

Retrospection in Korean

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It is argued in Sohn (1974) that Korean verbal suffixes like the honorific *-si*, the formal deferential *-sup*, and the performative elements such as *-ta*(reportive) and *-kka*(question) are all underlyingly transitive sentences with the speaker or hearer as the agent. The present paper is an attempt to push the frontier forward and reveal some fundamental semantic properties (the semantic structure, the semantic units, and the interactions of these units) associated with the retrospective suffix.¹

1. Korean has developed a productive verbal suffix which involves the semantic range that most linguists christen as 'retrospective'. This suffix, which has such variants as *-te* (dialectally *-tu*), *-ti* and *-t* (representable morphophonemically as-TE), occurs in constructions such as the following.²

- (1) a. John-i ka-*te*-nya? 'Did you see John going?'
 John-SM go-R-Q
 b. John-i ka-*t*-ey. 'I saw John going.'

¹ The present research was supported by a University of Hawaii Intramural grant and the travel for the presentation of the initial version of this paper at the 27th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (San Francisco, March 24, 1975) was made possible by the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii. I gratefully acknowledge Byron Bender, Choon Hak Cho, David Ashworth, Dong Jae Lee, Hsin-I Hsieh, Jang H. Koo, Joe Ree, Samuel Martin, Seok C. Song, and Yutaka Kusanagi for their valuable comments.

² The Yale romanization is followed in representing Korean forms in this paper. The abbreviations used are:

Com(complementizer)	Cop. (copula)
Fd. (formal deference)	Im (imperative)
Int. (intimate speech level)	M (modifier suffix)
N (nominalizer)	OM (object marker)
Pr. (processive)	Pre. (presumptive)
Prf. (perfective)	Pros. (prospective)
Q (question)	Qi. (indirect question)
Quo. (quotative)	R (retrospective suffix)
Rep. (reportive)	SM (subject marker)
T(topic marker)	

The variants of-TE are morphologically conditioned. Included here are also somewhat archaic- *le-*, *-ley*, and *-l*, as discussed in Na 1971 and I. M. Lee 1971. The basic morphological slot of the retrospective suffix is immediately before the slot of the sentence ending 'mood' (e.g. Martin 1954:37). For the various syntactic cooccurrence restrictions, see Choi (1965:360).

- John-SM go-R-Int.
- c. John-i ka-ss-keyss-up-ti-kka?
John-SM go-Prf. -Pre. -Fd. -R-Q
'Did you notice that John might have gone?'
- d. John-i ka-te-la-ko ha-te-la.
John-SM go-R-Rep.-Quo. say-R-Rep.
'I heard him saying that he had seen John going.'
- e. John-i ka-te-n-ka molu-keyss-ta.
John-SM go-R-M-Qi. unaware-Pre. -Rep.
'I wonder if I observed John going.'
- f. Ikes-i nay-ka ilk-te-n chayk-i-ta.
This-SM I-SM read-R-M book-Cop.-Rep.
'This is the book I was reading.'

Probably due to the lack of its comparable form in other languages, plus the sensitivity of its meaning to the syntactic and semantic environments, there is no agreement among scholars as to the term designating the category the retrospective suffix is supposed to belong to called variously a tense (e.g. Choi 1965:348), an aspect (e.g. Martin 1954:37), a mood (e.g. Yang 1972:4), or a manner (e.g. Chang 1973:40). If such traditional grammatical terms are to be used, it may be claimed that -TE cuts across the distinction of mood and tense, in that it refers not only to the past but also to the speaker's perceiving of a propositional content.³ This will be elaborated upon shortly.

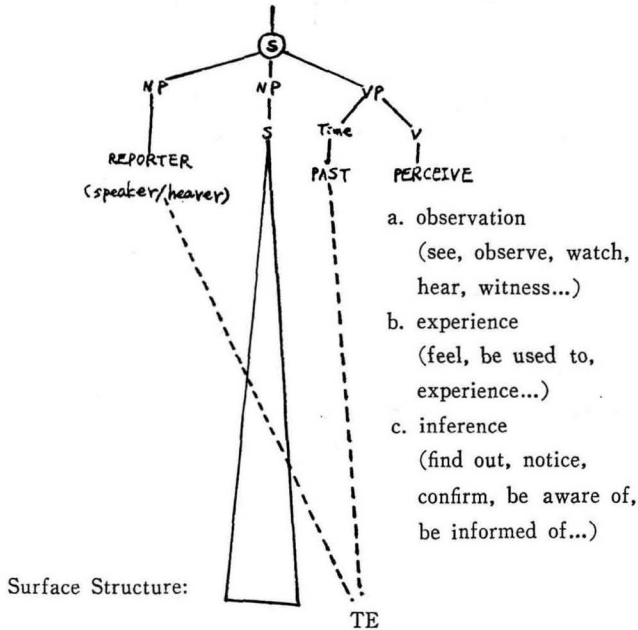
As regards the lexical meaning of the suffix, Martin (forthcoming: 356) defines it roughly as 'it has been observed', stating that 'the observation can be that of the speaker, that of someone else, or a purely grammatical device'. The 'observation' here is, of course, a cover term, which should include such detailed meanings as 'find', 'see', 'notice', 'witness', 'perceive', 'watch', 'hear', 'recall' and many others (e.g. Martin et al. 1967, Yang 1972:234).

