

On the Pragmatics of the Plural Marker in Korean*

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the pragmatic and syntactic properties of the plural marker in Korean, 'deul.' 『Standard Korean Dictionary』(1999), published by <The National Academy of the Korean Language>, shows three different usages of 'deul':

- (1) a deul³ a dependent noun, which comes after noun and designates all the things enumerated when more than two things are enumerated, or means that there are other things of the same kind.

example) gwail - e - neun sagwa, bae, gam deul- 1 iss-da.
fruits-LOC-TOP apple pear persimmon deul-NOM be-FE(D)¹

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1 The following abbreviations are used in this paper

NOM: nominative	ACC accusative	DAT dative
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'Among fruits are apples, pears, persimmons and so on'

- b. *deul*⁵. a particle, which comes after nouns, adverbs, connective endings '-a, -ge, -ji, -go', preceding element of compound verbs, sentence-final endings etc. and means that the subject of the sentence is plural. Some examples are shown in (2).
- c. *-deul*⁹ a suffix, which comes after countable nouns, denoting the plurality of the nouns.
example) *haksaeng-deul* 'students', *goyangi-deul* 'cats'.

- (2) a. *geulae jal-deul iss-eoss-neunga?*
well fine-*deul* be-PAST-FE(Q) 'Well, how have you been?'
- b. *hansimhae-deul heose-deul bulidaga.*
pitiful-deul empty boasting-*deul* 'How pitiful is empty boasting'

Some scholars do not distinguish (1b) from (1c).² As shown in (2), however, '*deul*' in (1b) and '*deul*' in (1c) behave differently, in that the former may occur after adverbs, uncountable nouns, and postpositions or at the end of sentences. For this study, I will refer to *deul* in (1b) as *deul*₂.³

Since *deul*₂ occurs mainly in a colloquial speech,⁴ I collected the

LOC: locative	INS: instrumental	TOP: topic
QM: quotative marker	SM: semantic particle	
PRES: present tense	PAST: past tense	CE: connective ending
FE(D): final ending(declaration)	FE(Q): final ending(question)	
FE(O): final ending(oder)	FE(S): final ending(suggestion)	
REL: relative clause ending		

2. '*deul*' in (1) is considered as a suffix of 'syntactic derivation' in Im Hong-pin (1989=1998: 50). '*deul*' in (1b) and (1c) is termed as 'semantic particle' in Heo Ung (1995: 1401-1405) and as 'a determiner' in Suh Cheong-soo (1994: 819).

3. In this paper, I will not discuss the validity of the classification in (1).

4. *deul*₂ may be used in non-colloquial style. Huh Ung (1989: 119) mentioned that *deul*₂ (<d\lh) has appeared since the 16th century, as can be seen in the following

data from the scripts of a TV drama, 'Bogo ddo Bogo' (seeing again and again) and the films, 'Seopyeonje, Two cops, Yeogo Goedam (horrible story of girls' high school).' Some data are also added from previous studies.

2. Previous Approaches

Many scholars have argued that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is a syntactic process such as 'Plural Marker Copying' or 'Agreement', while some others consider it as a type of 'syntactic derivation' Now, let us examine these previous approaches.

1) Variable Locations of *deul*₂

In principle, *deul*₂ can attach to any constituent in a sentence. Some examples are provided in (3) and (4).

- (3) yojeum - deul jangin jangmo - hante-du geuleohge-deul buleoyo
 Nowadays-*deul* the wife's father and mother-DAT-SP that-*deul*
 call FE(D)
 'Nowadays we call parents-in-law that way'
- (4) a yojeum-deul jangin jangmohantedu geuleohge buleoyo
 b yojeum jangin jangmohantedu-deul geuleohge buleoyo
 c yojeum jangin jangmohantedu geuleohge-deul buleoyo.
 d yojeum jangin jangmohantedu geuleohge buleoyo-deul.
 e. yojeum jangin jangmohantedu geuleohge buleoyo

examples, '1 goyeorae josim-dal hAshosheo(pyeongji 편지 1, 1571), eosdi-deul isneunda (pyeonji 편지 19, 1597)'.
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In (3), *deul*₂ occurs after ‘yojeum’ and ‘geuleohge’. The examples in (4a-d) show that *deul*₂ can attach to any constituent of the provided sentence. All *deul*₂s are eliminated in (4e). Note that there is no crucial difference in meaning among sentences in (3) and (4).⁵ This indicates that the location of *deul*₂ is not fixed and its occurrence is optional.⁶ Therefore, it is not convincing to regard the occurrence of *deul*₂ as a syntactic process.

