

NOTES

- 1 This study is prompted by challenges encountered in linguistic work in East Asia. Problems similar to those in Korean and Chinese have been encountered also in minority languages of the People's Republic of China.
- 2 More detailed classifications, such as Sohn (1994: 8), distinguish six speech levels including intimate, familiar, and blunt forms of speech. Below the verb *pota* 'see' appears in all six forms:

plain	<i>po-nta</i>
intimate	<i>po-a</i>
familiar	<i>po-ney</i>
blunt	<i>po-o</i>
polite	<i>po-ayo</i>
deferential	<i>po-pnita</i>

An additional, superpolite, speech level appears in religious prayer, poems and in extremely formal letters (Sohn 1994: 10). The declarative ending for this is *-naita*.

- 3 In spoken Mandarin there is no distinction between 'he'/'she'/'it' which all sound *tā* irrespective of gender or animacy. In written language, however, these three senses are written with different characters.
- 4 When glossing Chinese examples, I have followed Li and Thompson's analysis of *le* (1989: 239). The verbal suffix *le* is glossed PFV. This *le* occurs right after the verb and indicates perfective aspect or boundedness of the event. The sentence final particle *le* is glossed CRS meaning Currently Relevant State. This *le* indicates that the state of affairs expressed in the sentence has special relevance with respect to some particular situation. For example, there could have been a change of state, the state is newly noticed, the sentence is used to correct a wrong assumption, etc. Some sentences end in a *le* which has a double function. The sentence is simultaneously perfective in meaning and the event is presented as currently relevant. Such a *le* is glossed PFV/CRS.
- 5 The term *transitivity* derives from Latin meaning 'go across', i.e. something is extended from the subject to the object. The same thought is reflected also in Korean terms: a transitive verb is called *namwumcikssi* (a native Korean word) or *thatongsa* (derived from Chinese), meaning 'an entity moving others'. An intransitive verb is *ceywumcikssi* or *catongsa*, 'an entity moving itself'. The corresponding Chinese terms are *jíwù dòngcí* 'reach-thing verb' and *wújíwù dòngcí* 'not-reach-thing verb'.
- 6 Both objects and adverbials are problematic because they form such diverse classes of expression. For further problems in object and adverbial diagnosis, see the paper by Sanders in Plank (1984 ed.).
- 7 Verbs behaving both transitively and intransitively are often called *middle verbs* (see Sohn 1994: 84). This kind of ambivalence is a rather restricted phenomenon in modern Korean but it appears to have been more common earlier (Ko 1986: 43; Yen 1989: 187-188).
- 8 Lee (1989: 43-44) states: "All transitive verbs may take an object but *no intransitive verb* can take one" (my emphasis). According to him, the verb *swita* 'to rest' is intransitive. He does not mention the possibility of it appearing in clauses like (28b). Thus we do not learn

exactly how he would deal with a clause like this. In general, Lee uses two methods of distinguishing “real objects” from other types of complements. Some NPs are refuted as objects because they can be analyzed as adverbials of time. This could be applied to (28a) but not to (28b). Other not-so-transitive clauses are interpreted as intransitive because they cannot be cast into the passive. Observe, however, that with this method not all of his transitive clauses would contain “real” objects.

- 9 Usually, descriptive predicates are analyzed as intransitive. Sohn, however, in his grammar distinguishes a class of descriptive predicates which he calls “transitive sensory adjectives” (Sohn 1994: 97-99). According to him, the underlined NP in the following example is a direct object:

Ne-nun Minca-ka mip-ni?
 you-TOP Minca-NOM hateful-Q
 ‘Do you hate Minca?’

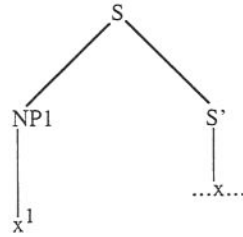
- 10 The following presentation draws heavily on Li and Thompson’s (1989: 88-93) similar analysis of Mandarin Chinese. Compare with the analysis of Chinese in 3.1.3.3.3.
- 11 *Hànyǔ de zhǔyǔ bīnyǔ wèntí* [The problem of subjects and objects in Chinese] (1956) is a collection of papers which gives an overview of the reasons why in the PRC priority is given to form rather than to meaning.
- 12 In addition, we are likely to interpret these two sentences differently. *The cat was crawling with lice* gives an impression that the cat was virtually covered with lice. If we say *There were lice crawling on the cat*, there could be only some.
- 13 It has been claimed that topics are always either definite or generic (e.g. Li and Thompson 1989: 85). Foley and Van Valin (1984: 131-132), however, give examples of topics which are indefinite. They draw the conclusion that, while it is true that topics tend to be definite, the crucial feature is referentiality rather than definiteness.
- 14 In the original Chinese text, the pronoun *tā* referring to the mother is written with the character that denotes feminine ‘she’.
- 15 In fact, Chomsky formulated the condition for passivizability by stating that only verbs that can freely take manner adverbials can also trigger passive.
- 16 Passivizability in the world’s languages follows certain hierarchical principles. The table below is adapted from Keenan (1986: 249-250)

GENERAL PASSIVIZABILITY

high		low
transitive verbs	>	intransitive verbs
activity verbs	>	stative verbs

If any verbs at all are to be passivizable, these are found to be activity verbs. If a language has passives of stative verbs, there are passives of activity verbs too. A language can also have passives of intransitive verbs; such languages have passives of transitive verbs as well.

