

KU('HE'), KYAY('S/HE') AND ANTI-LOGOPHORICITY IN KOREAN*

Sook Whan Cho

This paper examines the distribution of *ku* ('he') as compared with that of *kyay* ('s/he') within the framework of the binding theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986) and further in the context of logophoricity (Kuno 1987). It is observed in this paper that Principle B explains the noncomplementary distribution of *ku* and *kyay* in certain contexts, but conflicts with constructions involving indirect object and oblique NPs, in particular. It is also found that *kyay* is antilogophoric in that it cannot be coindexed with a [+logo 1] subject when the pronoun occurs in a subject position. It is thought that this antilogophoric property is language-specific to Korean in which unlike certain pronouns in African languages, the pronoun *Kyay* is antilogophoric.

1. Introduction

To my knowledge, *kyay* has never been extensively investigated, while it is used in written as well as spoken Korean and is much more widely used than third person pronouns such as *ku* ('he').¹ The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First of all, it investigates the syntactic behavior of *kyay* as compared with that of *ku* in the context of the binding theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986) and second, it considers the relevance of 'logophoricity' in the sense of Kuno (1987) for the interpretation of *kyay*.

**Acknowledgments:* This paper has benefitted from questions and comments made by my colleagues and students on various occasions. Special thanks for valuable comments on several different earlier drafts go to an anonymous reviewer, Professors Sun Young Kang, Susumu Kuno, Chungmin Lee, and William D. O'Grady, and nine graduate students of Linguistics 515 at Sogang University.

¹A dictionary (e.g., Shin and Shin 1988:125) classifies *kyay* as an 'abbreviated noun.' In fact, K.-M. Lee (1970:33) notes that *ku* ('he') has initially begun to be used under the influence from a Western literary genre in which a novel is written from a third-person's point of view.

2. *Ku*, *Kyay* and the Binding Theory

Following the traditional practice (e.g., Radford 1981:63), we may take *kyay* to be a kind of 'anaphoric device' which refers to an entity 'mentioned elsewhere in the same sentence or discourse,' as illustrated in (1)-(2).

- (1) Na-nun onul Chelswu-eykey<i> kyay-uy<i> chayk-ul
 I-T today Chelswu-D s/he-G book-A
 tolie-cwu-ess-ta.
 return-BEN-PAST-DC
 (Today I returned, to Chelswu<i>, her/his<i> book.)
- (2) A: Chelswu-ka<i> onul cikakhay-ss-eyo?
 Chelswu-N today come late-PAST-QUES (HON)
 (Did Chelswu<i> come late today?)
 B: Ney, kyay-nun<i> mayil cikakhay-yo.
 Yes s/he everyday come late (PRES)-DC (HON)
 (Yes, s/he<i> comes late everyday.)

Kyay in (1) refers to *Chelswu* in its clause, and in (2), the pronoun is coreferential with *Chelswu* available in discourse.

It is to be noted, however, that *Kyay* cannot be regarded as an 'anaphor,' nor can it be taken to be a 'pronominal,' or an R-expression in the sense of Chomsky (1981:181, 1986:171). Consider in this regard the sentences in (3).

- (3) a. [S Na-nun Chelswu-uy<i> chayk-ul [NP kyay-uy<i>
 I-T Chelswu-G book-A s/he-G
 chayksang-]wi-ey no-ass-ta].
 desk-on-L put-PAST-DC
 ([S1 put Chelswu's<i>book on [NP her/his<i> desk].)
- b. [S1 Chelswu-nun<i> [S2 kyay-ka<*i> kippu-ta]-ko
 Chelswu-T s/he-N happy-be-COMP
 malhay-ss-ta].
 say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> said that [S2 s/he<*i>was happy.]])
- c. [S Na-nun onul Chelswu-eykey<i> cheumulo
 I-T today Chelswu-D for the first time

kyay-eytayhay<i> mwul-ess-ta].

s/he-about ask-PAST-DC

([S I asked Chelswu<i>, for the first time, about her/him<i> today].)

d. Chelswu-ka<i> [NP kyay-uy<i> sacin-ul]

Chelswu-N s/he-G photo-A

chass-kois-ta.

look for-PRES PROG-DC

(Chelswu<i> is looking for [NP her/his<i>photo].)

Kyay in (3a) is not bound by *Chelswu* while coreference is possible as indicated by the coindexing. This shows that *kyay* is not an anaphor, since anaphors must be bound. However, as demonstrated by (3b) and (3c), *kyay* is not a conventional pronominal either. In (3b) *kyay* cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject *Chelswu* even though the required coindexing would still allow it to be free in its governing category, in accordance with the usual condition on pronominals, Principle B (Chomsky 1981, 1986), as follows.

(4) *Principle B:*

A pronominal is free in its governing category.

Kyay in (3c), on the other hand, is bound by the dative object *Chelswu*, but coreference is allowed, in violation of Principle B. Finally, as shown by (3d), *kyay* cannot be a conventional R-expression either because it can be coindexed with a c-commanding NP (i.e., bound), and this violates the major condition on the interpretation of lexical NPs, namely, Principle C in (5) below.