In addition, when *deul*₂ is used with postpositions or semantic particles, their ordering is not consistent.

- (5) a modu jib-e-deul ga-ya doe-nigga jom iljik ha-ji.
 all home-LOC-*deul* go have to-CE a little early do-FE(S)
 ‘Since all have to go home, let’s do it a little earlier’
- b. sofa-eseo-deul geunyang sseureo-yeo ja-ss-eo
 sofa-LOC-*deul* just collapse-CE sleep-PAST-FE(D)
 ‘They just collapsed on the sofa and slept.’
- (6) a bab-ina-deul meok-ji, nuga masi-ja-gu geolae -ss -eo sul?
 rice-SP-*deul* eat-CE who drink-FE(S)-QM say-PAST-FE(Q)
 liquor
 ‘You should have eaten rice Who said to drink liquor?’
- b. salm-deul-ina chaksilhage ha-e
 housekeeping-*deul*-SP well do-FE(O) ‘Do housekeeping well’
- (7) gimakhun simjeong-deul-lo deuleoga-ss -eo

5 However, different constituents may be focused depending on which constituent *deul*₂ attaches to

6 It should be noted that *deul*₂ cannot occur after any constituent Choe Hyonsook (1988: 112) shows that *deul*₂ fails to occur across clauses, as can be seen in the following example

*Cheolsu-ga [geudeul-i ttenassda-go] saenggak-deul handa
 Cheolsu-NOM [they-NOM left -QM] think - *deul*

terrible feeling-*deul*-INS enter-PAST-FE(D)

'They entered with terrible feeling.'

*deul*₂ occurs mainly after a postposition⁷ as in (5). This seems to be the characteristic of postpositions. In (6) and (7), *deul*₂ is used with a semantic particle, 'ina' and a postposition, 'eulo'. In these cases, *deul*₂ may occur before or after them. Such flexibility of occurrence indicates that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is not a syntactic process.

*deul*₂ often occurs inside derivatives or compound words (Lee Pyong-geun, 1986: 399-400), raising a more serious problem.

(8) a bilbil-*deul*-geoh-da 'be lazy' delyeo-*deul*-ga-da 'take'
 lazy-*deul*-suffix-FE(D) take-*deul*-go-FE(D)

b. geuleo-ji mal-gu ileo-*deul*-na-ra.
 do like that-CE stop-CE stand up-*deul*-FE(O)
 'Stop doing that and stand up'

In general, syntactic elements cannot be inserted into a word, since a word is theoretically regarded as an 'island' in a syntactic process. However, as seen in (8), *deul*₂ can occur inside derivatives or compound words. This means that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is not a syntactic process.

7 See Choi Dong-ju (1997) for the discussion of 'postposition'. Lee Han-Gyu (1991: 515-516) also claims that *deul*₂ cannot precede postpositions. Although 'eulo' in (7) can be regarded as postposition, *deul*₂ can precede it. It is not certain why it does so. It seems that 'eulo' in (7) behaves differently from those which mean 'instrument' or 'direction'.

2) The Relation between the Occurrence of *deul*₂ and the Subject

The occurrence of *deul*₂ has often been considered to be governed by the plural subject. As Lee Han-Gyu (1991: 513, 527) and Hong Ki-Sun (1994: 113-115) pointed out, however, it can be also governed by other elements in a sentence besides the plural subject.

