

Mermaid construction in Korean

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid

construction ('MMC') has the following three properties.

- (a) It has the structure shown in (1).
- (b) The subject of the 'Clause' and the 'Noun' are not coreferential.
- (c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC')
[Clause] Noun Copula.

Korean has three types of the MMC.

- (a) [Adnominal clause] Noun Copula
- (b) [Nominalized clause] Noun Copula
- (c) [Adnominal clause] Noun Adjective or auxiliary verb

The present paper examines the dominant type: (a) type. In the following, this type of the MMC will be simply referred to as 'the MMC' unless it is compared with the other two types.

In the dominant type, more than 70 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defectives nouns. Some of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot exhibit grammaticalization to varying degrees.

The MMC has a wide range of meanings/functions, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal and stylistic meanings/functions, among others.

The 'Copula' slot may be occupied by the copula =*i-* or by one of its variants, which differ in terms of tense, speech levels, and degree of politeness.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of adnominal clauses (hereafter 'ACs') (or relative clauses) are identical; they must take an adnominalizer suffix. Adnominal forms are non-finite, and the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

Regarding syntax, however, the 'Clause' of the MMC in the main behaves differently from ACs. Rather, the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

The MMC abounds in Korean and it is frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean.

2. Initial illustration

Three examples of the MMC are given below. In this paper, Yale Romanization will be adopted for the illustration of Korean examples.

- (2) [*Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*]
friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS

- yeyceng=i-ta.*
 plan=COP-DECL
 LT: 'Friend is a plan [that he/she] goes to Japan.'
 FT: '[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'
- (3) [*Pakk=ey=nun pi=ka o-nun*]
 outside=DAT/LOC=TOP rain=NOM fall-ADN.NPST
moyang=i-ta.
 appearance=COP-DECL
 LT: 'As for the outside, the rain is an appearance [that it] is falling.'
 FT: 'It appears to be raining outside.'
- (4) [*Na=nun unhayng=ey ka-nun kil=i-ta.*]
 I=TOP bank=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
 LT: 'I am the road [that I] go to the bank.'
 FT: 'I am on my way to the bank.'

3. Profile of the language

The Korean language is mainly spoken in the Korean peninsula, by approximately 78 to 80 million people. It can be classified as an Altaic language, although this is a controversial issue. The variety spoken in South Korea and that spoken in North Korea exhibit some differences in pronunciation, spelling, grammar and vocabulary. The present paper deals with the Seoul dialect of South Korea.

The phonemes of Korean are 19 consonants (14 consonants and 5 geminates): /*k, n, t, l, m, p, s, ng, c, ch, kh, th, ph, h, kk, tt, pp, ss, cc*/, and 21 vowels and diphthongs : /*a, ya, e, ye, o, yo, wu, yu, u, i, ay, yay, ey, yey, wa, way, oy, we, wey, wi, uy*/.

Korean is largely agglutinating, dependent-marking and mildly configurational. It employs both suffixes and prefixes.

Verbs inflect. They have a rich set of adnominal forms, in addition to finite forms and conjunctive forms.

The preferred order is the predicate-final order: SOV. Case markers are postpositions. The case system is of the nominative-accusative type. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an AC precede the noun they modify.

Korean has a literary/literacy tradition. The data in this paper is mainly taken from the written language, such as newspaper articles and blogs on the internet. This paper also contains examples that I have composed.

4. Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, noun-predicate and existential-predicate sentences

Sentences in Korean can be classified into four types. Furthermore,

adjective-predicate sentences can be divided into two subtypes.

- (a) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (5).
- (b) Adjective-predicate sentence: (6) and (7).
- (c) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (8).
- (d) Existential-predicate sentence, e.g. (9).

In every type of sentences, the predicate is followed by a sentence-final suffix, e.g. *-ta* for declarative sentences. Noun-predicate sentences contain the copula verb. The predicate of existential-predicate sentences is *iss-* ‘be, exist, have’ or *eps-* ‘do not exist, be absent’.

- (5) *Chinkwu=nun nayil ilpon=ey ka-n-ta.*
friend=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-PRES-DECL
‘[My] friend goes/will go to Japan tomorrow.’
- (6) *Chinkwu=nun yeyppu-ta.*
friend=TOP pretty-DECL
‘[My] friend is pretty.’
- (7) *Chinkwu=nun kenkang-ha-ta.*
friend=TOP health-AS-DECL
‘[My] friend is healthy.’
- (8) *Chelswu =nun uysa=i-ta.*
riendTOP medical doctor=COP-DECL
‘[My] friend is a medical doctor.’
- (9) *Omul=un seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka iss-ta.*
today=TOP 3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-DECL
‘Today there is a meeting at 3 o’clock.’

4.2 Adnominal clauses and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 *Introductory notes.* In Korean, an AC precedes the noun it modifies. Korean has no relative pronouns. Verbs (including the copula and the existential verb) and adjectives have an elaborate set of adnominal forms, in addition to finite forms and conjunctive forms. Adnominal forms involve an adnominal (or relativizer) suffix (hereafter ‘adnominalizer’). Adnominalizers are shown in Table 1. The predicate of an AC has to be in an adnominal form, e.g. (10): adnominal past (*-un*).

- (10) [*sosel=ul ilk-un*] *namca*
novel=ACC read-ADN.PST man
‘the man who read a novel’

Korean has both ‘internal adnominal clauses’ (‘internal ACs’) and ‘external adnominal clauses’ (‘external ACs’). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs). Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an

argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from the outside of the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

Table 1. Adnominalizers

	Verb	Adjective	Copula	Existential
Nonpast (indicative)	<i>-nun</i>	<i>-(u)n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nun</i>
Past (Perfective)	<i>-(u)n</i>	(none)	(none)	(none)
Retrospective	<i>-ten</i>	<i>-ten</i>	<i>-ten</i>	<i>-ten</i>
Past retrospective	<i>-(a/e)ss ten</i>	<i>-(a/e)ss ten</i>	<i>-ess-ten</i>	<i>-ess-ten</i>
Prospective	<i>-(u)l</i>	<i>-(u)l</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-ul</i>
Past prospective	<i>-(a/e)ss-ul</i>	<i>-(a/e)ss-ul</i>	<i>-ess-ul</i>	<i>-ess-ul</i>

4.2.1.2 *Internal ACs*. In the ACs of Korean, all the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Examples include (10) (subject), (11) (direct object), (12) (indirect object), and (13) (oblique object). Relativization of the possessive requires a mirror image of a resumptive pronoun, e.g. *caki* 'self' in (14). (See Cho (1999) and Keenan and Comrie (1977).)

- (11) [*Kim kyoswunim=kkeyse ssu-si-n*] *chayk*
 Kim professor=NOM.HOR write-HS-ADN.PST book
 'This is a book that Professor Kim wrote.'
- (12) [*Kim kyoswunim=kkeyse chayk=ul cwu-si-n*]
 Kim professor=NOM.HOR book=ACC give-HS-ADN.PST
haksayng
 student
 'the student to whom Professor Kim gave a book.'
- (13) [*Emma=ka chayk=ul ilk-un*] *secem*
 mother=NOM book=ACC read-ADN.PST book.store
 'the book store where [my] mother read a book.'
- (14) [*caki emma=ka uysa-i-n*] *ku haksayng*
 self mother=NOM doctor-COP-ADN.NPST that student
 'the student whose mother is a doctor'

4.2.1.3 *External ACs*. An example is (16). Compare it with (15) (internal AC).

- (15) [*Sayngsen=ul kwup-nun* *namca*
 fish=ACC grill-ADN.NPST man
 ‘the man who grills a fish.’
- (16) [*Sayngsen=ul kwup-nun* *naymsay*
 fish=ACC grill-ADN.NPST smell
 ‘the smell with which [someone] grills a fish.’

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

There are two ways to form adverbial clauses.

- (a) Use of a conjunctive suffix (which is attached to the stem of the predicate), e.g. *-ketun* ‘if’, *-nikka*, ‘because’, *-ko* ‘and’, *-ca maca* ‘as soon as’.
- (b) A noun followed by the DAT/LOC case maker, e.g. *cen(=ey)* ‘before’, *ttay(=ey)*, ‘when’. This forms adverbial clauses of time. The case maker can be omitted.

The method (b) is relevant to the discussion of the MMC. (At least on the surface, these adverbial clauses have the form of ‘clause + noun’, like the MMC.) Nouns such as the following are employed: *cen* ‘before’, e.g. (17), *ttay* ‘time’, e.g. (18), *si* ‘time’, *tongan* ‘during’, and *tocwung* ‘during’. They encode the temporal relationship between two events.

- (17) [*Enni=ka* *o-ki* *cen=ey*]
 elder.sister=NOM come-NMLZ before=DAT/LOC
appa=ka *o-si-ess-ta.*
 father=NOM come-HS-PST-DECL
 ‘Before [my] elder sister came, [my] father came.’
- (18) [*Emma=nun* *cip=ey* *o-l* *ttay*]
 mother=TOP home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul *sa-ss-ta.*
 bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘When [my] mother came back home, she bought bread.’

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The three properties and the structure of the prototype of MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are given in Section 1. Korean has three types of the MMC.

- (a) [Adnominal clause] Noun Copula, e.g. (2), (3) and (4)
 (b) [Nominalized clause] Noun Copula, e.g. (19).
 (c) [Adnominal clause] Noun Adjective or auxiliary verb, e.g. (20).

- (19) [*Salam=un cwuk-ki*] *malyen=i-ta.*
 person=TOP die-NMLZ preparation=COP-DECL
 LT: 'Human beings are the preparation [that they] die.'
 FT: 'Human beings are doomed to die.'
- (20) [*Pi=ka o-l*] *kes kath-ta.*
 rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS thing same-DECL
 LT: 'Rain is the same appearance [that it] will fall.'
 FT: 'It looks like it will rain.'

The predicate of the 'Clause' contains an adnominalizer suffix in the types (a) and (c), and the nominalizer suffix *-ki* in the type (b). That is, the predicate is a non-finite form, and consequently the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, all of these three types of the MMC deviate from the prototype. The type (c) does not have the copula verb, and it deviates from the prototype in this respect, too.

The three types of the MMC are frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean. Due to space and time constraint, the present paper will examine the type (a). The reasons for this are the following. First, the type (a) is the most frequently used among the three types. Second, the type (a) allows the largest number of, and also, the widest range of, nouns for the 'Noun' slot. In the following, I shall refer to the type (a) simply as the MMC.

The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defective nouns.