2. The structure underlying -TE that I should like to postulate is of the shape on the next page.

The syntactic verbal suffix -TE is viewed as being derived from the semantic structure sketched in (2), which has the semantic units REPORTER, PAST, and PERCEIVE, with PERCEIVE being the abstract predicate. These three semantic units are realized as -TE in the actual sentence, with the underlying meanings retained. The only element external to -TE is the complement sentence (S) which is an obligatory propositional content and the object of the transitive predicate PERCEIVE. The structure in (2) is further superordinated either by a performative sentence (in the case of non-embedded

³ In English also, *will* and *shall* are said to be as much a matter of mood as of tense (e.g. Lyons 1968:310). In Sohn (1974) -TE is tentatively called a modal.

(2)



sentences) or by a noun phrase (in the case of embedded sentences). Thus, one reading of the sentence *John-i ka-te-nya?* is something like 'I request that you report to me whether you observed (in the past) John going'. In separate sections I will further elaborate on some details regarding the postulation of an underlying sentence for -TE (section 3), the NP node dominating REPORTER (section 4), the Time node dominating PAST (section 5), the V node dominating PERCEIVE (section 6), and a brief conclusion (section 7).

3. There are many reasons to prefer postulating a superordinate sentence in (2) for -TE to an auxiliary or suffixal treatment of the Chomskyan type. For one thing, -TE requires an agent argument, i.e. the REPORTER, who PERCEIVES a propositional content. Needless to say, such a structural relation is characteristic of a sentence in that the minimum requirement of a sentence is a predicate occurring with an argument. Moreover, a sentential phenomenon for a complex sentence, which is universal in human language. -TE requires such a complement sentence as another argument related to the predicate PERCEIVE.

Secondly, all adverbials of the sentence where -TE occurs are dominated semantically by -TE. In *John-i ecey ka-ss-te-la* 'I noticed that John went yesterday', for example, what the speaker noticed is not the completed action of going, but 'John's having gone yesterday'. The adverb *ecey* refers to the time when the action of going took place, and does not specify the time of the speaker's notice of the event. The speaker may have noticed it a few minutes ago. Since *ecey* goes with *ka-ss*, 'notice' should not take the same underlying level as they do. Even a more transparent time disparity between the action of going and the action of notice may be observed in *John-i molay ka-te-la* 'I

noticed that John would go the day after tomorrow'. Noticing took place in the past, whereas John's going will take place in the future. All this means that the proper structure of -TE should be a superordinate sentence.

Thirdly, a sequence of conjunctive sentences may also be dominated by -TE, forcing the postulation of a higher sentence for -TE inevitable. Observe (3a) where the two clauses are jointly the objects of the speaker's observation. One might claim that (3a) is derived from something like (3b), which is obviously false in view of the meanings involved.

- (3) a. John-un kongpuha-myense coffee-lul masi-te-la
 John-T study-while coffee-OM drink-R-Rep.
 'I observed John drinking coffee while studying.'

b. (John-un kongpuha-te-la)-myense John-un coffee-lul masi-te-la.

(3a) asserts one observed fact, whereas (3b) asserts two. That is, the parenthesized sentence in (3b) is not asserted at all in (3a).

Fourthly, the immunity of -TE from the scope of negation is another argument for the superordination. Observe the sentences in (4).

- (4) a. John-i ka-te-nya? 'Did you see John going?'
 John-SM go-R-Q
 Aniyo. 'No.'
 No

b. John-i an-ka-ss-te-la.
 John-SM not-go-Prf.-R-Rep.
 'I noticed that John had not gone.'

c. John-i ka-ci-an-ass-te-la.
 John-SM go-N-not-Prf.-R-Rep.
 'I noticed that John had not gone.'

In (4a) the negative answer, *aniyo*, means that 'John did not go' rather than 'I did not see.' (4b) never means 'I did not notice the fact that John had gone' in which case -TE would be in the scope of negation. Notice in (4c) which is the long form negation of (4b) that the negative suffix *-an* precedes -TE, which provides a syntactic support for the higher level of -TE on top of negation. In general, the higher an abstract structure is presumed to be, the later it comes in a linear surface structure in consistent SOV languages (e.g. Korean and Japanese). It is widely claimed that the negative element of a sentence in any language is an underlying higher predicate. If this is true, it is still more the case with retrospective suffix, because this suffix dominates negation underlyingly.

Finally, even the genericalness of a sentence is not affected by -TE.