(5) *Principle C:*

An R-expression is free.

In 2.1 we will observe a variety of constructions containing *ku* and *kyay*, and compare the ways in which they are distributed within the framework of the binding theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986). It will be observed in this section that *ku* and *kyay* are in noncomplementary distribution to a certain degree.

2.1. Distribution of *Ku* and *Kyay*

Let us begin by examining the monoclausal structures in (6)-(8).

- (6) [S Chelswu-ka<i> kewul-lo ku-lul<*i>/kyay-lul<*i>
 Chelswu-N mirror-in he-A/s/he-A
 po-ass-ta].
 see-PAST-DC
 ([S Chelswu<i> saw him<*i>/her/him<*i> in a mirror].)
- (7) [S Chelswu-ka<i> ku-eykey<*i>/kyay-eykey<*i>
 Chelswu-N he-D/s/he-D
 sosaki-ess-ta].
 whisper-PAST-DC
 ([S Chelswu whispered to him<*i>/her/him<*i>].)
- (8) Chelswu-ka<i> [NP ku-uy<i>/kyay-uy<i> sacin-ul]
 Chelswu-N he-G/s/he-G photo-A
 cha-ass-ta.
 find-PAST-DC
 (Chelswu<i> found [NP his<i>/her/his<i> photo].)

Notice that coreference is prohibited in (6)-(7), in which the two pronouns are bound in their governing category (GC), the matrix *S*. On the other hand, coindexing is acceptable in (8) where the pronouns are free in their GC, the NP. These facts follow from Principle B.

Let us further examine the cases containing a non-subject NP, as in (9)-(11).

- (9) [S Na-nun Chelswu-uy<i> cip-eyse ku-lul<i>/kyay-lul<i>
 I-T Chelswu-G home-L he-A s/he-A
 palkyenhay-ss-ta].
 discover-PAST-DC
 ([S I discovered, in Chelswu's<i> home, him<i>/her/him<i>].)
- (10) [S Na-nun Chelswu-uy<i> say sosel-ul ku-eykey<i>/
 I-T Chelswu-G new novel-A he-D
 kyay-eykey<i> ilge-cwu-ess-ta].
 s/he-D read-BEF-PAST-DC
 ([S I read Chelswu's<i> new novel to him<i>/her/him<i>].)
- (11) Na-nun Chelswu-lul<i> [NP ku-uy<i>/kyay-uy<i>
 I-T Chelswu-A he-G/s/he-G

cip-ey] ponay-ss-ta.
 home-L send-PAST-DC
 (I sent Chelswu<i> to [NP his<i>/her/his<i> home].)

Note that the pronouns in (9)-(11) above are all free in their GC. This accords with Principle B, and coreference in these structures is in fact allowed as predicted.

Let us now examine biclausal structures containing sentential complements, relative and adverbial clauses, and see whether Principle B still holds. Observe first (12)-(13) involving complements.

- (12) [S1 Na-nun [NP [S2 Chelswu-ka<i> sengkonghay-ss-ta]-
 I-T Chelswu-N succeed-PAST-DC
 nun] sasil-ul] ku-eykey<i>/kyay-eykey<i>
 Comp fact-A he-D/ s/he-D<i>
 malhaycwu-ess-ta].
 inform-PAST-DC
 ([S1 I informed, of the fact that [S2 Chelswu<i> succeeded], him<i>
 /her/him<i>].)
- (13) [S1 [NP [S' [S2 Chelswu-ka<i> sengkonghay-ss-ta]-nun]
 Chelswu-N succeed-PAST-DC-COMP
 sasil-i ku-lul<i> kyay-lul<i> kippukeyhay-ss-ta].
 fact-N he-A/s/he-A please-PAST-DC
 ([S1 [NP The fact [S' that [S2 Chelswu<i> succeeded]]]
 pleased him<i>/her/him<i>].)

In both (12) and (13) *Chelswu* is contained in a sentential complement, and the pronouns are free in their GC, S1. Since Principle B has no reason to block coreference, the sentences should all be grammatical and coreference is, in fact, allowed.

Observe next the sentences (14)-(17) containing relative and adverbial clauses.

- (14) [S1 [NP [S' [S2 Chelswu-ka<i> ssu]-n] sosel-i]
 Chelswu-N write-REL novel-N
 ku-lul<i>/kyay-lul<i> sta-lo mantul-ess-ta].
 he-A s/he-A star-into make-PAST-DC
 ([S1 [NP The novel [S' that [S2 Chelswu<i> wrote]]]
 made him<i>/her/him<i> a star].)