5.2 Previous studies

In Korean linguistics, what we term the MMC has not been recognized as a distinct construction. It has been regarded as a type of 'copula construction' (Nam 2004a, b) or as an instance of 'grammaticalization of noun' (Ahn 1997, Kang 2004). Nam (2004a, b) pays more attention to the identification of category of copula *=i-* than to the types of nouns that are attested in this construction. Ahn (1997) and Kang (2004) focus on the clarification of the semantic changes of content nouns and the process of their grammaticalization. Although they present an exhaustive list of nouns employed, they do not provide a detailed discussion of what I refer to as non-content nouns.

In the functional-typological approach, much attention has been paid to the grammaticalization of nominalizers (e.g. Horie 1998, 2008, Rhee 2008). However, these works are largely confined to the nominalizer *kes* (discussed in 5.5.4 below). Therefore, it is important to examine exhaustively the nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

5.3 Predicate of the 'Clause'

As seen in 4.1 regarding sentences, the predicate is of four types. All of them can occur in the 'Clause' of the MMC. Examples are (2), (3), (4)

(verb), (21) (adjective), (22) (noun plus the copula), and (23) (existential). In the examples below, the predicate is in bold face.

- (21) [*Ku=nun hangsang **palk-un***]
 he=TOP always cheerful-ADN.NPST
phyoceng=i-ta.
 expression=COP-DECL
 LT: 'He is an expression [that he] is always cheerful.'
 FT: 'He always looks cheerful.'
- (22) [*Ku=nun uysa=**i-n***]
 he=TOP doctor=COP-ADN.NPST
moyang=i-ta.
 appearance=COP-DECL
 LT: 'He is an appearance [that he] is a medical doctor.'
 FT: 'He seems to be a medical doctor.'
- (23) [*Seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka **iss-ul***]
 3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
 plan=COP-DECL
 LT: 'The meeting is a plan [that it] exists from 3 o'clock.'
 FT: 'The meeting is scheduled to be held from 3 o'clock.'

Recall, however, that the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC has to be in an adnominal form. Consequently the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The predicate of the 'Clause' can be negated. See 5.7.2.

5.4 'Copula'

The copula is the enclitic =i-. Portions of its inflection are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Copula

Speech level	Nonpast form	Past form
Plain form	=i-ta	=i-ess-ta
Intimate	=i-ya	=i-ess-e
Polite form	=i-eyyo/=yeyyo	=i-ess-eyo
Deferential	=i-pni-ta	=i-ess-supni-ta

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can be attached to the copula, e.g.:

- (24) *Sensayngnim=kkeyse=nun konlan-ha-n*
 teacher=NOM.HOR=TOP embarrassment-do-ADN.NPST
*phyoceng=**i-si-ess-ta.***
 appearance=COP-HS-PST-DECL
 LT: 'The teacher was the appearance [that he/she] was embarrassed.'
 FT: 'The teacher looked embarrassed.'

The negative form of the copula is *an=i-*. That is, the negation marker *an* is added to the beginning of the copula. Negation in the MMC will be discussed in See 5.7.2.

When preceded by a noun that ends with a vowel and followed by the sentence-final suffix *-ta*, the copula *=i* can be omitted, e.g. *pwunwiki=(i)-ta* ‘atmosphere, mood=COP-SFS’ in (35) and *chwusey=(i)-ta* ‘tendency=COP-SFS’ in (36).

5.5 Types of the ‘Noun’

5.5.1 Introductory notes

In the Japanese MMC, at least 106 nouns are attested in the ‘noun’ slot (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.1). On the basis of Tsunoda’s list of these nouns, I examined what nouns can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the Korean MMC. About 70 to 75 nouns have been attested in this slot. This is the largest number among the languages examined in the present volume — apart from Japanese. These Korean nouns are tentatively classified into three groups.

- (a) Content nouns (5.5.2)
- (b) Non-content nouns (5.5.3)
- (c) Defective nouns (5.5.4)

Defective nouns cannot be used independently outside the MMC. Both content nouns and non-content nouns can be used outside the MMC. Roughly speaking, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning that they have when used outside the MMC, while non-content nouns do not. However, this classification is not clear-cut, but a matter of degree. It may not be endorsed by every specialist in Korean grammar. For example, *moyang* ‘appearance’, *pep* ‘law’ and *kil* ‘path, road’, which are tentatively assigned to (b), may be assigned to (a).

And as mentioned above (4.2.1.1, Table 1), Korean has an elaborate set of adnominalizer suffixes. There are co-occurrence restrictions between adnominalizer suffixes and nouns. These restrictions are difficult to generalize about, but at least they are much more strict with (b) non-content nouns and (c) defective nouns than with (a) content nouns.

5.5.2 Content nouns

The classification of content nouns is largely based on that of Tsunoda’s (this volume-b, 5.4.2) classification of the content nouns that occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the Japanese MMC. Due to space consideration, the examples of the MMC given below will often be accompanied by a free translation only. The nouns that are not fully acceptable in the MMC are marked by ‘?’, and those that are totally unacceptable are indicated by ‘*’.

In the examples given below, the relevant nouns are in bold face.

[1] Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like

The MMC has a modal meaning. Nouns in (a) to (f) tend to co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*.

- (a) *yeyceng, kyeyhoyk, pangchim* ‘plan’, e.g. (2), (23)
- (b) *cakceng, uyhyang* ‘intention’, e.g. (25)
- (c) *mokcek* ‘aim’
- (d) *casey* ‘attitude’
- (e) *maum* ‘mind’, *sayngkak* ‘thought’
- (f) ? *kyelsim*, ? *kyeluy*, ‘decision’, *kako* ‘determination’, e.g. (26)
- (g) ? *censwul* ‘tactics’, *cenlyak* ‘strategy’

- (25) *Na=nun nayil yeki=lul ttena-l*
 I=TOP tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS
cakceng=i-ta.
 intention=COP-DECL
 ‘I will leave here tomorrow.’

Among the nouns listed in (f), *kako* ‘determination’ is felicitous in the MMC, while *kyelsim* and *kyeluy*, both ‘decision’, are not.

- (26) *Na=nun ku=wa ssawu-l*
 I=TOP he=COM fight-ADN.PROS
*kako/*kyelsim/*kyeluy =(i)-ta.*
 determination/decision/decision= COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘I was determined to fight with him.’

[2] Nouns that indicate schedule, expectation or the like

The MMC in the main has a modal meaning. (29) probably has an evidential meaning.

- (a) *cenmang* ‘view, expectation’, e.g. (27)
- (b) *yeysang* ‘forecast’, e.g. (28)
- (c) *panghyang* ‘direction’
- (d)? *hulum* ‘flow’
- (e) *kisey* ‘strength’, e.g. (29)

- (27) *Mwulka=ka olu-l cenmang=i-ta.*
 price=NOM go.up-ADN.PROS expectation=COP-DECL
 ‘Prices will go up (prospectively).’

- (28) *Samkup=un silyong yenge=lul*
 3.level=TOP practical English=ACC
chukceng-ha-nun sihem=i toy-l
 measure-do-ADN.NPST test=NOM become-ADN.PROS
yeysang=i-ta.
 forecast=COP-DECL
 ‘Level 3 will be the test to measure practical English ability.’

- (29) *Ku=nun tangcang mal=ul . tha-ko*
 he=TOP immediately horse=ACC ride-CONJ
naka-l kisey=(i)-ta.
 go.out-ADN.PROS strength=COP-DECL
 ‘He appears to ride on a horse and go out immediately.’

Most of the nouns listed in [1] and [2] are productively used in newspapers (i.e. in written articles).

[3] Nouns that indicate feeling or the like

Nouns such as *maum*, *simceng*, e.g. (30), *nukkim*, *kipwun*, e.g. (31), and *simkyeng* are translated as ‘feeling’, ‘mind’ or the like. The MMC has a modal meaning.

- (30) *Na=nun cwuk-ko siph-un simceng=i-ta.*
 I=TOP die-want-ADN.NPST mind=COP-DECL
 ‘I want to die.’
- (31) *Wuntong=ul sicak-ha-n ilay na=nun*
 exercise=ACC start-do-ADN.PST since I=TOP
say salam=i toy-n kipwun=i-ta.
 new person=NOM become-ADN.PST feeling=COP-DECL
 ‘Since [I] started to exercise I feel like another person.’

[4] Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like

- (a) *moyang, mosup, kisayk* ‘appearance, looks’, e.g. (3)
 (b) *hyengthay* ‘form’
 (c) *sangthay, sanghwang, hyengphyeng* ‘situation’ (‘be in such and such a situation’, e.g. (32), (33))
 (d) *kkol* ‘look, sight’, ‘unpleasant state/result’, e.g. (34)

- (32) *Saynghwalpi=ka pwucok-hay-se na=nun*
 living.expenses=NOM shortage-do-CONJ I=TOP
il=ul kyeysok hay-ya ha-l
 work=ACC continuously do-CONJ do-ADN.PROS
hyengphyeng=i-ta.
 situation=COP-DECL
 ‘I have to keep working because I am short of [my] living expenses.’
- (33) *Cikum namca chinkwu=wa tangsin=un*
 now boy friend=COM you=TOP
heyeci-l sanghwang=i-ta.
 break.up-ADN.PROS situation=COP-DECL
 LT: ‘You and [your] boyfriend are the situation to break up.’
 FT: ‘You and your boy friend are bound to break up.’

- (34) *Pangsim-ha-taka na=wa oppa=nun kathi*
 carelessness-do-CONJ I=COM brother=TOP together
nemeci-n kkol=i-ta.
 fall.down-ADN.PST result=COP-DECL
 ‘While [we] were acting carelessly, we ended up falling down together.’

The MMC with a noun from (a) and (b) has an evidential meaning: ‘It appears that’, e.g. (3). However, the MMC with a noun from other groups appears to have some kind of modal meaning. Specifically, (c): situation (‘be in such and such a situation’, e.g. (32) and (33), and (d): unpleasant situation or result, e.g. (34).

[5] Nouns that indicate atmosphere, impression or the like
 The meaning of the MMC is probably modal.

- (a) *insang* ‘impression’
 (b) *pwunwiki* ‘atmosphere, mood’, e.g. (35)

- (35) *Onul-to eccenci yakun-ha-l*
 today-also somehow overtime-do-ADN.PROS
pwunwiki=(i)-ta.
 atmosphere=COP-DECL
 ‘[I] feel somehow [I] have to do overtime job again today.’

[6] Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like
 The meaning of the MMC is aspectual, to be precise, habitual.

- (a) *kyenghyang, chwusey* ‘tendency’, e.g. (36)
 (b) *phwungco* ‘fashion, trend’, e.g. (37)
 (c) **supkwan, pelus* ‘habit’
 (d) **kwansup, phwungsup* ‘practice’

- (36) *Hankwuke haksupca=ka nulena-nun*
 Korean.language learner=NOM increase-ADN.NPST
chwusey=(i)-ta.
 tendency=COP-DECL
 ‘Korean learners are on the increase.’