- 17 Analysts differ in their views as to which verbs can be considered as passive auxiliaries. Compare, for example, Lee Chung-ming (1973: 152) and O’Grady (1991: 50). *Toyta* is the only verb accepted by most, while opinions are more divided concerning the auxiliary vs. main verb status of the predicates of other passive-like constructions.
- 18 Gundel (1979, cited in Liu 1982) states that “...all sentences of English, and possibly of natural languages in general, are derived from structures roughly like ...[the one below], where NP1 represents the topic of the sentence – an identification of what the sentence is about, and S’ represents the comment – the proposition which is predicated of that object.”



- 19 The experiential sense, 'to be afraid' emerges typically when the subject NP is human. Another clue is person; NPs representing 1st and 2nd person are open for an experiential interpretation, whereas with third person a derived form of the predicate is preferred:

Na-nun paym-ul mwuseweha-nta.
 I-TOP snake-ACC fear-DEC
 'I fear snakes.'

Without further context example (137b) is in fact ambiguous and could mean either 'I'm afraid' or 'I'm frightening (to others)'. Topic-subject constructions formed with the predicate *mwusepta* typically combine an animate topic representing 1st or 2nd person and a non-human subject NP.

- 20 The English verb *be hot* is similar to the Chinese *rè* (or Korean *tepta*) in that both have potentially two readings, animacy being an important clue to the correct interpretation. Notice, however, that animacy alone does not determine case assignment. In some contexts a clause like *He is hot* could mean 'hot to touch', while in others the meaning would be 'he feels hot'.

Even though it is not evident from the examples so far, it is necessary to make a distinction between a feeling and a quality. Not every language can code these two types of information the same way. In Finnish, for example, different structures are required for them. The experiential sense is expressed as *Hänellä on kuuma* lit. 'to him is hot' whereas the attributive sense is structured as *Hän on kuuma* 'he is hot (to touch)'.

- 21 Astor analyzes the (a) sentences as processes containing a patient argument (*mén, tā de fūqin*). The (b) sentences to him are both derived actions with an agent (*tā, tā*) and an object (*mén, fūqin*). According to Astor, the Agent case in (147b), where it is disputable, emerges from the derived sense of action. The translation of (147b) as 'He lost his father' also helps to make this sentence somewhat more comparable to sentence (146b). This interpretation, however, cannot explain why the verb *kāi* in a transitive construction becomes causative, whereas the verb *sī* continues to be non-causative.
- 22 Tang defines the topic of the sentence as a "noun phrase immediately dominated by S and followed by S, while the comment of a sentence is definable as an embedded sentence immediately dominated by S and preceded by a noun phrase" (Tang 1972: 26).
- 23 The term *junction* refers to the *level* on which the integration happens. Another term, *nexus*, is used to describe *how* the integration is done. On each level, nucleus, core, and clause, there are three possible ways of linking elements together. These are coordination, subordination, and cosubordination. The first two are traditionally recognized in English and other Indo-European languages. In a coordinate structure, each unit can stand on its own, e.g. *Mary sang, and Max played the piano*. A subordinate construction is structurally dependent and cannot occur independently: *That Anna failed, shocked everybody*. The third nexus type, cosubordination, shares some characteristics of both types. It may look like a coordinate construction but it is not fully independent. The crucial characteristic is

- that the units in the linkage obligatorily share at least one operator at the level of the juncture. For example, *Max made the woman leave* is an instance of nuclear cosubordination. In this sentence, there is no structural dependency but an obligatory sharing of aspect. Aspect is a nuclear level operator and here it is specified for the first verb alone. Besides aspect, directionals and negation can be nuclear operators. Directionals, modality, negation (internal) are core operators, while status, tense, evidentials, and illocutionary force are clausal operators. For further details, see LaPolla and Van Valin (1997: 47, 448-455.)
- 24 Dowty (1979) assumed that the activity verbs could be derived from underlying states. It was, however, not clear what kind of stative predicates could underlie verbs like *fall*, *roll*, *run*, *walk*. Earlier versions of the RRG theory still had this view, but in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) activities are considered basic.
- 25 This distinction between *do'* which is a marker of activity verbs and DO which indicates inherent agentivity is a recent development in the RRG theory. Originally Dowty viewed activity verbs as heterogeneous, with some of the predicates having an operator while others lacked one. He proposed the use of DO as an indicator of volitionality and agentivity for verbs like *walk*, *swim*, *talk*. Those which would not take this DO necessarily involve motion of some kind, e.g. *fall*, *roll*. (Dowty 1979: 163-166, Foley and Van Valin 1984: 38-39, 50-52.)
- 26 Notice that, in example (272), the instrument is not part of a causal chain. If that was the case, as in *Mary cut the bread with a knife*, the logical structure would be more complex: [*do'* (Mary, [*use'* (Mary, knife)] CAUSE [[*do'* (knife, [*cut'* (knife, bread)])] CAUSE [BECOME *cut'* (bread)]]].
- 27 As a non-native speaker, I of course cannot conduct the tests on my own but have relied on mother-tongue speakers' judgements about whether or not a given predicate is compatible with a certain form.
- 28 Both Yang (1994) and Park (1995) include the experiencer argument in the logical structure of the clause.
- 29 The predicate *chū lái* was one of those that were problematic with some of the tests. It is, however, reasonable to analyze it as having an actor as its argument.