- (5) a. Inkan-un cwuk-nun-ta. 'Man is mortal.'
 man-T die-Pr.-Rep.
 b. *Inkan-un cwuk-ess-ta. *'Man is dead.'

man-T die-Prf.-Rep.

c. Inkan-un cwuk-*te*-la. 'I confirmed that man is mortal.'

man-T die-R-Rep.

(5a) is a generic expression, in which both the subject and the predicate are generic, whereas (5b) is awkward because the generic subject is followed by a non-generic verbal expression (due to the perfection *-ess*). In (5c) the genericalness is intact even though the verb is followed by *-TE*. The speaker's confirmation of the generic proposition in (5c) is another piece of evidence that *-TE* is related to a higher sentence in the conceptual structure.⁴

4. Since we have postulated an underlying sentence for *-TE*, let us now look at the semantic units which are interrelated in this sentence. As indicated in (2), *-TE* is uniquely associated with the REPORTER, which may be either the speaker or the hearer or somebody else. In any case, he is the one who PERCEIVES an event and at the same time is in a position to report on his PERCEIVING. In other words, the agent of PERCEIVING and the immediately higher REPORTER should be coreferential. In sentence-final position, the REPORTER is the speaker if the *-TE* structure is superordinated by a reportive performative, as in (6). The reading of (6a), for example, is something like 'I report to you that I observed John going.' If the *-TE* structure is dominated by a question performative construction, the potential REPORTER is the hearer, as in (7). The reading of (7a), for example, is something like 'I request that you report to me whether you observed John going'. (Cf. Dahl 1970, Gordon and G. Lakoff 1971).

(6) a. John-i ka-*te*-la.

'I saw John going.'

John-SM go-R-Rep.

b. Na-nun kippu-p-*ti*-ta

'I felt that I was happy.'

I-T glad-Fd.-R-Rep.

(7) a. John-i ka-*te*-nya?

'Did you see John going?'

John-SM go-R-Q

'Did you feel that you were happy?'

b. Tangsin-un kippu-p-*ti*-kka?

you-T glad-Fd.-R-Q

The same is true when the *-TE* construction is quoted by a sentence where the main-verb is a communicative verb. In (8a) it is *Mary* who is the 'speaker' or REPORTER of the quoted sentence, and therefore it is the 'speaker' and REPORTER *Mary* who is the agent of the predicate *observed*. In (8b), on the other hand, the quoted construction is that of a question and, therefore, it is the 'hearer' and potential REPORTER 'I' (the speaker of the entire sentence) who is the agent of the predicate *observed*.

(8) a. John-i ka-*te*-la-ko Mary-ka malhay-ss-ta.

⁴ The postulation of a superordinating structure for *-TE* was briefly attempted in Yang (1972:236), Chang (1973:50) and Sohn (1974) without much justification.

John-SM go-R-Rep.-Quo. Mary-SM say-Prf.-Rep.

(I report to you that *Mary reported* to me that *she* had observed John going.)

b. John-i ka-te-nya-ko Mary-ka mul-ess-ta.

John-SM go-R-Q-Quo Mary-SM ask-Prf.-Rep.

(I report to you that Mary requested that *I report* to her whether *I* had observed John going.)

This sort of speaker-hearer correlation may also be observable in English modals. For instance, Jespersen (1955:261) states that the use of *shall* is restricted to the first person in statements and to the second person in questions, though in some subordinate clauses it is used in all three persons.

As we have seen in the examples in (6)-(8), the agent speaker in statements and the agent hearer in question are *exclusive* in the sense that the agent perceiving an event cannot be both the speaker and the hearer at the same time. Needless to say, this is because the -TE construction is dominated by a performative sentence and, thus, is the content proposition of an illocutionary act. That is, the event perceived is new information reported (in statement) or requested (in question) between speaker and hearer; this fact makes the simultaneous involvement of both speaker and hearer as the agent impossible. In contrast with this strict exclusiveness of the agent in the performative-dominated-TE, there is no such constraint in -TE appearing in other positions, although the agent must always include the REPORTER, actual (speaker) or potential (hearer). Observe the following examples.

(9) a. Ikes-i John-i ilk-te-n chayk-i-ta.

this-SM John-SM read-R-M book-Cop.-Rep.

'This is a book which I (*or* you and I) observed John reading.'

b. Pi-ka o-te-ni nalssi-ka chwup-ta.

rain-SM come-R-as weather-SM cold-Rep.

'I (*or* you and I) observed it raining, and now it is cold.'

(10) a. Ikes-i John-i ilk-te-n chayk-i-ni?

this-SM John-SM read-R-M book-Cop.-Q

'Is this a book which you (*or* you and I) observed John reading?'

b. Pi-ka o-te-ni nalssi-ka cwup-ni?

rain-SM come-R-as weather-SM cold-Q

'Is it cold as a result of the rain that you(*or* you and I) observed?'

