

Adverbial Nominals and the Generalized Case Marking Principle in Korean*

Young-Se Kang

0. Introduction

This paper deals with adverbial nominals in Korean and their Case. Consider the following sentences :¹

- (1) a. {*Pi-s-sok -ul* / *Pi-s-kil -ul*} catongcha-ka kwasok-ulo
rain -inside-ACC/ rain-road-ACC car NOM overspeed-by
talli-ess-ta.
run-PAST-DEC

* This paper is dedicated to Professor Han-Kon Kim in commemoration of his sixtieth birthday.

¹ But compare the ungrammaticality of the following sentences :

- (i) a. **Pi -lul* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
rain-ACC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran the rain at overspeed.” (= “The car oversped the rain.”)
b. **Pi -eyse* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
rain-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed in the rain.”
c. **Pi -ey* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
rain-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed in the rain.”

The grammaticality of the sentences in (1) and the ungrammaticality of those in (i) show that adverbial nominals such as *pi-s-sok* and *pi-s-kil* syntactically behave differently from nouns such as *pi*. However, we attribute this difference to morphological reasons : *pi-s-sok* and *pi-s-kil* are compound nouns. So, this difference is not dealt with in this paper.

This time, consider the following contrasts :

- (ii) a. *Kosoktolo -lul* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
expressway-ACC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran the expressway at overspeed.”

“The car ran at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

(= “The car oversped in the rain/on the rainy road.”)

- b. { *Pi-s-sok -eyse* / *Pi-s-kil -eyse* } catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC car NOM overspeed-by
talli-ess-ta.
run-PAST-DEC

“The car oversped in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- c. { *Pi-s-sok -ey* / *Pi-s-kil -ey* } catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain -inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC car NOM overspeed-by
talli-ess -ta.
run-PAST-DEC

“The car oversped in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- (2) a. { *Pi-s-sok -ul* / *Pi-s-kil -ul* } wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo
rain -inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC driver NOM overspeed-by
catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.
car-ACC drive -PAST-DEC

“The driver drove the car at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

(= “The driver oversped the car in the rain/on the rainy road.”)

- b. { *Pi-s-sok -eyse* / *Pi-s-kil -eyse* } wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC driver NOM overspeed-by

¹ continued

- b. *Kosoktolo -eyse* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
expressway-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed on the expressway.”

- c. **Kosoktolo -ey* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
expressway-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed on the expressway.”

- (iii) a. *Si -nay -lul* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
city-inside-ACC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran the city at overspeed.”

- b. *Si -nay -eyse* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
cith-inside-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed in the city.”

- c. **Si -nay -ey* catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo talli-ess-ta.
city-inside-LOC car NOM overspeed-by run-PAST-DEC
“The car ran at overspeed in the city.”

Though (a)- and (b)- examples in (ii) and (iii) are grammatical, (c)-examples in them are ungrammatical. This shows the syntactic difference between the postposition *-eyse* and *-ey*. But this difference is irrelevant to our present discussion.

catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.

car-ACC drive-PAST-DEC

“The driver drove the car at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- c. {*Pi-s-sok -ey / Pi-s-kil -ey*} wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo
rain -inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC driver NOM overspeed-by
catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.

car -ACC drive-PAST-DEC

“The driver drove the car at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- (3) a. {*Pi-s-sok -ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-ACC/rain -road-ACC car NOM overspeed-by
wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.

drive-PASSIVE -PAST-DEC

“The car was driven at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- b. {*Pi-s-sok -eyse / Pi-s-kil -eyse*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC car NOM overspeed-by
wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.

drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC

“The car was driven at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

- c. {*Pi-s-sok -ey / Pi-s-kil -ey*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC car NOM overspeed-by
wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.

drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC

“The car was driven at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

In (a)-sentences of (1)-(3) adverbial nominals are Accusative Case-marked. Especially, Accusative Case-marking of adverbial nominals in (3 a) attracts our attention because (3 a) is a passive sentence in which Accusative Case is normally not allowed except in lexical passive constructions. The purpose of this paper is to clarify how and why adverbial nominals are Accusative Case-marked in (a)-sentences of (1)-(3), employing the Generalized Case Marking Principle (GCMP) presented in Kang (1986):

- (4) a. ACC Case is assigned to NPs which are sisters of [-stative] V°
b. NOM Case is assigned to all non-Case-marked NPs (default Case Marking)

What is at issue is whether to set up an additional Case Marking Rule besides (4) or to maintain (4). We argue for the latter approach.