- (9) a. Sunhui-ga aedeul-eul geu bang-eulo-deul bonae-ss-da
 -- Sunhui-NOM children-ACC the room -INS-deul send-PAST
 FE(D)
 'Sunhui sent children to the room.' - the example (28a) of
 Hong Ki-Sun (1994: 114)
- b. aedeul-hante bab-deul chalyeaju -go o -neulago neuj-eoss-eo
 children-DAT rice-deul set the table-CE come-CE late-PAST
 -FE(D)
 'I was late because I had to set the table for my children.'
- c. ya geugeo ssi-eogajigo kal-lu ib beoly -eoseo sal-deul
 ddeona-gu ...
 Hey that wash-CE knife-INS mouth make open-CE meat-deul
 remove-CE
 'Hey, wash all of them, open the shell with a knife, remove
 all the meat, and ..

Notice that all the subjects in (9) are singular. In (9a) the object 'aedeul-eul' is plural, and in (9b) postpositional phrase 'aedeul-hante' contains the plural noun. In the case of (9c), which is made in the context of describing how to cook clams, a postpositional phrase containing a plural noun is omitted. This indicates that *deul*₂ can occur when non-subjects are plural, even though the subject is not plural.

The most serious problem of previous analyses for 'Plural Marker Copying' or 'Agreement with subject' is that there are cases where *deul*₂ is not allowed to occur even when the subject of a sentence is plural, as can be seen in the following examples.

- (11) a. (to the hearers who are a married couple)
 ʔjanedeul-1 eonje-deul gyeolhonha-ess - ɲʔ
 you(pl)-NOM when-*deul* marry-PAST-FE(Q)
 'When did you get married?'
 b. *salamdeul-1 maeu-deul manh-ass- da
 people-NOM very-*deul* many-PAST-FE(D)
 'There were a lot of people.'
 - the example of (45b) in Im Hong-Pin (1979=1998,540)

(11) shows that *deul*₂ cannot occur when the plural subject is considered as a whole. If the occurrence of *deul*₂ is a syntactic process such as 'Plural Marking Copying' or 'Agreement', *deul*₂ should be allowed to occur in (11).

3) Syntactic Derivation

Im Hong-Pin (1989=1998: 50) claims that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is a type of 'syntactic derivation'. But this view has some problems, even though we accept the notion of 'syntactic derivation'. (12) includes *deul*₂ and (13) includes 'ggil' and 'dabda', which are considered as typical examples of 'syntactic derivation' by Im Hong-Pin (1989=1998).

- (12) a. geudeul-eun [maeu yeolsimhu]-*deul* ilha- n- da
 They TOP very hard-*deul* work-PRES-FE(D)

'They work very hard'

- b. [juŋgong-eun modu cheonsa-cheoreom chakha-eya handa-gu]
 -*deul* saenggakha-e
 heroine-TOP all angel like good-should-FE(D)-QM-*deul* think-
 CE

'They think all the heroine should be good-hearted like an angel'

- (13) a. [[uri jib-e iss-neun dongmul]-ggil]

our home-LOC be-REL animal -among

'among the animals that are at our home'

- b. geu-neun [[uri-ga mid-neun jeongchun]-dab] -da

he -TOP we-NOM believe-REL statesman behave like -FE(D)

'He behaves like a statesman who we trust.'

It is undeniable that *deul*₂ attaches to AdvP 'maeu yeolsimhi' in (12a) and CP 'juŋgong-eun modu cheonsacheoreom chakhaeya handagu' in (12b). However, it is uncertain whether these constructions can be considered as 'syntactic derivations' or not. Im Hong-Pin (1989=1998: 45-46) claims that 'a constituent necessarily required by a certain element, which has strong semantic dependency, is properly regarded as 'complement', and 'complement relation is established between that dependent element and the syntactic constituent preceding it.' If this is the case, is it reasonable to argue that a similar complement relation may be established between *deul*₂ and the preceding constituent? It is obvious that the relation between *deul*₂ and the preceding constituent differs from both the relation between 'ggil' and 'urijibe issneun dongmul' in (13a) and the relation between 'dab-' and 'uriga midneun jeongchiin' in (13b).⁸ This shows that the analysis

8 Lee Won-geun (1999: 116) also states that the government relation between *deul*₂

which regards occurrences of *deul*₂ as 'syntactic derivations' has a serious problem.

