

# 韓國語 含意動詞 研究

- 제주 서울 방언의 상호대준 -

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## 〈 概 要 〉

1) 본고는 韓國語 含意動詞들의 체계 및 그 개개를 統辭·意味論적으로 논하였다. 함의동사란 含意文을 가지며 반드시 함의동사의 語尾 '-아'를 선행시켰다. 함의문이란 4) 에서 정의되었듯이 ' $P \rightarrow Q, \sim Q \not\sim P$ '의 특성을 지닌다. 따라서 *Modus Tollens*의 적용은 불가능하다.

2) 영어의 함의동사들과는 달리 한국어의 함의동사들은 정연히 쌍을 이루며 대립하였다. 한국어 함의동사의 대립쌍들은 二重否定이 도입될 때 서로 상쇄될 수 없었다. 이점은 *excluded-middle*의 값을 허용하지 않고 二重否定끼리 서로 소거될 수 있는 영어의 함의동사들과는 대조를 이룬다.

3) '-아 먹다' '-아 내다'는 二項 이상의 술어와 연결된다. 이는 '먹다'의 원래 통사적 특성과 '내다'의 사역요소 때문으로 판단된다. '-아 먹다'는 수여동사류와는 어울릴 수 없다. 내포문에 있는 술어의 동작이 동작 주체자 자신 이외의 존재와 관련되어야 하나, 그 결과는 반드시 동작 주체자 자신에게 남아 있어야 하기 때문이다. '-아 내다'의 경우도 동작의 시작과 그 결과가 함께 동일한 동작 주체자에게 남아 있어서는 안된다.

'-아 먹다'는 내포문의 술어가 피동화할 때 더불어 共起被動化의 과정을 거쳐야 *wff*로 된다. 그리고 ① 함의문 이외에 또한 ② 동작 주체자가 그 동작을 행할 의도가 있거나 ③ 동작 주체자가 그렇게 할 가능성이 있음을 내포한다. '-아 내다'는 녹아 있는 사역요소 때문에 명령형어미와 더불어 강요

또는 요청의 言行力을 내포한다. 이 언행력은 서술문에선 지속적인 노력으로 나타난다.

4) ‘-아 들다’ ‘-아 나다’는 방향성 함의동사들이다. 이들은 一項의 술어와 어울리는데, 단 그 내포문 술어들은 반드시 두 局面 사이의 轉移를 나타낼 수 있는 것이라야 한다. 그러나 세계를 어떻게 인식하느냐에 따라서 이들이 배타적일 수 있다. 非存在의 終點局面으로 진행하는 ‘-아 들다’의 의미를 보충하기 위해 ‘-으로’의 격표지가 공기할 수 있다. 非存在의 始作局面으로부터 진행하는 ‘-아 나다’에는 ‘-에서’가 공기하였다.

5) ‘-아 가다’ ‘-아 오다’는 앞의 예와 같은 방향성 함의동사들이다. 이들에게도 내포문 술어는 出發點과 終點이 상정되어야 한다. 이 쪽은 현실세계에 있어서 내포 술어의 실현정도를 나타낸다. 그러므로 폭이 없는 순간동사들은 내포문의 술어로 선택될 수 없다. 단 만약 동작 주체자나 대상물이 복수로 되어서, 일련의 순간동작들이 그 연속성이나 계기성을 보장받을 수 있게 되면 서로 어울릴 수 있다.

‘-아 가다’와 ‘-아 오다’는 그 방향에 있어서 서로 배타적 분포를 이룬다. ‘-아 오다’는 말하는 사람이 동작 주체자의 동작이 끝나게 되는 終點 위치에 있을 때에 발화된다. 그 이외의 경우는 ‘-아 가다’가 쓰인다.

6) ‘-아 놓다’ ‘-아 앓다’는 동작성 술어와 함께 쓰인다. ‘-아 놓다’는 처소적 의미와 함께, 어떤 존재를 제약되지 않은 상태로 놓은 結果를 의미한다. 이런 점에서 완성동사와는 실현되지만 순간동사들과는 어울릴 수 없다. 비록 상태성 술어라도 사역요소가 개재되어 동작의 표현이 가능해지면 ‘-아 놓다’와 연결이 가능하게 되고, 그 동작의 결과를 지시한다.

이에 반해 ‘-아 앓다’는 내포문 동작을, 하나의 事件으로서 모문 동작에 연결시켜 준다. 함의동사로서의 ‘앓다’는 ‘-아그네’類 語尾만을 배타적으로 연결시킨다. 이는 이 어미의 同一主語制約이 ‘-아 앓다’의 事件媒介의 성질과 걸맞기 때문인 것으로 판단된다.

7) ‘-아 붙다’ ‘-아 두다’는 각각 禁止와 統制의 言行力을 내포하고 있다. ‘-아 붙다’는 ① 그 함의문이 지시하는 事實이 있으며 ② 그 사실이 동작 주체자에 의해 이루어지기 전에 다른 존재로부터의 금지언행력이 있고 ③

동작 주체자는 계속 그 사실에로 이루어 나가려는 의도와 실천을 한다.

‘-아 두다’는 ‘-아 놓다’처럼 처소 의미를 지나나, 객체를 제약되어 있는 상태로 두는 점이 다르다. 이런 통제의 의미 때문에 내포문의 술어는 피동화될 수 없다.

8) ‘-아 보다’ ‘-아 지다’는 서로 다른 동작의 양상을 보여 준다. ‘-아 보다’는 미리 정해지거나 예정되어 있는 사건의 방향이나 길을 전제하지 않는다. 대신 동작 주체자가 주체적으로 그것을 선택하고 행해 나간다. 그러므로 동작 주체자 자신의 경험에 비중이 있는 것이다.

반면 ‘-아 지다’는 한 동작 주체자의 속성이나 자연성에 의해서, 미리 예정되고 예측된 길을 주체자의 의도와는 무관하게 이루어 나가는 것이다. 이 길이 말하는 사람에 의해 전제될 때에는 동작 주체자는 그 의지와는 무관하게 피동적인 행동을 이루어 간다. 이 피동성은 때로 겸손한 표현의 방식을 나타내기도 한다.

9) ‘-아 주다’는 동작 주체자 이외에, 내포문의 동작과 관계될 수 있는 존재만 언어 상황에서 주어지면 모든 술어에 후행할 수 있다. 내포문이 피동이나 사역의 두 해석을 지니는 문장도 ‘-아 주다’의 구문에서는 사역으로의 해석만이 가능하다.

‘-아 드라’는 ‘-아 주다’와 ‘요구하다’로 어휘해체가 가능하다. 이때 語末語尾는 요구의 자질 때문에 명령형만이 선택된다.

10) 이상의 함의동사들은 그 *meta-concepts*로 동작의 의지에 관한 것, 동작의 방향에 관한 것, 동작의 귀속에 관한 것, 동작의 양상에 관한 것, 동작을 받는 자에 관한 것 등으로 구분할 수 있다. 이들의 실현 서차는 *meta-level*에서의 자유이동이 허락되므로 엄격한 것은 아니었다.

11) 어말 어미가 어떠한 文에 bound 되느냐의 문제는 함의문의 정의로부터 모문에 bound 됨을 연역할 수 있었다. 곧 ‘ $\sim Q \not\sim P$ ’는 반드시 ‘ $Q \supset P$ ’를 전제로 해야 한다. 그러므로 어말 어미는 P에 연결된다. 이점은 본고에서 논의된 자연언어의 존재 ‘ $P_1, P_2, \dots, P_n \rightarrow Q$ ’로써도 직접 확인할 수 있었다. 특히 ‘먹다·내다’나 ‘불다·두다’에서 살았던 共起 현상은 Q가 홀로 존재할 수 없음을 말해 주는 결정적 증거라고 하겠다. Q는 오직 P에 의존해서

만 존재하는 것이다.

본고에서 논의된 함의동사의 어미 ‘-아’는 ‘ $P \rightarrow Q, \sim Q \not\rightarrow \sim P$ ’의 관계를 나타내었다. 이것과 대비되는 어미 ‘-게’는 ‘ $P \vee Q, \text{where } P \text{ holds true}$ ’의 관계를 나타냈다. P가 참값을 지니는 한 ‘-아’의 Q는 결코  $\sim Q$ 로 될 수 없다. 그러나 ‘-게’의 Q는  $\sim Q$ 도 허용하게 되어 Q의 값에는 아무런 상관관계를 갖지 않음을 알 수 있다.

## A Study of Korean Implicative Verbs

-With Coreference between Jejulect and Seoulect -

*KIM Jee-hong\**

0. This paper aims at finding the system of Korean implicative verbs and scrutinizing their characteristics.<sup>1</sup> The so-called implicative verbs are being investigated by others, especially after the challenging paper of L. Karttunen (1971 a and b) appeared. The implicative verbs of Korean, however, show something different from those of English, so the writer will try to explain these differences emphasizing the nature of Korean implicative verbs. In addition, the related topic of defining the implicative suffix *-a* will be discussed as well.

1. L. Karttunen had noted some other verbs which had true complement similar to factive verbs when they were asserted affirmatively.

1-a) Yesterday Bill *happened to* break a window.

1-b) Yesterday Bill broke a window.

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1. All the corpora represented here reflect the intuition of the Jeju dialect which is the writer's mother tongue. He, however, suspects that the conclusion of this paper covers the Seoul dialect as well. This is why the title refers to Korean implicative verbs rather than Jeju implicative verbs. If there appears any divergence of distribution between two dialects, then it will be remarked in the footnote.

The sentence 1-a) commits the speaker to the belief that the complement is true. So the speaker is obligated to believe 1-b) as true as long as 1-a) is sincerely uttered by him. This means that 1-a) implies 1-b). The matrix which deserves this sort of implication is called '*an implicative verb*' in this regard.<sup>2</sup> The difference between factive verbs and implicative verbs appears when the sentence has a negative assertion.

- 2-a) Yesterday Bill did not *happen to* break a window.
- 2-b) Yesterday Bill did not break a window.
- 3-a) Yesterday Bill did not *regret that* he broke a window.
- 3-b) Yesterday Bill broke a window.

No one happily asserts the sentence 2-a) unless he believes the implied sentence 2-b). If we, however, replace the implicative verb with a factive verb as in 3-a), then we can meet the complement which has true assertion regardless of negation in the matrix sentence. The assertion of 3-a) is not 2-b) but 3-b).