Thus, in non-performative environment the exclusiveness becomes opaque allowing *inclusive* agents, since the -TE construction is not directly questioned.

It is often claimed that when dominated by a performative sentence the speaker or hearer agent involved in -TE must not be coreferential with the subject of the next lower sentence in order for the whole sentence to be *grammatical* (Yang 1972:234, Chang

1973:51). This so-called 'non-equi-subject constraint' is based on such rather unnatural sentences as *Nay-ka ka-te-la* 'I observed myself going'. The unnaturalness of such expressions (i.e., reporting the observation of one's own progressive event or requesting the hearer to report the observation of his own progressive event) is universal, and not unique to -TE constructions. Therefore, such a 'constraint' has to be dealt with in connection with empirical matters of fact in human experiences. Moreover, the above expressions are perfectly allowable in a possible or imaginary world, such as a dream or a movie, as Chang (1973) also pointed out. In this case, the lower speaker or hearer is extremely objectivized, as if it were a third person. Even in a real world, the 'non-equi-subject constraint' does not hold, if an adequate modifier is used (11a), if certain suffixes (such as the perfective and the presumptive) precede -TE (11b), or if the lower subject is an Experiencer in relation to the verb (11c).

- (11) a. *Na-honca-man ka-te-la.* 'I found out that I was the only one who was going.'
 I-alone-only go-R-Rep.
Ney-ka ceyil celm-te-nya? 'Did you find that you were the most young of all?'
 you-SM most young-R-Q
- b. *Ney-ka ka-ss-te-nya?* 'Did you experience (your) going?'
 you-SM go-Prf. -R-Q
Nay-ka cwuk-keyss-te-la. 'I felt that I would die.'
 I-SM die-Pre.-R-Rep.
- c. *Nay-ka chwiha-te-la.* 'I felt myself intoxicated'
 I-SM drunk-R-Re.
Nay-ka kippu-te-la. 'I felt that I was happy.'
 I-SM glad-R-Rep.

Again, when the -TE construction is not dominated by a performative sentence, there is no restriction whatsoever. Thus, for instance, *nay-ka ka-te-n ku cip* 'the house I experienced to go to' is perfectly natural in the real world. As we will see in section 6, this is because the observation reading is suppressed in embedded position when the two subjects in question are identical.

5. A common description of the retrospective suffix is that a sentence with the suffix expresses a past event as observed or recalled by the speaker or the hearer (e.g. Choi 1965:433). -TE is not restricted to past events alone, however, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. *Nay sayngil-i nay-tal i-te-la.*
 my birthday-SM next-month Cop.-R-Rep.
 'I found that my birthday will be next month.'
- b. *John-i nayil ka-te-la.*
 John-SM tomorrow go-R-Rep.
 'I noticed that John will go tomorrow.'
- c. *Ce salam-i nwukwu-te-la!?*

that person-SM who-R-Rep.

'I wonder whom I observed him to be.'

d. John-i cikum-to ku cip-eyse sal-*te*-la.

John-SM now-also that house-at live-R-Rep.

'I noticed that John is still living in that house.'

(12 a,b) illustrate future events, whereas (12 c,d) show that the events are those of the present. In all the sentences in (12), the action of the speaker's PERCEIVING each event took place in the past. Thus, PAST is a necessary semantic unit contained in -TE. It is this PAST that does not allow an imperative or propositive sentence to carry -TE. This PAST is not inherently related to the time of an event, although naturally past PERCEIVING is more frequently associated with past events.

The PAST in -TE indicates any time prior to the time of utterance, which is inherently the present. One might claim that the time in -TE in an embedded position is the past with reference to the time of the matrix event in such examples as given in (13).

(13) John-i mek-*te*-n pap-ul Mary-ka mek-ess-ta.

John-SM eat-R-M rice-OM Mary-SM eat-Prf.-Rep.

'Mary ate the rice that, I observed, John had eaten(*or* had been eating).'

I hold the view that the time sequence between events in (13) is so fixed not because the matrix time is the reference point in relation to which the time of PERCEIVING the embedded event is PAST, but because the empirical world forces the events to be arranged *only* in that temporal order. For instance, while it is natural for *Mary* to finish eating the rice which *John* has not finished eating, it is impossible for *John* to be eating the rice which *Mary* has finished eating. This view is supported by the sentence in (14) where the matrix time precedes the embedded time and by the sentence in (15) where the events are simultaneous.⁵

(14) John-i mek-*te*-n pap-ul Mary-ka ci-ess-ta.

John-SM eat-R-M rice-OM Mary-SM cook-Prf. Rep.

'Mary had made the rice which, I observed, John was eating.'

(15) John-i salangha-*te*-n yeca-lul na-to salanghay-ss-ta.

John-SM love-R-M girl-OM I-also love-Prf.-Rep.

'I loved the girl whom, I observed, John loved.'