- (37) *Yocum=un olay sal-ki ttaymwuney hwankap*
 recently=TOP long live-because 60.years.old
canchi-cocha an ha-nun phwungco=i-ta.
 celebration-even NEG do-ADN.NPST trend=COP-DECL
 ‘Recently, because people live long, [they] tend not to celebrate even their 60th birthday.’

Note that *supkwan, pelus* ‘habit’ in (c) and *kwansup, phwungsup* ‘practice’ in (d) are not felicitous in the Korean MMC; see (38). In contrast,

in Japanese, the noun *narawasi* ‘practice’ can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[6]). That is, the Japanese equivalent of (38) is acceptable.

- (38) **Hankwuk salam=un kwuceng=ul*
 Korea people=TOP lunar.new year’s.day=ACC
soy-nun kwansup=i-ta.
 celebrate-ADN.NPST practice=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year’s day in the lunar calendar.’

However, the Korean nouns *supkwan* and *pelus*, both ‘habit’, and also *kwansup* and *phwungsup*, both ‘practice’, become acceptable if the copula =*i* is replaced with the existential verb *iss-*, e.g. (39). The noun *kwansup* is followed by the nominative case marker. The example (39) is an instance of an existential-predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC.

- (39) *Hankwuk salam=un kwuceng=ul*
 Korea people=TOP lunar.new year’s.day=ACC
soy-nun kwansup=i iss-ta.
 celebrate-ADN.NPST practice=NOM exist-DECL
 LT: ‘The practice that Korean people celebrate the lunar new year’s day exists.’
 FT: ‘Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year’s Day in the lunar calendar.’

[7] Nouns that indicate the nature, or the propensity of humans
 The meaning of the MMC is probably habitual, i.e. a type of ‘aspectual’.

- (a) *sengkyek, sengcil,? kicil* ‘personality’
 (b) *thaip, suthail* ‘type, style’ (loan words from English)

- (40) *Ponlay cem kath-un ke-n*
 in.nature fortune.telling be.like-ADN.NPST thing=TOP
mit-ci anh-nun sengkyek=i-ta.
 trust-NEG-ADN.NPST personality=COP-DECL
 ‘I have the nature not to trust the like of fortunetelling.’
 (-*ci* and *anh-* jointly indicate negation.)
 (41) *Ku=nun inkan kwankyey=lul cwungyohakey*
 he=TOP person relationship=ACC importantly
sayngkak-ha-nun thaip=i-ta.
 think-do-ADN.NPST type=COP-DECL
 ‘He is the kind of person who thinks much of personal relationships.’

[8] Nouns that indicate role, duty or destination
 The meaning of the MMC is in the main modal, to be precise, deontic.

- (a) *yekhal* 'role', e.g. (42)
 (b) **chaykim*, **uymwu* 'responsibility, duty'
 (c) **kyuchik*, **kyuceng* 'rule, regulation', e.g. (45)
 (d) **cakyek* 'qualification'
 (e) *ipcang* 'position', e.g.(43)
 (f) *wunmyeng*, *swukmyeng* 'destiny', e.g.(44)

(42) *Ilpen thaca=nun thwuswu=lul*
 one.number batter=TOP pitcher=ACC
koylophi-nun yekhal=i-ta.
 harass-ADN.NPST role=COP-DECL
 'The first hitter has a role to harass the pitcher.'

(43) *Cengpwu=nun ssal swuip=ey*
 government=TOP rice import=DAT/LOC
pantay-ha-nun ipcang=i-pni-ta.
 disagreement-do-ADN.NPST position=COP-DEF-DECL
 'The government disagrees with the import of rice.'

(44) *Ku=nun kyelkwuk silphay-ha-l*
 he=top after.all failure-do-ADN.PROS
wunmyeng=i-ess-ta.
 destiny=COP-PST-DECL
 'He was destined to fail after all.'

Ipcang 'position' is frequently observed in Korean TV news programs and newspapers articles, e.g. (43).

Chaykim and *uymwu*, both 'responsibility, duty', and *cakyek* 'qualification' cannot be used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Similarly, *kyuchik* and *kyuceng*, both 'rule, regulation', cannot be used in the MMC; see (45). In contrast, in Japanese the noun '*kimari*' 'rule, regulation' and *okite* 'law, rule' can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[8]). That is, the Japanese equivalent of (45) is acceptable.

(45) **Haksayng=un maycwu leyphothu=lul*
 student=TOP every.week report=ACC
ceychwul-ha-nun kyuchik/kyuceng=i-ta.
 submission-do-ADN.NPST regulation/rule=COP-DECL
 'By regulation, the students must submit an essay every week.'

[9] Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone's body or the like

- (a) *mom* 'body'
 (b) *cheycil* 'nature (of the body)', e.g. (46)
 (c) *cheykyek* 'physique', *momcip* 'physique, build of body', e.g.(47)
 (d) *phyoceng* 'expression on the face', *elkwul* 'face', e.g.(48)
 (e) *malthwu* 'way of talking'

(f) *casey* 'posture'

(46) *Ku=nun cokum-man mek-eto sal=i cal*
he=TOP a.little-only eat-CONJ fat=NOM well
cci-nun cheycil=i-ta.
get.fat-ADN.NPST nature.of.body=COP-DECL
'He gains weight easily on small portions [of food].'

(47) *Mikwuk yeseng=un taypwupwun khu-n*
America women=TOP most.of tall-ADN.NPST
khi=ey ttwungttwung-ha-n momcip=i-ta.
height-DAT/LOC fat-do-ADN.NPST physique=COP-DECL
'Most of American women are tall and fat.'

(48) *Ku=nun hangsang palk-un*
he=TOP always bright-ADN.NPST
phyoceng=i-ta.
expression=COP-DECL
'He always looks bright.'

[10] Nouns that indicate the structure or the mechanism of inanimate objects

The meaning of the MMC is similar to that examined in [9], except that [10] concerns inanimate objects.

- (a) *kwuco* 'structure', e.g. (49).
- (b) *selkyey* 'design', e.g. (50).
- (c) *nayyong* 'content',
- (d) *sisutheym* (a loan from English: *system*) 'system',
- (e) *suthail* (a loan from English: *style*) 'style'.

(49) *Maycik thechi=nun kamayngcem=i ton=ul*
(name of a company)=TOP franchise=NOM money=ACC
pe-nun kwuco=i-ta.
earn-ADN.NPST structure=COP-DECL
LT: 'Magic Touch is the structure that the franchises earn money.'
FT: 'Magic Touch is structured in such a way that its franchises make a big profit.'

(50) *I kwangcang=un simin-tul=eykey hyusik*
this square=TOP citizen-PL=DAT/LOC rest
kongkan=kwa mwunhwa kongkan=ul tongsiey
space=COM culture space=ACC simultaneously
ceykong-ha-nun selkyey=i-ta.
supply-do-ADN.NPST design=COP-DECL
'This square is designed to provide citizens with a space to relax and to experience culture simultaneously.'

[11] Nouns that indicate temporal relations, progress or the like
The meaning of the MMC is aspectual or temporal. The co-occurrence

restrictions are found in the following nouns. Nouns in (a) co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*, e.g. (51), (52); *tocwung* in (b) only with the non-past adnominalizer *-nun*, e.g. (53); and *cikhwu* in (c) only with the past adnominalizer *-n*.

- (a) *sikan, sicem, ttay* ‘time’, e.g. (51), (52)
 (b) *tocwung* ‘in the process/middle of’, e.g. (53)
 (c) *cikhwu* ‘immediately after’

- (51) *Icey=nun simin-tul=i him=ul*
 now=TOP citizen-PL=NOM power=ACC
moa-ya ha-l ttay=(i)-ta.
 get-CONJ do-ADN.PROS time=COP-DECL
 ‘It’s time for citizens to get together.’
- (52) *Wuli hoysa=nun cikum sepisu kaysen=i*
 our company=TOP now service improvement=NOM
philyo-ha-n sicem=i-ta.
 need-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
 ‘It’s time for our company to improve service.’
- (53) *Na=nun cikum swukcey=lul ha-nun*
 I=TOP now homework=ACC do-ADN.NPST
tocwung=i-ta.
 in.the.middle.of=COP-DECL
 ‘I am doing homework now.’

[12] ‘Suspicion’

Only two nouns belong to this group: *hyemuy* and *uyhok*, both ‘suspicion’. The meaning of the MMC is evidential. In the MMC, *hyemuy* is acceptable, e.g. (54), but *uyhok* is not fully acceptable; see (55).

- (54) *Noymwul=ul pat-un hyemuy=i-ta.*
 bribe-ACC receive-ADN.PST suspicion=COP-DECL
 ‘[He] is suspected to have received a bribe.’
- (55) ? *Noymwul-ul pat-un uyhok=i-ta.*
 bribe-ACC receive-ADN.PST suspicion=COP-DECL
 ‘[He] is suspected to have received a bribe.’

5.5.3 Non-content nouns

As mentioned above, there are co-occurrence restrictions between adnominalizers and some of the non-content nouns.

[1] *Moyang* ‘appearance’

Moyang is often used outside the MMC with the meaning ‘appearance, looks, design’, e.g. (56).

- (56) *Theyibul moyang=i yeypu-ta.*
 table appearance=NOM pretty-DECL
 ‘The look [i.e. design] of the table is pretty.’

When used in the MMC, *moyang=i-ta* encodes an evidential meaning, to be precise, inference based on visible, tangible, or audible evidence. All of the adnominalizers can precede it. See (57).

- (57) *Pi=ka* {*o-n/-nun/-l*}
 rain=NOM fall-ADN.PST/-ADN.PST/-ADN.PROS
moyang=i-ta.
 appearance=COP-DECL
 ‘It seems that it rained/it is raining/it will rain.’

Nam (2004b) points out that, when *moyang*, ‘appearance, looks’, is used in what I term the MMC, negation of the copula is not highly acceptable; see (58).

- (58)? *Pi=ka* *o-l* ***moyang=i***
 rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS appearance=NOM
an=i-ta.
 NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘It does not seem that it will rain.’ Nam (2004b: 79)

(In (58) not only the relevant noun but also the word(s)/morphemes(s) under discussion are in bold face. The same applies to (59) to (61), (91) (92), and (101).)

As noted above, *moyang* can be used outside the MMC and, in this use, it has a lexical meaning (‘appearance, looks’). Therefore, it can also be classified as a content noun — probably as a member of 5.5.2-[4] ‘Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like’. When *moyang* is used in what I term the MMC, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (59). In this respect, when used in the MMC, *moyang* ‘appearance, looks’ does not have the full status as a noun, i.e. it is grammaticalized. (Modification of nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC will be further discussed in 6.2 and 6.3.)