- (15) [S1 Na-nun [NP[S'[S2 Chelswu-ka<i> ssu]-n] sosel]-
 I-T Chelswu-N write-REL novel-
 eytayhay ku-eykey<i>/kyay-eykey<i> mwul-ess-ta].
 about he-D /s/he-D ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 I asked, about [NP the novel [S' that
 [S2 Chelswu<i> wrote]]], him<i>/her/him<i>].)
- (16) [S1 Na-nun [S2 Chelswu-ka<i> yellakhaci-an]-ato
 I-T Chelswu-N be in touch-not-although
 ku-eykey<i>/kyay-eykey<i> phyenci-lul ss-ess-ta].
 he-D /s/he-D letter-A write-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Although [S2 Chelswu<i> did not get in touch],
 I wrote a letter to him<i>/her/him<i>].)
- (17) [S1 Na-nun [S2 Chelswu-ka<i> ttwie-o-nun]-tonganey
 I-T Chelswu-N run-come-PRES-while
 ku-lul<i>/kyay-lul<i> chyetapo-kois-ess-ta].
 he-A /s/he-A watch-PROG-PRES-DC
 ([S1 While [S2 Chelswu<i> was running], I was watching him<i>
 /her/him<i>].)

Again, the pronouns in (14)-(17) are not bound by *Chelswu* in S1 as the antecedent is embedded in the relative or adverbial clauses. Coreference is hence allowed in all cases of (14)-(17). Next, we will observe (14')-(17') below, which are each structurally identical to (14)-(17) respectively except that the pronouns now occur in the embedded clauses. If Principle B is correct, (14')-(17') should all be grammatical since the pronouns are contained inside the embedded clauses and are thus free in them. Let us examine the sentences below.

- (14') [S1 [NP[S'[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<i> ssu]-n sosel-i]
 he-N/s/he write-REL novel-N
 Chelswu-lul<i> sta-lo mantul-ess-ta].
 Chelswu-A star-into make-PAST-DC
 ([S1[NP The novel [S' that [S2 he<i>/s/he<i>
 wrote made Chelswu<i> a star]]].)
- (15') [S1 Na-nun [NP[S'[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<i> ssu]-n]
 I-T he-N /s/he write-REL
 sosel-eytaytay] Chelswu-eykey<i> mwul-ess-ta].
 novel-about Chelswu-D ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 I asked, [NP about the novel [S' that [S he<i>/s/he<i>

- wrote]]], Chelswu<i>].)
- (16') [S1 Na-nun [S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<i> yellakhaci-an]
 I-T he-N /s/he-N be in touch-not
 -ato Chelswu-eykey<i> phyenci-lul sse-ss-ta]].
 -although Chelswu-D letter-A write-PAST-DC
 ([S1 [S2 Although he<i>/s/he<i> did not get in touch], I wrote
 a letter to Chelswu<i>]].)
- (17') [S1 Na-nun [S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<i> ttwie-o-nun]-
 I-T he-N /s/he-N run-come-PRES-
 tonganey] Chelswu-lul<i> chyetapo-kois-ess-ta].
 while Chelswu-A watch-PROG-PRES-DC
 ([S1 [S2 While he<i>/s/he<i> was runing], I was watching
 Chelswu<i>].)

In (14')-(17'), the pronouns are contained in the embedded sentences and cannot be bound by *Chelswu* in each since the antecedent occurs in an object position. As the pronouns are free in their GC in accordance with Principle B, the sentences should be grammatical and are indeed so. Here again the pronouns behave like pronominals.

The sentences in (6)-(17') have raised the possibility that *ku* and *kyay* are pronominals. As we will see in 2.2 and 3.0 below, however, some cases apparently show that neither pronouns can be regarded as a pronominal and that the pronouns are not exactly alike in their syntactic behavior.

2.2. Unsolved Problems

In this section we will observe two types of constructions where the c-command condition on pronominals is violated. While at the moment I have no impressive solution, I attempt to point out specifically what difficulties there are with respect to the structures containing indirect object NPs and oblique NPs.

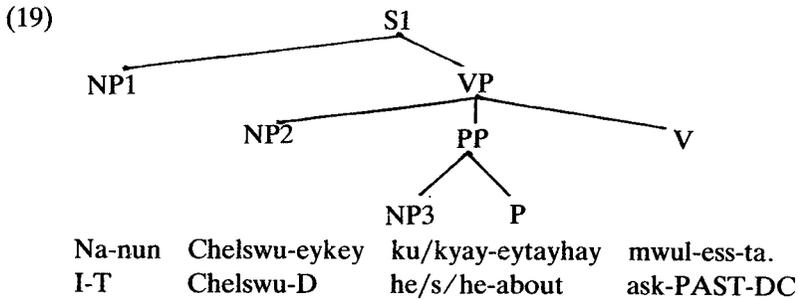
2.2.1. Indirect Object NPs

Evidence suggests that neither *ku* nor *kyay* behaves like a pronominal in certain structures. First, observe (18) in this regard.

- (18) [S1 Na-nun Chelswu-eykey<i> cheumulo
 I-T Chelswu-D for the first time

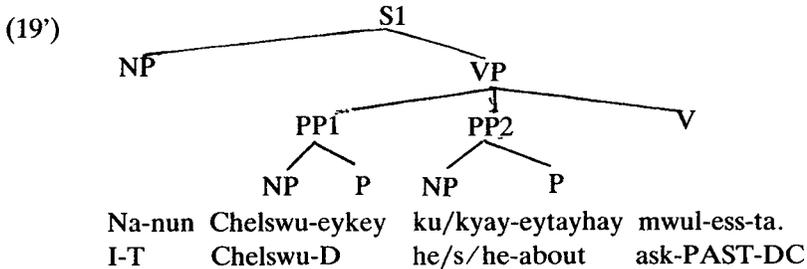
ku-eytayhay <i>/kyay-eytayhay <i> mwul-ess-ta.
 him-about /s/he-about ask-PAST-DC
 (I asked Chelswu <i> about him <i>/her/him <i> for the first time.)