⁵ Yang (1972:234) brought out the question of gapped and immediate time sequence between a relative event where -TE appears and the matrix event. Here again, it is my view that any time sequence including gapped, immediate or simultaneous is allowable unless the empirical world of experience or time words suppress one or another sequence, as illustrated in the following.

John-un Mary-ka sal-*te*-n cip-ulo isa-hay-ss-ta.

- i. John moved to the house I saw Mary living in.
- ii. John moved to the house I saw Mary once living in.
- iii. John had moved to the house I saw Mary living in.

All this means that the matrix time cannot be the reference point for the PAST contained in the retrospective suffix. Consider further the sentence in (16) which is the same as (13) except that it carries the embedded time adverb *kucey* 'day before yesterday' and the matrix time adverb *ecey* 'yesterday'.

- (16) John-i kucey mek-te-n pap-ul Mary-ka
 John-SM day-before-yesterday eat-R-M rice-OM Mary-SM
 ecey mek-ess-ta.
 yesterday eat-Prf.-Rep.

'Mary ate the rice yesterday which, I observed John eating the day before yesterday.'

Both time adverbs are used only in relation to the utterance time, and to the time of Mary's eating, i.e. 'yesterday'.

Only in imaginary future events may the reference point be moved to a time in the future which is in the speaker's imagination, as illustrated in (17).

- (17) Pi-ka o-myen ka-te-n cha-ka su-l-kes-i-ta.
 rain-SM come-if go-R-M car-SM stop-Pros.-fact-Cop.-Rep.

'If it rains, the car, which we will observe going, may stop.'

Notice that the reference point in (17) is in the imaginary future and the speaker's imaginary observation in the future is prior to this reference point. ⁶

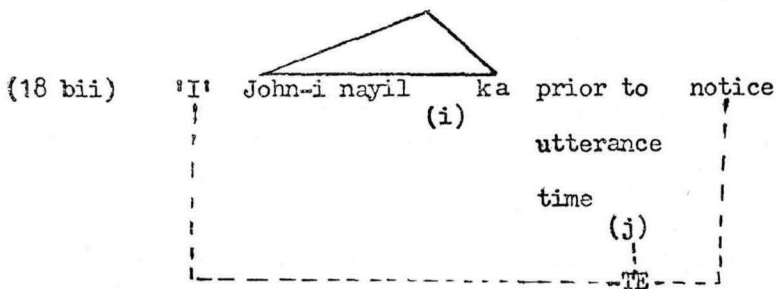
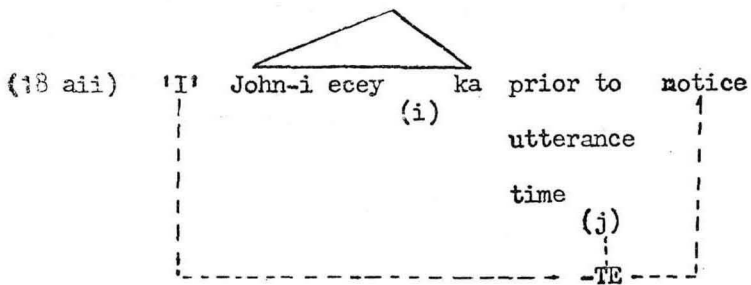
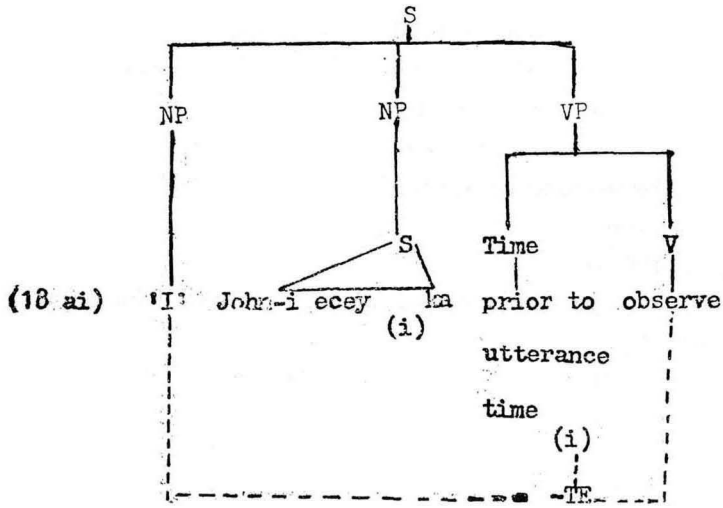
The event time and the time of PERCEIVING the event do not have to be the same for a grammatical expression, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. John-i ecey ka-te-la.
 John- SM yesterday go-R-Rep.
 i. I observed John going yesterday.
 ii. I noticed that John was to go yesterday.
 b. John-i nayil ka-te-la.
 John-SM tomorrow go-R-Rep.
 ii. I noticed that John will go tomorrow.

In (18 ai) the time of observation and that of the event are the same whereas in (18 aii) and (18 bii) they are different. The underlying structures of (18 ai), (18 aii) and (18 bii) are roughly as (19).