The implication which implicative verbs take has no strict implication nor entailment. Instead it has a weak sense as in 4) so as to hold in one direction only.

- 4) P implies Q if and only if the speaker ought to believe that Q whenever P is asserted.

By the weak sense in 4) the rule of inference known as Modus Tollens does not apply. It is not required that asserting  $\sim Q$  should obligate, in turn, the speaker to believe that  $\sim P$ . In other words, we can say that 1-a) implies 1-b) but we cannot say that the negation of 1-b) implies the negation of 1-a). The implicative construction is very sensitive to negation. When double negation is introduced the cancellation of them occurs and therefore a positive implication results at last.

2. In Korean this kind of implicative construction is very popular.

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- 2. In English, implicative verbs tend to prefer *to* to *that*. This sort of tendency is also observable in Korean. Korean implicative verbs should strictly follow the suffix *-a* in all cases. Therefore the writer calls it *the implicative suffix*. This suffix always has an implication. This behavior will be compared later with another suffix *-ke* which never results in any implication.

- 5-a) K̄i salam-i ka-a p̄ali-ass-ta<sup>3</sup>  
 the man-NM go-IM abandon-ASP-DEC  
 'The man has gone away'
- 5-b) K̄i salam-i ka-ass-ta  
 the man-NM go-ASP-DEC  
 'The man went'

The first sentence 5-a) implies the second sentence 5-b). The speaker believes the fact of 5-b) as the implication as long as 5-a) holds true. We can notice some interesting phenomena when the sentence 5-a) is asserted in a negative manner.

- 6-a) K̄i salam-i ka-a p̄ali-ci anh-ass-ta  
 the man-NM go-IM abandon-NEG not-ASP-DEC  
 'The man had not gone away'
- 6-b) K̄i salam-i ka-ci anh-ass-ta  
 the man-NM go-NEG not-ASP-DEC  
 'The man did not go'

The negation of 5-a), which means 6-a), implies the negation of its complement, which means 6-b). But 6-b) does not imply 6-a) at all. The sentence 6-a) connotes even the fact that the man had remained, whereas 6-b) describes his mere action 'not go.' So we do not know yet in 6-b) whether the man had remained or not. It comes from the negation of the implicative verb *p̄ali-ta* 'to abandon' what mentions his remaining state. This implicative verb delivers the speaker's intention to fulfill or to do an action of its preceding verbs. As the intention to go or to leave is negated

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3. All sentences will be presented in morphological level concerning their simplicities. The following are the abbreviations of grammatical markers and suffixes. The writer uses the term 'suffix' very comprehensively for referring to non-sentential endings.

NM: Nominative Marker	AC: Accusative Marker
LM: Locative Marker	NEG: Negative Suffix
IM: Implicative Suffix	SEQ: Sequential Suffix
REA: Reasonal Suffix	ARR: (Spatial) Arrangement Suffix
CON: Conditional Suffix	ASP: Action Aspectual Marker
CAU: Causative Marker	PAS: Passive Marker
MOD: Modal Marker	IMP: Imperative Ending
DEC: Declarative Ending	

in 6-a), the opposite intention, which means staying, has resulted. It is not the intention of implicative verbs but the action of complement verbs which the negation has changed. This is a good comparison with English implicative verbs which are very sensitive to negation.

- 7-a) Bill did not *forget* to lock the door.
- 7-b) Bill *forgot* not to lock the door.
- 7-c) Bill did *not remember* not to lock the door.
- 7-d) Bill locked the door.

The sentence 7-a) and 7-b) have the positive implication, 7-d), due to the cancellation of double negation. We can assume the property of the verb 'to forget' as a substitution 'not to remember' because both share the same obligation and further presuppose that the truth of the complement depends only on whether the performer keeps his commitment in mind or not. We make it clear in 7-c). It is regarded that both 7-b) and 7-c) have the same underlying representation.

If we replace *pali-ta* 'to abandon' of 6-a) by its pair with a negative *an tu-ta* 'not to keep,' then we have an ill-formed sentence as in the following.

- 8) \*Kᵢ salam-i ka-a an tu-ci anh-ass-ta  
the man-NM go-IM not keep-NEG not-ASP-DEC

The cancellation of double negation here does not take place. Rather we can have a sensible string only if merely one negation marker works and it negates the complement verb *ka-* as in 9).

- 9) Kᵢ salam-i an ka-a pᵃli-ass-ta  
the man-NM not go-IM abandon-ASP-DEC  
'The man did not go (intentionally)'

The message which the sentences 8) and 9) convey would be that we cannot negate the implicative slit at all. Rather it is a complement slit that we can negate with *an* 'not.' We can understand the phenomenon well if we know the fact that each implicative verb has its own counterpart and this pair opposition evicts any negative intrusion of *an* 'not' into the implicative slit. The table shows the reality of the pairs and their representation order.



Korean pair implicative verbs<sup>4</sup>

order pair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
verb	mək-a	tɨl-a	ka-a	ac-a	pul-a	po-a	cu-a
stem-	ne-a	na-a	o-a	noh-a	tu-a	ci-a	tɛ-la

Since each slit has its own meaning, we can produce full occurrence in which one of each pair happens subsequently. Needless to say, one can select some of them arbitrarily. When there is no implicative verbs represented, it means a mere description of a fact. By implicative verbs we can understand how a performer or a speaker reacts to related facts. In the following sections, we will scrutinize implicative verbs of the table one by one in order.

**3-1-1.** The verb *mək-ta* means literally 'to eat.' This verb can follow some preceding verbs with the implicative suffix *-a* before itself so as to constitute the implicative structure as in the following.

- 10-a) calɨ-a mək-ta  
chop-IM eat-DEC  
'to eat by chopping (into pieces)'
- 10-b) pat-a mək-ta  
receive-IM eat-DEC  
'to eat by receiving'

The first sentence has the sense that we eat something with the mouth after chopping it into pieces. The second one holds too if we think of a situation in which one receives something and eats it afterwards.

- 11-a) sonkkalak-ɨl pe-a mək-ta  
finger-AC cut-IM eat-DEC  
'to cut one's finger'

4. The following are their rough translations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
to eat	to be in	to go	to take	to abandon	to be done	to give
to vomit	to be out	to come	to put	to keep	to see	to ask

The dialect form of *ac-ta* in column 4 is parallel to *kac-ta* in the Seoul dialect. In 5, *pul-ta* to *pəli-ta*.

- 11-b) *kkoma-i*l *nolli-a* *mək-ta*  
 boy-AC tease-IM eat-DEC  
 'to tease a boy'

However, 11-a) does not look so compatible with the action of eating because *pe-ta* 'to cut' has no relation with the act of eating anyway. 11-b) has also the same sort of difficulty because of the incompatibility of *nolli-ta* 'to tease' with eating. Incidentally the examples of 11-a) and b) are quite natural expressions and very productive ones. Let's assume, therefore, that implicative *mək-ta* has some other meaning besides its literal one, whose infra-meaning can support them.

To make the investigation precede, let's inspect the distribution of the implicative *mək-ta* 'to eat.'

- 12-a) \**ik-a* *mək-ta*  
 mature-IM eat-DEC  
 12-b) \**ul-a* *mək-ta*  
 cry-IM eat-DEC  
 12-c) \**cuk-a* *mək-ta*  
 die-IM eat-DEC  
 13-a) *ik-hi-a* *mək-ta*  
 mature-CAU-IM eat-DEC  
 'to make one mature'  
 13-b) *ul-li-a* *mək-ta*  
 cry-CAU-IM eat-DEC  
 'to make one cry'  
 13-c) *cuk-i-a* *mək-ta*  
 die-CAU-IM eat-DEC  
 'to make one die'

In the above examples there is a state verb of 12-a), an intransitive verb of 12-b), and an intransitive 12-c). All of them, however, are ungrammatical while 13's) are acceptable which have the same sort of verbs as 12's). The difference, as we see it, between them is that all 13's) have causative suffixes.<sup>5</sup>

When a causative suffix is introduced in a verb, the verb acts differently from the original one as demonstrated in the following.

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5. They are morphologically conditioned allomorphs.

- 14-a) ttək-i ik-ta  
bread-NM mature-DEC  
'bread is done'
- 14-b) \*ttək-ɪl ik-ta  
bread-AC mature-DEC
- 15-a) \*ttək-i ik-hi-ta  
bread-NM mature-CAU-DEC
- 15-b) ttək-ɪl ik-hi-ta  
bread-AC mature-CAU-DEC  
'to make bread done'

Since state verb *ik-ta* 'to mature' is an one-place predicate, which means it permits a subject-predicate construction, we have an ill-formed sentence in 14-b), whereas 14-a) holds. The situation, however, is reversed when the causative suffix gets involved, in which case a performer and a receiver should be designated at least. The two-place predicate of 15-b) filters in but 15-a) out in this regard.

One of the syntactic features of implicative *mək-ta* is its two-place constraint<sup>6</sup> which is suspected to be from the original meaning. The three-place predicates such as *cu-ta* 'to give,' *pone-ta* 'to send,' and *kap-ta* 'to pay' do not seem to fit for the preceding slit of *mək-ta*. But the same three-place predicates such as *pat-ta* 'to receive,' *pil-ta* 'to lend,' and *sa-ta* 'to buy' can take the implicative *mək-ta*: *pat-a mək-ta*, *pil-a mək-ta*, and *sa-a mək-ta*. So the constraint should be amended as two-

6. At a glance the following looks contradictory against this claim.

- (i) kɪ nom twe-a mək-ass-ta  
the fellow become-IM eat-ASP-DEC  
'The fellow has become okay'

The verb *twe-ta* 'to become,' however, is a two-place verb. If we complete the sentence, then we can observe it.

