

Inner and Outer Locatives in Korean

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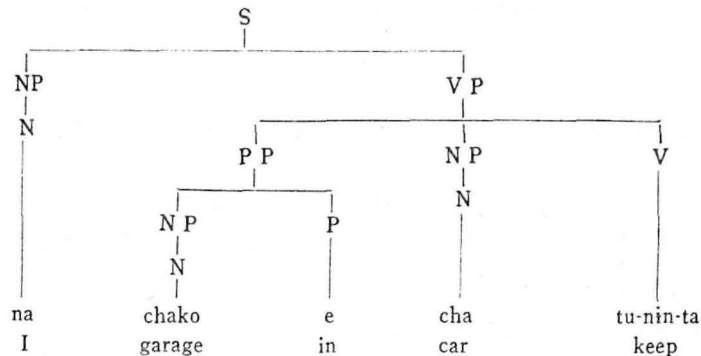
1. Introduction

In Korean, inner and outer locatives are indicated by the postpositions *e* and *esə* respectively:

- (1) (a) na-ka chako -e næ cha-lil tu -nin -ta
 I SM garage IL my car OM keep PRES DEC¹
 'I keep my car in the garage.'
- (b) na-ka chako -esə næ cha -lil ssis -nin -ta
 I SM garage OL my car OM wash PRES DEC¹
 'I wash my car in the garage.'

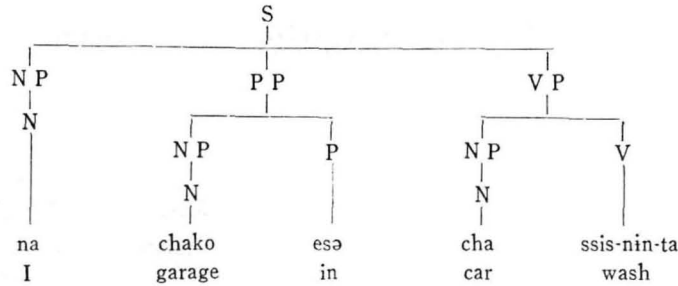
The underlying structures for (1a) and (1b) would appear something like (2a) and (2b) respectively.

(2) (a)



¹ SM=Subject Marker OM=Object Marker IL=Inner Locative Marker
 OL=Outer Locative Marker PRES=Present Tense Marker DEC=Declarative Ending

(b)



On the other hand, the postpositions *e* and *esə* are also used as goal and source postpositions as in the following.

(3) (a) na-ka cip - e ka - nin - ta
 I SM home IL go PRES DEC
 'I go home.'

(b) na-ka cip - esə ka - nin - ta
 I SM home OL go PRES DEC
 'I go from home.'

Thus, the postposition *e* is used for both the inner locative and the goal, and the postposition *esə* for both the outer locative and the source. This paper discusses how these postpositions come to assume such multiple (seemingly unrelated) functions and their relationships with other postpositions having similar functions, and suggests that the two postpositions, *e* (in the both senses of inner locative and goal) and *esə* (in the both senses of outer locative and source), are really derived from a single 'abstract' postposition *E* of the prelexical level in the sense of Gruber (1965).

2. Inner Locative and Goal

It has been claimed by Gruber (1965:53) that both location and goal expressions in English are derived from locative expressions with a single prelexical preposition *AT*. And he suggests the following prelexical transformational rule:

(4) $[V, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Motional} \\ \text{Possessional} \end{array} \right\}] \times AT$
 1 2 3 \implies 1, 2, TO
 Boolean condition: if $1 < Z$, then $3 < Z$.

Gruber adds,

Here the Boolean condition states that if the verb is dominated by some node *Z*, then the preposition is also dominated by that node. That is to say, the preposition is in construction

with the verb. The brackets indicate 'either of the two'. X may be any intervening prepositional phrase. As will be seen its content is very limited.....It can be seen that every locative expression may become an expression of goal in the environment of a Motional verb. On the prelexical level we have only AT, and complexes based on AT. The above rule amounts to marking all AT's in construction with the appropriate verb to be put in the appropriate form when lexical entries are added. It is not favorable to have the nature of the verb conditioned by the prepositions present, since we can have more the one expression of goal with a Motional verb. The above rule will mark them all:

(5) The bird flew into the bush to its nest.

Here, we see that Gruber makes it clear that the goal preposition *TO* can be derived only from the inner locative *AT*. This point nicely corresponds to the Korean situation where both the inner locative and goal are indicated by the same postposition *e*, except that we do not need a rule like (4) in Korean. (Instead we will need an interpretive rule which imposes some features of the verb on the inner locative *e*, as we shall see later.) This evidence from English and Korean reflects a possible universal semantic constraint that the inner locative and goal are in complementary distribution with respect to the co-occurring verb. That is, semantically a verb cannot be both [+Motional] and [-Motional] or both [+Directional] and [-Directional].

