponds directly to a non-linguistic/conceptual dimension (i.e., semantic/temporal closeness between two events).

2. As for the use of –E between spoken and written registers, the –e has, at least, a written tendency. There are also new findings. First, the multi-verb constructions were used more in the written register than the spoken one. Second, if taking into consideration the use of –E only in spoken register, the medial form –ese is used the most, while in written register, the form –e is used the most.

→ The grammatical behavior of the three different forms of –E in the multi-verb constructions in Korean can be better understood in terms of **interclausal semantic/temporal relations**, that is, ways each connective connects two events denoted by the component verbs.

IMPLICATION & FURTHER RESERCH

The findings of this study suggest that looking at actual usage by native speakers with a large size of corpora can bring new perspectives to the description of Korean multi-verb constructions.

More importantly, they can contribute to discussing **the existence of serial verb constructions in Korean.** Recent cross-linguistic studies have purported that the multi-verb constructions are serial verb constructions.

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