3. Conversational Function of *deul*₂ Insertion

So far, I have discussed problems with previous approaches. In this paper, I argue that *deul*₂ insertion are crucially dependent upon conversational, but not syntactic, motivations

1) Prerequisite for *deul*₂ Insertion

To begin with, let us consider cases in which *deul*₂ can occur. In (11), we already found the cases in which *deul*₂ can not occur when the subject is plural. This implies that the plurality of the subject is not a necessary condition for the occurrence of *deul*₂. In (11a), the speaker's question sounds unnatural, since it is about the marriage of hearers, i.e. a married couple, and thus, it cannot be a question about the individual marriage of hearers. (11b) sounds also unnatural, since the subject 'saramdeul [people]' must be mentioned as a whole, not as individuals. As a consequence, I assume that *deul*₂ may occur when the members of a certain group, that the subject of the sentence refers to, are considered individually, not as a whole group.⁹

and the preceding word is not established

9 In this regard, it has been claimed that the sentence in which *deul*₂ occurs has 'distributive meaning', and Moon Seung-Chul (1995: 355) terms *deul*₂ as 'the distributive plural marker'. However it is not certain whether all the sentences in which *deul*₂ occurs can be considered to have a distributive meaning. Note that the speaker of the following example may have the same movie in his/her mind

Yeonghwa-na-*deul* bo-ji 'You should have seen the movie'

In addition, as shown in (9), *deul*₂ can occur when non-subject elements are plural. This is also possible only when the members of a certain group, that non-subject elements refer to, are considered individually. (9a) means that each child is sent to the room. (9b) means that each meal is prepared to children, respectively (9c) means that the meat of clams is separated from each clam. Thus, it can be assumed that *deul*₂ may occur only when the members of a certain group, that the participants refer to, are considered individually. The plurality of some constituent, subject or not, is just a sufficient condition for the occurrence of *deul*₂.

2) Conversational Character of *deul*₂ Insertion

As already shown in (3) and (4), the sentences in which *deul*₂ occurs have the same meaning, regardless of its position. Moreover, it has been found that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is optional. Based on these findings, this section argues that *deul*₂ is inserted with conversational motivation. I will show some relevant examples below.

- (16) a. namdeul-eun pyeonanhi-deul deulanjaseo obu daia-ga eoddeo
 -ni mingkeucoteu-ga eoddeo -ni geuleogu-deul sa-neunde, ...
 others-TOP safely-*deul* sit - CE 50% diamonds-NOM talking
 about -CE munk coat-NOM talking about-CE like that-*deul*
 live-CE,
 'Some people live, talking about diamond rings and munk coats.'
- b. nameuleun pyeonanhi deulanjaseo obu daia-ga eoddeoni
 mungkeucoteu-ga eoddeoni
geuleo-gu saneunde,

'Some people live, talking about diamond rings and mink coats'

(17) a. Pusan sa-neun chingu iss-eoseo mocheoreom nol-eo-deul gaglu ha-ess-eo

Pusan live-REL friend be-CE after a long time visit-CE-*deul* go-CE-PAST-FE(D)

'Decided after a long time to visit a friend who lives in Pusan'

b Pusan sa-neun chingu iss-eoseo mocheoreom noleo gagi-lu ha-ess-eo.

'Decided after a long time to visit a friend who lives in Pusan'

There is no difference between (16a) and (16b), the latter of which eliminated '*deul*₂' from the former, except the difference of the focus. In the case of (17a) where the subject is omitted, the members of a certain group, that the omitted plural subject refers to, are considered individually. In contrast, (17b) not only has the same meaning as (17a), but also can be interpreted as the speaker saying his or her own situation. Considering this, '*deul*₂' in (17a) could be regarded as having the function of saying that the subject is plural or that the participants are considered individually. However, if 'urineun [we-TOP]' is added in (17b), there is no meaning difference between (17a) and (17b).¹⁰ This means that it is not due to the occurrence of *deul*₂ that (16a) and (17a) are interpreted as individual consideration. Thus, the function of *deul*₂ here is to call hearers' attention to individual consideration on participants with emphasizing the constituent to

10 That the expression in which *deul*₂ does not occur has an ambiguous meaning was pointed out in Ramstedt (1939: 35)

which it attaches, under the condition that the subject or non-subject elements are plural and their referents are considered individually. *deul*₂ itself does not have the function of indicating plurality of participants of the relevant situation, nor does it have the function of expressing individual consideration on participants. This is why I claim that *deul*₂ is inserted with conversational motivation.