- (ii) kɪ nom salam-i twe-ta  
the fellow human-NM become-DEC  
'The fellow becomes manly'

- (iii) \*kɪ nom kɪ nom-i twe-ta  
the fellow the fellow-NM become-DEC

The sentence (ii) is acceptable, whereas (iii) is not. The verb *twe-ta* 'to become' designates a transition from one state into another state. We have two different personalities in the first example so that it holds. But in (iii) two personalities are the same and this is the reason why it does not fit. So the constraint of two-place predicates is still preserved.

more predicates. To exclude the *give*-type of verbs above, let's set up a secondary restriction in which the implicative *mək-ta* has to do with performer's action and the result of this action should remain within himself. The restriction, however, still shows some difficulty in avoiding ungrammatical strings of retro-self verbs.<sup>7</sup>

- 16-a) \*sin-ɨl sin-a mək-ta  
shoe-AC wear-IM eat-DEC  
16-b) \*kkum-ɨl kku-a mək-ta  
dream-AC dream-IM eat-DEC  
17-a) \*kɨlim-ɨl po-a mək-ta  
picture-AC see-IM eat-DEC  
17-b) \*nole-ɨl tɨt-a mək-ta  
song-AC hear-IM eat-DEC

There are reflexive verbs in 16's) and self-feeling verbs in 17's). If we add some limitation on the performer's action such that the action should be related to others or other things except the performer himself, then we can solve the difficulty.

The result of an action, then, can be beneficial or detrimental for the performer himself.

- 18-a) ttang-ɨl phal-a mək-ta  
land-AC sell-IM eat-DEC  
'to sell land'  
18-b) os-ɨl theu-a mək-ta  
cloth-AC burn-IM eat-DEC  
'to make cloth burn'

It is interesting to note the passivization of a preceding verb and implicative verb together.

- 19-a) au-i cip-ɨl phal-a mək-ass-ta  
brother-NM house-AC sell-IM eat-ASP-DEC  
'A brother has sold a house'

7. By this term the writer means that an action has been done or completed by oneself and for himself in all cases. For instance, the verb *ip-ta* which means 'to wear' is a retro-self verb because an action of wearing is performed by oneself and the result of the action is for himself. We can collect all reflexive verbs under this category as well.

- 19-b) \*au-i            cip-ɪl        phal-li-a        mək-ass-ta  
                          brother-NM house-AC sell-PAS-IM eat-ASP-DEC
- 19-c) \*cip-i        phal-li-a        mək-ass-ta  
                          house-NM sell-PAS-IM eat-ASP-DEC
- 19-d) cip-i        phal-li-a        mək-hi-ass-ta  
                          house-NM sell-PAS-IM eat-PAS-ASP-DEC  
                          'A house has been sold'

From the active expression in 19-a) we derive a passive sentence in 19-d). In 19-b) the embedded sentence *cip-ɪl phal-li-* is ill-formed, because passivization deserves an one-place predicate. The feature of *mək-ta* with a two-place predicate cannot affect an embedded sentence. Rather the implicative *mək-ta* has been assimilated by its preceding embedded sentence and has a passive form in the result. This, however, does not mean that the two-place constraint has been lost. This means only that it is assimilated into its preceding sentence. We can prove this indirectly by the following ungrammatical string.

- 20) \*ul-a        mək-hi-ta  
                          cry-IM eat-PAS-DEC

There is no other way to explain the ungrammaticality of 20) without mentioning the two-place make-up of *mək-ta*.

Now let's look at the meaning of the implicative *mək-ta*.

- 21-a) kɪ    ttang-ɪl cal ɪ-ass-ta  
                          the land-AC chop-ASP-DEC  
                          'One chops the land'
- 21-b) kɪ    ttang-ɪl cal ɪ-a    mək-ass-ta  
                          the land-AC chop-IM eat-ASP-DEC  
                          'One has chopped the land'

The first one merely describes the fact of chopping the land. This is the implication of the second one. As long as 21-b) holds true, 21-a) should also be claimed as true. What 21-a) connotes beyond the mere fact is that a performer has the intention to chop the land, or there should be some possibility of him doing so, and then the action of chopping it is realized in the actual world. The realization, in fact, is conveyed by a prefinal verb ending.

- 21-c) kɨ ttang-ɨl.cal ɨ-a mək-ɨn-ta  
 the land-AC chop-IM eat-ASP-DEC  
 'One will chop or chops the land'

The sentence 21-b) designates that the action of chopping has finished whereas 21-c) does not so.

3-1-2. The verb *ne-ta*, which means 'to vomit,'<sup>8</sup> has a similar syntactic behavior with the pair *mək-ta*. Since it is a two-place predicate, one-place preceding predicates such as a state verb *phi-ta* 'to bloom,' an intransitive verb *ka-ta* 'to go,' and an attribute verb *malk-ta* 'to clean' are incompatible with it.

- 22-a) \*sal-a ne-ta  
 live-IM vomit-DEC  
 22-b) \*ik-a ne-ta  
 mature-IM vomit-DEC  
 22-c) sal-li-a ne-ta  
 live-CAU-IM vomit-DEC  
 'to make one live'  
 22-d) ik-hi-a ne-ta  
 mature-CAU-IM vomit-DEC  
 'to make something mature'

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8. The *ne-ta* is originally composed of a verb *na-ta* and a causative suffix *-i-* in which *na-ta* means 'to be out or appear.' Due to the causative suffix, the combined meaning designates literally 'to make appear or cause to appear.' A phonological process of assimilation takes place between *a* and *i* in which the assimilator *i* is deleted after the process. However the writer treats the implicative *ne-ta* as an autonomous word regardless of its origin. In fact this is a very tentative treatment because the actual antonym of *mək-ta* is *peth-ta* rather than *ne-ta*. But the verb *peth-ta* never becomes an implicative verb as far as the writer knows.

The stem verb *na-ta*, which will be investigated in the following section, is able to become an implicative verb having its pair *tɨl-ta*. The verb *tɨl-ta* can be followed by a causative suffix *-li-* as in *tɨl-li-ta*. This *tɨl-li-ta*, however, seldom becomes an implicative verb. On considering the pair systems, the writer assumes temporarily that *ne-ta* is a close candidate for the opposite slit of the implicative *mək-ta* and translates it as 'to vomit.' But this does not mean that he denies the similarity between *na-ta* and *ne-ta*.

Note that the ungrammaticality of 22-a) and b) can be recompensed if a causative suffix is introduced and it makes the verbs have two-place characteristics in 22-c) and d) as we have just noted in the implicative *mək-ta* section. By causative suffixes we surmise the existence of a performer and someone else who makes him perform an action.

- 23-a) \*ka-a ne-ta  
       go-IM vomit-DEC  
 23-b) \*sik-a ne-ta  
       cool-IM vomit-DEC

The verbs of 23-a) and b) are intransitive ones which denote an action and a progress individually. As long as the meaning of implicative *ne-ta* is concerned,<sup>9</sup> they seem to take place together because we can imagine two phases of them in time. But they cannot constitute *-a ne-ta* structure as in 23-a) and b). The reason why they are this way can be explained if we remember the condensed causative *-i-* of *ne-ta*. Due to the causative suffix, implicative *ne-ta* should at least form a two-place preceding verb.

- 23-c) \*kɪlip-a ne-ta  
       miss-IM vomit-DEC  
 23-d) \*pone-a ne-ta  
       send-IM vomit-DEC

It should be noted that the two-place predicated *kɪlip-ta* 'to miss' seems awkward with *-a ne-ta* as in 23-c). In 23-d) we have another unacceptable sentence of the

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9. K.D.LEE (1976) sets up the meaning of *na-ta* in two ways. The first one is 'to move or take something out' and the second is 'to create something out of nothing or something else.' He further refers to the constraints as follows. Firstly *ne-ta* can occur only with bound predications—to put it in other words, same terminus has to be imposed on predications. Secondly the action which *ne-ta* denotes can be carried out with intention. And lastly *ne-ta* cannot follow intransitive verbs including the passive counterparts of transitive verbs.

The last two constraints can be combined because both refer to the condensed causative *-i-* which we have noted before. The first statement can be restated in our terms that *ne-ta* has two different phases or spaces in order to designate the transition from one to another. Refer to the section 3-2) to see the details of what the stem verb *na-ta* means.

three-place *pone-ta* 'to send' with *-a ne-ta*. To filter 23-c) out, we can postulate a restriction that *ne-ta* should not make the result remain within himself. This constraint further operates to remove reflexive verbs as in 23-e).

23-e) \*kkum-ɪl kku-a ne-ta  
dream-AC dream-IM vomit-DEC

However, this constraint is too weak to take away an ill-formed string such as 23-d). Let's consider some other three-place predicate to see whether they match up with the implicative *ne-ta* or not.

23-f) kaph-a ne-ta  
pay-IM vomit-DEC  
23-g) phal-a ne-ta  
sell-IM vomit-DEC

The above data are quite reliable with no doubt. They are three-place predicates. Now we have to find another reason for the unacceptability of 23-d) as far as the same three-place verbs of 23-f) and g) hold.<sup>10</sup> This problem comes from the reduplication of the verb stem *ne-*. So we can preserve the constraint that the implicative *ne-ta* follows two-more-place predicates just like its pair *mək-ta*.

It is interesting to note the implicative *ne-ta* with an imperative ending. We can observe some sort of compulsion—or request in a weak sense—as in 24-a).

24-a) nə kɪ kə kaph-a ne-ala  
you it pay-IM vomit-IMP  
'I request you pay it'

10. What strikes the writer at the moment is the possibility of lexical decomposition. We can realize the condensed stem *-ne-* in *po-ne-ta*, 'to send,' which is same one of implicative *ne-ta*. It is not so clear what the first stem *po-* designates. He suspects that it is parallel to the stem which generates those lexicons such as *ppa-ta* 'to extract' and *ppop-ta* 'to pull out.' If this speculation holds true, then we can reconstruct the word *pone-ta* 'to send' as *po-* 'to pull out or extract' and *-ne-* 'to make out or transmit' with an ending. In fact the meaning of 'to send' is equivalent to 'to pull out and (then) transmit.' Now we can observe two *ne*'s in 23-d). He thinks that this reduplication makes it awkward.



The compulsion comes from the condensed causative. The following examples also demonstrate the same compulsion even though they have no imperative endings.