In Section 1, we argue against setting up an additional mechanism. In Section 2, we argue that (4) well accounts for adverbial nominals' being Accusative Case-marked, with passive motion verbs being treated as *non-stative* ones.

1. Against Setting up an Additional Case Marking Rule

(4) partially explains how and why adverbial nominals in (a)-sentences of (1)-(3) are Accusative Case-marked. We use the word "partially" for the following reason. Though (4) can explain how and why adverbial nominals in (1 a) and (2 a) are Accusative Case-marked, it cannot account for how and why adverbial nominals in (3 a) are Accusative Case-marked. According to (4 a), adverbial nominals in (3 a) actually cannot be Accusative Case-marked because they are not sister of [-stative] V° : *toy*-passive verbs are normally treated as [+stative] ones. This problem will be discussed after we point out how (4) can explain Accusative Case-marking of adverbial nominals in (1 a) and (2 a). As is well-known, motion verbs can take locative adverbs as their complements:

- (5) a. *keli -lul cilwuha-nun chalyang-tul*
 street-ACC run ASP vehicle PL
 "vehicles running the street"
- b. *Ai -tul -i keli -lul ttwi-n -ta.*
 child-PL-NOM street-ACC run-PRES-DEC
 "Children are running the street."
- c. *John-i New-York-ul tanye-o -ass -ta.*
 NOM ACC go & come-PAST-DEC
 "John went to New York and came back from there."
- d. *Tom-i cip -ul naka -(a)ss -ta.*
 NOM house-ACC go out-PAST-DEC
 "Tom went out the house." (= "Tom ran away from home.")
- e. *Bill-i Boston-ul ttena-(a)ss -ta.*
 NOM ACC leave-PAST-DEC
 "Bill left Boston."

In (5), locative adverbs as sisters of [-stative] V° are assigned Accusative Case. Likewise, the adverbial nominals in (1 a) are assigned Accusative Case because they are sisters of [-stative] V°. It does not matter that they are at the sentence-initial position, because Korean freely allows Scrambling of complements and adverbs, and of complements and subjects (or specifiers), except in transitive adjectival constructions.² The normal word order for (1 a) would be as follows:

- (6) Catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo {*pi-s-sok -ul* / *pi-s-kil -ul*}
 car NOM overspeed-by rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC
 talli-ess -ta.
 run PAST-DEC
 “The car ran at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”

After Scrambling of the object and the averb applies to (6), we obtain:

- (7) Catongcha-ka {*pi-s-sok -ul* / *pi-s-kil -ul*} kwasok -ulo
 car NOM rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC overspeed-by
 talli-ess -ta.
 run PAST-DEC