Assuming that a structure like (19) underlies (18), as Reinhart (1983:54) once suggested, we can see that the pronouns are not free in their GC, S1, being bound by the indirect object *Chelswu*, NP2.



Yet coreference is acceptable, and this conflicts with Principle B.

One may suggest along the lines of Hong (1985:20) that indirect objects be dominated by a PP, as given in (19').



In (19') the antecedent cannot bind the pronouns as it is dominated by PP1 and that no difficulty arises regarding Principle B. Unfortunately, however, (19') cannot capture the facts in (20) below.

- (20) a. Na-nun ku-eykey <*i>/kyay-eykey <*i> Chelswu-uy <i>
 I-T he-D /s/he-D Chelswu-G
 chayk-ul tolie-cwu-ess-ta.
 book-A return-BEN-PAST-DC
 (I returned, to him <*i>/her/him <*i>, Chelswu's <i> book.)

- b. Na-nun ku-lul<*i>/kyay-lul<*i> (kewul-lo
 I-T he-A /s/he-A mirror-with
 pichwue) Chelswu-eykey<i> poye-cwu-ess-ta.
 reflecting Chelswu-D show-BEN-PAST-DC
 (I showed him<*i>/her/him<*i> to Chelswu<i>(in a mirror).
- c. Na-nun ku-eytayhay<*i>/ kyay-eytayhay<*i>
 I-T he-about /s/he-about
 cheumulo Chelswu-eykey<i> mwul-ess-ta.
 for the first time Chelswu-D ask-PAST-DC
 (I asked, about him<*i>/her/him<*i>, for the first time Chel-
 swu<i>.)

The problem with (20) is that although the pronouns would be free in all cases in (20) if (19') were posited, coindexing is not permitted.

Difficulties also arise in cases involving forward double object constructions, as in (21) below.

- (21) a. Na-nun Chelswul-eykey<i> ku-lul<*i>/kyay-lul<*i>
 I-T Chelswu-D he-A /s/he-A
 (kewul-lo pichwue) poye-cwu-ess-ta.
 mirror-with reflect show-BEN-PAST-DC
 (I showed Chelswu<i> him<*i>/her/him<*i>
 (by reflecting him in a mirror).)
- b. Na-nun Chelswu-lul<i> ku-eykey<*i>/kyay-eykey<*i>
 I-T Chelswu-A he-D /s/he-D
 (Kewul-lo pichwue) poye-cwu-ess-ta.
 mirror-with reflect show-BEN-PAST-DC
 (I showed Chelswu<i> to him <*i>/her/him<*i>
 (by reflecting him in a mirror).)

If indirect objects are dominated by a PP as assumed in (19'), (21a) cannot be explained by Principle B because while the pronouns are free, coindexing is in fact not allowed. In (21b), Principle B makes a correct prediction: *Chelswu* binds the pronouns and they are not coreferential in accordance with Principle B. Yet Principle C is violated in this structure. That is, if (19') were posited, the pronouns would not bind the antecedent and coreference should then be acceptable, but is not, as we just saw above.

If, on the other hand, indirect objects are dominated by a VP as assumed earlier in (19), we no longer face a difficulty as far as (21) is

concerned. Principle B is violated in both cases of (21) in that the antecedent binds the pronouns, and this explains why coreference is not possible. This, however, takes us back to the difficulty noted earlier in (18) which I repeat below.

- (18) [S1 Na-nun Chelswu-eykey<i> cheumulo
 I-T Chelswu-D for the first time
 ku-eytayhay<i>/kyay-eytayhay<i> mwul-ess-ta.
 he-about /s/he-about ask-PAST-DC
 (I asked Chelswu<i> about him<i>/her/him <i> for the first time.)

As seen before, although the antecedent binds the pronouns, the sentence is grammatical in violation of Principle B.

The data in (18), (20) and (21) demonstrate that Principle B is violated regardless of whether it is VP or PP that dominates indirect object NPs. The problems noted in this section call for more study with respect to the interaction of anaphora and indirect object NPs. In 2.2.2 that immediately follows, we will investigate constructions containing oblique NPs.

2.2.2. Oblique NPs

Observe cases involving oblique NPs in (22)-(25) below.

- (22) a. Na-nun Chelswu-wa<i> ku-eytayhay<i>/
 I-T Chelswu-with he-about
 kyay-eytayhay<i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 s/he-about talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked with Chelswu<i> about him<i>/her/him<i>.)
 b. Na-nun Chelswu-eytayhay<i> ku-wa<i>/
 I-T Chelswu-about he-with
 kyay-wa<i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 s/he-with talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked about Chelswu<i> with him<i>/her/him<i>.)
- (23) a. Na-nun Chelswu-eyuyhay<i> ku-eykey<i>/
 I-T Chelswu-by he-to
 kyay-eykey<i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 s/he-to drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged by Chelswu<i> to him<i>/her/him<i>.)
 b. Na-nun Chelswu-eykey<i> ku-eyuyhay<i>/
 I-T Chelswu-to he-by

kyay-eyuyhay <i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 s/he-by drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged to Chelswu <i> by him <i>/her/him <i>.)