So far, the Korean postposition *e* is just like the English prelexical *AT* in syntactic and semantic functions. However, there are some differences between them. First, Gruber is not clear about whether the other locative prepositions, *in* and *on*, should also be derived from the prelexical *AT*, though the *AT* is certainly a semantic component of both *in* and *on*. That is, *in* is paraphrasable as 'at the interior of' and *on* as 'at the surface of'. However, the Korean *e* can be used for any type of locative sense covering English *at*, *on* and *in*, the specific nature of location being again determined by the co-occurring lexical items—the locational noun and the verb. For example, in (1a) the inner locative *e* is interpreted as meaning 'in', due to nature of the locational noun *chako* 'garage' and the verb *tu* 'keep'. However, in (6a) and (6b) below, *e* is interpreted as meaning 'at' and 'on' respectively, on account of the nature of the locational noun:

- (6) (a) na-ka mun - e næ cha - lil tu - nin - ta
 I SM gate IL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 'I keep (or leave) my car at (or by) the gate.
- (b) na-ka kil - e næ cha - lil tu - nin - ta
 I SM road IL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 'I keep my car on the road.'

This indeterminacy of *e* sometimes leads to ambiguity as in (7):

- (7) ki-ka cha-e anc-ə - iss - nin - ta
 he SM car IL sit-ing is PRES DEC
 'He is sitting in the car.'
 'He is sitting on the car.'

The first interpretation for (7) is more frequent, merely because we are usually sit *in* a car, but the second interpretation is also possible and equally natural. What happens, though, if we want to disambiguate sentence (7)? Koreans simply add a 'locational specifier' before the postposition *e*, as in (8):

- (8) (a) ki - ka cha - an - e anc-ə - iss - nin - ta
 he SM car interior IL sit-ing is PRES DEC
 'He is sitting *in* the car.'
 (b) ki - ka cha - wi - e anc-ə - iss - nin - ta
 he SM car upper IL sit -ing is PRES DEC
 side
 'He is sitting *on* the car.'

Here the 'locational specifiers' are free morphemes, and this process of attaching 'locational specifiers' to the inner locative *e* (and for that matter, to the outer locative *esə* as well, as we shall see later) is very productive as described below; hence, the resulting collocation, locational specifier+inner locative *e*, can hardly be considered a new locative postposition.

- (9) (a) cha - aph - e 'in front of the car'
 car front IL
 (b) cha - twi - e 'behind the car'
 car back IL
 (c) cha - yəph - e 'by the car'
 car side IL
 (d) cha - mith - e 'under the car'
 car bottom IL
 (e) cha - pakk - e 'outside the car'
 car exterior IL
 (f) cha - cuwi - e 'around the car'
 car surroundings IL
 (g) cha - kakkai - e 'near the car'
 car proximity IL
 (h) cha - kəth - e 'on the outer surface of the car'
 car outer IL
 surface
 (i) cha-kkith-e 'at the near end of the car'
 car end IL

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (j) | cha-kkoktæki-e
car top IL | 'on the top of the car' |
| (k) | cha-mun-e
car door IL | 'on the door of the car' |
| (l) | cha-pakhwi-e
car wheel IL | 'on the wheel of the car' |
| (m) | cha-encin - e
car engine IL | 'on or in the engine of the car' |

This list is rather open-ended. Going down the list, we tend to feel that the structure of the phrases is Compound noun+Inner locative rather than Noun+Compound locative. Actually we can paraphrase the compound nouns in the above phrases as genitive constructions, as in the following:

- | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| (10) | (a) | cha-iy aph-e
car's front IL | 'on the car's front'
'in the front of the car' |
| | (b) | cha-iy encin-e
car 's engine IL | 'on or in the car's engine'
'on or in the engine of the car' |

The forms in (9) are preferred to those in (10) in usual colloquial speech, unless the speaker wants to make some contrast as in 'in front of the car, not the truck'. In any case, we need the inner (or outer) locative postposition at the end of the phrase in order to make the phrase locational.

The second difference between the Korean inner locative *e* and the English prelexical AT as posited by Gruber is that in Korean the inner locative *e* never stacks, i.e. a verb allows only one *e*-phrase either of inner locative or of goal, whereas in English the prelexical AT may stack as we see in (5) (in the quotation from Gruber), where both of the locational phrases 'into the bush' and 'to its nest' are considered as represented with AT on the prelexical level and as being in construction with the Motional verb 'fly'. In Korean (11a) and (11b) are possible, but (11c) is not.

- | | | |
|------|-----|--|
| (11) | (a) | ki sæ-ka suphul-sok - e nali-ai -ka - æss - ta
the bird SM bush inside IL fly ing go PAST DEC
'The bird flew into the bush.' |
| | (b) | ki sæ-ka ki-iy tuŋci-e nali-ə -ka - æss - ta
the bird SM it 's nest IL fly ing go PAST DEC
'The bird flew to its nest.' |
| | (c) | *ki sæ -ka suphul-sok - e ki-iy tuŋci-e nali-ə - ka - æss - ta
the bird SM bush inside IL it 's nest IL fly ing go PAST DEC
'The bird flew into the bush to its nest' (intended meaning) |

The intended meaning of (11c) above would be expressed as (12), which contains only one *e*-phrase.

- (12) ki sæ- ka suphul- sok-iy ki-iy tuŋci-e nali-ə-ka-əss-ta
 the bird SM bush inside 's it 's nest IL fly ing go PAST DEC
 'The bird flew to its nest in the bush.'