- (59) *Onul=un* *pi=ka* *o-l*
 today=TOP rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS
moyang=i-ta. **Ecey-to* *ku*
 appearance=COP-DECL yesterday-also that
moyang=i-ess-ta.
 appearance=COP-PST-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘Today it appears that it will rain. Yesterday it also appeared [to rain].’

[2] *Pep* ‘law’ (modal meaning)

The lexical meaning of *pep* when used outside the MMC is ‘law’. An (1997) and Kang (2004) point out that, when used in what I term the MMC, *pep* has various meanings, such as universal truth, common knowledge, and moral obligation. They also point out that, in that case, *pep* tends to take

only the non-past adnominalizer, e.g. (60), (61). The meaning of this MMC is in the main modal.

- (60) *Haksayng=un yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun*
 student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
pep=i-ta.
 law=COP-DECL
 ‘Students should study hard.’
- (61) *Sinpwu=nun wenlay yeyppu-n*
 bride-TOP in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST
pep=i-ta.
 law=COP-DECL
 ‘[Every] bride is beautiful [in nature].’ (Ahn 1997: 107)

The MMC with *pep* ‘law’ shows a semantic commonality partially with the Japanese MMC that contains the non-content noun *mono* ‘thing’, which can express obligation or advice (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[4]). The Japanese equivalent of (62) with the noun *mono* ‘thing’ is acceptable.

- (62) *Namca ai=nun wul-ci anh-nun pep=i-ta.*
 male child=TOP cry-NEG-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
 ‘Boys should not cry.’

[3] *Kil* ‘path, road, means, ways’
Kil ‘path, road’ can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of ‘road, path, ways, means’. See (63) and (64).

- (63) *Te isang a-l kil=i*
 no.more know-ADN.PROS way=NOM
eps-ta.
 do.not.exist-DECL
 ‘There is no way to know any more.’
- (64) *Hakkyo-kkaci ka-nun kil=ul*
 school-to go-ADN.NPST road=ACC
al-ko siph-eyo.l
 know-CONJ wish-POL
 ‘I want to know how to go to school.’

When used in the MMC, *kil* encodes an aspectual meaning: progressive. In this case, it tends to exclusively take the non-past (indicative) adnominalizer, e.g. (65).

- (65) *Na=nun cikum hakkyo=ey*
 I=TOP now school=DAT/LOC
 {*ka-nun/ *ka-n/ *ka-l*}
 go-ADN.NPST/go-ADN.PST/go-ADN.PROS

kil=i-ta.
road=COP-DECL
‘I am on my way to school now.’

[4] *Seym* ‘calculation’

Seym ‘calculation’ is a derived noun, which consists of the verb *sey-* ‘to calculate’ and the derivational nominalizer suffix *-m*. When it is used outside the MMC, it has the meaning of ‘calculation’, e.g. (66).

(66) *Ku=nun seym=ul cal ha-n-ta.*
he=TOP calculation=ACC well do-PRES-DECL
‘He is strong/good at calculation.’

When used in the MMC, *seym* has various meanings. Different adnominalizers contribute to different meanings (Ahn 1997, Nam 2004b). For example, when preceded by the adnominalizer *-(u)n* (past or perfective) or *-nun* (nonpast or indicative), *seym* encodes a result or situation that a speaker actually did not want to happen, e.g. (67). This meaning is modal, and at the same time aspectual or temporal.

(67) *Cengka-pota pissakey sa-n*
regular.price-than expensively buy-ADN.PST
seym=i-ta.
calculation =COP-DECL
‘We paid too much more than its regular price. (Actually we did not want to.)’

When the adnominalizer *-(u)l* (prospective) is used, the MMC with *seym* ‘calculation’ indicates an intention (including an intention in the past), e.g. (68), or an adverse state in which the subject is situated, e.g. (69).

(68) *Na=nun ocen-cwung=ey tolao-l*
I=TOP noon-during=DAT/LOC come.back-ADN.PROS
seym=i-ta.
calculation =COP-DECL
‘I was planning to come back before noon.’

(69) *Wuli=nun pwuto=lul mak-ki wihayse ton=ul*
we=TOP bankruptcy=ACC prevent-in.order.to money=ACC
yeki ceki-se pillye-ya ha-l
here.there-from borrow-CONJ do-ADN.PROS
seym=i-ta.
calculation=COP-DECL
‘We have to borrow money from various sources in order to prevent bankruptcy.’

When this MMC expresses intention, its meaning is similar to that of the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* ‘intention’ and *kyeyhoyk* ‘plan’

(5.5.2-[1]).

Ahn (1997) points out that this MMC *-(u)l seym=i-* usually encodes (the speaker's) 'negative' or 'unexpected, undesirable' situation rather 'positive' one. For example, (70) is not acceptable; it expresses a positive intention.

- (70)* *Na=nun kayin saep=ul sicak-ha-l*
I=TOP personal business=ACC start-do-ADN.PROS
seym=i-ta.
calculation=COP-DECL
'I am going to start my own business.' (Ahn 2007: 125)

[5] *Phan* 'venue, spot, site,'

Phan can be used outside the MMC with the meaning 'venue, spot, site'. When used in the MMC, *phan* refers to 'negative/bad situation' (Ahn 1997:125). (71) and (72) are acceptable, but (73) is not. This meaning is modal, and at the same time, aspectual or temporal.

- (71) *Ku kenmwul=un olaytongan kwanli sohol=lo*
that building=TOP for.long.time maintain neglect=as
mwunecye nayli-l phan=i-ta.
crumble-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
'The buildings are about to crumble from years of neglect.'
- (72) *Ipen hakki=nun nakcey-ha-l phan=i-ta.*
this semester=TOP fail-do-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
'I may fail the class this semester.'
- (73)* *Ipen hakki=nun ol eyi=lul mac-ul*
this semester=TOP all A=ACC get-ADN.PROS
phan=i-ta.
venue=COP-DECL (Ahn 1997: 125)
Intended meaning: 'I may get all A's this semester.'

[6] *Phok* 'width'

Phok can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of 'width (of space)'.

- (74) *Ikos=un hanmyeng=i cinaka-l*
here=TOP one.person=NOM pass-ADN.PROS
swu iss-nun phok=i-ta.
thing be-ADN.NPST width=COP-DECL
'It is just wide enough for one person to pass.'

When used in the MMC, *phok* describes a situation or result that the speaker (or the subject) did not want to happen, e.g. (75). This meaning is similar to that of the MMC with *seym* 'calculation' preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, e.g. (67). This meaning is both modal and aspectual or temporal.

- (75) *Nay=ka chenwen mithci-n phok=i-ta.*
 I=NOM thousand.won lose-ADN.PST width=COP-DECL
 'I lost as much as one thousand won.'

[7] *Phyen* 'side, part, direction, way'

When used outside the MMC, *phyen* means 'side, part, direction, way', e.g. *olun phyen* 'right side', *oyun phyen* 'left side', and *ce phyen* 'that way'. When used in the MMC, *phyen* describes tendency, habit or attitude, e.g. (76). This MMC has an aspectual meaning. *Phyen* can be preceded by the nonpast adnominalizer or the past adnominalizer, but not by the prospective adnominalizer.

- (76) *Chinkwu=nun achim=ey ilccik*
 friend=TOP morning=DAT/LOC early
ilena-nun phyen=i-ta.
 get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-DECL
 '[My] friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

[8] *The* 'ground, place'

When used outside the MMC, *the* means 'ground, place', e.g. *swi-l the* 'rest-ADN.PROS place', i.e. 'place to rest'. When used in the MMC, it is preceded by the prospective adnominalizer and encodes the speaker's (i) strong intention, e.g. (77), or (ii) conjecture, guess, e.g. (78). This MMC has a modal meaning. The phonologically contracted form of *-(u)l the=i-ta*, i.e. *-l they=ta*, is frequently used in casual spoken discourse.

The copula *=i-* is often omitted when this MMC is used in the title of news articles, e.g. (79). The copula can remain, e.g. (78) and (80). Its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

- (77) *Na=nun sihem=ey kkok hapkyek-ha-l*
 I=TOP exam=DAT/LOC at.any.cost pass-do-ADN.PROS
they-ta.
 ground.COP-DECL
 'I will pass the exam at any cost.'
- (78) *Ama ku=nun yongki=ka philyo-hay-ss ul*
 maybe he=TOP courage=NOM need-do-ADN.PROS
the=i-ta.
 ground=COP-DECL
 'He might need courage.'
- (79) *Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey*
 I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC
kkok potap-ha-l the.
 surely repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground
 'I will repay those who help me.'
- (80) *Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey*
 I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC

kkok potap-ha-l *the=i-ta.*
surely repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground=COP-DECL
'I will repay those who helped me.'

5.5.4 Defective nouns

[1] *Kes* 'thing'

Kes has been discussed extensively in the Korean literature (e.g. Hwang 2004, Lee 2005, Lee 2009, Rhee 2008, 2011). Etymologically, it is traced to a noun meaning 'thing'. In Modern Korean, it is a defective noun. It is no longer used as a lexical morpheme except in expressions like *i kes* 'this thing', *ku kes* 'that thing' and *mek-ul kes* 'eat-ADN.PROS thing', 'thing to eat', i.e. 'food'. It is used as a function morpheme, with various uses such as nominalizer, complementizer, and cleft construction marker (cf. 6.6). In addition, it can be used in the MMC. In this regard, *kes* closely resembles the enclitic =*no* of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.4). However, unlike the Japanese =*no*, the Korean *kes* does not have the use as a genitive marker; the genitive case is marked by =*uy*.

As just noted, *kes* can be used in the MMC. There is no co-occurrence restriction between *kes* and adnominalizers. That is, it can occur with any adnominalizer. It has a phonologically reduced variant: *ke*.

The MMC with *kes* has various meanings, which depend on the adnominalizer employed. For instance, when preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, *kes=i-* (and its variant in spoken discourse *ke-ya*) receives contextually variable interpretations such as (i) background explanation, or reason, e.g. (81), (ii) self-awareness or speaker's realization, e.g. (82), (iii) advice to the addressee, e.g. (83) (Yin 2003, Kim 2008, Kim and Horie 2009, Rhee 2008), and (iv) the speaker's emotivity, such as blame, displeasure, and surprise (Yin 2003, Kim 2008, Kim and Horie 2009), e.g. (84). ((81) and (82) are cited from Kim and Horie 2009: 283), with minor modifications in the glosses.) Rhee (2008) posits that it is in Middle Korean that this construction became productive.