- 24-b) \*k + kə- ÷l ith ÷l tongan chac-a ne-ass-ta  
 it-AC two days during find-IM vomit-ASP-DEC
- 24-c) k + kə- ÷l ith ÷l tongan-e chac-a ne-ass-ta  
 it-AC two days during-LM find-IM vomit-ASP-DEC  
 'One managed to find it out during two days'
- 24-d) k + kə- ÷l ith ÷l tongan chac-ass-ta  
 it-AC two days during find-ASP-DEC  
 'One tried to find it out for two days'
- 24-e) \*k + kə- ÷l ith ÷l tongan-e chac-ass-ta  
 it-AC two days during-LM find-ASP-DEC

By the definition of implication, we should say 24-c) implies 24-e). But 24-e) is not adequate. By the implicative *ne-ta* in 24-c), we can conjecture that one has tried to discover something and then gains success in its discovery. The final moment to which the locative marker refers is surely the time of his success.<sup>11</sup> Before his success he makes continuous effort to find out which is parallel to the compulsion as in 24-a). This observation tells us that we cannot derive the implication in the correct manner unless we assume that the implicative *ne-ta* dominates the locative marker *-e* and both behave closely together, i.e., to appear together and also to vanish together. Now we can claim that the implication 24-c) is not 24-e) but 24-d). The different feature from its pair *mək-ta* is that, due to the causative *-i-*, *ne-ta* construction cannot fit with any passive structure.

3-2. The verb *t ÷ l-ta*, which means 'to be in,' and *na-ta*, 'to be out,' are verbs of direction. In these kinds of verbs we can add *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come,' which will be studied in the next section. The feature which they share in common is their one-place behavior. This means they apparently designate their action. The verbs *t ÷ l-ta* and *na-ta* demonstrate this as follows:

11. The verb *ne-ta* is suitable with any case markers only if they specify some terminal point of durational time by themselves. The following is a good example:

(i) k + kə- ÷l əce-kkaci chac-a ne-ass-ta  
 it-AC yesterday-till find-IM vomit-ASP-DEC  
 'One managed to find it out until yesterday'

- 25-a) totuk-i tɪl-ta  
 thief-NM be in-DEC  
 'A thief sneaks in'
- 25-b) ttam-i na-ta  
 swear-NM be out-DEC  
 'One has swear out'

It is absurd to say that all one-place verbs precede *tɪl-ta* and *na-ta* when they become an implicated verb, as an implication.

- 26-a) \*kɪlip-a tɪl-ta (\*na-ta)  
 miss-IM be in-DEC (be out-DEC)
- 26-b) \*phulɪ-a tɪl-ta (\*na-ta)  
 blue-IM be in-DEC (\*be out-DEC)

They are a feeling verb and a state verb respectively in 26's). They are not in accord with implicative *tɪl-ta* and *na-ta*. To avoid these strings, let's assume that the implicative *tɪl-ta* and *na-ta* should follow action verbs. But this is too weak to get rid of the following strings as in 27's).

- 27-a) \*kət-a tɪl-ta (\*na-ta)  
 walk-IM be in-DEC (\*be out-DEC)
- 27-b) \*ca-a tɪl-ta (\*na-ta)  
 sleep-IM be in-DEC (be out-DEC)

They are action verbs, which act by themselves, and intransitive verbs in 27's).<sup>12</sup> Before we go on to develop a suitable constraint, let's investigate what sort of condition fits with *tɪl-ta* and *na-ta*.

- 28-a) tɪl-a ka-ta  
 be in-IM go-DEC

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12. I.S. YANG (1978) notes two kinds of verbs: a process-goal fused verb and a process-goal separated verb. Even if we can get rid of erroneous data such as 27's) by his classification, he does not propose any clear-cut and concrete criterion to divide the two verbs on discussion. Unhappily most verbs overlap the two divisions. This connotes that his findings rely more on logical grounds rather than on natural of grammatical grounds.

28-b) \*ka-a tɨl-ta  
go-IM be in-DEC

We can pick out at least two actions in 28's): 'to be in' and 'to go.' Let's suppose that two actions are separable and sequential. Can we single out an action as a preceding one in this regard? Unfortunately no one can answer it objectively. The action of going in 28-a) presupposes the state being in or inside. It entails the same state as the result of going. In other words, 'to be in' is accompanied by the action of going every second. By the above reason, the corpus in 28-b) is awkward. It does not tell about any action of entering nor any accompanied action. We can prove this observation by its implication.

28-c) tɨl-ta  
be in-DEC  
'to be in'

It is 28-c) that 28-a) implies. The state of *tɨl-ta* 'to be in' is the result of going as is the case in the above process. But if we regard 28-b) as an acceptable one and draw out its implication, then *ka-ta* 'to go' will result and this cannot tell us about the action of entering. It merely refers to the action of going which is indifferent to our discussion.

In fact, 28-a) means the action of going from the outside to the inside, in which case *tɨl-ta* means any transition towards the inside. Conversely *na-ta* designates any transition from the inside to the outside. The criterion to divide two rooms, inside and outside, is established by a speaker and a listener tacitly in the context of utterance.

Let's go back to ill-formed strings of 27's). They are verbs of mere action. We cannot think of any beginning and ending point separately from them. This makes them ungrammatical with *tɨl-ta* and *na-ta*. By the same token, we can explain the awkward string of 28-b) in which the verb refers to a mere action.

29-a) tamcang-ɨl nəm-a tɨl-ta  
fence-AC jump-IM be in-DEC  
'to enter jumping over a fence'  
29-b) ?tamcang-ɨl nəm-a na-ta  
fence-AC jump-IM be in-DEC

We can imagine two rooms easily in 29's): outside a fence and inside of it. Theoretically *nəm-ta* 'to jump' should be in harmony with *na-ta* and *tɨl-ta* in this regard. But we note in 29's) that it is only *tɨl-ta* which co-operates with *nəm-ta*. This seems to reflect the way of perception.<sup>13</sup>

- 30-a) chos-pul-i      tha-a      tɨl-ta  
 candle-light-NM burn-IM be in-DEC  
 'A candle light burns up'
- 30-b) \*chos-pul-i      tha-a      na-ta  
 candel-light-NM burn-IM be out-DEC
- 31-a) \*kkoch-i      phi-a      tɨl-ta  
 flower-NM bloom-IM be in-DEC
- 31-b) kkoch-i      phi-a      na-ta  
 flower-NM bloom-IM be out-DEC  
 'A flower blooms out'

The above examples tell us about the way of expressing our perceptions of those implicative verbs. For a candle light, it becomes reduced by burning itself. This reduction refers to a transition from existence into non-existence. A flower blooms out appearing suddenly from nowhere. This appearance, conversely, refers to a transition from nothing into something.<sup>14</sup>

- 32-a) ppaci-a      tɨl-ta  
 fall into-IM be in-DEC  
 'to fall into'
- 32-b) ppaci-a      na-ta  
 fall into-IM be out-DEC  
 'to slip away'

13. In the Jeju dialect *nəm-a na-ta*, which means 'to be taken or deceived,' is observable. But the preceding verb *nəm-ta* has nothing to do with the action of jumping. Rather it seems to share the common meaning with *nəm-a ci-ta*, which means 'to fall down,' in which it refers to a transition from a normal or undeceived state into a deceived or undesirable state.

14. This sort of meaning is quite natural for a single verb as in the following: *pul na-ta* 'A fire breaks out,' *kocang na-ta* 'It gets out of order,' *ssak na-ta* 'It sprouts out,' and so on.

- 33-a) ttui-a tɪl-ta  
 hop-IM be in-DEC  
 'to plunge into'
- 33-b) ttui-a na-ta  
 hop-IM be out-DEC  
 'to be distinguished'

The sentences which take both implicative verbs shed light on the issue we are discussing because they show very different meanings respectively. In 32's) we can add the case *-esə* 'from' to *na-ta* and *ɪlo* 'toward,' to *tɪl-ta*. The same holds true in 33's). If we substitute the cases with each other, then they, needless to say, become ungrammatical. By this observation, we can explain the unacceptable strings of 30-b) and 31-a). In a burning candle we can easily denote the terminal point, in which it burns out or up completely. Moreover *tɪl-ta* refers to a transition toward the terminal point which it reaches at last. This is the reason why the first sentence only holds true in 30's). On the contrary, a flower blooms from a bud, not toward a bud, which is the basis for blooming. Therefore 31-b) is acceptable, whereas 31-a) is not. The same speculation goes further in the 29's). Intuitively it is suitable to say 'to jump over a fence toward something' than 'to jump over a fence from something.' The action of jumping presupposes an intention toward a goal.

To summarise, the implicative *tɪl-ta* and *na-ta* follow actional verbs which fit transitions between outside and inside. Especially *tɪl-ta* means a transition from outside toward inside, whereas *na-ta* means from inside toward outside.<sup>15</sup>

3-3. The verbs *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come' are one-place predicates. They are very productive, if they become implicative verbs with the suffix *-a*, and represent a progressing process of an action. This sense is clear when they follow the so-called *verbs of accomplishment* in which we can imagine a terminal or a goal to be reached.<sup>16</sup>

15. An apparent homogeneous morpheme is observable in the Jeju dialect. As in *mək-anass-ta* (eat-retrospective morph-DEC), we note the *-anass*-form. But this is not the implicative construction. We can prove this by adding the unfinished aspect *-nɪn-* to it. It is quite natural for *-nɪn-* to follow the implicative verb. But we cannot substitute *-ass-* for *-nɪn-* in *mək-anass-ta*. The morpheme *-nass-* is not separable into *-na-* and *-ass-* at all. This is an autonomus ending by itself.

16. I.S. YANG (1978) says that it is a progress along the set course toward the set terminus.

- 34-a) *cip-ɨl cis-a ka-ɨn-ta*  
 house-AC build-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'One is going to finish building a house'
- 34-b) *cip-ɨl ta cis-a ka-ɨn-ta*  
 house-AC almost build-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'One almost finishes building a house'
- 34-c) *cip-ɨl cis-ɨn-ta*  
 house-AC build-ASP-DEC  
 'One builds a house'

We can imagine a progressive action of building a house in 34-a). This improvement is clearly demonstrated by the adverb *ta* 'almost' in 34-b). Both 34-a) and b) imply 34-c). The implicated sentence, however, is subject to at least two interpretations: firstly the present reading and secondly the future reading.