This view can also provide an explanation about the insertion of *deul*₂ within derivatives and compound words as shown in (8). In English, 'bloody, fucking, ...' can be inserted inside a word or a morpheme (ex. kanga-bloody-roo, in-fucking-possible), and it has been known that it is possible only in the case of expletives in expressive language (Katamba 1993. 45). Even though it is not the same phenomenon in that *deul*₂ can not be inserted inside a morpheme,¹¹ there is a similarity in that both of them can be inserted inside a word.

Our view is also supported by the fact that the behavior of *deul*₂ is similar to that of a conversational element 'yo'.¹²

- (18) je-ga-yo eoje-yo hakgyo-eseo-yo cheolsu-leul-yo manna-ss-
geodeun-yo
 I-NOM-yo yesterday-yo school-LOC-yo Cheolsu-ACC-yo meet-
 PAST-FE(D)-yo
 'I met cheolsu at school yesterday'

11 In English, it has been known that the insertion of expletives like this is possible in the foot boundary. The reason why *deul*₂ does not occur inside a morpheme seems to be that foot is not used as a morphological unit in Korean.

12 The similarity of *deul*₂ and 'yo' has already been pointed out in Hong Sah-man (1983: 57-58), Lee Won-geun (1999) (see footnote 21)

As seen in (18), the position of 'yo' is not fixed. 'yo' can be repeated and optional, and the sentences including 'yo' do not display any meaning difference. These seem to be characteristics of conversational elements. It can be said that *deul*₂ is also a conversational element in that it has properties like these. Though 'yo' in (18) can be used when the hearer(s) can be honored, it is difficult to claim that 'yo' has the function of honoring the hearer(s).¹³ Likewise, it is difficult to claim that *deul*₂ has the function of denoting plurality of subject or other elements, although it is used when subject or other elements are plural.

When two or more postpositions or particles attach to nouns in Korean, case markers 'i/ga and eul/leul' are located in the last position (Choi Dong-Ju, 1997: 208-211). However, as shown in (18), the conversational element 'yo' can follow 'i/ga, eul/leul' *deul*₂ can also follow them

- (19) a. gaedeul-eun maeumssi-ga-deul chakha-eoseo eodiseo-deunji
 hwanyeong bat-eulgeoya
 they-TOP heart-NOM-*deul* good-CE where-SP welcome
 receive-FE(D)
 'They will be welcomed wherever they go, because they
 are good-hearted'
- b. [?]neohuideul-eun wae geu salam-eul-deul geuleoke goelophi-
 ni?
 you(pl) -TOP why the man-ACC-*deul* so much bother-FE(Q)
 'Why do you bother the man so much?'

13 Choi Myung-ok (1976=1998: 274) says that 'yo' does not provide any meanings, and has 'situational function' which calls hearers' attention or express that speakers have an interest in hearers continuously

Although (19b) is not so good, in comparison with (19a), (19) shows that it is not impossible for *deul*₂ to occur after 'i/ga, eul/leul'.¹⁴ It is natural that structural case markers 'i/ga' and 'eul/leul' take the last position of NP, as a case is assigned to NP. Hence, the lexical or syntactic element cannot follow 'i/ga, eul/leul'. The fact that 'yo' and *deul*₂ can follow 'i/ga, eul/leul' means that they are conversational elements.

However, it is not the case that 'yo' and *deul*₂ share all the properties 'yo' always follows postpositions or particles, whereas *deul*₂ can either precede or follow them. *deul*₂ can be inserted within the auxiliary verb construction, derivatives, or compound words, while 'yo' cannot. Even though it is not certain why they differ from each other in these respects, the properties they share are sufficient to support our analysis.¹⁵