However, (11c) and (12) are structurally quite different: *suphul-sok-e* in (11c) is intended to modify the verb whereas *suphul-sok-iy* in (12) modifies the following NP *ki-iy tuŋci*. There are some speakers of Korean who accept (11c) as grammatical, but they interpret it as meaning the English gloss of (12), not that of (11c). In other words they interpret *suphul-sok-e* of (11c) as 'in the bush' of 'the nest in the bush'. So, *iy* and *e*, normally unstressed, are (phonetically) almost indistinguishable even in the normal tempo of conversation, and (11c) and (12) will be interpreted alike as meaning the English gloss of (12), but never as that of (11c).

We might attribute this difference between Korean *e* and English prelexical *AT* to the difference between the Korean verbs like *nali-ə-ka* 'go flying' and English verbs like *fly*. But the difference seems to be deeper than that: no Korean verb allows more than one locational *e*-phrase, whereas there is no such specific restriction on English verbs in general with respect to prelexical *AT*-phrases. Furthermore, this restriction on the number of co-occurring postpositional phrases with the same postposition in construction with the verb is a general fact about Korean, not restricted only to the *e*-phrase. That is, no Korean verb allows more than one postpositional phrase with the same postposition, each phrase being in construction with the verb. This not true in English as in (13), according to Gruber's analysis of English.

- (13) (a) John brought the letter *to New York to Bill*.
 (b) John sent the message *to Chicago to Mary*.
 (c) John received the book *from New York from Bill*.
 (d) John bought the book *from Chicago from Mary*.

In Korean there is a postposition explicitly specifying 'direction' or 'goal' regardless of the co-occurring verb or context, in contrast to *e*, which implicitly specifies 'direction' or 'goal' only when in construction with a directional motion verb. This postposition is *ilo* 'to, toward'. I would call this *e* the 'implicit goal postposition' and *ilo* the 'explicit goal postposition' for the sake of convenience. Obviously they have roughly the same meaning and function, but there are many subtle differences both semantic and syntactic.

- (14) (a) na-ka hakkyo-e ka - nin - ta
I SM school IL go PRES DEC

I'm going to school

- (b) na-ka hakkyo-ilo ka - nin - ta
I SM school to go PRES DEC

I'm going to the school.

(14a) and (14b) mean roughly the same thing. However, the directionality (to the school) of the act of going is more explicitly and emphatically (and possibly contrastively) specified in (14b) than in (14a). Thus, (14b) means only the act of physically going to the building(s) of the school, whereas (14a) means also the attending of the school in addition to the act of physically going to the building(s) of the school, which is implicitly or weakly specified in it (=14a). Therefore (14a) implies (14b) but not vice versa. That is, we cannot say (14b) to mean "I attend the school," though we can say (14a) to mean (14b). It seems that the phrase *hakkyo-ilo* in (14b) is also in construction with the verb *ka* as the phrase *hakkyo-e* in (14a) is. However, somehow, *hakkyo-e* in (14a) is more closely associated with the verb than *hakkyo-ilo* in (14b) is, as we see later, and is not a simple goal phrase as *hakkyo-ilo* in (14b) is. The implicit goal postposition *e* may sometimes be deleted in colloquial speech, and we can say (15) instead of (14a):

- (15) na-ka hakkyo ka - nin - ta.
I SM school go PRES DEC

'I'm going to school.'

But the explicit goal postposition *ilo* never deletes. (15) is very natural and perfectly grammatical, and very frequent in rapid speech. Here in (15), we feel that *hakkyo* 'school' and *ka* 'go' almost compound together to form a new verb like 'schooling', as we see in the following. We can prepose the goal phrase in (14a) and (14b) but cannot in (15).

- (16) (a) hakkyo-e na-ka ka - nin - ta
school IL I SM go PRES DEC

'I'm going to school.'

- (b) hakkyo-ilo na-ka ka-nin-ta
school to I SM go PRES DEC

'I'm going to the school.'

- (c) *hakkyo na-ka ka - nin - ta
school I SM go PRES DEC

'I'm going to school.'

The above observations suggest that the explicit goal postposition *ilo* accepts (or co-occurs with) only the direction-involved sense of the verb whereas the implicit goal postposition *e*

accepts (or co-occurs with) more than the direction-involved sense of the verb as in the above case. This point should be reflected in the relevant interpretive rules of the grammar.

The versatility of the implicit goal postposition *e* entails indeterminacy and non-explicitness. Thus, (17a) and (17b) are roughly equivalent, but (17a) is not appropriate as military order to soldiers or to sailors, because of the non-explicit nature of the implicit goal postposition.

- (17) (a) *təpccok - e` hyanha-la.*
 the east IL face IMP
 'Face toward the east.'
- (b) *təpccok - ilo hyanha-la.*
 the east to face IMP
 'Face toward the east.'

Military orders or formal statements always use (17b) instead of (17a) but (17a) is very frequently used in informal situations. And for the figurative sense of 'facing', again the implicit goal postposition is preferably used.

- (18) *na-iy maim-ka hapsəp hiyməp-iy təpccok-e hyanha -ə- iss - nin - ta.*
 I 's mind SM always hope 's east IL face ing is PRES DEC
 'My mind is always facing toward the east of hopes.'

Here we see again that the implicit goal postposition *e* is also used for the figurative or extended sense of 'goal'.

Now returning to sentences (11)–(12), we can say that the goal expressions are all of the 'implicit' type because of the implicit goal postposition *e*. We can use *ilo* instead *e* and say (19a), (19b), (19c) and (20) for (11a), (11b), (11c) and (12) respectively.