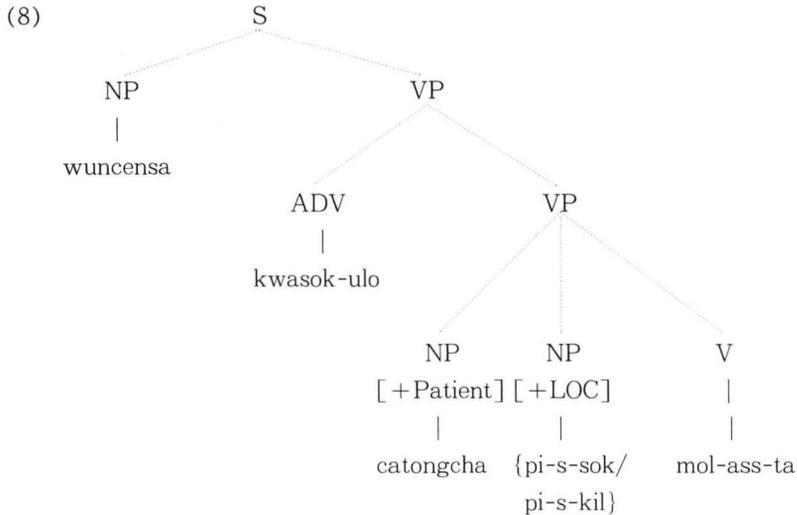
And after Scrambling of the object and the subject applies to (7), we obtain (1 a).

This time, let us consider how (4) accounts for Accusative Case-marking of adverbial nominals in (2 a). The D-structure configuration of (2 a) is as follows:

² The following sentences are examples of transitive adjectival constructions :

- (i) a. John-i Mary-ka coh -ta.
 NOM NOM fond of-DEC
 “John is fond of Mary.”
 b. Nay-ka kohyang -i kulip -ta.
 I NOM hometown-NOM pine for-DEC
 “I am pining for my hometown.”
 c. Bill-i puin-i musep -ta.
 NOM wife-NOM afraid of-DEC
 “Bill is afraid of his wife.”

In (i), an object NP is Nominative Case-marked like a subject NP. Hence, the word order of a subject NP and an object NP is the only means to distinguish a subject NP and an object NP. Scrambling of a subject NP and an object NP would change the meaning of the given sentence.



Both an object NP with the θ -role [+Patient] and an adverbial nominal with the θ -role [+Locative] are Accusative Case-marked because they are sisters of [-stative] V° . *mol-*, After Case Marking and Scrambling of an object NP and a locative adverbial nominal applies to (8), we obtain the following sentence:

- (9) Wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo {*pi-s-sok -ul / pi-s-kil -ul*}
 driver NOM overspeed-by rain-inside-Acc/rain-road-ACC
 catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.
 car ACC drive -PAST-DEC

After Scrambling of a VP-modifying adverb and a locative adverbial nominal applies to (9), we obtain the following sentence :

- (10) Wuncensa-ka {*pi-s-sok -ul / pi-s-kil -ul*} kwasok -ulo
 driver NOM rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC overspeed-by
 catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.
 car ACC drive -PAST-DEC

And finally, after Scrambling of a subject NP and a locative adverbial nominal applies to (10), we obtain (2 a), which is repeated below for convenience' sake:

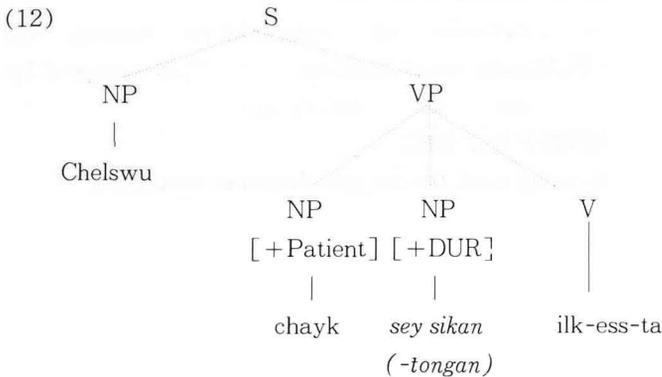
- (2) a. {*Pi-s-sok -ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo
 rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC driver NOM overspeed-by
 catongcha-lul mol -ass -ta.
 car ACC drive-PAST-DEC

Therefore, (4) well explains how adverbial nominals in (2 a) are Accusative Case-marked.