- 34-c') *cik-ɨm cip-ɨl cis-ɨn-ta*  
 now house-AC build-ASP-DEC  
 'One builds a house at the moment'
- 34-c'') *nenyən-e cip-ɨl cis-ɨn-ta*  
 next year-LM house-AC build-ASP-DEC  
 'One builds a house next year'

The two readings are due to the action aspect ending *-ɨn-* which feature is so unfinished that there can be two phases such as commencement-unfinished and uncommencement-unfinished, i.e., present and future roughly. The real implication for 34-a) and b) is, needless to say, the present one. This can be clarified by the ungrammaticality of 34-a').

- 34-a') \**nenyən-e cip-ɨl ci-a ka-ɨn-ta*  
 next year-LM house-AC build-IM go-ASP-DEC

Now we can claim that the implicative *ka-ta* should guarantee an actual performance of a preceding verb action and it denotes furthermore a certain degree of progress of the performance. In short, it has a breadth of action in which there should be a point of departure and also a point of terminus.

Concerning the width of action, the following exemplify this easily.

- 35-a) ton-i cəm-cəm cul-a ka- i n-ta  
 money-NM more and more reduce-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'Money becomes shorter more and more'
- 35-b) \*ton-i cəm-cəm iss-a ka- i n-ta  
 money-NM more and more exist-IM go-ASP-DEC

The first sentence shows a gradual disappearance from a certain amount of money. We think of a certain width or a certain amount of money being reduced from a certain quantity into a relatively small quantity. But in 35-b) it is very hard to make a breadth between the state of non-being and the state of being. The verb *iss-ta* 'to be or exist' cannot take *ka-ta* 'to go' as its following implicative verb in this regard. The so-called *verbs of point-time* are the same sort of examples which do not fit to the implicative *ka-ta* and *o-ta* by the same reason.

- 36-a) \*cha-a ka- i n-ta  
 kick-IM go-ASP-DEC
- 36-b) \*tənci-a ka- i n-ta  
 throw-IM go-ASP-DEC

No one can imagine any breadth between before kicking and after kicking in 36-a) and between before throwing and after throwing in 36-b) only if there is a performer and an object. However if we give special situations such as a number of performers and an object or a performer and a number of objects to 36's), then we can recuperate the grammaticality.

- 37-a) hana-hana cha-a ka- i n-ta  
 one by one kick-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'One kicks them one by one'
- 37-b) hana-hana tənci-a ka- i n-ta  
 one by one throw-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'One throws them away one by one'

We can imagine any width in each sentence where *ka-ta* refers to the process of throwing and kicking from one object to another individually.

Now let's attempt to establish an appropriate norm to use the implicative *ka-ta* and *o-ta* exclusively.

- 38-a) *honsu sangthe-lo t + l-a ka-ass-ta*  
 comatose condition-LM enter-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'One became to fall into a lethargic condition'
- 38-b) \**honsu sangthe-lo t + l-a o-ass-ta*  
 comatose condition-LM enter-IM come-ASP-DEC
- 39-a) *kike-i cal tol-a ka- + n-ta*  
 machine-NM well spin-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'A machine works well'
- 39-b) \**kike-i cal tol-a o- + n-ta*  
 machine-NM well spin-IM come-ASP-DEC

The above sentences have their performers and speakers differently. Undoubtedly all verbs have a certain width: before falling into lethargy, the beginning of lethargy, and falling deeply into it in 38-a). In the same manner, a poor working state, a well working state, and an onward state in 39-a). It is the only acceptable string in which the implicative *ka-ta* is realized. This fact demonstrates to us the usage of the implicative verbs. The verb *o-ta* is realized only if a speaker is in the terminal point to which a performer will at last reach. If not so, then one can use *ka-ta*.<sup>17</sup> The unacceptable data of 38-b) and 39-b) are the violation of the speaker's existence in the terminus of an action.

- 40-a) *ice-putə cangma-lo toi-a ka- + n-ta*  
 now from rainy weather as become-IM go-ASP-DEC  
 'It becomes or will become rainy weather from now on'
- 40-b) \**ice-kkaci cangma-lo toi-a ka- + n-ta*  
 now till rainy weather as become-IM go-ASP-DEC
- 41-a) \**ice-putə cangma-lo toi-a o- + n-ta*  
 now from rainy weather as become-IM come-ASP-DEC
- 41-b) *ice-kkaci cangma-lo toi-a o- + n-ta*  
 now till rainy weather as become-IM come-ASP-DEC  
 'It has been rainy weather till now'

17. K.D.LEE (1977) proposes at least seven norms for using *o-ta* and *ka-ta*. His norms, however, fail to explain the ungrammatical data of 38-b) and 39-b), even though they look precise as much as they are complicated. We can add another counter example against his norms such as \**us-a o-ta* (smile-IM come-DEC). It is also doubtful if we actually keep such complex norms in the inventory of our linguistic intuition.



The speaker in 40's) should be in a far or distant location from the place in which the terminal action of a verb occurs. By *ice-kkaci* 'till now' we know that the speaker is in the terminal place of an action. This is why 40-b) is incorrect. Conversely, the speaker in 41's) should be in the final point of an action because of the implicative *o-ta*. Therefore the only felicitous case is not *-putə* 'from' which designates the starting point but *-kkaci* 'till' which means the final point of an action.

42-a) *chup-a ka-ɨ n-ta*  
cold-IM go-ASP-DEC  
'It becomes cold'

42-b) *chup-a o-ɨ n-ta*  
cold-IM come-ASP-DEC  
'It becomes cold'

Even though the translation is the same one, they show different situations by their implicative verbs. The speaker of 42-a) should be away from the final ending of progressing coldness, which means he is in a warm or mild place. The speaker, however, in the second sentence should be in the final stage of progressing coldness, which means the final stage—coldness—remains within himself. So one who feels that cold is the speaker of 42-b).

To summarise, the implicative *ka-ta* and *o-ta* freely follow any predicates which guarantee progressing aspects between the point of departure and the point of terminus. Otherwise, special conditions such as numberable performers or objects have to be prepared to read any breadth of an action to which a predicate refers.

**3-4-1.** The verb *ac-ta*, which means literally 'to take,' is a two-place verb. When it follows the implicative suffix *-a*, it does not seem to co-occur with such one-place predicates as feeling verbs and state verbs as in the following examples.

43-a) \**kɨ lip-a ac-ak ɨ ne ul-ɨ n-ta*  
miss-IM take-SEQ cry-ASP-DEC

43-b) \**ətup-a ac-ak ɨ ne o-ɨ n-ta*  
dark-IM take-SEQ come-ASP-DEC

But the same one-place predicate such as an intransitive verb goes with it as in 44)

- 44) nup-a ac-ak ÷ ne chek- ÷ l po- ÷ n-ta  
 lie-IM take-SEQ book-AC see-ASP-DEC  
 'One lies down and reads a book'

We cannot accordingly claim that the implicative *ac-* permits exclusively two-place predicates for its preceding slit. Rather we have to find some other constraint, in which it seems that actional verbs can be placed in that slit. Since neither a feeling verb nor a state verb take any imperative ending and the progressive aspects, we can exclude them from the category of actional verbs.

The implicative verb *ac-* takes in all cases the sequential suffix *-ak ÷ ne*. This never happens with final endings.

- 45) \*chek- ÷ l po-a ac-ass-ta  
 book-AC see-IM take-ASP-DEC

We can suppose at least two possible ways of influence between the implicative verb and the following suffix. In the first place a suffix binds a preceding lexicon. Or secondly on the contrary a lexicon chooses a suitable suffix. The first speculation, however, does not fit to explain the following sentences which gain grammatical acceptability again by deleting the implicative construction from 43-a) and b).

- 43-a) k ÷ lip-ak ÷ ne ul- ÷ n-ta<sup>18</sup>  
 miss-SEQ cry-ASP-DEC  
 'One cries because he misses someone'

18. Note that the following are quite acceptable in the Seoul dialect.

- (i) k ÷ lip-a kac-ko ul- ÷ n-ta  
 miss-IM take-SEQ cry-ASP-DEC  
 'One cries because he misses someone'
- (ii) atup-a kac-ko o- ÷ n-ta  
 dark-IM take-SEQ come-ASP-DEC  
 'One comes when it is dark'

The implicative construction *-a kac-ko* freely follows any verbs including state verbs and feeling verbs as well. As far as the writer's intuition is concerned, it is interchangeable for the sequential suffix *-asə* in all cases. This means that they have the same value and the same distribution.

Let's drop the implicative construction from (i) and (ii) to see what happens.

- (iii) ?k ÷ lip-ko ul- ÷ n-ta  
 miss-ARR cry-ASP-DEC 'One misses someone and he cries'

43-b') ətup-ak + ne o- + n-ta  
 dark-SEQ come-ASP-DEC  
 'One comes when it is dark'

If we assume the first speculation is correct, then still 43-a') and b') should remain ungrammatical because the verb *ac-* is bound to the following suffix and the suffix violates the grammaticality. But this is not true. As long as 43-a') and b') hold, we should say that the violation is caused by the verb *ac-* in an alternative way.

Before mentioning what feature makes *ac-* take the suffix *-ak + ne*, let's see how *-ak + ne* functions. In the sequential suffix there are two complementary candidates: *-ane* and *-ak + ne*. They share the same characteristics except for their aspectual contrast in the Jeju dialect. The former *-ane* has [+ commence, ± complete] which refers to the actional progress of the verb concerned. The latter *-ak + ne* has [± commence, -complete] (for the details, see J.H. Kim 1982). They should keep the equi-subject constraint except when a preceding sentence embedded is not a time-expression. The implicative *ac-* designates a performer's active phase. It fur-

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(iv) \*ətup-ko o- + n-ta  
 dark-ARR come-ASP-DEC

The deleted sentences are very awkward. If one says (iii) still can be read, then it surely comes from the reason that similar situations occur together accidentally and the situations, by a hearer's sense, are interpreted as having a certain connection or relation. Strictly speaking, the possible interpretation of (iii) has derived from some sort of original form as in (v), in which the same aspect of verbs can be deleted by combining them into one sentence.

(v) k + lip-ta. k + liko ul- + n-ta  
 miss-DEC. And cry-ASP-DEC.  
 'One misses someone' 'And one cries'

It should be noted that this merely happens by chance. We cannot manipulate (iv) in the same manner because the two components are too far to be combined.

The suffix *-ko* has two functions: firstly it arranges things spatially and secondly it arranges them sequentially. The first one is its original meaning and it extends its meaning toward the sequential reading which the suffixes *-asə* and *-mysə* maintained for their meaning (for the details see J.H.KIM 1982:16-36).