- (19) (a) *ki sə - ka suphul - sok - ilo nali-ə - ka - əss - ta*
 the bird SM bush inside to fly ing go PAST DEC
 'The bird flew into the bush.'
- (b) *ki sə- ka ki-iy tuŋci-ilo nali-ə - ka - əss - ta*
 the bird SM it 's nest to fly ing go PAST DEC
- (c) *ki sə-ka suphul-sok-ilo ki-iy tuŋci-ilo nali-ə - ka - əss - ta.*
 the bird SM bush inside to it's nest to fly ing go PAST DEC
 'The bird flew into the bush to its nest.' (intended meaning)
- (20) *ki sə-ka suphul-sok-iy ki-iy tuŋci- ilo nali- ə - ka - əss - ta.*
 the bird SM bush inside's it 's nest to fly ing go PAST DEC
 'The bird flew to its nest in the bush.'

Since here the goal is *tuŋci*, a concrete object, and the verb is *nali-ə-ka* 'go flying' indicating also a concrete, physical act. Actually, for these sentences the explicit goal postposition

is slightly favored over the implicit goal postposition in careful speech, though the sentences with the latter postposition like (11a) (11b) and (12) are also grammatical. Thus, (19a) (19b) and (20) are optimally natural and grammatical sentences, but (19c) is still ungrammatical just as (11c) is, simply because, as mentioned earlier, the same *ilo*-phrases have stacked, all in construction with the verb. One interpretation is possible from (19c) by giving some pause after *suphul-sok-ilo*, which is "The bird flew into the bush and to its nest." But this is structurally quite different from the structure we are concerned with here. Now what happens if a native speaker of Korean is somehow forced to give a structurally equivalent Korean sentence for (5)? Many Koreans including myself would say (21).

- (21) ki sæ-ka suphul - sok - ilo ki-iy tupci - e - nali - ə ka - əss - ta.
 the bird SM bush inside to it 's nest IL fly ing go PAST DEC
 'The bird flew into the bush to its nest.'

(21) does not seem to be as natural in Korean as the gloss is in English, but it seems quite grammatical (at least to me) as compared with (11c) or (19c). The reason for the grammaticality of (21) or its definitely higher degree of grammaticality than (11c) or (19c) seems to be simply this: the stacked goal phrases occur with different postpositions. This in turn clearly indicates that the explicit goal postposition *ilo* and the implicit goal postposition *e* is really different, semantically as well as syntactically.

There are two additional pieces of evidence that the explicit goal postposition *ilo* is syntactically different from the implicit goal postposition *e*. We can propose the explicit goal expression but not implicit goal expression in sentences with the both goal expressions like (21), though it is permissible in very simple short sentences with single goal expression like (16a):

- (22) (a) suphul-sok- ilo ki sæ- ka ki-iy tupci-e nali-ə- ka - əss - ta
 bush inside to the bird SM it 's nest IL fly ing go PAST DEC
 'Into the bush, the bird flew to its nest.'
- (b) *ki-iy tupci-e ki sæ-ka suphul-sok-ilo nali-ə - ka - əss - ta
 it 's nest IL the bird SM bush inside to fly ing go PAST DEC
 'To its nest, the bird flew into the bush.'

The implicit goal expression is always preferred to closer to the verb than the explicit goal expression. Thus, both (23a) and (23b) are very odd just like (11c) or (19c), though (23b) seems to be slightly more acceptable than (23a).

- (23) (a) *ki sæ-ka suphul-sok- e ki-iy tupci-ilo nali-ə- ka - əss - ta
 the bird SM bush inside IL it 's nest to fly ing go PAST DEC

- (b)?? *ki sæ-ka ki-iy tujci-e suphul-sok- ilo nali-ə- ka - əss - ta.*
 the bird SM it 's nest IL bush inside to fly ing go PAST DEC

The reason why (23b) is clearly less suitable than (21) but slightly better than (23a) seems to be because (23b) violates the preferred order among locational phrases which states that the *e*-phrase always comes closest to the verb. It is better than (23a) because it does not violate the preferred assignment of postpositions *e* and *ilo* to successive goal phrases that *e* is preferably assigned to the 'specific' goal and *ilo* to the 'general' goal. (Obviously (23a) violates both.) Since *e*-phrase preferably comes last among postpositional phrases and postposition *e* is preferably assigned to the 'specific' goal among successive goal phrases, Korean consequently exhibits the preferred order of successive goal expressions, 'the general goal before the specific goal', which is also true in English, as we see below.

- (24) (a) *John-ka New York - ilo Bill-əke chæk-lil ponæ - əss - ta*
 John SM New York to Bill to book OM send PAST DEC
 'John sent the book to New York to Bill.'
 (b) ?? *John-ka Bill-əke New York-ilo chæk-lil ponæ - əss - ta*
 John SM Bill to New York to book OM send PAST DEC
 '??John sent the book to Bill to New York.'

As we see below, the postposition *e* becomes *əke* when the locational noun is animate.