- (24) a. Na-nun ku-eytayhay <*i>/kyay-eytayhay <*i>
 I-T he-about /s/he-about
 Chelswu-wa <i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-with talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked about him <*i>/her/him <*i> with chelswu <i>.)
- b. Na-nun ku-wa <*i>/kyay-wa <*i>
 I-T he-with /s/he-with
 Chelswu-eytayhay <i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-about talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked with him <*i>/her/him <*i> about Chelswu <i>.)
- (25) a. Na-nun ku-eykey <*i> kyay-eykey <*i>
 I-T he-to /s/he-to
 Chelswu-eyuyhay <i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-by drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged to him <*i>/her/him <*i> by Chelswu <i>.)
- b. Na-nun ku-eyuyhay <*i>/kyay-eyuyhay <*i>
 I-T he-by /s/he-by
 Chelswu-eykey <i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-to drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged by him <*i>/her/him <*i> to Chelswu <*i>.)

If oblique NPs are dominated by a PP, the sentences in (22)-(25) should all be grammatical since the antecedent cannot bind the pronouns in each. As indicated above, however, this prediction is well made for (22)-(23), but not for (24)-(25).

Importantly, note that not all backward cases turn out to be ungrammatical. Notice that if the pronouns in (24)-(25) move to the determiner position of a possessive NP with everything else remaining the same as in (26), coreference is allowed in accordance with Principle B. Observe (26) below.

- (26) a. Na-nun ku-uy <i>/kyay-uy <i> chayk-eytayhay
 I-T he-G /s/he-G book-about
 Chelswu-wa <i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-with talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked about his <i>/her/his <i> book with Chelswu <i>.)

- b. Na-nun ku-uy<i>/kyay-uy<i> tongsayng-
 I-T he-G /s/he-G younger sibling-
 kwa Chelswu-eytayhay<i> yeykihay-ss-ta.
 with Chelswu-about talk-PAST-DC
 (I talked with his<i>/her/his<i> younger
 sibling about Chelswu<i>.)
- c. Na-nun ku-uy<?i>/kyay-uy<?i> chinkwu-eykey
 I-T he-G /s/he-G friend-to
 Chelswu-eyuyhay<i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-by drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged to his<i>/her/his<i> friend by Chelswu<i>.)
- d. Na-nun ku-uy<i>/kyay-uy<i> chinkwu-eyuyhay
 I-T he-G /s/he-G friend-by
 Chelswu-eykey<i> kkul-lye-ka-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-to drag-PASS-go-PAST-DC
 (I was dragged by his<i>/her/his<i> friend to Chelswu<i>.)

Notice that the pronouns in (26) are more deeply embedded than those in (24)-(25), and coreference is possible for the former cases only. This observation is in fact reminiscent of Yang (1988: 157) who proposes (27).

- (27) The interpretation of *ku* may be governed by a non-binding constraint, namely, by the extent to which it is embedded.
 (Note: (27) is an English translation of Yang's (44).)

Along the lines of (27) above, I suggest that the contrast between (24)-(25) and (26) be captured by (28).

- (28) *Backward Constraint on Oblique NPs:*
 The more deeply embedded in the oblique NPs
ku and *kyay* are, the more likely it is
 that coreference is allowed.

The Backward Constraint (BC) in (28) can further explain the contrast between (29a) and (29b) below.

- (29) a. Na-nun [ku-uy<i>/kyay-uy<i> tongsayng-
 I-T he-G /s/he-G younger sibling
 eytayhan Chelswu-uy<i> kul-ul] ilge-ss-ta.
 about Chelswu-G writing-A read-PAST-DC

- (I read [about his<i>/her/his<i> younger sibling Chelswu's<i> writing].)
- b. Na-nun [NP ku-eytayhan<*i>/kyay-eytayhan<*i>
 I-T he-about /s/he-about
 Chelswu-uy<i> kul-ul] ilge-ss-ta.
 Chelswu-G writing-A read-PAST-DC
 (I read [about him<*i>/her/him<*i> Chelswu's<i> writing].)

Note that the pronouns in (29a) are more deeply embedded than those in (29b) in that the former, but not the latter, occurs as the determiner of a possessive NP in the oblique phrase. The BC is obeyed in (29a), thus the grammaticality.

In this section we have observed that *ku* and *kyay* do not behave like a pronominal when they occur in indirect object NPs and oblique NPs. Furthermore, as we will see in 3.0, *ku* and *kyay* do not behave exactly alike in certain constructions involving the so-called logophoric verbs.

3.0. Anti-Logophoric Pronoun, Kyay

In this section we will observe that *ku* and *kyay* are not exactly alike in their syntactic behavior and that the distinction is manifested in association with 'logophoricity' in the sense of Kuno (1987:108). We will note that *kyay* is namelike in its behavior in certain cases where logophoricity plays a crucial role.