The implicative construction *-a kac-* makes the following suffix *-ko* have the sequential reading entirely. In other words, the implicative construction *-a kac-* takes the role of puppet to bridge a preceding verb and the sequential *-ko* in the Seoul dialect.

thermore requires the same performer in a subsequent sentence which fits well to the condition of the sequential suffix. The writer suspects that this same subject constraint between a complement and a matrix ties up *ac-* and *-ak ÷ ne* as it is. The distribution of the suffix *-ak ÷ ne*, however, is larger than that of the implicative construction *-a ac-ak ÷ ne*. This is a good comparison with the Seoul dialect in which they are arbitrarily interchangeable.

3-4-2. The pair verb *noh-ta* 'to put' seems to fit to a locational expression.<sup>19</sup>

- 46) *k ÷ kos-e noh-ala*  
 the place-LM put-IMP  
 'Put it in the place'

We can find interesting examples which mean 'not to take' as the opposite of 'to take.'

- 47-a) *ma ÷ m- ÷ l noh-ta*  
 mind-AC put-DEC  
 'to release one's attention'
- 47-b) *pus- ÷ l noh-ta*  
 brush-AC put-DEC  
 'to lay down one's brush or cease to write'

The above data still maintains a locational sense. They refer to putting something in uncontrolled conditions. If this verb becomes an implicative verb, the sort of locational requirement is still preserved. This can be shown clearly if a preceding verb makes mention of any result. Verbs of accomplishment in this respect are quite compatible with the implicative *noh-*.

- 48) *mant ÷ l-a noh-ta*  
 make-IM put-DEC  
 'to finish to make something'

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19. Mostly, the final sound *h* as in the stem *noh-* is weakened before a following vowel so that the surface form is realized as *no-*. When a consonant follows immediately, the final *h* makes it aspirated.

Since verbs of mere activity hardly ever result in any consequence, they cannot co-occur with the implicative *noh-ta*.

- 49) \*kət-a noh-ta  
walk-IM put-DEC

Those verbs of feeling such as *k+i lip-ta* 'to miss' and so on are incompatible because any volitional or voluntary action is impossible.

- 50) \*k+i lip-a noh-ta  
miss-IM put-DEC

The implicative *noh-* sometimes indicates the result of an action.

- 51-a) \*nɔp-a noh-ass-ta  
high-IM put-ASP-DEC  
51-b) nɔp-hi-a noh-ass-ta  
high-CAU-IM put-ASP-DEC  
'One has made it high'

The state verb *nɔp-ta* 'to be high' is unsuitable because it cannot act volitionally in 51-a). But the second sentence has a causative suffix and there should be a performer marked by the causative suffix. This satisfies the condition of fulfilling an action and making a result of it which the implicative *noh-ta* requires.

**3-5-1.** The verb *pul-ta* means 'to abandon' literally. When it becomes an implicative verb, it freely follows any verb so that there is no restriction in the least. The difference between a fact description and the implicative construction is very clear

- 52-a) pyəng- +l kke-ass-ta  
bottle-AC break-ASP-DEC  
'One broke a bottle'  
52-b) pyəng- +l kke-a pul-ass-ta  
bottle-AC break-IM abandon-ASP-DEC  
'One has broken a bottle purposely'

The first sentence merely describes the fact that a bottle was broken and someone

broke it. But the second one says more than the fact, which is its implication sentence, on a performer and/or another related man.

52-b) \*uyənhi      pyəng- ɬl kke-a      pul-ass-ta  
 accidentally bottle-AC break-IM abandon-ASP-DEC

We cannot use such adverb as *uyənhi* 'accidentally' with the implicative *pul-ta* 'to abandon.' As the translation shows in 52-b), the implicative *pul-ta* connotes a performer's intention to break. This means that he should be a man who has an intention to break it on purpose, not by chance. His success is designated by the aspect of a final ending *-ass-* [+commence, +complete]. The following indirectly demonstrate this process.

53-a) kke-a      pul-ci      mal-ala  
 break-IM abandon-NEG forbid-IMP  
 'Do not break it (prohibition)'  
 53-b) \*kke-a      pul-ci      mosha- ɬ n-ta  
 break-IM abandon-NEG unable-ASP-DEC

The negative command or the prohibition in 53-a) is consistent with the implicative *pul-ta*. The prohibition here means forbidding someone to do by his intension and the prohibitor other than the performer of the preceding verb looks forward to some action not being performed. Let's call this *an illocutionary force of prohibition*.<sup>20</sup> It

20. We can compare this observation with that of K.D.LEE (1976). Even if he did not refer to this as an implicative construction, he mentioned it as a figurative extension in two ways: (i) it spoils a speaker's expectation and (ii) it removes some psychological burden or hindrance. The figurative *pəli-ta*, furthermore, expresses a speaker's evaluation or attitude toward an event or a situation. His statements, by the way, seem to conflict with each other if the burden of (ii) is a speaker's. Moreover the concept *speaker* does not work well in any situation.

(iii) mən-ci- ɬl ttəl-a      pəli-ala  
 dust-AC shake off-IM abandon-IMP  
 'Do shake off the dust'

The speaker in (iii) commands one to shake off the dust. So the result of the action never spoils the speaker's expectation at all. The following is another counter example against his second statement.

describes in 53-b) someone's limitation in his ability. So it is not relevant to any intention which *pul-ta* supplies. This is why 53-b) is wrong.

We can postulate the connotations overtly in which the implicative *pul-ta* keeps as in the following.

- i) There should be a fact to which the implication of *pul-ta* refers.
- ii) Before the fact is accomplished by a performer, there has been an illocutionary force of prohibition by others.
- iii) The performer, however, constantly has an intention to fulfill the fact.

As we mentioned early, the implicative *pul-ta* is tolerant so as to follow all kinds of verbs.

- 54-a) *nəmu kipp-ɨ-a pul-nan nunmul na-ɨ n-ta*  
 too much joyous-IM abandon-REA tear be out-ASP-DEC  
 'Tears flow because of too much joy'
- 54-b) *nal-i ətup-a pul-nan mos po-ɨ n-ta*  
 day-NM dark-IM abandon-REA unable see-ASP-DEC  
 'No one can see because of darkness'

Here are a feeling verb *kipp-ɨ-ta* 'to be joyous' in 54-a) and a state verb *ətup-ta* 'to be dark' in 54-b). One might suspect that both of them bring some difficulty on the postulate to be applied because they have no performer with any intention. Note the concessive phrase in the following sentence as a solution.

- 55) *na-to mol-ɨ-n-ɨ n sai-e, nal-i ətup-a pul-ass-ta*  
*be unaware of day-NM dark-IM abandon-ASP-DEC*  
 'It becomes dark without knowing it'

- 
- (iv) *kil-ɨ m-i ttəl-a ci-a pəli-ass-ta*  
 oil-NM exhaust-IM be done-IM abandon-ASP-DEC  
 'Oil is used up or all gone'

The oil exhaustion is a kind of regret, not a removal of burden in (iv). We can explain these counter examples by our device easily. They are similar to the examples 54-56) in the text. They have personified performers: *mənci* 'dust' and *kil-ɨ m* 'oil.' We can observe in (iv) another implicative construction inside: *-a ci-ta* which means for someone or something to follow the due or supposed course (for more details, see the section 3-6) of this paper).

For the speaker, he did not want it to become dark. This might be called a prohibition of darkness. But days go as they go. So we can suppose that day is itself a performer which works by its own nature. Or we can explain it as a case of personification in an alternative way.

For the example of 54-a), we can yet draw out a performer by the same token.

- 56-a) *nəmu*    *kipp* † -a    *pul-ass-ta*  
 too much joyous-IM abandon-ASP-DEC  
 'Too much joy has been resulted'
- 56-b) ???*kipp* † -a    *pul-ass-ta*  
 joyous-IM abandon-ASP-DEC

The verb *pul-ta* co-occurs with the adverb *nəmu* which means overdegree or over norm. Now we can imagine a performer whose feeling is elevated from a lower state of a supposed norm into a higher state by any circumstance. Even if it is not an animated performer, it is the circumstance that elevates his feeling towards a higher state than an expected norm. An evaluator who poses such a norm is the prohibitor in this sentence.

**3-5-2.** The verb *tu-ta*, which means 'to keep' as the counter-pair of *pul-ta* 'to abandon,' requires a locational expression. For instance, even in idiomatic expressions with no apparent place designation, we can reconstruct some suitable candidates of location.

- 57-a) at †l- †l *tu-ta*  
 son-AC keep-DEC  
 'to have a son'
- 57-b) *patuk*- †l *tu-ta*  
 patuk-AC keep-DEC  
 'to have a game of patuk'

The first one can be completed by adding *s †l-ha-e* (knee-under-LM) 'under one's knee.'<sup>21</sup> So is the same in the second example. We can add the locational expres-

21. Of course this cannot be read literally. One has to understand the cultural background to see what it means. Traditionally we have kept a rank system in families by nodes. *Under* means in this sense 'under a certain node rank.' It is regarded that all family members sit and rest at home in a sense. *Knee*



sion 'on a patuk board' or 'on a checkboard.'

We have seen the same kind of trait before in the section of *noh-ta* 'to put.' Even though they share the same sort of tendency, they keep their own meanings separately as is demonstrated below.

- 58) ma ÷ m tu-ta  
 mind keep-DEC  
 'to keep something in mind'
- 59) ma ÷ m noh-ta  
 mind put-DEC  
 'to set one's mind at ease'

While 59) means 'to put one's mind in an uncontrolled condition,' 58) signifies 'to keep one's mind in a controlled condition.' The two verbs, however, are not always in complementary distribution. They can occur subsequently.

- 60-a) noh-a tu-ta  
 put-IM keep-DEC  
 'to put something on and keep it on'
- 60-b) \*tu-a noh-ta  
 keep-IM put-DEC

The sentence 60-a) means that the object of the verb *noh-ta* 'to put' is released by a performer who performs the action intentionally and the released state is preserved onward. The second example, 60-b), does not make sense because the released state cannot precede the action of releasing.