It has frequently been claimed that -TE (especially in a relative clause) contains the meaning 'progressive' (e.g. Na 1971:24), 'unfinished action' (e.g. H.S. Lee 1957:72), or 'durative' (Yang 1972: 239). Such meanings may be noticeable in the sentences in (20).

⁶ In connection with reference points, Kusanagi (1972:52-68) made an interesting observation on Japanese tense on the basis of the concept of 'time focus' of the speaker. R. Lakoff (1970:841-43) put importance on the speaker's point of view of the sentence in determining the superficial tense to be assigned to the verb.



- (20) a. John-i ka-te-la. 'I saw John going.'
John-SM go-R-Rep.
b. Ip-te-n os-ul pes-ess-ta.
put on-R-M clothes-OM take off-Prf.-Rep.
'I took off the clothes which I started putting on.'
c. Yeki twu-te-n khal-i epseci-ess-ta.

here put-R-M knife-SM disappear-Prf.-Rep.

'The knife which I *used to* put here has disappeared.'

Again, existence of such a meaning may be justified by the sentences in (21).

- (21)a. Ecey { ha-te-n } il-ul onul kkuthmachi-ess-ta.
 yesterday { do-R-M } work-OM today finish-Prf.-Rep.
 *ha-n
 do-Per.M

'I finished the work, today, which { I was doing } yesterday.'
 { *I finished doing }

- b. Chayk-ul { ilk-te-n } salam-i pakk-ulo na-ka-ss-ta.
 book-OM { read-R-M } person-SM outside-to out-go-Prf.-Rep.
 *ta ilk-te-n
 all read-R-M

'The person who { was reading a book } went out.'
 { *was reading a book completely }

This paper claims that such imperfective meaning is not a part (or inherent feature) of -TE, but belongs to the zero filler which contrasts with the perfective -(a)ss or -(u)n. In the first place, the imperfective meaning does not appear if the perfective suffix occurs.

- (22) a. John-i ka-ss-te-la. 'I noticed that John had gone.'(perfective)
 John-SM go-Prf.-R-Rep.
 b. John-i mek-ess-te-n pap 'the rice that I noticed John had eaten'
 John-SM eat-Prf'-R-M rice (perfective)

Secondly, the imperfective meaning appears even if there is no retrospective suffix, as observed in (23).

- (23) a. John-i ka-n-ta. 'John is going.'
 John-SM go-Pr.-Rep.
 b. John-i mek-nun pap 'the rice John is eating'
 John-SM eat-Pr. rice
 c. John-i ka-myen pulle-la. 'Call John if he is going.'
 John-SM go-if call-Im.

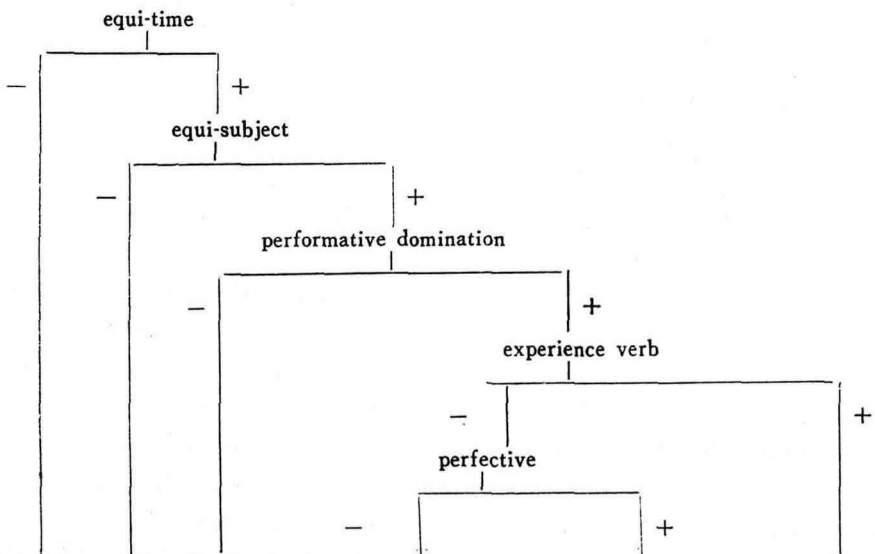
6. Let us now look at the abstract predicate which underlies the retrospective suffix. It is well known that meanings are elusive in relation to their associated forms, which is also the case with the predicate underlying -TE. However slippery meanings may be, we can distinguish three broad meaning classes that function as the predicate, i.e., OBSERVE, EXPERIENCE, and INFER each of which has a number of members, definable mainly in terms of the nature of cooccurring main verbs. It can be said that the three meaning classes belong to a higher semantic class which represents human perception. Since the three meaning classes are mutually exclusive, being conditioned by the underlying structural environment, let us view them as constituting a 'natural' semantic class (or one might want to call it a sememe), to be represented as PERCEIVE. Note that PERCEIVE is relevant only to -TE, in that there are many non-affixal perception verbs. Like other perception verbs (see, for example, Givón (1972) for a discussion of English

perception/ knowledge verbs), PERCEIVE takes a sentential complement and does not require identity of its subject with that of the lower verb, as we have observed.