3.1. Logophoricity

For kuno (1987:108) 'logophoric' 'can be taken as meaning "pertaining to the speaker/hearer".' In defining logophoricity on more specific terms, Kuno (1987 : 108) distinguishes [+logo 1] from [+logo 2] along the following lines.

- (30) The subjects of verbs such as *say, tell, ask, complain, scream, realize, feel, know, expect*, and so on, and the objects of verbs such as *worry, bother, disturb, please*, and so on are marked in underlying structure as [+logo 1]. The dative objects of verbs such as *say, tell, ask, complain, scream* are marked as [+logo 2].

To illustrate these concepts, Kuno (1987:108-109) provides examples like (31).

- (31) a. John<i> told Mary<j> that he<i> loved her<j>.
 b. [John [+logo 1] told Mary [+logo 2] that he loved her]].

For Kuno, the verb *told* is logophoric that takes the [+logo 1]NP, *John*, as a subject and the [+logo 2]NP, *Mary*, as a dative object.

3.2. Noncoreference Rule

Logophoricity apparently plays a crucial role in explaining the contrast found in structures containing *ku* and *kyay*, such as (32)-(35) below. Now compare:

- (32) Logophoric Verb, *malha-ta* ('say'):
 a. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<*i>
 Chelswu-N he-N /s/he-N
 kenkangha-ta]-ko] malhay-ss-ta].
 healthy-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> said [that [S2 he<i>/ s/he<*i> is healthy]]].)
 b. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 nay-ka ku-lul<i>/
 Chelswu-N I-N he-A
 kyay-lul<??i> mil-ess-ta]-ko] malhay-ss-ta].
 s/he-A push-PAST-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> said [S2 I pushed him<i>/ her/him<??i>]].)

- (33) Logophoric Verb, *mut-ta* ('ask'):
 a. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<*i>
 Chelswu-N he-N /s/he-N
 mes-iss]-nunci] mwul-ess-ta].
 nice-whether ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu asked (someone) [whether [S2 he<i>/
 s/he<*i> was nice]]].)
 b. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> na-eykey [[S2 nay-ka ku-lul<i>/
 Chelswu-N I-D I-N he-A
 kyay-lul<??i> piphanhay-ess]-nunci] mwul-ess-ta].
 s/he-A criticize-PAST-whether ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu asked me [whether [S2 I had ever criticized him
 <i>/s/he<??i>]].)

- (34) Nonlogophoric Verb, *kiekha-ta* ('remember'):
 a. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<i>
 Chelswu-N he-N /s/he-N

cikakha]-n] sasil-ul kiekhay-ss-ta].
 Come late-COMP fact-A remember-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> remembered the fact that
 ([S2 he<i>/ s/he<i> came late]]].)

- b. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 nay-ka ku-lul<i>/
 Chelswu-N I-N he-A
 kyay-lul<i> piphanhay-ess-ta]-ko] kiekhay-ss-ta].
 s/he-A criticize-PAST-DC-COMP remember-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> remembered [that [S2 I had criticized him<i>
 / her/him<i>]]].)

(35) Nonlogophoric Verb, *wus-ta* ('smile')

[S1 Chelswu-ka<i> Yengho-uy<j> yeph-eyse [[S2 nay-ka
 Chelswu-N Yengho-G side-L I-N
 ku-lul<i, j>/kyay-lul<i, j> po]-ca] wus-ess-ta].
 he-A /s/he-A see-when smile-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu<i> smiled beside Yengho<j>, [when [S2 I saw him
 <i, j>/her/him<i, j>]]].)

The sentences in (32)-(35) suggest that *kyay* is governed by a principle other than the Principle B of the binding theory. Principle B predicts that *kyay* is free in its GC, S2, in (32)-(33) and thus must be coreferential with the matrix subject *Chelswu*. This prediction is incorrect since, as noted in (32)-(33), coreference between *kyay* and its antecedent is blocked, although (32b) and (33b) are not as bad as (32a) and (33a). *Kyay* in (34)-(35), on the other hand, obeys the principle, behaving like a pronominal.

I would like to suggest here that the inconsistent behavior of *kyay* in (32)-(35) as above be captured in the context of the notion logophoricity. Note that the structures in (32)-(33) contain a [Logo 1] subject antecedent and a logophoric verb in each and that *kyay* behaves like an R-Expression, being free everywhere. In (34)-(35), on the other hand, no logophoricity is involved. *Kiekhay-ss-ta* ('remembered') and *wus-ess-ta* ('smiled') are not logophoric and accordingly the subject antecedents in them are not [+Logo 1]. As we saw earlier, *kyay* in these structures is free in its GC, S2, and may be coreferential with its subject antecedent *Chelswu*. I summarize these observations in Noncoreference Rule of (36).

(36) *Noncoreference Rule:*

Coreference is blocked between *kyay* and a

[+ Logo 1] subject.

As is implied in (36), coreference is not blocked between *kyay* and a [+ Logo 1] nonsubject or a [+Logo 2] NP. Observe examples in (37)-(39).