This time, let us consider Maling’s (1989) examples which contain Duration or Frequency adverbial nominals (D/F phrases):

- (11) a. Chelswu-ka chayk-ul *sey sikan(-tongan)*-ul ilk -ess -ta.
 Chulsoo-NOM book-ACC 3 hour for ACC read-PAST-DEC
 “Chulsoo read books for three hours.”
 b. Cheli-ka ku munce -lul *sey pen-ul* sayngkak-ul ha-ess-ciman, ...
 NOM the problem-ACC 3 times-ACC thought-ACC do-PAST-through
 “Although Cheli gave the problem a thought three times, ...”
 c. Cheli-ka Mary-lul panci-lul *twu pen-ul* senmul-ul ha-ess -ta.
 NOM ACC ring-ACC 2 times-ACC gift-ACC do-PAST-DEC
 “Cheli presented Mary with a ring twice.”

What is interesting is that such adverbials as *sey sikan(-tongan)*, *sey pen*, and *twu pen* are Accusative Case-marked just like locative adverbial nominals. But what draws our attention immediately is that all these adverbials are adverbial nominals, i. e., NPs. Because this is the case, (4 a) accounts for Accusative Case Marking of these adverbial nominals. We assume that (11 a) has the following D-structure:



Because the adverbial nominal *sey sikan(-tongan)* with the θ -role [+Duration] is a sister of [-stative] V°, it is assigned Accusative Case just as the complement *chayk* is assigned Accusative Case by the non-stative verb *ilk-*. Hence, Maling's examples are also accounted for by (4 a).

The data presented so far, (1 a), (2 a), (5), and (11), shows that the adverbial nominals, whether they are sole member of complements as in (1 a) and (5) or one member of multiple complements as in (2 a) and (11), are structurally assigned Accusative Case. The fact that their syntactic behavior is identical is further attested by the ungrammaticality of the following passive sentences:

- (13) a. *{*Pi-s-sok -i / Pi-s -kil-i*} kwasok-ulo talli-e-ci
 rain-inside-NOM/rain-road-NOM overspeed-by run-PASSIVE-
 -ess -ta. (cf. (1 a))
 PAST-DEC
 "The rain/the rainy road was run at overspeed."
 b. **cilcwu-toy -nun keli* (cf. (5 a))
 run-PASSIVE-ASP street
 c. **Keli -ka ttwi-e-ci -n -ta.* (cf. (5 b))
 street-NOM run-PASSIVE-PRES-DEC
 d. **New York-i tanye-o -a-ci -ess -ta.* (cf. (5 c))
 NOM go & come-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 e. **Cip -i naka -ci -ess -ta.* (cf. (5 d))
 house-NOM go out-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 f. **Boston-i ttena-ci -ess -ta.* (cf. (5 e))
 NOM leave-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
- (14) a. *{*Pi-s-sok -i / Pi-s-kil -i*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
 rain-inside-NOM/rain -road-NOM car NOM overspeed-by
 mol -a-ci -ess -ta. (cf. (2 a))
 drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 "The rain/the rainy road, the car was driven at overspeed."
 b. **Sey sikan(-tongan)-i ilk-hi -ess -ta.* (cf. (11 a))
 3 hour for NOM read-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC

As is well-known (cf. Kang (1986, p. 107, (58))), adverbial nominals cannot become subject of a passive sentence. In this respect, they are different from argument NPs. The ungrammaticality of (13) and (14) shows that

the Accusative Case-marked adverbial nominals in (1 a), (2 a), (5), and (11), are not true direct objects, but merely adverbial nominals of the verbs in those sentences. It further shows that possession of Accusative Case-markers does not guarantee the direct objecthood, nor the subjecthood of a passive sentence. In other words, all NP's with Accusative Case-markers are not direct object, nor can all those NP's become subject of a passive sentence. We find a similar case in English:

- (15) a. This book weighs three pounds.
 b. *Three pounds is weighed by this book.
 (16) a. We walked ten miles a day.
 b. *Ten miles was walked a day.