(81) *Mancye pelye-ss-e. Kulayse kunynag sa-n*
touch end-PST-SFS so just buy-ADN.PST
ke=ya.
thing=COP-DECL

'[I] touched [it]. So [I] just bought [it], you see.'

(82) *Ku=ka wa-ss-ta. Ku=ka cengmallo nay*
he=NOM come-PST-DECL he=NOM really my
aph=ey nathana-n kes=i-ta.
front=DAT/LOC appear-ADN.PST thing=COP-DECL

'He really presented himself before my very eyes, as I am reporting in disbelief.'

(83) *Hoyngtanpoto=eyse cwawu=lul cal salphi-ko*
cross.walk=DAT/LOC left.right=ACC well look-CONJ
kil=ul kenne-nun ke=ya.
street-ACC cross-ADN.NPST thing=COP

- ‘Look both ways when you cross the street at the cross walk.’
- (84) *Eccay chayksang soli=lul nay-ci anh-nun-ta*
 somehow desk sound=ACC make-NEG-PRES-DECL
siph-ese tolapo-myen ipen=ey=nun
 seem-because look.back-COND this.time=DAT/LOC=TOP
swuep-cwung=ey seiss-nun ke=yeyyo!
 class-during=DAT/LOC stand.up-ADN.NPST thing-COP
Kyeysokhayse!
 continually
 ‘Just as I was thinking [she] did not seem to make any sound at the desk, next thing, (*surprisingly*) [she] kept standing all the time during the class!’ (Kim and Horie 2008: 284).

When the prospective adnominalizer is used, this MMC has various meanings, such as guess, conjecture (future possibility), e.g. (85), and speaker’s intention, e.g. (86), (87) (An 1997, Rhee 2008).

- (85) *Ama nayil pi=ka o-l*
 probably tomorrow rain=NOM come-ADN.PROS
kes=i-ta.
 thing=COP-DECL
 ‘Probably it will rain tomorrow.’
- (86) *Na=nun ku kapang=ul kkok sa-l*
 I=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
ke=ya.
 thing=COP
 ‘[I] will buy that bag in any case.’
- (87) *Hoyuy=ey chamsek-ha-l*
 meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS
kes=i-ta.
 thing=COP-DECL
 ‘[I] will attend the meeting.’

Like (86), the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* ‘intention’ in (5.5.2-[1]), e.g. (25), or *seym* ‘calculation’ (5.5.3-[4]), e.g. (68), can indicate intention. The adnominalizer has to be in the prospective form.

[2] *Pa* ‘thing, ways’

Pa, too, is a defective noun. It cannot be used independently outside MMC; see (88). A modifier or an AC is mandatory, e.g. (89) and (90).

- (88) **Pa=ka iss-ta.*
 thing=NOM exist-DECL
 (Untranslatable)
- (89) *Na=nun ipen phuloceykthu=eyse math-un*
 I=TOP this project=DAT/LOC take.on-ADN.PST

- pa=ka iss-ta.*
 thing=NOM exist-DECL
 ‘[I] have something to take a responsibility on this project.’
- (90) *I yenkwu=nun enehak=ey*
 this research=TOP linguistics=DAT/LOC
konghen-ha-nun pa=ka khu-ta.
 contribution-do-ADN.NPST thing=NOM big-DECL
 LT: ‘The thing that this research contributes to linguistics is big.’
 FT: ‘This study makes much contribution to linguistics.’

The defective noun *pa* can be used in the MMC. According to Ahn (1997: 128), *pa* was productively used in Middle Korean and it meant ‘place’, and in Modern Korean its fossilized form (i.e. the MMC) became its main usage.

The MMC with *pa* is restricted to specific contexts such as newspaper articles and politicians’ formal speeches. It has a stylistic effect: it makes sentence sound formal, like the Japanese MMC with the noun *mono* ‘thing’ or *sidai* ‘procedure’ (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[4], -[5].) The adnominalizer has to be the nonpast adnominalizer form. The MMC has to contain the copula, and the copula has to be the nonpast form: =*i-ta* or its deferential form = *i-pni-ta* (Table 2.).

- (91) *Icaymin-tul=eykey simsim-ha-n yukam=ul*
 victim-PL=DAT/LOC deep-do-ADN.NPST sorry=ACC
phyo-ha-nun pa=i-pni-ta.
 express-do-ADN.NPST thing=COP-DEF-DECL
 ‘I am deeply sorry for the victims.’
- (92) *Ikes-ulo chwuksa=lul*
 this-with congratulatory. address=ACC
taysin-ha-nun pa=i-pni-ta.
 replacement-do-ADN.NPST thing=COP-DEF-DECL
 ‘By these [words I] do offer my congratulatory address.’

[3] *Cikyeng* ‘domain’ and *nolus* ‘role, part’

Both are defective nouns. *Cikyeng* ‘domain’ cannot be used by itself outside the MMC except for some fossilized expression with demonstrative *i cikyeng* ‘this situation’; see (93). Outside the MMC, it has to be modified by an AC, e.g. (94).

- (93) *Yelsimhi kongpwu-hay-ss-ciman kyelkwa=nun i*
 hard study-do-PST-but result=TOP this
cikyeng=i-ta.
 domain=COP-DECL
 ‘[I] studied hard, but the result is terrible.’
- (94) *Chelswu=nun il=i himtul-ese cwuk-ul*
 (name)=TOP work=NOM hard-CONJ die-ADN.PROS

cikyeng=i-ta.

domain=COP-DECL

‘Chelswu almost feels as if he is going to die because of hard work.’

Nolus ‘role, part’ cannot occur outside the MMC except in some fossilized expressions with a demonstrative, such as *i nolus* ‘this situation’, *ce nolus* ‘that situation’, or compound nouns, such as *emma nolus* ‘mother’s role’, *appa nolus* ‘father’s role’, and *coswu nolus* ‘assistant’s role’. See (95).

- (95) *Na=nun kunye=uy coswu nolus=ul hay-ss-ta.*
I=TOP her=GEN assistant role=ACC do-PST-DECL
LT: ‘I did her assistant role.’
FT: ‘I was her assistant.’

Both *nolus* ‘role, part’ and *cikyeng* ‘domain’ can be used in the MMC. This MMC encodes a somewhat unpleasant, negative situation that is out of one’s control rather than a pleasant, positive one (Ahn 1997: 122). Compare (96) and (97).

- (96) *I nai=ey yenge=lul paywu-cani*
this age=DAT/LOC English=ACC learn-CONJ
cwuk-ul {cikyeng/nolus}=i-ta.
die-ADN.PROS domain/role=COP-DECL
‘Learning English at my age is killing me.’
- (97)* *Ikes=un cengmal haplicek-i-n*
this=TOP really reasonable-COP-ADN.NPST
{cikyeng/nolus}=i-ta.
domain/role=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: ‘This is really reasonable.’ (Ahn 1997: 122)

[4] *Cham, cha* ‘time, moment’

Cham and *cha*, both ‘time, moment’, are defective nouns. They cannot be used outside the MMC. But they can be used in the MMC. In the MMC, when preceded by the prospective adnominalizer, it indicates the speaker’s intention (a modal meaning) e.g. (98) It may also have a progressive meaning (a type of aspectual meaning). Ahn (1997: 131) states to the effect that the MMC with *cham* indicates that the event/state of affairs continues for a relatively long time, e.g. (99) (the adnominalizer is the nonpast form), while that with *cha* indicates just the very moment when the event/state of affairs happens, e.g. (100) (the adnominalizer is the retrospective form).

- (98) *Na=nun i iyaki=nun kkok chayk=eyta*
I=TOP this story=TOP surely book=DAT/LOC
ssu-l cham=i-ta.
write-ADN.PROS time=COP-DECL
‘I am sure that I will write this story as a book.’

(99) *Cikum mak cemsim=ul mek-nun*
 now right lunch=ACC eat-ADN.NPST
cham=i-ta.

time=COP-DECL

‘[I] am eating lunch right now.’

(100) *Cikum achim hanswul ttu-lye-ten*
 now breakfast one.spoon scoop.up-VOL-ADN.RETRO
cha=(i)-ta.

moment=COP-DECL

‘[I] am just having a bite of breakfast.’

[5] *Cwung* ‘middle’

Cwung is a defective noun which has an aspectual meaning of ‘be in the middle of’. The adnominalizer has to be in the nonpast form or the retrospective form.

(101) *Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul*
 I=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
 {*ssu-nun*} *cwung=i-ta.*

write-ADN.NPST middle=COP-DECL

‘I am writing a paper in [my] laboratory.’

5.6 Discussion

So far we have looked at three types of nouns that can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. As noted in 5.5.1, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning(s) that they have when outside the MMC. In contrast, this is not the case with non-content nouns or defective nouns. They have lost their lexical meanings. That is, they are grammaticalized in this respect.

Table 3 summarizes the meaning(s) that non-content nouns have outside the MMC and the meaning(s) of the MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is largely modal. But an evidential meaning and an aspectual meaning, too, are attested.

Table 3. Semantics of non-content nouns

	meaning outside the MMC	meaning of the MMC
[1] <i>moyang</i>	‘appearance’	evidential: inference
[2] <i>pep</i>	‘law’	(a) modal: moral obligation (b) temporal (?): universal truth
[3] <i>kil</i>	‘road, path, means, ways’	aspectual: progressive
[4] <i>seym</i>	‘calculation’	Various modal meanings: (a) ‘did not want X to happen’

		(b) intention, plan (c) adverse state
[5] <i>phan</i>	'venue, spot, site'	modal: negative/unpleasant situation
[6] <i>phok</i>	'width'	aspectual/ temporal: negative/ bad situation
[7] <i>phyen</i>	'side, part, direction, way'	aspectual: tendency, habit, attitude
[8] <i>the</i>	'ground, place'	(a) modal: strong intention (b) modal: conjecture, guess

Table 4 summarizes (i) the etymology of defective nouns or the meaning(s) they have when used outside the MMC and (ii) the meaning(s) of the MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is mainly modal. In addition, aspectual meanings and one stylistic effect are observed. (The meanings (g) and (h) in [1] were not discussed above. They will be discussed in 5.7.1.)

Table 4. Meanings of defective nouns

	original meaning	meaning of the MMC
[1] <i>kes</i>	'thing'	various modal or discourse-pragmatic meanings, such as: (a) background explanation, reason (b) self-awareness, speaker's realization (c) advice (d) speaker's emotivity, e.g. blame, pleasure, surprise (e) guess, conjecture (f) speaker's intention (g) advice, command, instruction (h) strong obligation
[2] <i>pa</i>	'thing, ways'	stylistic: formal
[3] <i>cikyeng nolus</i>	'domain' 'role, part'	modal: unpleasant situation
[4] <i>cham, cha</i>	'time, moment'	aspectual: progressive
[5] <i>cwung</i>	'middle'	aspectual: 'in the middle of'

In this connection, we shall look at the co-occurrence possibilities between the nouns and the adnominalizer suffixes. They are shown in Table 5 regarding non-content nouns, and in Table 6 regarding defective nouns. It is difficult to make any generalizations, except to note that the nonpast has the widest range of possibilities.