- (37) [[[ku-ka <i>/ Kyay-ka <i> hapkyekhay-ss-ta]-nun]
 he-N /s/he-N pass-PAST-DC-COMP
 sosik-i] Yengho-lul <i> culkep-keyhay-cwu-ess-ta.
 news-N Yengho-A please-CAUS-BEN-PAST-DC
 ([The news [that [he <i>/s/he <i>passed (an exam)]]]
 pleased Yengho <i>.)
- (38) Nay-ka Yengho-eykey <i> [[ku-ka <i>/kyay-ka <i>
 I-N yengho-D he-N /s/he-N
 nuc-ess-ta]-ko] pulphyenghay-ss-ta.
 be late-PAST-DC-COMP complain-PAST-DC
 (I complained to Yengho <i> that [he <i>/s/he <i>was late].)
- (39) Nay-ka Yengho-eykey <i> [[salam-tul-i ku-lul <i>/
 I-N Yengho-D person-PL-N he-A
 kyay-lul <i> coaha-lke-la]-ko] malhay-ss-ta.
 s/he-A like-maybe-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 (I told Yengho <i> [that [people might like him <i>/her/him <i>]]].)

Yengho in (37) is a [+ Logo 1] nonsubject, a direct object NP, and coreference is allowed. In (38)-(39) *Yengho* is [+Logo 2], a dative NP, and note that *kyay* may be coreferential with the antecedent. These examples further strengthen the Noncoreference Rule of (36).

So far we have observed that *ku* and *kyay* are in complementary distribution when logophoric verbs are involved. More specifically, it was noted that *kyay*, but not *ku*, is anti-logophoric in that *kyay* cannot refer to a [+logo 1] subject. Observe, however, that the Noncoreference Rule (NR) in (36) incorrectly blocks coreference in structures like (40)-(41).

- (40) a. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> [S2 kyay-uy <i> chinkwu-ka
 Chelswu-N s/he-G friend-N
 kenkangha-ta]-ko malhay-ss-ta].
 healthy-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu <i> said that [S2 her/his <i> friend is healthy]].)
- b. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> [S2 nay-ka kyay-uy <i>
 Chelswu-N I-N her/his-G

- chinkwu-lul mil-ess-ta]-ko malhay-ss-ta].
 friend-A push-PAST-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu <i> said that [S2 I pushed her/his <i> friend]].)
- c. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> kyay-uy <i> chinkwu-eykey
 Chelswu-N her/his-G friend-D
 [S2 nay-ka kenkangha-ta]-ko malhay-ss-ta].
 I-N healthy-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu <i> told her/his <i> friend that [S2 I am healthy]].)
- (41) a. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> [S2 kyay-uy <i> Chinkwu-ka
 Chelswu-N her/his-G friend-N
 kenkangha-nya]-ko mwul-ess-ta].
 healthy-QUES-COMP ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu asked if [S2 her/his <i> friend is healthy]].)
- b. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> [S2 nay-ka kyay-uy <i>
 Chelswu-N I-N her/his-G
 chinkwu-lul mil-ess-nunya]-ko mwul-ess-ta].
 friend-A push-PAST-QUES-COMP ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu <i> asked if [S2 I pushed her/his <i> friend]].)
- c. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> kyay-uy <i> chinkwu-eykey
 Chelswu-N her/his-G friend-D
 [S2 salam-tul-i ttena-ss-nya]-ko mwul-ess-ta],
 person-PL-N leave-PAST-QUES-COMP ask-PAST-DC
 ([S1 Chelswu <i> asked her/his <i> friend if [S2 people left]].)

If the NR is correct, none of the sentences in (40)-(41) should be grammatical since in each structure the antecedent pertains to the speaker, thus being a [+logo 1] subject of the logophoric verbs, *malhay-ss-ta* ('said') and *mwul-ess-ta* ('asked'). The problem is that these sentences are perfectly grammatical.

Moreover, recall that as we saw in (32)-(33) earlier, coindexation between *kyay* in an object position and a [+logo 1] subject antecedent did not seem absolutely ungrammatical. Observe these constructions again, which are repeated below.

- (32) Logophoric Verb, *malha-ta* ('say'):
 a. [S1 Chelswu-ka <i> [[S2 ku-ka <i>/kyay-ka <*i>
 Chelswu-N he-N /s/he-N
 kenkangha-ta]-ko] malhay-ss-ta].
 healthy-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC

([S1 Chelswu<i> said [that [S2 he<i>/
s/he<*>i is healthy]]].)

- b. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[2 nay-ka ku-lul<i>/
Chelswu-N I-N he-A
kyay-lul<??>i mil-ess-ta]-ko] malhay-ss-ta].
s/he-A push-PAST-DC-COMP say-PAST-DC
([S1 Chelswu<i> said [that [S2 I pushed him<i>/
her/him<??>i]]].)