The meaning of inference always appears when the time (or place) of PERCEIVING and the time (or place) of the event expressed by the immediately lower sentence are not the same. There are many situations in which one can perceive an event through inference. In *John-i hankwuk-ey ka-ss-te-la* 'I found out that John had gone to Korea', for instance, the time of John's going and that of the speaker's PERCEIVING of the fact are not the same. The speaker may have contacted John's wife, seen a newspaper or a passenger list, or heard from someone in Korea before arriving at the assertion.

When equi-time (plus equi-place) is held, either the meaning of observation or the meaning of experience shows up, and the two meanings are again mutually exclusive. When the subject of the -TE structure (i.e. the agent of PERCEIVING) and the immediately lower subject are not the same, the meaning of observation always appears, as in *John-i ka-te-la* 'I saw John going', *John-i ka-te-ni* 'as a result of John's going (which I saw)', and *John-i ka-te-n nal* 'the day when I observed John going'. When the two subjects are the same, two things happen. If -TE is not dominated by a performative sentence, the meaning of experience always holds. If -TE is dominated by a performative sentence, the meaning of experience occurs when the verb preceding -TE is one of experiencing or when -TE is preceded by the perfective suffix; otherwise the observation meaning appears. These may be represented schematically as follows.

(24)



INFER OBSERVE(1) EXPERIENCE(1) OBSERVE(2) EXPERIENCE(2) EXPERIENCE(3)

(25) examples

- INFER: John-i nayil ka-te-la.
- John-SM tomorrow go-R-Rep.

- ‘I found out that John would go tomorrow.’
 Yengkwuk-eyse sal-*te*-n John-i wa-ss-ta.
 England-in live-R-M John-SM come-Prf.-Rep.
 ‘John, who, I heard, had lived in England, came.’
 John-i ka-ss-*te*-nya?
 John-SM go-Prf.-R-Q
 ‘Did you notice whether John had gone?’
 Nay-ka twusi-kan ca-ss-*te*-la.
 I-SM two hours-for sleep- Prf.-R-Rep.
 ‘I found myself having slept for two hours.’
- OBSERVE (1): John-i pakk-eyse nol-*te*-la.
 John-SM outside-at play-R-Rep.
 ‘I saw John playing outside.’
 John-i ka-*te*-ni an-o-n-ta.
 John-SM go-R-but not-come-Pr.-Rep.
 ‘I saw John going, but he hasn’t come.’
 Yengkwuk-eyse sal-*te*-n John-i wa-ss-ta.
 England-in live-R-M John-SM come-Prf.-Rep.
 ‘John, whom I saw living in England, came.’
- EXPERIENCE(1): Ikes-i nay-ka ilk-ess-*te*-n chayk-i-ta.
 this-SM I-SM read-Prf.-R-M book-Cop.-Rep.
 ‘This is the book I experienced to have read.’
 Ney-ka sal-*te*-n cip-un enu-kes-i-nya?
 you-SM live-R-M house-T which-thing-Cop.-Q
 ‘Which house is the one you lived in?’
- OBSERVE(2): Na-honca ka-*te*-la.
 I-alone go-R-Rep.
 ‘I observed that only I was going.’
 Ney-ka ce-yil celm-*te*-nya?
 you-SM most young-R-Q
 ‘Did you observe that you were the youngest?’
- EXPERIENCE(2): Ney-ka ka-ss-*te*-nya?
 you-SM go-Prf.-R-Q
 ‘Did you go yourself?’
 Nay-ka nolyayhay-ss-*te*-ni motwu cohahay-ss-ta.
 I-SM sing-Prf.-R-as all be happy-Prf.-Rep.
 ‘As I sang (which I experienced), everybody was happy.’
- EXPERIENCE(3): Nay-ka kippu-*te*-la.
 I-SM glad-R-Rep.

'I felt that I was glad.'

Ney-ka chwiha-*te*-nya?

you-SM drunk-R-Q

'Did you feel intoxicated?'

Nay-ka colli-*te*-la.

I-SM drowsy-R-Rep.

'I felt I was drowsy.'

Ney-ka cwuk-ko siph-*te*-nya?

you-SM die-Com. wish-R-Q

'Did you feel that you wished to die?'

Nay-ka ka-keyss-*te*-la.

I-SM go-Pre.-R-Rep.

'I felt that I could go.'

The same sentence may have at least two readings depending on whether the speaker has equi-time (and equi-place) or non-equi-time (or non-equi-place) in mind, as illustrated in (26).

(26) a. John-i hankwuk-ey sal-*te*-la.