Table 5. Non-content nouns and adnominalizer suffixes

Non-content nouns	NPST <i>-nun</i>	PST <i>-n</i>	RETRO <i>-ten</i>	PRETRO <i>-ss ten</i>	PROS <i>-(u)l</i>	PPROS <i>-ss ul</i>
[1] <i>moyang</i> 'appearance'	+	+	+	+	+	—
[2] <i>pep</i> 'law'	+	—	—	—	—	—
[3] <i>kil</i> 'road, path'	+	—	+	—	—	—
[4] <i>seym</i> 'calculation'	+	+	+	+	+	?
[5] <i>phan</i> 'venue, board'	+	+	—	—	+	—
[6] <i>phok</i> 'width'	+	+	—	—	—	—
[7] <i>phyen</i> 'side, part'	+	+	+	+	—	—
[8] <i>the</i> 'ground, place'	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 6. Defective nouns and adnominalizer suffixes

Non-content nouns	NPST <i>-nun</i>	PST <i>-n</i>	RETRO <i>-ten</i>	PRETRO <i>-ss ten</i>	PROS <i>-(u)l</i>	PPROS <i>-ss ul</i>
[1] <i>kes</i> 'thing'	+	+	+	+	+	+
[2] <i>pa</i> 'thing'	+	—	?	?	—	—
[3] <i>cikyeng, nolus</i> 'domain, role'	+	+	?	?	+	+
[4] <i>cham, cha</i> 'time, moment'	+	+	+	+	+	—
[5] <i>cwung</i> 'middle'	+	—	+	—	—	—

5.7 Morphosyntax of the mermaid construction

5.7.1 'Copula'

The copula =*i*- in the MMC can be omitted rather freely. It tends to be omitted in newspaper articles, but its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

For example, as mentioned in 5.5.3-[8], the copula is often absent when the MMC with the non-content noun *the* ‘ground, place’ describes the speaker’s strong intention or when it is used in newspaper articles,

Of particular interest is the MMC that contains the defective noun *kes* ‘thing’ (5.5.4-[1]). When the copula is absent, this MMC has modal meanings such as obligation, strong advice, command, or instructions to address (Kim and Horie 2006, Rhee 2011).

- (102) *Tampay phiwu-ci ma-l kes.*
 cigarette smoke-NEG-ADN.PROS thing
 ‘No smoking.’
- (103) *Hoyuy=ey chamsek-ha-l kes.*
 meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing
 ‘Attend the meeting.’

Note that (86) and (87), which contain the copula, do not indicate strong command toward addressees. They describe the speaker’s intention.

5.7.2 Negation

The negative form of the copula is *an=i-*. That is, the negation marker *an* is added to the beginning of the copula (5.4), e.g. (104). (In the examples given so far, bold face indicates the relevant nouns, and additionally the word(s)/morpheme(s) under discussion. In the examples given below, bold face indicates the word(s)/morpheme(s) under discussion. It does not necessarily show the noun in the ‘Noun slot’.)

- (104) *Chinkwu=nun uysa=ka an=i-ta.*
 friend=TOP doctor=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend is not a doctor.’

The ‘Copula’ in the MMC can be negated, with certain restrictions discussed below. Compare (105) (affirmative) (same as (2)) and (106) (negative). When the copula is negated, either the nominative case marker or the topic marker follows the ‘Noun’; see (106). As pointed out by Nam (2004a: 88), the topic marker is more acceptable than the nominative case marker. This probably has to do with the scope of negation and focalization.

- (105) *Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
 friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
 plan=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend plans to go to Japan.’
- (106) *Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
 friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng={i/un} an=i-ta.
 plan={NOM/TOP} NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend does not plan to go to Japan.’

As noted above, there are restrictions on the negation of the ‘Copula’ in the MMC. The acceptability of this negation depends on the type of the noun in the ‘noun’ slot (Nam 2004a). We shall look at content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns.

[1] Content nouns

When a content noun is in the ‘Noun’ slot, the ‘Copula’ can be negated with no restriction. Examples include (107) (*cakceng* ‘intention’) and (108) (*cheycil* ‘nature of body’).

- (107) *Chinkwu=nun nayil yeki=lul ttena-l*
 friend=TOP tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS
cakceng=i an=i-ta.
 intention=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend will not leave here tomorrow.’
- (108) *Chinkwu=nun sal=i cal cci-nun*
 friend=TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
cheycil=i an=i-ta.
 nature.of.body=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend does not gain weight easily.’

[2] Non-content nouns

With most of the non-content nouns, e.g. *moyang* ‘appearance’ in (109) and *pep* ‘law’ in (110), negation of the ‘Copula’ is not acceptable. However, this negation is possible with non-content nouns such as *phyen* ‘side’ in (111).

- (109) **Chinkwu=nun wu-nun moyang=i*
 friend=TOP cry-ADN.NPST appearance=NOM
an=i-ta.
 NEG=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘[My] friend does not seem to cry.’
- (110) **Sinpwu=nun wenlay yeyppu-n*
 bride-TOP in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST
pep=i an=i-ta.
 law=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘Every bride is not beautiful [in nature].’
- (111) *Chinkwu=nun sal=i cal cci-nun*
 friend=TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i an=i-ta.
 side=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend does not gain weight easily.’

[3] Defective nouns

The acceptability of the negation of the ‘Copula’ varies depending on the defective noun involved. This negation is not acceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* ‘thing’ in (112) and *cikyeng* ‘domain’ in (113). In contrast, it is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cwung* ‘during’ in (114).

- (112) **Na=nun ku kapang=ul kkok sa-l*
 I=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
kes=i an=i-ta.
 thing=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘[I] will not buy that bag in any case.’
- (113) **Na=nun yocum cwuk-ul cikyeng=i*
 I=TOP these.days die-ADN.PROS domain=NOM
an=i-ta.
 NEG=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘I do not feel half dead these days.’
- (114) *Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul*
 I=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
ssu-nun cwung=i an=i-pni-ta.
 write-ADN.NPST middle=NOM NEG=COP-DEF
 ‘I am not writing a paper in [my] laboratory.’

Thus far we have examined the negation of the ‘Copula’ of the MMC.

The predicate of the ‘Clause’, too, can be negated. In Korean, there are two ways to negate verbs (other than the copula) and adjectives. They can be used for the negation of the predicate of the ‘Clause’, as well. One involves the short form *an*, which precedes the predicate, e.g. (37), (115). The other employs the bipartite form *-ci anh-*, which is attached to the end of the stem of the predicate, e.g. (62) and (116). Both the ‘Copula’ and the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated, e.g. (117).

- (115) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey an ka-l*]
 I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC NEG plan-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta
 plan=COP-DECL
 ‘I plan not to go to Japan.’
- (116) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey ka-ci anh-ul*]
 I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-NEG-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
 plan=COP-DECL
 ‘I plan not to go to Japan.’
- (117) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey an ka-l*]
 I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC NEG go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i an=i-ta.
 plan=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
 ‘I do not plan not to go to Japan.’

5.7.3 Subject respect suffix *-(u)si-*

The honorific suffix *-(u)si-* ‘HS’ is used for subject respect. It is attached to the stem of the predicate, e.g. *o-si-ess-ta* ‘come-HS-PST-DECL’ in (17) and *ka-si-ta* ‘go-HS-DECL’. In the MMC, it can be added to the predicate of the ‘Clause’, e.g. (118), to the ‘Copula’, e.g. (24), (119), and to both, e.g. (120).

- (118) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grandfather=NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-si-l] *yeyceng=i-ta.*
go-HS-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
‘[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.’
- (119) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grand.father =NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-l] *yeyceng=i-si-ta.*
go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-HS-DECL
‘[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.’
- (120) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grand.father =NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-si-l] *yeyceng=i-si-ta.*
go-HS-ADN.PROS plan=COP-HS-DECL
‘[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.’

6. Comparison of the mermaid construction with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We shall compare the MMC with some other constructions in terms of their syntactic behaviour. The constructions that will be compared are as follows.

- (a) Internal AC (discussed in 4.2.1.2)
- (b) External AC (discussed in 4.2.1.3)
- (c) Adverbial clause of time (discussed in 4.2.2)
- (d) MMC with a content noun (discussed in 5.5.2)
- (e) MMC with a non-content noun (discussed in 5.5.3)
- (f) MMC with a defective noun (discussed in 5.5.4)
- (g) Verb-predicate sentence (discussed in 4.1)
- (h) Noun-predicate sentence (discussed in 4.1)

Six tests will be conducted for this comparison.

- Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative (6.2)
- Test 2: Modification by an adjective (6.3)
- Test 3: Head noun in relativization (6.4)
- Test 4: NOM/GEN conversion (6.5)
- Test 5: Topic marker (6.6)
- Test 6: Clefting (6.7)

Test 1 to Test 3 are designed to investigate the noun-hood of the ‘Noun’ of the MMC, while Test 4 to Test 5 are intended to examine the sentence-hood of the ‘Clause’. Test 6 serves both purposes.

6.2 Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative

Content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative and some other modifier when they are used outside the MMC, e.g. (31) (*say salam* ‘new person’: a content noun), (86) (*ku kapang* ‘that bag’: a content noun). When used in the ‘Noun’ slot of the the MMC, however, nouns cannot be modified by a demonstrative, such as *i* ‘this’ and *ku* ‘that’. See (124), (125) and (126).

Similarly, nouns that are used in the conjunction-like expressions for adverbial clauses of time (i.e. (c)) do not allow this modification; see (123). That is, these nouns lack the noun-hood in that they cannot be modified by a demonstrative.

There is no such restriction in the other constructions: (a) Internal AC, (b) External AC, and (h) Noun-predicate sentence; the nouns have the noun-hood in this respect. See (121), (122) and (123). Superficially, (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) (though not (g) or (h)) contain the structure of ‘clause + noun’. However, (c), (d), (e) and (f) differ from (a) and (b) in that the nouns in question lack the noun-hood in this respect.

(a) Internal AC

(121) *Chinkwu=ka sa-n i os*
 friend=NOM buy-ADN.PST this clothes
 ‘these clothes that [my] friend bought.’

(b) External AC

(122) *Chinkwu=ka mal-ha-nun i moksoli*
 friend =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES this voice
 LT: ‘this voice with which [my] friend talks’

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(123) **Chinkwu=ka ka-l ku ttay,*
 friend =NOM go-ADN.PROS that time
na-to ka-n-ta.
 I-too go-PRES-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘That time when [my] friend goes, I will go too.’