(33) Logophoric Verb, *mut-ta* ('ask'):

- a. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> [[S2 ku-ka<i>/kyay-ka<*>i
Chelswu-N he-N/s/he-N
mesiss-]-nunci] mwul-ess-ta].
nice-whether ask-PAST-DC
([S1 Chelswu asked (someone) [whether [S2 he<i>/
s/he<*>i was nice]]].)
- b. [S1 Chelswu-ka<i> na-eykey [[S2 nay-ka ku-lul <i>/
Chelswu-N I-D I-N he-A
kyay-lul<??>i piphanhayss-ess]-nunci] mwul-ess-ta].
s/he-A criticize-Past-whether ask-PAST-DC
([S1 Chelswu asked me [whether [S2 I had ever
criticized him<i>/her/him<??>i]]].)

Kyay occurs in an object position in (32b) and (33b), while *kyay* is a subject in (32a) and (33a), and note that *kyay* in the former are not as antilogophoric as in the latter constructions. Furthermore, recall that coindexing is possible in all cases of (40)-(41) in which *kyay* is a possessive NP. The facts observed in (32)-(33) and (40)-(41) then lead us to revise the NR in (36), as follows:

(36') *Noncoreference Rule (Revised)*:

Córeference is blocked between *kyay* in subject position and a [+Logo 1] subject.

The revised Noncoreference Rule (RNR) now correctly observes the discrepancy between (32a), (33a), (40), and (41) on one hand, and (32b) and (33b) on the other.

Significantly, the antilogophoric property of *kyay* defined in the RNR seems language-particular to Korean. Unlike Korean, the pronouns in

languages like Gokana, Ewe, and Mundang, for example, may be coindexed with a [+logo 1] subject, as illustrated in (42) (see also Sells (1987) and Koopman and Sportiche (1989)).

(42) a. Gokana (Hyman and Comrie 1981)

aè<i> kc aè<i> dè-è
 pro said pron fell-log
 (He<i> said he<i> fell.)

b. Ewe (Clements 1975)

Kofi<i> be yè<i>-dzo.
 Kofi says pron-leave
 (Kofi<i> said that he<i> left.)

c. Mundang (Hagège 1974)

à<i> rí zǎ<i> lwà fàn sǔ:
 pron say pron find things beauty
 (He<i> said that he<i> had found something beautiful.)

Notice that coreference is allowed between the pronoun and the [+logo 1] subject antecedent in each sentence above. In fact, as noted in Kuno (1987: 139), in Korean the reflexive pronoun *caki* instead appears to be logophoric, and this probably interacts with the distribution of *kyay* with respect to logophoricity. Due to the limited space of the present paper, I leave the relationship between *caki* and *kyay* to future research.

4. Summary and Closing Remarks

In this paper I have examined the syntactic behavior of *kyay* as compared with that of *ku*. We have seen that Principle B in the binding theory explains the distribution of *ku* and *kyay* in certain contexts, but not in others. It was observed that constructions involving indirect object NPs and oblique NPs, in particular, conflict with Principle B. As pointed out in section 2, these structures certainly require further research with respect to their interaction with where *kyay* stands in the binding theory.

This paper has also demonstrated the need to adopt the notion 'logophorictiy' in explaining cases in which *ku* and *kyay* are in complementary distribution, as seen in the revised Noncoreference Rule (RNR). It was observed that *kyay* is antilogophoric with respect to a [+logo 1] subject, and that this fact seems language-specific to Korean. It is

also important to note that in addition to the discourse perspective like logophoricity, grammatical relations are essential in the RNR. While I am not suggesting that Korean pronouns should necessarily be described from such a viewpoint alone, I hope that section 3 has made a contribution to the well-known fact that various components interact in syntax.

REFERENCES

- Chomsky, Noam (1981) *Lectures on government and binding*, Dordrecht: Foris Publication.
- _____ (1986) *Knowledge of language*, Praeger, New York.
- Clements, G.N. (1975) 'The logophoric pronoun in Ew,' *Journal of West African Languages* 2, 141-177.
- Hagège, C. (1974) 'Les pronoms logophoriques,' *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 69, 287-310.
- Hong, Song Shim (1985) *A and A' binding in Korean and English*, Hanshin Publishing Co., Seoul.
- Hyman, Larry and Bernard Comrie (1981) 'Logophoric reference in Tokana,' *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 3, 19-37.
- Koopman, Hilda and Dominique Sportiche (1989) 'Pronouns, logical variables, and logophoricity in Abe,' *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 555-588.
- Kuno, Susumu (1987) *Functional syntax*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Lee, Kee-Moon (1970) 'Kwuke-uy inching taymyungsa(Personal pronouns in Korean),' *Kwanak Emwun yenkwu* (Kwanak Language and Literature Research) 3, 325-338.
- Radford, Andrew (1981) *Transformational syntax*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Reinhart, Tanya (1983) *Anaphora and semantic interpretation*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Sells, Peter (1987) 'Aspects of logophoricity,' *Linguistic Inquiry*, 18, 445-479.
- Shin, Ki Chul and Young Chul Shin (1988) *Say wuri mal kyun sacen* (New Korean Dictionary), Sam Sung Idea, Seoul.
- Yang, Dong Whee (1988) 'Hankwuke-uy tayyonghwa (Anaphora in Korean),' *Korean Studies Series*, VI. 58, The Korean Research Center, Seoul.

Department of English
Seogang University
1-1 Sinsoo-Dong, Mapo-Ku
Seoul 121-742
Korea