

“Functional/syntax and semantics.”

A Contrastive Study of Resultative Constructions in Korean and Japanese

This paper investigates a contrastive study of both mono- and bi-clausal resultative constructions (“RC”) in Korean and Japanese. Resultative construction is a syntactic construction integrating two events to show a causal relationship, as in (1), which can be analyzed as [He watered the plant] CAUSE [The plant became flat].

RCs in Korean and Japanese have been analyzed mostly in comparison to those in English (Kim 1993, 1999, Kim & Maling 1997, Wechsler and Noh 2001 for the former, and Kageyama 1996, 2001, Washio 1997, Takami 1998 for the latter). A few contrastive studies between Korean and Japanese RCs have been ventured (Uehara et al. 2001, Uehara and Thepkanjana 2001), but these are problematic in several ways. First, they assume that neither Japanese *-ku/-ni* nor Korean *-key* allows depictive meaning (e.g. *raw* in *She ate the fish raw*), but as seen in (2), *-key* can provide a depictive meaning. Second, the analyses in these studies rely heavily on several controversial arguments in Kim and Maling 1997, Kim 1999, including the assertion in Kim 1999 that the process for forming mono-clausal RCs in Korean is more productive than that in English, but verb subcategorization for RC purposes is more restrictive than in English, as in (3) and (4) (cf. Lee and Lee 2003).

The paper proposes an alternative basis for distinction between difference between Korean and Japanese RCs, based on the aspectual category of the verb and the polysemy of *-key* forming causative as well as resultative constructions.

The analysis shows that Korean *-key* ‘so that’ can denote a change of state even with some verbs that are not change-of-state verbs, while Japanese equivalents *-ku/-ni* cannot. Therefore, *-ku/-ni* needs either a change-of-state verb *naru* ‘become’ or a result-denoting verb, such as *nobasu*, which forms a verb compound, as in (5). This distinction between *-key* and *-ku/-ni* can be explained by the fact that *-key* also forms the most productive syntactic “causative” constructions as well as RCs, while Japanese forms causative not by *-ku/-ni* but by lexical causative suffix *-(sa)se*, as in (6).

It is also supported by historical analysis of Korean. Middle Korean forms causative constructions by lexical causative suffix *-i* more productively than *-key*, as in (7). RCs with *-key* in Middle Korean are less productive than those in contemporary Korean in that participation of adjectives are more restrictive in front of *-key* in Middle Korean than in contemporary Korean. (cf. Park 1989).

The relationship between resultative and causative constructions is also discussed in Goldberg 1995. Goldberg argues that RCs are metaphorical extension of causative constructions in that the resultative construction crucially involves a metaphorical interpretation of the result phrase as metaphorical type of goal, as in (8).

The distinction between Korean and Japanese RCs both furthers our understanding of subtle differences in the syntactic expression of resultativity in Korean and Japanese, and that it may have further implications for the relationship between causative and resultative constructions across languages.

- (1) He watered the plant **flat**.
- (2) Mary-nun nokcha-lul cha-**key** masinta.
 Mary-TOP green.tea-ACC cold-KEY drink
 'Mary drinks green tea cold.'
- (3a) John kicked the door **open**.
- (3b) *John-i mun-ul yel-**key** chassta.
 John-NOM door-ACC open-KEY kicked
- (4a) The horses dragged the logs **smooth**.
- (4b) *mal-i thong.namu-lul putulep-**key** kkulessta.
 horse-NOM log-ACC smooth-KEY dragged
- (5) K: John-i kumsok-ul napcakra-**key** twutulkyessta.
 J: John-ga kinzoku-o taira-**ni** *tataita/[**naru-made** tataita]/tataki-**nobasi**-ta.
 John-NOM metal-ACC flat pounded/ become-till /pound-spread-PST
 'John pounded the metal flat.'
- (6) K: John-i Mary-lul hakkyo-ey [ka-**key** hayssta].
 John-NOM Mary-ACC school-to go-CAS did
 J: John-ga Mary-o gakkoo-ni ika-**se**-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC school-to go-CAS-PST
 'John made Mary go to school.'
- (7) pi-**lAl** nAilwa i tayci-**lAl** cec-**i-la** [Middle Korean,1459]
 rain-ACC drop this earth-ACC wet-CAS-DECL
 pi-ka naylye on ttang-ul cec-**key** hanta [Contemporary Korean]
 rain-NOM come.down all earth-ACC wet-CAS do
 'Raining made the earth wet.' (Park 1989: 51)
- (8a) Pat hammered the metal **flat**. [resultative]
 (8b) Pat threw the metal **off the table**. [causative] (Goldberg 1995: 81)

Selected Bibliography

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