4. The Position of *deul*₂ Insertion

As already observed, *deul*₂ attaches to various constituents such as

14 Kim Young-hee (1978: 51-52) and Lee Han-Gyu (1991: 526 in footnote 5) state that *deul*₂ can follow case markers.

15 Hong Sah-man (1983: 57-58) explains that *deul*₂ is just regarded as an affix used to show habitually the conversational intention of speakers, and calls *deul*₂ and 'yo' as 'a habitual or situational affix'. Besides, Lee Han-Gyu (1991: 514) claims that *deul*₂ pragmatically has a function to attract hearer(s)'s attention to the information conveyed by the phrase *deul*₂ attaches to. Lee Won-geun (1999) also calls *deul*₂ as 'discourse particle' in that it functions in conversational level, not in syntactic level. However, they differ from this paper in that the occurrence of *deul*₂ is formalized in the GPSG framework in Lee Han-Gyu (1991), and the occurrence of *deul*₂ is understood possible only when the subject is plural in Lee Won-geun (1999).

objects, adverbial phrases, the subjects of predicate clauses, inflected forms of verbs or adjectives, and even inside derivatives or compound words. However, there is a syntactic constraint on the occurrence of *deul*₂ in that it is not allowed to occur across the clauses.¹⁶ This syntactic constraint may be derived from the function of *deul*₂. The reason why it cannot occur beyond the clause boundary, i.e. the scope of a situation, is that it is licensed under the condition of individual consideration on the participants of the situation.

Im Hong-Pin(1989=1998: 54) proposes the following constraint for this idea.

(21) Constraint on Plural-spreading across the Clause

Plurality of inner constituents of a certain syntactic construction cannot affect across the boundary of the construction

Im Hong-Pin (1989=1998: 52-53) states that the following examples seem to violate the constraint (21) and thus, raise a problem, saying, 'Even though *deul*₂ occurs beyond the clause boundary in (22), it is relatively natural unlike (23)'.

- (22) a. [geu salam-i joh-a] -*deul*?
 the man-NOM like-FE(Q)-*deul* 'Do you like the man?'
 b [don-i iss -eo] -*deul*?
 money-NOM be-FE(Q)-*deul* 'Do you have money?'
 (23) a ²*urideul-eun geu salam-i joh-a-*deul*.
 we-TOP the man-NOM like-FE(D)-*deul* 'We like the man.'

16 Concerning this fact, the term 'the subjects of predicate clauses' is not good, because *deul*₂ cannot occur across the clauses, but I will continue to use it for the sake of convenience

- b ²*undeul-eun don-i iss-eo-deul
 we-TOC money-NOM be-FE(D)-deul 'We have money.'
- c ²yamanundeul-1 eumak-eul johaha-igga-deul?
 barbarians-NOM music-ACC like-FE(Q)-deul
 'I wonder if the barbarians like music?'

I propose that in (22), *deul*₂ is within the 'clause boundary and thus, it causes no problem. That is, sentence-final endings of Korean are I(Infl), which is within the c-commanding scope of the subject, and (22) does not violate the constraint (21).¹⁷

If this is the case, a question can be raised why the examples in (23) which have the same structure with (22) are not good unlike (22)? First, let us examine (23a). I assume that (23a) is unacceptable, since it expresses the psychological condition of other person who are included in 'ulideul [we]'. The occurrence of '*deul*₂' emphasizes that the referents of subject are considered individually and thus, the unacceptability of (23a) is not different from that of 'cheolsuneun geu salami johda (철수는 그 사람이 좋다).'

In the case of (23b, c), I think (23c) is acceptable, and (23b) doesn't seem to be impossible, either. It is undeniable that (23b) is not so good, but this is due to another factor. There are only 5 cases in which *deul*₂ occurs at the end of the sentence out of the data of about 1,000 examples. Among them, the example of a declarative sentence is only (2b). It indicates that *deul*₂ can attach to the end of a

17 See Moon Gui-Sun (1989), Whitman (1989) for the view that sentence-final ending in Korean is located in Infl. Unlike this view, Im Hong-Pin (1987: 35-36), Ryu Dong-suk (1994: 31-34), Suh Chung-mok (1998: 247-261) consider sentence-final endings as C.

sentence, even though it is rare, and it tends to occur after interrogative or imperative sentences, more often than after declarative sentences. Such a phenomenon is related to the conversational function of *deul*₂ mentioned in previous section. As *deul*₂ functions to call hearers' attention to individual consideration on participants, with emphasizing the constituent to which it attaches, it is easier to occur, if at the end of a sentence, after an interrogative or an imperative sentences which requires a response of hearers than after a declarative sentence.¹⁸ The occurrence of *deul*₂ at the end of a sentence does not raise a grammatical problem, but the reason why it does not often occur in a declarative sentence is due to conversational functions.