The above-discussed syntactic and semantic differences between the explicit and implicit goal postpositions suggests that they are really different in nature and will not readily fit together to form a single entity in some deeper linguistic structure, though they are obviously very closely related semantically. Anyway, it is clear that the implicit goal postposition *e* more readily and systematically fits together with the inner locative postposition *e* (and with the outer locative and source postposition *esə*, as we see later,) to form a single abstract entity than with the explicit goal postposition *ilo*. Thus, in this paper, I have excluded the explicit goal postposition *ilo* from the prelexical postposition *E* which covers the inner locative and implicit goal postposition *e* and the outer locative and (implicit) source postposition *esə*. Obviously, then, the Korean prelexical *E* is considerably different from the English prelexical *AT* as posited by Gruber. However, Gruber (1965: 3) has stated not without reasons: "It is likely that which is generated in the prelexical system will have validity beyond the language which is being studied, i.e., English." What does all this mean? It is clear from Gruber's brilliant work (1965) that the prelexical level posited by him is linguistically a very significant level for the description of the English language, since many otherwise impossible deeper generalizations are captured on this

prelexical level. But Gruber's hope that this prelexical system be the universal semantic system seems to remain only a hope. It would be nice to see this hope realized in the future, but as far as a prelexical structure being discovered or motivated by not only semantic but also lexical and syntactic considerations of a specific natural language, as Gruber proposes, it seems very difficult to realize such hopes immediately. At the moment it seems clear that there is some gap between Gruber's type of prelexical level and the universal semantic level, and that even though we could manage to narrow down or to completely overcome the gap in the future, we still need 'some' prelexical level, which differs from the universal semantic level, in order to capture the generalizations due to such prelexical entities as *E* in Korean or *AT* in English, since, for example, the prelexical entity *E* in Korean should be somehow merged with the explicit goal postposition or simply re-decomposed on the universal semantic level.

As mentioned earlier, *eke* is a contextual variant of the implicit goal postposition *e*: the implicit goal postposition *e* becomes *eke* when the locational noun is animate. That is, they are semantically and syntactically one entity. If we substitute an implicit goal phrase *New York-e* for the explicit goal phrase *New York-ilo* in (24a), we get an ungrammatical sentence (25) just like (11c) or (19c). This shows that the implicit goal postposition *e* and the *eke* are really the same postposition.

- (25) *John-ka New York-e Bill-eke chæk-lil ponæ-æss - ta.
 John SM New York IL Bill to book OM send PAST DEC

Therefore, it is very likely that *eke* is historically derived from the implicit goal postposition *e* plus *ke*, which serves to indicate the animateness of the locational noun and is obviously related in origin to *kke*, the honorific form of *eke* in modern Korean. *eke* is also used as the inner locative postposition just as *e* is.

- (26) (a) manh - in chæk - ka tosækwan-e iss - ta.
 many ADJ book SM library IL exist DEC
 'There are many books in the library.'
 (b) manh - in chæk-ka na-eke iss - ta.
 many ADJ book SM I IL exist DEC
 'There are many books in (at) me.'
 'I have many books.'

The explicit goal counterpart of *eke* is *eke-ilo*. The relation between the animate goal postposition *eke* and its explicit counterpart *eke-ilo* is parallel to that between the implicit goal postposition *e* and its explicit counterpart *ilo*. *eke* covers wider uses of direction or goal and

thus more indeterminate than *eke-ilo*. *eke-ilo* is used mainly for direct and physical directions whereas *eke* is used for indirect and figurate directions as well. Thus, *eke* implies *eke-ilo*, but not vice versa. Here the morphological combination of *eke* and *ilo* in *eke-ilo* clearly shows that *ilo* is restricting the possible wider sense of *eke*.

(27) (a) nə- iy yes æin-eke tol- ə - ka - la.
you 's old lover IL turn ing go IMP
'Go back to your old love.'

(b) nə- iy yes æin-eke-ilo tol - ə - ka - la.
you 's old lover IL to turn ing go IMP
'Go back to your old love.'

Both (27a) and (27b) give the simple order of physically walking back to the old lover, but (27a) can mean in addition the same order in the figurative sense. That is, in the sense of "Let's break off our relation!" (27b) is rarely, if ever, used in this sense. And with abstract directional verbs like *phal* 'sell', *eke-ilo* cannot be used at all.

(28) (a) na-ka John-eke ki chæk-lil phal - ass - ta.
I SM John IL the book OM sell PAST DEC
'I sold the book to John.'

(b) *na-ka John-eke-ilo ki chæk-lil phal-æss-ta.

Even with the verbs like *cu-ta* 'give', *eke-ilo* cannot be used, since the verb *cu-ta* also involves abstract direction rather than direct physical direction. That is, when we give something to somebody, we usually hand it to him, which does not involve much physical direction. Giving involves rather the possessional direction, which is an abstract one comparatively speaking.

(29) (a) na-ka John-eke ki chæk-lil cu - æss - ta.
I SM John IL the book OM give PAST DEC
'I gave John the book.'

(b) *na-ka John-eke-ilo chæk-lil cu-æss-ta.

eke can be used in the benefactive sense, but *eke-ilo* cannot:

(30) (a) ki-ka na-eke ki chæk- lil sa - ə - cu - æss - ta.
he SM I IL the book OM buy ing give PAST DEC
'He bought me the book.'

(b) *ki-ka na-eke-ilo ki chæk-lil sa-ə-cu-æss-ta.