Now, let us turn to the problematic case : how are adverbial nominals in (3 a) Accusative Case-marked? As is said before, (4) as it is cannot account for how and why adverbial nominals in (3 a) are Accusative Case-marked because they are not sister of [-stative] V° : *toy*-passive verbs are normally treated as [+stative] ones. But we seem to find the key to this problem as soon as we note that the verb in (3 a) is a motion verb, though in passive voice. We already notice that motion verbs in active voice assign Accusative Case to adverbial nominals. And this is also the case with the active form of the verb in (3 a). That is, *wunhayng-ha-* assigns Accusative Case to adverbial nominals:

- (17) {*Pi-s-sok -ul /Pi-s-kil -ul*} wuncensa-ka kwasok -ulo
 rain -inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC driver NOM overspeed-by
 catongcha-lul wunhayng-ha-ess-ta.
 car ACC drive-do-PAST-DEC

At this juncture, someone might argue for the following additional Case Marking Rule, in order to account for Accusative Case-marking of adverbial nominals in (3 a):

- (18) ACC Case is assigned to adverbial nominals which are sisters of motion verbs in passive voice.

Tentatively, let us call (18) Secondary Accusative Case Marking and (4 a) Primary Accusative Case Marking. However, (18) has three serious problems. First, it complicates the Case Marking mechanisms in Korean by

resorting to the voice of relevant verbs, unlike (4 a). Secondly, it is an exceptional rule because it applies only to motion verbs in passive voice. Thirdly, it is a redundant rule because its essential part, “NPs which are sisters of ... V^o”, overlaps with (4 a). Therefore, (18) cannot be maintained and we argue against setting up an additional Case marking Rule such as (18).

2. For Maintaining the Generalized Case Marking Principle as it is

The most crucial contrast concerning Case Marking of adverbial nominals is shown by the following pairs of sentences, among which (3 a-b) is repeated for convenience' sake:

- (3) a. {*Pi-s-sok -ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain -inside-ACC/rain -road-ACC car NOM overspeed-by
wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.
drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
- b. {*Pi-s-sok -eyse / Pi-s-kil -eyse*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
rain-inside-LOC/rain -road-LOC car NOM overspeed-by
wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.
drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
- (19) a. *{*Pi-s-sok-ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} John-i (kongsan-kwun-eykey)
rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC NOM communist-army-by
salhay-toy -ess -ta.
kill -PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
“John was killed (by the communist army) in the rain/on the rainy road.”
- b. {*Pi-s-sok -eyse / Pi-s-kil -eyse*} John-i (kongsan-kwun-eykey)
rain-inside-LOC/rain-road-LOC NOM communist-army-by
salhay-toy -ess -ta.
kill-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
“John was killed (by the communist army) in the rain/on the rainy road.”

(3 a) is grammatical, while (19 a) is ungrammatical, though both sentences contain *toy*-passive constructions. But we immediately find out the reason why there arises this type of contrast : the verb in (3 a) is a motion verb, whereas that in (19 a) is not. In other words, the *toy*-passive verb,

wunhayng-toy-, in (3 a) is not a stative verb, but a non-stative one. Normally we treat *toy*-passive verbs as stative ones. But the grammaticality of (3 a) raises a serious question to this treatment. In order to solve this problem we present the following generalization:

- (20) Motion verbs, whether in active voice or in passive voice, are non-stative and they assign ACC to their locative adverbial nominals.

The first part of (20) reflects the fact that not all passive verbs are stative ones: *wunhayng-toy-*, though it is a passive verb, is a non-stative verb, whereas *salhay-toy-* is a stative one. That *wunhayng-toy-* is a non-stative verb is semantically correct, because it still denotes motion or action. Let us again take a look at (17), an active counterpart of (3 a):

- (17) {*Pi-s-sok -ul* / *Pi-s-kil -ul*} wuncensa-ka catongcha-lul
 rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC driver NOM car ACC
 kwasok-ulo wunhayng-ha-ess-ta.
 overspeed-by drive-do-PAST-DEC

The semantic difference between (3 a) and (17) lies in the fact that *catongcha* (=“car”) receives focus in (3 a), but not in (17).