Unlike sentence-final endings, a connective ending is an element which is positioned in C. The position after connective endings can be regarded as outside preceding clause and related to the following clause.

However, *deul*₂ does not naturally occur after all connective endings.

- (24) a **aideul-eun bakk-eseo nol-ass-go-deul uri-neun TV-leul bo-ass*
 -*eo*
 children-TOP out-LOC play-PAST-CE-*deul* we-TOP TV-ACC
 watch-PAST-FE(D)
 'The children played outside and we watched TV.'
 b **geu salamdeul-eun buja-i-jiman-deul mopsi insaekha-da*

18 Interrogative or imperative sentences which have *deul*₂ at the end of them give an impression of urging hearers' response or action. If a speaker emphasizes that he has money though hearers don't admit the fact, (23b) also sounds more natural (Uldo doni 'isseoyo-deul!')

- the people-TOP rich-be- CE *-deul* very stingy-FE(D)
 'The people are rich but very stingy'
 c "amu il eo²peu-myeon-*deul* geunyang dolao -seyo.
 nothing to do-CE- *deul* just come back-FE(O)
 'Please just come back if you have nothing to do.'

The examples in (24) whose subjects are plural are unnatural. This means *deul*₂ does not come after connective endings which mean 'enumeration', 'contrast' or 'condition', such as '-go, -jiman, -myeon'. I propose that the clauses with these sorts of connective endings are independent of the following clauses. In other words, *deul*₂ is located outside the scope in which it can occur, since the preceding clauses in the examples of (24) is independent of the following clauses.¹⁹

As a matter of fact, *deul*₂ often comes after connective endings such as '-ge, -dolk, -leo, -myeonseo, -go(successive situations: 'meok-gu-deul deulona bwa'), -eoseo, -ji'. Since preceding clauses which are composed of these connective endings are semantically dependent on following clauses,²⁰ they behave like adverbial phrases. *deul*₂ often occurs after main verb in auxiliary verb constructions (ex, 'neo halu ebsdagu gulmgu-deul isseo?', 'nillili kungjjaghamyeonseo jal sal-eo-deul bwa eodi'). This can be understood as the same phenomenon.

*deul*₂ does not attach to the adnominal constituents. The reason seems to be that they are not direct constituents of the predicate.

19. It has been known that 'condition' is less independent of the following clause than 'enumeration' or 'contrast'. However, connective endings meaning 'condition' do not present a single situation by combining the preceding clause with the following, but express the relation between them.

20 See Yi Eun-kyoung (1996: 240-245) for the degree of the independence and dependence between preceding clauses and following clauses.

5. Conclusion

So far, I have examined the occurrences of *deul*₂ in Korean. *deul*₂ can occur after various constituents of the sentence, and the ordering is not fixed when it is used with postpositions or particles. The occurrence of *deul*₂ is optional and is not necessarily related to the plural subject. The sentences which include *deul*₂ have no crucial meaning difference, regardless of its position. In addition, it can follow structural case markers 'i/ga' or 'eul/leul'. Based on these facts, this paper claims that *deul*₂ is inserted with a conversational motivation and functions to call hearers' attention to individual consideration on participants with emphasizing the constituent to which it attaches. The fact that subjects or other elements have to be plural is a mere prerequisite for the occurrence of *deul*₂. Although *deul*₂ is attached to syntactic construction, it is difficult to regard the occurrence of *deul*₂ as a syntactic derivation.

*deul*₂ follows direct constituents which constitute predicates such as objects, adverbs qualifying predicates, predicates themselves, or subjects of predicate clauses. It does not violate the constraint prohibiting *deul*₂ from occurring across clauses.

Even though this paper claims that *deul*₂ occurs with the conversational motivation, there are many remaining problems that are not discussed in this paper. How are conversational elements organized and with what mechanism are they used? I expect that it will be clear as recent approaches in conversational views develop.

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