With a certain group of verbs *eke* can be used even in an agentive or capacitative sense, but *eke-ilo* cannot:

(31) (a) cwi-ka koyaji-eke mæk - hi - nin - ta.
rat SM cat IL eat CAUS PRES DEC

'Rats are eaten by cats.'

'Rats are eatable to cats.'

(b) *cwi-ka koyapi-eke-ilo mæk-hi-nin-ta.

Finally, *ilo* and *eke-ilo* are in turn also contextual variants of the same postposition. If we substitute *Bill-eke-ilo* for *Bill-eke* in (24a) we get (32), which is very odd just like (11c) and (19c).

(32) *John-ka New York-ilo Bill-eke-ilo chæk-lil ponæ · əss · ta.
John SM New York to Bill IL to book OM send PAST DEC

(32) is odd because the postpositional phrases with the same postposition have stacked, all being in construction with the verb.

Thus, I have included *eke* and excluded *eke-ilo* in setting up the prelexical *E*. We would need the following interpretive rule statement on the prelexical level.

(33) *E* in construction with the category V assumes semantic features concerning the location and direction, concrete and abstract, from V and the co-occurring N and is interpreted as either the locative or the goal postposition according to the assumed features.

One of the relevant features of V here would be [\pm directional]. If V contains the feature [+directional], then the co-occurring *E* will also assume the feature [+directional] and be interpreted as a goal postposition. If V contains the feature [–directional], then the co-occurring *E* will assume the feature and be interpreted as a locative postposition. I have chosen the feature [\pm directional] instead of [\pm motional] to be relevant here, because verbs like *nali* 'fly' or *kət* 'walk' in Korean are clearly [+motional] but [–directional] and cannot take the goal expression unlike the English verbs *fly* and *walk*. They can become [+directional] and take the goal expression only by combining with such [+directional] verbs like *ka* 'go' or *o* 'come', as in *nali-ə-ka* 'go flying' and *nali-ə-o* 'come flying'.

By lexical insertion rules, the *E* in construction with V will be substituted by *eke* when the co-occurring N has the feature [+animate], or by *e*.

3. Outer Locative and Source

In the preceding section we have seen that it is semantically very natural that the indeterminate inner locative, English prelexical *AT* or Korean *e*, comes to assume directional or goal function when in construction with [+motional] (in English) or [+directional] (in Korean) V. Now, what about the possibility that the outer locative comes to assume

the source function in a certain environment in Korean, as suggested in the Introduction of this paper?

Gruber (1965: 39) analyzes *from* as a negative of *to* and prelexically as *TO NOT*, essentially as meaning "to the complement of". And then he (1965: 52) suggests that *TO NOT* is derived from *AT NOT* by the prelexical rule (4) above, stating, "It might be possible to say that in the prelexical structure we have only *AT* and *AT NOT* (or *FROM*) which when in construction with a Motional verb becomes *TO* and *TO NOT* (or *FROM*)". Here we see that *from* is ultimately related to the prelexical *AT*, which indirectly supports my analysis here that the outer locative *esə* and the source *esə* are really the same entity on the prelexical level. But at the same time Gruber's above analysis of *from* contradicts my analysis here because it asserts *from* is a kind of opposite or negative of *AT*, i.e. *AT NOT*. Let's look into whether the analysis of *from* into *AT NOT* or *TO NOT* is well motivated. As an illustration of his analysis, Gruber (1965: 39) states as follows:

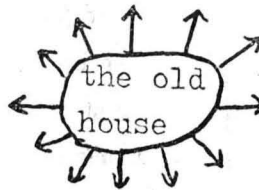
Semantically, consider the following sentence and quasi-sentence:

- 1) John ran from the old house.
- 2) John ran to not the old house.

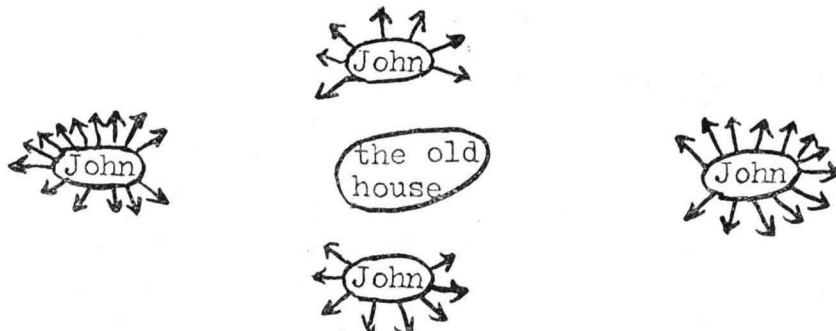
If we consider the second of these to mean that the goal is specifically to the complement of the position of the object of the preposition, then the sentences mean the same. This is what we shall intend by the phrase 'negative preposition'.

Strangely enough, in the above illustration of the analysis of *from* the major point of reference is the "goal" or the ending point rather than the starting point even though *from* is uniquely explicit about the starting point and vaguely implicit about the ending point. Actually 1) and 2) above do not "mean the same". 1) specifies that the starting point of John's running is the old house, whereas 2) does not, i.e. the starting point of John's running can be any place in the world, as we see in the diagrams of (34):

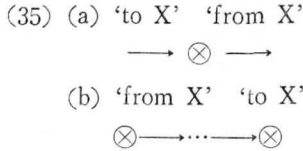
(34) (a) John ran from the old house.