Due to the compulsion of keeping as demonstrated in 58), the implicative *tu-ta* 'to keep' cannot be realized in a passive sentence whereas *noh-ta* 'to put' co-occurs with it. In fact the state of release as shown in 59) is free from any force. But we should bear in mind that a passive (or causative) marker refers to a progress and a mode of action before reaching a released state in the implicative *noh-ta*.

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can refer to one at home in this regard. Or possibly an offspring can bow as showing his respect to an upper limit, i.e., knee, because no descendant greets his ancestor head to head. So the writer suspects that the compositional meaning goes like 'under your rank in your family' or the like.

- 60-a) \*mək-hi-a tu-nan,  
eat-PAS-IM keep-REA,  
60-b) mək-hi-a noh-nan,  
eat-PAS-IM put-REA,  
'since something is eaten,'

Verbs of feeling such as *k ɿ lip-ta* 'to miss' and *c ɿ lkəp-ta* 'to be joyous' and state verbs such as *malk-ta* 'to be clear' and *sik-ta* 'to be cool' cannot be included in a well-formed string with the implicative *tu-ta* 'to keep.'

- 62-a) \*k ɿ lip-a tu-ta  
miss-IM keep-DEC  
62-b) \*sik-a tu-ta  
cool-IM keep-DEC

If a state verb has a causative suffix in order to guarantee an actional phase, it recovers grammaticality.

- 62-b) sik-hi-a tu-ta  
cool-CAU-IM keep-DEC  
'to make something cool and continue to keep in the same state'

Verbs of mere action are also incompatible with the implicative *tu-ta*, because they cannot, by themselves, designate any resultant state. The syntactic characteristics of *tu-ta* are quite similar to those of *noh-ta*.

3-6. The verb *ci-ta* and *po-ta*<sup>22</sup> have the same implication.

22. Literally *po-ta* means 'to see.' It is not yet clear what *ci-ta* designates literally because we have some homophonous words relating to *ci-ta*. Let's exclude them by their syntactic differences.

The *ci-ta* which means 'to carry something on one's back' is a two-place verb. So we exclude it from consideration. Another *ci-ta* which means 'to be defeated' deserves an imperative ending: *k ɿ ssaum-e ci-ala* (the battle-LM be defeated-IMP) 'Lose the battle or race.' This is a different one from the *ci-ta* which cannot co-occur with any imperative ending as is demonstrated in 64-b) in the text.

- 63-a) k + kə- i l mək-a po-ass-ta  
 it-AC eat-IM see-ASP-DEC  
 'One experienced having eaten it before (by his intention)'
- 63-b) k + kə- i l mək-a ci-ass-ta  
 it-AC eat-IM be done-ASP-DEC  
 'One has experienced eaten it (regardless of his intention)'
- 63-c) k + kə- i l mək-ass-ta  
 it-AC eat-ASP-DEC  
 'One ate it'

Both 63-a) and b) have the same implication as in 63-c). Even though they share the same implication, they cannot be substituted for each other arbitrarily.

- 64-a) ppalli ttui-a po-ala  
 fast run-IM see-IMP  
 'Try to run fast'
- 64-b) \*ppalli ttui-a ci-ala  
 fast run-IM be done-IMP
- 65-a) \*cəllo ik-a po-ass-ta  
 automatically mature-IM see-ASP-DEC
- 65-b) cəllo ik-a ci-ass-ta  
 automatically mature-IM be done-ASP-DEC  
 'Something matures by itself'

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We can find two meanings of *ci-ta* about which we are talking. In the first place *ci-ta* means 'to come into being' as in *mo-i ci-ta* 'to become stiffy,' *əlluk-i ci-ta* 'to become stained,' *is + l-i ci-ta* 'to become dewy,' and so on. Secondly it means 'to come into non-existence or nothing' as in *he-i ci-ta* 'to become sun-set,' *khoch-i ci-ta* 'to become flower-fall,' and so forth.

We can here set up an infra-meaning of them such as 'to follow the due way or presupposed course by its nature' or 'to become the due state or presupposed condition by its attribute.' If some motional condition is oriented in a sentence in this regard, then it means 'to follow the due way' regardless of any intention as in the cases of sun-set and flower-fall. If not, then it reads 'to become the due state' by a situation without knowing it.

The implicative meaning of *ci-ta* also reflects the infra-meaning. But the writer translates it simply 'to be done' for the convenience of writing.

In 64-a) a speaker commands a performer who can run fast. Besides the implication of 64-a), it further connotes that the speaker has an expectation for him to run fast and the result will affect the speaker's satisfaction or knowledge. But in 64-b) we have a verb of attribute *ik-ta* 'to mature' which does not deserve any imperative endings. The verb *ik-ta* denotes a change of state in time because of its innate attributes or nature. For instance, let's think of any grain growing. We cannot command it. On the other hand, we can help it grow faster or more fully. The same is true for the implicative *ci-ta*, which cannot be used with an imperative ending. Instead this occurs for describing automatic or natural phenomena as in 65-b).

66-a) k ÷ kə ha-a po-kess-ta  
it do-IM see-MOD-DEC

'One will try to do it'

66-b) k ÷ kə ha-a ci-kess-ta  
it do-IM be done-MOD-DEC

'One can do it'

66-c) k ÷ kə ha-kess-ta  
it do-MOD-DEC

'One wants to do it' or 'One is guessed to have ability to do it'

The examples above are interesting in showing the difference between *po-ta* and *ci-ta* clearly. The implication has at least two readings which come from the two meanings of the modal marker *-kess-* (will and conjecture). The *po-ta* datum of 66-a) means that one wants to do it and he promises to try to do it. But there is no indication whether he can or will succeed. So it implies that one wants to do it. But in 66-b) we can conjecture if he will be successful or not. This meaning relies on the nature of the implicative *ci-ta* which represents an attribute or characteristic of something or someone. In the case of 66-b) it means one's ability. This does not convey his efforts in the least. So the implication for 66-b) is that one is assumed to have ability to do it.

In short, when we use the implicative *po-ta* 'to see', nobody presupposes a determined route or way for a performer to do or perform. Instead one presupposes that a performer selects a way and performs it with his own effort. It emphasizes *experiencing by himself*. Conversely the pair *ci-ta* 'to be seen' presupposes a determined way by its very attributes or nature. A performer follows a certain way regardless of his intention. It is its own nature to do that way.

When a pre-determined way is presupposed by a speaker in the implicative *ci-ta*,

then the sentence delivers a passive recognition of the world.<sup>23</sup> Moreover it can be a polite way of expression. For a hearer, it would be convenient if a performer follows the direction in which the hearer or any other else can predict with ease or can presuppose. In this case it is not expected for the performer to violate any convention even a bit. The typical example is found in a paper to claim something as a concluding remark.<sup>24</sup>

- 67) ....la-ka po-a ci-†n-ta  
 ....as see-IM be seen-ASP-DEC  
 'A phenomenon can be seen as such and such'

- 
23. Most articles regard *ci-ta* as a passivization. It is H.B. IM (1977 and 1983) who begins to argue against this view. He establishes the norms of passivization to exclude the implicative *ci-ta* from passivizations. The writer agrees with him. But the meaning of *ci-ta* here is different. He (H.B. IM 1977) claims the meaning of *ci-ta* to be 'something comes into being or some change takes place.' This covers only a part of the meaning and his statement concerns an observer's view. Our statement refers to a performer's aspect as well.
24. K.D. LEE (1978-a) investigates the implicative *ci-ta* as a passivization. He further claims its connotation as follows: (i) a speaker wants the action of a verb to be done; (ii) the speaker takes a role covertly for reaching the result of the action; (iii) there follows some difficulty to finish the process of the action. However his statement cannot treat the following counter examples.

- (i) os-i cəcəllo pəs-a ci-ta  
 cloth-NM by itself put off-IM be done-DEC  
 'A cloth is removed automatically'
- (ii) han†l-i noph-a ci-ta  
 heaven-NM high-IM be done-DEC  
 'Heaven is elevated (in fall)'

The above examples have nothing to do with a speaker's role. Rather they are related to the attributes of a thing.

- (iii) kil-i cop-a ci-ass-ta  
 road-NM narrow-IM be done-ASP-DEC

The example (iii) has two readings. The first is an impression of a road because of a speaker's being fatter than before, in which it is interpreted as 'In my impression the road seems to be narrowed.' The second is the result of narrowing action which reads 'The road is narrowed.' The two readings refer to the state being narrowed in common. This is regarded as the attribute of road.

The implicative *po-ta* delivers an active phase of an action, in which performance may result in harm for the performer or will benefit him according to the circumstances.

- 68-a) pulheng- +l tangha-a po-ta  
 misfortune-AC entercounter-IM see-DEC  
 'to meet actually with a misfortune'
- 68-b) ttæk- +l mæk-a po-ta  
 bread-AC eat-IM see-DEC  
 'to experience eating a loaf of bread'

Due to its active phase of the implicative *po-ta* it cannot follow such verbs as a state verb *ik-ta* 'to mature,' a feeling verb *cilkaþ-ta* 'to be joyous,' and an attribute verb *malk-ta* 'to be clean.'

3-7. The verb *cu-ta* which means 'to give' is a three-place predicate. There should be at least a giving performer, a receiver, and an object to give. If this verb makes an implicative construction with *-a*, however, it freely follows even one-place predicates such as an attribute verb *malk-ta* 'to be clean' and a state verb *ik-ta* 'to mature.'<sup>25</sup>

- 69-a) han + l-i malk-a cu-ass- + myən coh-kess-ta  
 heaven-NM clean-IM give-ASP-CON good-MOD-DEC  
 'It would be good if (or I hope that) it is fine weather'
- 69-b) ppali phi-a cu-ass- + myən coh-kess-ta  
 fast bloom-IM give-ASP-CON good-MOD-DEC  
 'It would be good if (or I hope that) it blooms fast'

Verbs of mere activity such as *ca-ta* 'to sleep' and *kæt-ta* 'to walk' become ill-formed unless there is a supposed receiver as in the following.

25. K.D. LEE (1979) claims that the preceding verb of *cu-ta* should be an actional verb where a subject performs the action with his intention and consciousness. Unfortunately the sentences of 69's) are just counter-examples against his claim. They are quite acceptable without any doubt. The *cu-ta* does not require any condition of a performer. Instead it requires the condition of a receiver among other things.