(d) MMC with a content noun

(124) **Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
 friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
ku yeyceng=i-ta.
 that plan=COP-DECL
 LT: ‘[My] friend is that plan to go to Japan.’

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

(125) **Chinkwu=nun cikum hakkyo=ey*
 friend =TOP now school=DAT/LOC

ka-nun ku kil=i-ta.
 go-ADN.NPST that road=COP-DECL
 LT: '[My] friend is on that way to go to school now.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

(126)**Na=nun cikum mak cemsim=ul*
 I=TOP now right lunch=ACC
mek-nun i cham=i-ta.
 eat-ADN.NPST this time=COP-DECL
 LT: 'I am this time to eat lunch right now.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

The test is inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(127) *Nay chinkwu=nun i uysa=(i)-ta.*
 my friend=TOP this doctor=COP-DECL
 'My friend is this doctor.'

6.3 Test 2: Modification by an adjective

This test yields exactly the same result as that of Test 1.

(a) Internal AC

(128) *Chinkwu=ka sa-n yeypu-n*
 friend =NOM buy-ADNOM.PST pretty-ADN.NPST
os
 clothes
 'the pretty clothes that [my] friend bought'

(b) External AC

(129) *Chinkwu =ka mal-ha-nun coh-un*
 friend =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES good-ADN.NPST
moksoli
 voice
 LT: 'the good voice with which [my] friend talks'

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(130)**Chinkwu=ka cip=ey ka-l*
 friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
kupha-n ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.
 urgent-ADN.PRES time I=too go-PRES-DECL
 LT: 'Urgent time that [my] friend goes, I will go too.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

(131)**Chinkwu=ka ilpon=ey ka-l*
 friend=NOM Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS

kupha-n *yeyceng=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST plan=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend has an urgent plan to go to Japan.'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

(132) **Chinkwu=nun cikum hakkyo=ey ka-nun*
friend=TOP now school=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST
kupha-n *kil=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend is going to school now in a hurry.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

(133) **Chinkwu=nun cemsim=ul mek-ul*
friend =TOP lunch=ACC eat-ADN.PROS
kupha-n *cham=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend is eating lunch in a hurry.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

The test is inapplicable because there is no relevant 'noun'.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(134) *Chinkwu=nun yumyeng-ha-n uysa=(i)-ta.*
friend=TOP famous-do-ADN.NPST doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a famous doctor.'

6.4 Test 3: Head noun in relativization

This test examines whether the subject can be the head noun in relativization, i.e. in the formation of adnominal clauses. It concerns the subject of:

- (i) the main clause of (a), (b), (c);
- (ii) the 'Clause' of the MMC, i.e. (d), (e), (f), and;
- (iii) simple sentences: (g) and (h).

In the case of (e) MMC with a non-content noun and (f) MMC with a defective noun, the acceptability depends on the noun employed. Selected examples of nouns will be given. In other constructions, i.e. (a), (b), (c), (d), (g), (h), nouns can be the head in relativization.

(a) Internal AC

(135) *Chinkwu=nun [nay=ka mantu-n khaley]=lul*
friend=TOP I =NOM make-ADN.PST curry=ACC
mek-ess-ta.
eat-PST-DECL

‘[My] friend ate the curry that I cooked.’

- (136) *[Nay=ka mantu-n khaley]=lul*
I=NOM make-ADNOM.PST curry=ACC
mek-un chinkwu
eat-ADN.PST friend
‘[my] friend who ate the curry that I cooked’

(b) External AC

- (137) *Chinkwu=nun [nay=ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]=lul*
friend=TOP I=NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice=ACC
tul-ess-ta.
hear-PST-DECL
‘[My] friend heard the voice with which I talk.’
- (138) *[nay=ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]=lul*
father =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice=ACC
tul-un chinkwu
hear-ADNOM.PST friend
‘[my] friend who heard the voice with which I talk’

(c) Adverbial clause of time

- (139) *Chinkwu=nun cip=ey o-l ttay,*
friend =NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
‘When [My] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.’
- (140) *cip=ey o-l ttay ppang=ul*
home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time bread=ACC
sa-n chinkwu
buy-ADN.PST friend
‘[my] friend who bought bread when [he] came back home’

(d) MMC with a content noun

If the noun in the ‘Noun’ slot is a content noun, e.g. *yeyceng* ‘plan’ in (141), the subject of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC, i.e. *Chinkwu* in (141), can be the head noun in relativization, as in (142).

- (141) *Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
friend =TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
‘[My] friend plans to go to Japan.’
- (142) *ilpon=ey ka-l*
Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-n chinkwu
plan=COP-ADN.NPST friend
‘[my] friend who plans to go to Japan’

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

In the case of non-content nouns, this is possible with some of them, but it is not possible with others. Non-content nouns such as *moyang* ‘appearance’ and *pep* ‘law’ cannot be the head in relativization; see (144) and (146). In contrast, non-content nouns such as *phyen* ‘side’ can.

Involving *moyang* ‘appearance’:

- (143) **Chinkwu** =*nun* *wu-nun* *moyang=i-ta*.
friend=TOP cry-ADN.NPST appearance =COP-DECL
‘[My] friend seems to be crying.’
- (144)* *Wu-nun* **moyang=i-n**
cry-ADNOM.NPST appearance=COP-ADN.NPST
chinkwu
friend
Intended meaning: ‘[my] friend who seems to be crying’

Involving *pep* ‘law’:

- (145) **Haksayng**=*un* *yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun*
student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
pep=i-ta.
law=COP-DECL
‘Students should study hard.’
- (146)* *Yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun* *pep=i-n*
hard study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-ADN.NPST
haksayng
student
Intended meaning: ‘students who should study hard’

Involving *phyen* ‘side’:

- (147) **Chinkwu**=*nun* *sal=i* *cal* *cci-nun*
friend =TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i-ta.
side=COP-DECL
‘[My] friend gains weight easily.’
- (148) *Sal=i* *cal* *cci-nun*
fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i-n **chinkwu**
side=COP-ADN.NPST friend
‘[my] friend who gains weight easily.’

(f) MMC with a defective noun

If the noun in the ‘Noun’ slot is a defective noun, this is possible with some of them, but it is impossible with others. Compare (149) and (150), which have the defective noun *kes* ‘thing’ in the ‘Noun’ slot. The example (150) is not acceptable. In contrast, defective nouns such as *cikyeng* ‘domain’ and *cwung* ‘middle’ can. See (152) and (154).

Involving *kes* ‘thing’:

- (149) *Chinkwu=nun ku kapang=ul kkok*
 friend=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case
sa-l kes=i-ta.
 buy-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend will buy that bag in any case.’
- (150) **Ku kapang=ul kkok sa-l*
 that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
kes=i-n chinkwu
 thing=COP-ADN.NPST friend
 Intended meaning: ‘[my] friend who will buy that bag in any case’

Involving *cikyeng* ‘domain’:

- (151) *Chinkwu=nun cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-ta.*
 friend =TOP die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend feels half dead.’
- (152) *cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-n chinkwu*
 die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-ADN.NPST friend
 ‘[my] friend who feels half dead’

Involving *cwung* ‘middle’ :

- (153) *Chinwku=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul*
 friend=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
ssu-ten cwung=i-ta.
 write-ADN.RETRO middle=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend is writing a paper in [my] laboratory.’
- (154) *yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul ssu-ten*
 lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC write-ADN.RETRO
cwung=i-n chinkwu
 middle=COP-ADN.NPST friend
 ‘a/the person who is writing a paper in [his/her] laboratory’

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

- (155) *Chinkwu =nun chayk=ul sa-ss-ta.*
 friend= TOP book=ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘[My] friend bought a book’
- (156) *chayk=ul sa-n chinkwu*
 book=ACC buy-ADN.PST friend
 ‘[my] friend who bought a book’

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

- (157) *Chinkwu=nun uysa=i-ta.*
 friend =TOP doctor=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend is a doctor.’
- (158) *uysa=i-n chinkwu*
 doctor=COP-ADN.NPST friend
 ‘[my] friend who is a doctor’

6.5 Test 4: NOM/GEN conversion

In Japanese, the subject exhibits an alternation between the nominative case and the genitive case in adnominal clauses ('ACs') and certain adverbial clauses, but this conversion is prohibited in the MMC and independent sentences, such as verb-predicate sentences (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2.1).

In Korean (NOM: =*i/ka*, GEN: =*uy*), the NOM/GEN conversion is possible in (a) Internal AC and (b) External AC. However, as indicated by Horie and Kang (2000), the subject in the genitive case is not generally accepted in Modern Korean. Only a limited number of examples can be found in folk songs, e.g. (159), and the titles of books and songs, e.g. (160). Both are examples of internal AC. (161) is an example of external AC.

- (159) [*Na=uy sal-ten*] *kohyang*
 I=GEN live-ADN.RETRO hometown
 'the hometown where I used to live' (Horie and Kang 2000: 95)
- (160) [*Na=uy ka-nun*] *kil*
 I=GEN go-ADN.PRES road
 'my way to go'
- (161) *Chinkwu=uy mal-ha-nun* *moksoli*
 friend=GEN talk-do-ADN.NPST voice
 'the voice of [my] friend talks with'

The NOM/GEN alternation is unacceptable in other constructions.

(c) Adverbial clause of time

- (162) *Chinkwu=ka* (**chinkwu=uy*) *ka-l*
 friend=NOM friend=GEN go-ADN.PROS
ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.
 time I=too go-PRES-DECL
 'When [my] friend goes, I will go too.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

- (163) *Chinkwu=ka* (**chinkwu=uy*) *ilpon=ey*
 friend=NOM friend=GEN Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-l yeyceng=i-ta.
 go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
 '[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

- (164) *Chinkwu=ka* (**chinkwu=uy*) *cikum hakkyo=ey*
 friend=NOM friend=GEN now school=DAT/LOC
ka-nun kil=i-ta.
 go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
 '[My] friend is on his way to go to school now.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

(165) *Chinkwu=ka (*Na=uy) cikum mak cemsim=ul*
friend =NOM friend =GEN now right lunch=ACC
mek-nun cham=i-ta.
eat-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
'I am eating lunch right now.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

(166) *Chinkwu=ka (*chinkwu=uy) ilpon=ey ka-n-ta.*
friend=NOM friend=GEN Japan=DAT/LOC go-PRES-DECL
'[My] friend goes to Japan.'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(167) *Chinkwu=ka (*chinkwu=uy) uysa=i-ta.*
friend=NOM friend=GEN doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a medical doctor.'