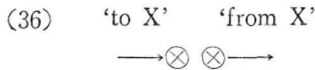
(b) John ran to not the old house.



(34a) is unique as for the starting point of John's running whereas (34b) is quite ambiguous. This is a very significant difference especially when we discuss prepositions like *from*. What Gruber has missed is the point that the primary point of reference is *significantly* different between *to* and *from*, i.e. the primary point of reference of *to* is the ending point whereas that of *from* is the starting point. Gruber seems to have mistakenly tried to assume the ending point to be the primary point of reference for both *to* and *from* so that he can readily pinpoint the difference between them. Thus, Gruber seems to have been only partially correct because *to* and *from* are opposed to each other not only in the direction with respect to a point of reference but also in the point of reference itself. That is, we might represent the phrases 'to X' and 'from X' geometrically as (35a), but linguistically (35b) would be a much more reasonable representation of the two phrases.



The dots in (35b) indicates the possible link as when the two phrases co-occur in a sentence. (35a) is misleading, as Gruber's analysis is, in that it would suggest that both *to* and *from* involve the same point of reference. Whenever a *to*-phrase and a *from*-phrase are contrasted, we immediately think of two different locations or points of reference. We might represent (35a) in a slightly better fashion (36):



What I want to point out here is that the difference in the nature of the primary point of reference, in addition to the difference of direction, is crucially involved in different semantic functions of *to* and *from*. Gruber has tried to contrast *to* and *from* in terms of the difference in direction, rather ignoring the difference in the nature of the point of reference. But it seems that we would be better off by contrasting them in terms of the difference in the nature of the point of reference, ignoring the difference in direction. That is, I propose to contrast *to* and *from* as follows: *to* involves the ending point of reference or the 'ending location' whereas *from* involves the starting point of reference or the 'starting location'. In this characterization of *to* and *from*, the difference in the nature of location is emphasized, with the difference in direction being naturally entailed. Now we see that *to* ('ending location') and *from* ('starting location') are clearly in contrast in some sense, but that one is hardly some type of negation of the other. It would be quite natural to say that the

'ending location' and the 'starting location' are in contrast just as the inner location and the outer location are. In both cases, 'contrast' is the correct description of the relation, but 'negation' strays slightly off track. Thus, Gruber's analysis of *from* as prelexical *AT NOT* or *TO NOT* seems to be imprecise. The analysis of the outer locative and the source postpositions in Korean in this section further supports the hypothesis that his analysis of *from* is inadequate.

Now our problem can be restated as follows: how does the outer location and the starting location go together, just as the inner location and the ending location do. First of all, the inner location and the ending location are preferred closer to the verb than the outer location and starting location. This is rather a direct reflection of the deeper structural configuration, since the former two are generated in construction with the V while the latter two are not, in the prelexical structure. (37a) is natural but (37b) is very odd.

- (37) (a) na-ka Chicago-esə chako-e næ cha-lil tu - nin - ta
 I SM Chicago OL garage IL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 'I keep my car in the garage in Chicago.'
- (b) *na-ka chako-e Chicago-esə næ cha-lil tu - nin - ta
 I SM garage IL Chicago OL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 '?I keep my car in Chicago in the garage.'

We can prepose the outer locative in (37a) but we not the inner locative, as in the following.

- (38) (a) Chicago-esə na-ka chako-e næ cha-lil tu - nin - ta
 Chicago OL I SM garage IL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 'In Chicago, I keep my car in the garage.'
- (b) *chako-e na-ka Chicago-esə næ cha-lil tu - nin - ta
 garage IL I SM Chicago OL my car OM keep PRES DEC
 '?In the garage, I keep my car in Chicago.'

The same point holds true for the ending location and the starting location. The ending location is preferred to closer to the verb than the starting location.

- (39) (a) na-ka hakkyo-esə kyohwe-e ka - əss - ta
 I SM school OL church IL go PAST DEC
 'I went from the school to the church.'
- (b) ??na-ka kyohwe-e hakkyo-esə ka - əss - ta
 I SM church IL school OL go PAST DEC

And (40a) is better than (40b) in the following:

- (40) (a) hakkyo-esə na-ka kyohwe-e ka - əss - ta
 school OL I SM church IL go PAST DEC
 'From the school I went to church.'

- (b) ??kyohwe-e na-ka hakkyo-esə ka - əss - ta
 church IL I SM school OL go PAST DEC

‘To the church I went from the school.’

The outer locative phrases (the outer location or the starting location) can stack since they are not in construction with the verb, though it is somehow preferable to separate them from each other within a sentence.

- (41) America-esə John-ka Chicago-esə kananha-ke sa - nin - ta
 America OL John SM Chicago OL poor ly live PRES DEC

‘In America John lives poorly in Chicago.’

Similarly, the starting location can co-occur with another *esə*-phrase.

- (42) sikol- esə na-ka hakkyo-esə kyohwe-e ka - əss - ta
 country OL I SM school OL church IL go PAST DEC

‘In the countryside I went from the school to the church.’