The fact that not all passive verbs are stative ones is further supported by the following examples presented in Kang (1986):

- (21) Mary-ka John-hanthey *son -ul* puthcap-hi -ess -ta.
 NOM by hand-ACC catch-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 “Mary was caught the hand by John.”
- (22) Ku namu-ka cengwensa-ey-uyhayse *kaci -lul*
 the tree -NOM gardener by branch-ACC
 ccall-i -ess -ta.
 cut-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 “The tree was branches-cut by the gardener.”
- (23) [meli-ka ki -n] ku haksayng-i sensayng-nim-eykey
 hair -NOM long-REL the student-NOM teacher-HON-by
meli-lul ccall-i -ess -ta.
 hair-ACC cut-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 “The student whose hair was long got his hair cut by the teacher.”

What is interesting is that (21)-(23) show the same paradigm as (3 a) : in (21)-(23), locative adverbials are Accusative Case-marked though the relevant verbs are in passive voice. But what the relevant verbs in (21)-(23) have in common is that they are lexical passive verbs which can retain the property [-stative]. Hence, as is already shown in Kang (1986), the Accusative Case-marking of locative adverbials in (21)-(23) is explained by the non-stativity of lexical passive verbs : they are assigned Accusative Case by (4 a).

By treating *wunhayng-toy-* as a non-stative verb, we can solve the problem with respect to (3 a) : how are adverbial nominals in (3 a) Accusative Case-marked? Because adverbial nominals in (3 a) are sisters of [-stative] V° , *wunhayng-toy-*, they are assigned Accusative Case by (4 a). With this solution, (4 a) nicely accounts for how and why adverbial nominals in (3 a) are Accusative Case-marked.

(20), together with the non-stativity of lexical passive verbs, has a very important theoretical implication that not all passive verbs are stative ones. And now we obtain the following generalization :

- (24) Not all verbs are deprived of the Accusative Case-assigning property by passive morphology.

What the future studies have to do is to project (24) to other languages and to see whether (24) is attested in other languages.

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ABSTRACT

Adverbial Nominals and the Generalized Case Marking Principle in Korean

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When new data is presented, we have two ways to handle the given data: (i) to set up an additional rule or (ii) to maintain the previously established principle by reinterpreting the given data. This paper is an example of the second way to handle the given data.

Accusative Case-marking of adverbial nominals attracts much attention recently (cf. Kang (1986) and Maling (1989)). Arguing against setting up such an additional rule as Secondary Accusative Case Marking, we argue for maintaining the Generalized Case marking Principle (GCMP) presented in Kang (1986):

- (i) a. ACC Case is assigned to NPs which are sisters of [-stative] V°
- b. NOM Case is assigned to all non-Case-marked NPs (default Case Marking)

Note the crucial contrast concerning Case Marking of adverbial nominals

- (ii) a. {*Pi-s-sok -ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} catongcha-ka kwasok -ulo
 rain -inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC car NOM overspeed-by
 wunhayng-toy -ess -ta.
 drive-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 “The car was driven at overspeed in the rain/on the rainy road.”
- b. *{*Pi-s-sok -ul / Pi-s-kil -ul*} John-i (kongsan-kwun-eykey)
 rain-inside-ACC/rain-road-ACC NOM communist-army-by
 salhay-toy -ess -ta.
 kill-PASSIVE-PAST-DEC
 “John was killed (by the communist army) in the rain/on the rainy road.”

(ii a) is grammatical, while (ii b) is ungrammatical, though both sentences contain *toy*-passive constructions. We immediately find out the rea-

son why there arises this type of contrast: the verb in (ii a) is a motion verb, whereas that in (ii b) is not. The explanation lies in that *wunhayng-toy-*, though in passive voice, is not a stative verb, but a non-stative one. Reflecting that not all passive verbs are stative ones, we present the following generalization:

- (iii) Not all verbs are deprived of the Accusative Case-assigning property by passive morphology.

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