6.6 Test 5: Topic marker

The topic marker (=un/=nun) cannot occur in (a) Internal AC or (b) External AC.

(a) Internal AC

(168) *Ikes=un [chinkwu=*nun/ka sa-n*
this=TOP friend=TOP/NOM buy-ADN.PST
os]=i-ta.
clothes=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'These are the clothes that [my] friend bought.'

(b) External AC

(169) *[chinkwu=*nun/ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]*
friend=TOP/NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice
Intended meaning: 'the voice with which [my] friend talks'

In (c) adverbial clause of time, the topic marker is acceptable if the subject of the adverbial clause of time and that of the main clause are identical, e.g. (170). However, it is unacceptable if they are not identical; see (171).

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(170) *Chinkwu=nun/ka cip=ey o-l*
friend =TOP/NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS
ttay, ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
time bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
Intended meaning: 'When [my] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.'

- (171) *Chinkwu = *nun/ka cip=ey ka-l*
 friend =TOP/NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.
 time I=too go-PRES-DECL
 Intended meaning: 'When [my] friend comes home, I will go too.'

The topic maker can occur in other constructions.

- (d) MMC with a content noun, e.g. (26), (28), (29).
 (e) MMC with a non-content noun, e.g. (60), (65), (71).
 (f) MMC with a defective noun, e.g. (77), (78), (79), (80), (98), (101).
 (g) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (5).
 (h) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (8).

6.7 Test 6: Clefting

The cleft construction in Korean has the following structure. X represents the focus.

- (172) X=*kes=un* NP=(*i*)-*ta.*
 X=NMLZ=TOP NP=COP-DECL

In the following discussion, the subject will be put in focus by clefting. It is most convenient to start this discussion with (g) verb-predicate sentence and (h) noun-predicate sentence. For each construction type, a clefted example and the corresponding (non-clefted) example will be given. Clefting is acceptable in (g), (h), and (d) MMC with a content noun.

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

- (173) *Chinkwu=nun chayk=ul sa-ss-ta.*
 friend=TOP book=ACC buy-PST-DECL
 '[My] friend bought a book.'
 (174) *Chayk=ul sa-n kes=un*
 book=ACC buy-ADN.PST NMLZ=TOP
chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 friend=COP-DECL
 'It is [my] friend who bought a book.'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

- (175) *Chinkwu=nun haksayng=i-ta.*
 friend=TOP student=COP-DECL
 '[My] friend is a student.'
 (176) *Haksayng=i-n kes=un*
 student=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 friend=COP-DECL
 'It is [my] friend who is a student.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

- (177) *Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
 friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
 plan=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend plans to go to Japan.’
- (178) *Ilpon=ey ka-l yeyceng=i-n*
 Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP.NPST
kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘It is [my] friend who plans to go to Japan.’

In (e) MMC with a non-content noun and (f) MMC with a defective noun, the acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. Selected examples of nouns will be given.

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

The acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with non-content nouns such as *phyen* ‘side’, e.g. (180). However, it is not acceptable with non-content nouns such as *pep* ‘law’; see (182).

- (179) *Chinkwu=nun achim=ey ilccik*
 friend=TOP morning=DAT/LOC early
ilena-nun phyen=i-ta.
 get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.’
- (180) *Achim=ey ilccik ilena-nun*
 morning=DAT/LOC early get.up-ADN.NPST
phyen=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 side=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 ‘It is [my] friend who has a habit of getting up early in the morning.’
- (181) *Haksayng=un yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun*
 student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
pep=i-ta.
 law=COP-DECL
 ‘Students should study hard.’
- (182) **Yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun pep=i-n*
 hard study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-ADN.NPST
kes=un haksayng=(i)-ta.
 NMLZ=TOP student=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘It is students who should study hard.’

(f) MMC with a defective noun

The acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cikyeng* ‘domain’, e.g.

(184). However, it is not acceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* ‘thing’; see (186).

- (183) *Chinkwu=nun cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-ta.*
 friend=TOP die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend is feeling as if he is almost dead.’
- (184) *Cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-n*
 die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-ADN.PROS
kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘It is [my] friend who is feeling as if he is almost dead.’
- (185) *Chinkwu=nun hoyuy=ey*
 friend=TOP meeting=DAT/LOC
chamsek-ha -l kes=i-ta.
 attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
 ‘[My] friend will attend the meeting.’
- (186)* *Hoyuy=ey chamsek-ha -l*
 meeting=DAT/LOC attend-do-ADN.PROS
kes=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 thing=COP-ADN.PRES NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 Intended meaning: ‘It is [my] friend who will attend the meeting.’

(c) Adverbial clause of time

Clefting is acceptable if the subject of the adverbial clause of time and that of the main clause are identical, e.g. (188). However, it is unacceptable if they are not identical; see (190).

- (187) *Chinkwu=ka cip=ey o-l ttay,*
 friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
 bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘When [my] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.’
- (188) *Cip=ey o-l ttay ppang=ul*
 home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time bread=ACC
sa-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 buy-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 LT: ‘It is [my] friend who, [when] he came back home [he] bread.’
- (189) *Chinkwu=ka cip=ey ka-l ttay,*
 friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time
na=to ka-n-ta.
 I=too go-PRES-DECL
 ‘When [my] friend goes home, I will go too.’
- (190)* *Cip=ey ka-l ttay, na=to*
 home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time I=too

- na=to ka-n-ta.*
 I=too go-PRES-DECL
 ‘When [my] friend goes home, I will go too.’
- (190) **Cip=ey ka-l ttay, na=to*
 home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time I=too
- ka-nun kes=un chinkwu=i-ta.*
 go-ADNOM.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 (untranslatable)

Clefting is impossible in (a) internal AC and (b) external AC.

(a) Internal AC

- (191) *Ikes=un chinkwu=ka ssu-n*
 this=TOP friend=NOM write-ADN.PST
chayk=i-ta.
 book=COP-DECL
 ‘This is the book that [my] friend wrote.’
- (192) **Ikes=un ssu-n*
 this=TOP write-ADN.PST
chayk=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
 book=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 (untranslatable)

(b) External AC

- (193) *Ikes=un chinkwu=ka mal-ha-nun*
 this=TOP friend=NOM talk-do-ADN.NPST
moksoli=(i)-ta.
 voice=COP-DECL
 LT: ‘This is the voice with which [my] friend talks.’
- (194) **Ikes=un mal-ha-nun*
 this=TOP talk-do-ADN.NPST
moksoli=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta
 voice=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
 (untranslatable)

6.8 Discussion

We shall summarize the commonalities and differences among the eight constructions examined above, in terms of [1] morphology and [2] syntax.

[1] Morphology

We shall consider the morphology of the predicate. As seen in 5.1, the predicate of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC (to be precise, the dominant type: type (a)) has to contain an adnominalizer suffix. In this respect, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC behaves exactly like the predicate of ACs (cf. 4.2.1.1), and differs from that of independent sentences. That is, if we confine our attention to the predicate, it will look as if the ‘Clause’ of the MMC were an AC.

abbreviations employed indicate the following.

- (i) ‘+’: acceptable
- (ii) ‘-’: unacceptable
- (iii) ‘+/-’: the acceptability differs from the noun
- (iv) ‘N/A’: the test is not applicable

Table 7. Syntactic aspects of the eight constructions

	(a)Internal AC	(b)External AC	(c) Adverbial clause: time	(d) MMC: content noun	(e) MMC: non-content noun	(f) MMC: defective noun	(g)sentence: verb- predicate	(h)sentence: noun- predicate
Test 1. Demonstrative	+	+	-	-	-	-	N/A	+
Test 2. Adjective	+	+	-	-	-	-	N/A	+
Test 3. Head noun	+	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+
Test 4. NOM/GEN	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Test 5. Topic marker	-	-	+/-	+	+	+	+	+
Test 6. Clefting	-	-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+	+

Test 1 to Test 3 are designed to investigate the noun-hood of the ‘Noun’ of the MMC, while Test 4 to Test 5 are intended to examine the sentence-hood of the ‘Clause’. Test 6 serves both purposes.

(a) Noun-hood

In the main, the ‘Noun’ of the MMC ((d), (e), (f)) exhibits a low degree of noun-hood. In particular, in terms of Test 1 and Test 2, it behaves differently from the noun in (a) internal AC, (b) external AC, and (h) noun-predicate sentence.

Regarding Test 3, some of the non-content nouns and the defective nouns cannot be the head in relativization. In this respect, they are low in noun-hood. Consequently, they are the lowest in noun-hood among all the nouns examined in Table 7.

To put it differently, in terms of syntax, the nouns in the ‘Noun’ are grammaticalized. Among them, some of non-content nouns and the defective nouns mentioned above are the most grammaticalized.

Recall also that in terms of semantics, non-content nouns and defective nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot are highly grammaticalized (Tables 3 and 4).

(b) Sentence-hood

In the main, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC behaves like independent sentences: (g) verb-predicate sentence and (h) noun-predicate sentence. The only exceptions are found regarding Test 6; they are instances of the MMC with certain non-content nouns and instances of the MMC with certain defective nouns.

[3] Summary

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is identical with ACs. However, regarding syntax, the ‘Clause’ differs from ACs. In the main, the entire MMC behaves like independent clauses — with

the exceptions noted above. That is, in terms of syntax, the MMC does not contain an AC, and consequently it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

7. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC abounds in Korean, and it is of three types. In the dominant type, more than 70 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defectives nouns. These nouns (more than 70) and the nouns attested in the 'Noun' slot of the Japanese MMC (at least 106) in the main coincide. However, there are some nouns that are acceptable in the Korean MMC, but not in the Japanese MMC. The reverse applies to some other nouns.

The MMC in Korean has a wide range of meanings/functions, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal and stylistic meanings/functions.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of ACs are identical; they must take a nominalizer suffix. Since the predicate is in an adnominal form, the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

Regarding syntax, however, the 'Clause' of the MMC in the main behaves differently from ACs. Rather, the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

In terms of semantics and syntax, the nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are grammaticalized to varying degrees. Among them, some of the non-content nouns and the defective nouns mentioned above are the most grammaticalized.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; AS - adjectivising suffix; COND - conditional; CONJ - conjunctive; COM - comitative; COP - copula; DAT/LOC - dative/locative; DECL - declarative; DEF - deferential; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HOR - honorific; HS - honorific suffix; IMP - imperative; LT - literal translation; NEG - negative; NOM - nominative; NPST - non-past; NMLZ - nominalizer; PL - plural; POL - polite; PRETRO - past retrospective; PST - past; PRES - present; PROG - progressive; PROS - prospective; PPROS - past prospective; RETRO - retrospective; SFS - sentence final suffix; TOP - topical; VOL - volitional

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