Thus, the outer location and the starting location are not completely in complementary distribution with respect to the verb, as the inner location and the ending location are. That is, most [+directional] verbs can take both the outer location and the starting location. And when they take only one *esə*-phrase, the phrase is sometimes ambiguous regarding the outer location and the starting location. But in most cases the verb and the locational nouns in the sentence help to disambiguate. For example, (39a) and (40a) are not ambiguous, because of the locational nouns, *hakkyo* ‘school’ and *kyohwe* ‘church’, in the sentence. But if we substitute *mail* ‘village’ for *hakkyo* ‘school’ in (40a), the sentence becomes ambiguous, as in (43).

- (43) mail- esə na-ka kyohwe-e ka - əss - ta
 village OL I SM church IL go PAST DEC

‘In the village I went to church.’

‘From the village I went to church.’

However, the sense of the first gloss is dominant in (43) with the *esə*-phrase preposed, but if the *esə*-phrase is not preposed as in (44), the sense of the second gloss in (43) above becomes dominant, probably because the *esə*-phrase now comes closer to the ending location phrase.

- (44) na-ka mail - esə kyohwe-e ka - əss - ta
 I SM village OL church IL go PAST DEC

‘I went from the village to the church.’

‘I went to the church in the village.’ (‘In the village I went to the church.’)

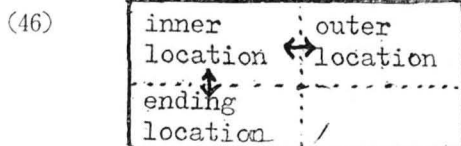
Similarly, in (42), of the two *esə*-phrases the one closer to the ending location comes to assume the function of the starting location.

Thus, the specific sense of the *esə*-phrase is determined by the other co-occurring locational phrases and the verb, in the same way as that of *e*-phrase. Another indication of the unity of the outer location and the starting location is that if the order of the *esə*-phrase and the *e*-phrase in (44) is reversed, the sentence becomes odd in either sense of (44). If the implicit goal postposition *e* is replaced by the explicit goal postposition *ilo* in (44), the phrase *mail-esə* would be interpreted as 'from the village' about 90% of the time, obviously influenced by the explicit goal phrase. In order to make (44) fully unambiguous, the implicit source postposition *esə* should be replaced by the explicit counterpart, *esə-puthə*. Thus, (45) is not ambiguous at all.

- (45) na-ka mail - esə - puthə kyohwe-ilo ka - əss - ta
 I SM village OL from church to go PAST DEC
 'I went from the village to the church.'

Superficially the first sense of (44) and the sense of (45) look synonymous. But as we have discussed earlier for the implicit and explicit goal postpositions, the explicit source postposition *esə-puthə* is used only in the concrete or physical sense of 'source', whereas the implicit source postposition *esə* is used in both the concrete or physical and abstract or figurative senses of 'source'. For reasons discussed above, I have excluded the explicit source postposition in setting the prelexical *E*. And *esə* also becomes *ekesə* when the noun is [+animate], as *e* becomes *eke* in the same context. As mentioned earlier, the outer location *esə* takes the 'locational specifiers' as freely as the inner location *e* does as in (9) and (10). All these systematic parallelisms between *e* (inner location and ending location) and *esə* (outer location and starting location) strongly suggests the unity of the outer location and the starting location like that of the inner location and the ending location.

Semantically, the inner location is clearly related with the outer location, the only difference being that the former is specifically related with V while the latter is not. Furthermore, it has been suggested by an eminent Korean grammarian that the outer location *esə* is historically derived from *e - iss - e - sə* 'by being at', the first *e* being the inner location at being by postposition. It has been also shown in this paper that the inner location is semantically very closely related with the ending location in natural languages. We can represent these relations as follows:



The most likely and natural candidate for the blank space in (46) would be the starting location, since semantically the ending location and the starting location complement each other (cf. (35b)) just as the inner location and the outer location do. If this inference is correct —and I think it is,—it naturally follows that the starting location is somehow semantically more closely related with the outer location than with the inner location, just as the ending location is more closely related with the inner location than with the outer location. This claim would lead to another; the starting location (at least the implicit starting location) in Korean is not in construction with V in the prelexical system. This would be another deviation from Gruber's prelexical system of English.

In conclusion, we can derive all the four locational concepts discussed above from a single prelexical entity represented as *E*, as we see below.

(47)

	in construction with V	not in construction with V
$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-\text{directional}] \end{matrix}$	Inner Location	Outer Location
$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+ \text{directional}] \end{matrix}$	Ending Location	Starting Location

That is, the four locational concepts are predictable from whether or no they are in construction with V and whether or not their co-occurring V is directional. Accordingly we will have the following interpretive semantic rule statement, expanding (33), something like the following on the prelexical level.

- (48) *E*, when in construction with V, is interpreted as the inner location if the V is [-directional] and as the ending location if the V is [+directional]. When *E* is not in construction with V, it is interpreted as the outer location if the V is [-directional] and the starting location if the V is [+directional].

The most important difference between Gruber's prelexical analysis of English locational expressions and mine of Korean locational expressions presented above would be that he has not established the unity of the four locational concepts. It may be true, however, that Gruber's prelexical system is more abstract—or less abstract—than mine, so that two different linguistic levels may be involved here. But what really matters is not the level of abstractness, but the 'linguistically interesting' generalizations being captured, whatever system or level we may use or set up.

References

Gruber, Jeffrey S. 1965. Studies in Lexical Relations. Ph. D. Dissertation, MIT.