- 70-a) ??ca-a cu-ta  
 sleep-IM give-DEC
- 70-b) ??kət-a cu-ta  
 walk-IM give-DEC
- 71-a) *tesin* ca-a cu-ta  
*instead* sleep-IM give-DEC  
 'to sleep for others'
- 71-b) *tesin* kət-a cu-ta  
*instead* walk-IM give-DEC  
 'to walk for others'

Only a causative reading is permitted in the implicative *cu-ta* structure, even though two readings of passive and causative are possible as in 72's). We have a maker and a performer in a causative sentence at least, in which the maker becomes a receiver.

- 72-a) po-i-ta  
 see-CAU or PAS-DEC  
 'to make it seen or to be seen'
- 72-b) po-i-a cu-ta  
 see-CAU-IM give-DEC  
 'to make it seen for others'

By the above observation, we can set up a constraint of the implicative *cu-ta* 'to give' in which there should be a receiver at any rate other than a performer. The result of *cu-ta* does not bring benefit for a receiver customarily. Sometimes it brings a negative result for him such as misfortune or harm as in 73's).<sup>26</sup>

- 73-a) *hoa* + l pul + -a cu-ta  
 misfortune-AC call-IM give-DEC  
 'to bring a calamity upon oneself'

26. D.W. YANG (1979) formalizes the original meaning and the extended one by a conversational meaning postulate as follows:

[ GIVE (something) TO/FOR (someone)  
 DO (something) TO/FOR (someone)

His postulate tells the truth in part as long as 'TO/FOR (someone)' is engaged in his formalization. But this still refers to an active performer just like K.D. LEE (1979).

- 73-b) *cuk-i-a*      *cu-ta*  
 kill-CAU-IM give-DEC  
 'to be very hard up like killing oneself'

Those verbs which cannot guarantee any receiver overtly are unhappy with the implicative *cu-ta*: a feeling verb and a retroflexive verb.

- 74-a) \**c i lkəp-a* *cu-ta*  
 joyous-IM give-DEC  
 74-b) \**kkum- i l kku-a*      *cu-ta*  
 dream-AC dream-IM give-DEC

The verb *tv-la* has the imperative ending *-ala* with it all the time. The meaning can be shown by a lexical decomposition such as 'to ask' and 'to give.' In other words, it means to ask a person to give something. It seems to have the special ending because of its meaning of request. The syntactic behavior is the same one as *cu-ta*.

4-1. So far, we have investigated the fourteen implicative verbs in the view of syntacto-semantics. Among them the one-place implicative verbs such as *t i l-ta* 'to be in' and *na-ta* 'to be out' *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come' designate certain directions so that they keep each suitable case. Others are two or three-place verbs. There are very tolerable or less-constrained verbs such as *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come' *pul-ta* 'to abandon' *cu-ta* 'to give' and *tv-la* 'to ask' to follow any preceding verbs due to their special condition. They have in common conditions of, roughly, a speaker or an observer other than a performer. Their free tendency seems to rely on these conditions which are fulfilled easily at any time and in any linguistic situation rather than performers' conditions where we should give thought to state verbs, attribute verbs, feeling verbs and so on.

The implicative verbs which follow preceding actional verbs are *mək-ta* 'to eat' and *ne-ta* 'to vomit' *t i l-ta* 'to be in' and *na-ta* 'to be out' *ac-ta* 'to take' and *noh-ta* 'to put' *tu-ta* 'to keep' *po-ta* 'to see.' Especially for *mək-ta* 'to eat,' the result of an action should be preserved within the performer himself. The verbs *noh-ta* 'to put' and *tu-ta* 'to keep' fit resultant states of an action because of their attributes of locational expression. If a verb has a strict or complicated restriction, this means that the verb occurs in a very narrow scope. This sort of narrow realization seems to be from a performer's condition in the implicative verbs we have studied.



We have noted some verbs which co-occur with a component in an embedded sentence. When we make an implication, it is desirable for the component to be deleted from the implication. This means that we cannot segregate linguistic segments of a sentence only in a lineal order.

The order of realization for the implicative verbs is specific according to a language. It seems to show a way of perceiving or recognizing the world (cf. the table in the section 2). It should be pointed out that the order of them is not that strict except within a meta-level, i.e., between 2 and 3·4 and 5. Three never precedes 2 nor 5 does precede 4. Except for these two cases it permits scrambling among them. For instance, 4 can go before 2. Six can take place flexibly before any implicative verbs except 1. Especially *ci-ta* 'to be done' is allowed in Korean orthography to adhere to a preceding verb without any splitting space just like a compound verb. This reflects its comprehensive realization of its condensedness with its preceding verbs.

We can classify the implicative verbs by meta-concepts: the first column tells about volitions of an action, second and third about directions of an action, fourth and fifth about possession of an action, sixth about modes of an action, and the last about receivers of an action.

4-2. The sentences we have dealt with in this paper have at least two verbs occurring consecutively. In other words, we noticed two more propositions subsequently linked, in which the implicative suffix *-a* served as a mediator: 'Q-a P.' By two propositions, however, it does not mean that two propositions are independent and work separately. Rather they constitute an autonomous proposition together. Q is an embedded sentence and P is a matrix one in a simple sense.

In the final part of 'Q-a P' we have a sentential ending. Here we can suspect at least three ways to which the ending belongs. Firstly the ending is dominated by Q, secondly by P, and lastly by both Q and P.

If the third assumption is true, then we have to permit the awkward claim that two propositions are individually self-sufficient. But this is not the fact as we have witnessed so far. As long as we accept the native intuition that *\*nəmu pul-ass-ta* (cf. data 54-56) is impossible, we should claim that some proposition binds other one. So we exclude this assumption from consideration.

Let's suppose that the first assumption holds true. Then we have to conclude that P is in Q by the following reason. If the ending is for Q exclusively, then Q is completed by the ending. But for P, it should be dependent on Q so as to be completed. So P comes to be included within Q. Incidentally, if it is so, then it is

contradictory to the definition of implication in which ' $P \rightarrow Q, \sim Q \rightarrow \sim P$ .'

By the definition of 4), we should claim that Q is in P conversely. Moreover, Q is a proper subset of P in which ground ' $\sim Q \rightarrow \sim P$ ' happens. The sentences we have examined support that Q is in P. Pair implicative verbs share the same implication with each other in case:  $P_1 \rightarrow Q, P_2 \rightarrow Q$ .  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  can intersect each other to some degree in which part Q should be included.<sup>27</sup>

Now we can conclude that P is larger than Q, Q is a subset of P, and the ending is added to P. This claim can be proved by concrete examples in the sections on *mək-ta* and *ne-ta·pul-ta* and *tu-ta* in which co-occurrence restrictions are observed. Q cannot be perfect without having P because the co-occurring components bring ungrammaticality to Q without P. Q can be read appropriately only when P is added to it.

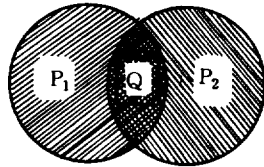
5. There is another suffix, *-ke*, which occurs between Q and P:  $Q\text{-}ke\text{ }P$ . But the function is very different from *-a*. The implicative suffix *-a* makes or denotes the relation of implication between the two:  $P \rightarrow Q$ . The suffix *-ke* functions differently as in the following.

75-a) os-ɪl ip-ke ha-ass-ta  
 cloth-AC wear-KE do-ASP-DEC  
 'Someone made one wear a cloth'

75-b) os-ɪl ip-ass-ta  
 cloth-AC wear-ASP-DEC  
 'One wore a cloth'

The sentence 75-a) never implies 75-b). Therefore we can introduce an opposite fact of 75-c) into 75-a).

27. If we represent the relation by a diagram, it would be as follows:



- 75-c) os- +l ip-ke ha-ass- +na an ip-ass-ta  
 cloth-AC wear-KE do-ASP-but not wear-ASP-DEC  
 'One made someone wear a cloth, but he did not wear it'

In the two propositions in 75-c) we can witness two different performers. Apparently the suffix *-ke* seems to be a causative marker because of the English translation 'to make.' But this is not so.

- 76-a) na- +l us +p-ke po-ta  
 me-AC funny-KE see-DEC  
 'to look down on me'  
 76-b) pap- +l mək-ke toi-ta  
 rice-AC eat-KE become-DEC  
 'to become to eat rice'

In 76's) we see the different translations. They hardly convey any meaning of 'to make.' In addition, we can find the same *-ke* in an adverbial form below.

- 77-a) sikan-i ppal + -ke ka- +n-ta  
 time-NM fast-KE go-ASP-DEC  
 'Time flies so fast'  
 77-b) sikan-i ppali ka- +n-ta  
 time-NM fast go-ASP-DEC  
 'Time goes so fast'  
 77-c) sikan-i ppal + -ta  
 time-NM fast-DEC  
 'Time is fast'

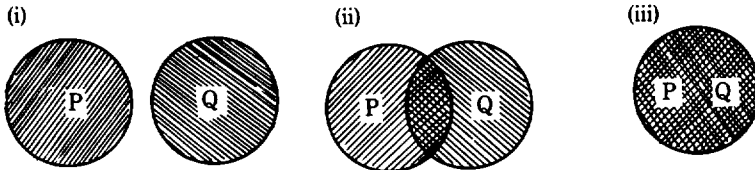
The example 77-a) never implies 77-c), whereas 77-b) implies 77-c). Instead 77-a) expresses someone's feeling that '*Time flies so fast*,' rather than the actual fact '*Time is fast*' due to the mechanical movement of a watch. Likewise in 76-a) the 'I' cannot be underestimated in spite of his regarding me so. It is never guaranteed in 76-b) whether someone eats rice or not, even though he comes to a state of eating it.

The suffix *-ke* as in 'Q-*ke* P' reads 'P∨Q, where P holds.' This means that P is true, if the sentence is sincerely uttered, regardless of the value of Q. So there

can be no part shared by P and Q, or possibly some part, or the whole part on occasion.<sup>28</sup> Needless to say the function 'P∨Q, where P holds' covers the adverb candidate as well. In 77-a) we can split the sentence into 'Time goes: P' and 'Time is fast: Q' in which P holds while Q is not a fact but rather one's impression. This is a good comparison with the implicative suffix -a in which 'P→Q, ~Q→~P' as long as 'Q-a P' is spoken quite appropriately.

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28.



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