John-SM Korea-in live-R-Rep.

i. I saw John living in Korea. (OBSERVE(1))

ii. I found out that John is living in Korea. (INFER)

b. Ne-nun ka-ss-*te*-nya?

you-T go-Prf.-R-Q

i. Did you go? (Lit. Did you experience of having gone?) (EXPERIENCE(2))

ii. Did you notice that you had gone? (INFER)

If the verb preceding-TE has both experience and non-experience features, the meanings in -TE also diverge, as in (27).

(27) a. John-i *aphu-te*-la.

John-SM sick-R-Rep.

'I saw John sick (talking about-the whole body).' (OBSERVE(1))

b. Nay-ka *aphu-te*-la.

I-SM hurt-R-Rep.

'I felt I was hurt (talking about a part of the body).' (EXPERIENCE (3))

Obviously the reason is that in (27a) *aphu* 'to be sick' is not an experience verb, while *aphu* 'to be hurt' in (27b) is.

As we saw in (24), OBSERVE (2) is detrimental to the otherwise neat system. In other words, if OBSERVE (2) were to give in to EXPERIENCE, we would need only \pm equi-time and \pm equi-subject as the conditioning features for the distinction between the

three meanings of PERCEIVING. We may ascribe this phenomenon to the primacy of the observation meaning in -TE. That is, the other meanings are viewed as being derived from the observation meaning due to such constraints as the non-equi-time which makes direct observation impossible, the equi-subject which changes 'observation' of oneself to 'experience' in non-performative environments, and the experience verbs which are resistant to observation. Aside from these constraints, -TE retains its primary and dominant meaning of observation, including OBSERVE (2) which occurs when the -TE structure is a content proposition of an illocutionary act. In this case, as we have seen in section 4, the tenacity of observation is so strong that the first person (in statement) or the second person (in question) subject is extremely objectivized, as if the body were detached from the soul to become the object of observation. Because of this tenacity of observation in performative-dominated position, sentences like those in (28) are acceptable only in a possible or imaginary world, whereas corresponding embedded sentences as shown in (29) where observation gives in to inference or experience belong to common daily speech.

(28) a. Washington-i i cip-eyse sal-*te*-la.

Washington-SM this house-in live-R-Rep.

'I observed Washington living in this house.' (OBSERVE(1))

b. Nay-ka i cip-eyse sal-*te*-la.

I-SM this house-in live-R-Rep.

'I saw myself living in this house.' (OBSERVE(2))

(29) a. Ikes-un Washington-i sal-*te*-n cip-i-ta

this-T Washington-SM live-R-M house-Cop.-Rep.

'This is a house where (I was informed) Washington lived.' (INFER)

b. Ikes-un nay-ka sal-*te*-n cip-i-ta.

this-T I-SM live-R-M house-Cop.-Rep.

'This is a house where (I experienced) I lived.' (EXPERIENCE(1))

It is obvious that any grammar which tries to postulate the sentences in (28) as the underlying structures for the embedded sentences in (29) will fail, because the latter lacks the superordination of a performative sentence. That is, an embedded sentence is by no means the same as the corresponding unembedded sentence. It is a defective sentence, as it were.

7. Summary. I have tried to characterize the semantic side of the retrospective suffix -TE by presenting the following proposals among others.

(1) The conceptual structure underlying -TE is that of a transitive sentence of the shape 'Agent+S+Time+Predicate'. The REPORTER (speaker/hearer) functioning as the Agent, PAST functioning as Time, and PERCEIVE functioning as Predicate converge into the suffix -TE in their surface realization, leaving the complement S intact.

(2) The performative sentence or the matrix sentence of a quotative construction is

responsible for the selection of the REPORTER (speaker, hearer, or somebody else), exclusiveness of the REPORTER, and tenacity of the observation meaning.

(3) The so-called 'non-equi-subject constraint' is not especially relevant to -TE. What is relevant to -TE in this connection is the tenacity of the observation meaning.

(4) -TE is not restricted to past events alone. The event time and the time of PERCEIVING the event do not have to be the same for a grammatical expression.

(5) The reference point of the PAST in -TE is always the utterance time, except in imaginary situations in which case the reference point may be in the future.

(6) Time sequence between an embedded -TE event and the matrix event is constrained largely by the rules of the empirical world of experience.

(7) The common claim that -TE contains an imperfective meaning is not true. The imperfective meaning comes from the unmarked counterpart of the perfective.

(8) The abstract predicate PERCEIVE is 'natural' semantic class that consists of OBSERVE, EXPERIENCE, and INFER, which are mutually exclusive, being conditioned by underlying structural relations. These conditioning factors are equi-time, equi-subject, performative domination, experience verb, and the perfective.

(9) An embedded sentence (with or without -TE) and the corresponding unembedded sentence do not have the same underlying structure, because the former lacks the performative sentence which carries an illocutionary force.

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