

Some Remarks on Korean Nominalizations

Suk-Jin Chang

1. Korean nominalizations, which we define as grammatical devices by which verbal constituents of Korean are transformed into the nominal pattern of usage in morphology, in syntax, or both, can be classed into two distinctive types: 'suffixal' nominalization and 'phrasal' nominalization; one by the suffixing of nominalizers to verbal constituents, the other by the postposing of bound nouns, e.g. *-kes*, *-cwul*, and *-pa*, to verbal constituents.⁽¹⁾ This study is limited mainly to the suffixal nominalization; only a cursory description is provided for the phrasal nominalization. The main concern of this paper is to expose certain characteristics of the suffixal nominalization of Korean in terms of its productivity and transformability, for the suffixal nominalization is either productive or unproductive, depending on the nominalizer used and the usage established, and transformation into nominals is complete or partial, depending on their syntactic behavior. Proceeding from the morphological to syntactic level, our descriptions on Korean nominalizations include an attempt to account for semantic and stylistic distinctions between the two suffix nominalizers,

(1) This paper is indebted to Samuel E. Martin's *Korean Morphophonemics* (Baltimore, 1954). His Yale romanization is used throughout this paper and Korean forms are in morphophonemic transcription, which on occasions is followed by phonetic transcription within square brackets; a dot indicates the morpheme boundary; an interposed hyphen in angle brackets, the orthographic division based on the Current Korean Spelling System. To facilitate the reader with the Yale romanization, the following notational illustration is made: (Korean graph-Yale romanization-phonetic approximation).

Consonants: ㅍ *p* [p, b]; ㅌ *t* [t, d]; ㅊ *c* [c, j]; ㅋ *k* [k, g]; ㅍㅍ *pp* [p']; ㅌㅌ *tt* [t']; ㅊㅊ *cc* [c']; ㅋㅋ *kk* [k']; ㅍㅎ *ph* [p']; ㅌㅎ *th* [t']; ㅊㅎ *ch* [c']; ㅋㅎ *kh* [k']; ㅅ *s* [s]; ㅅㅅ *ss* [s']; ㅎ *h* [h]; ㅁ *m* [m]; ㄴ *n* [n]; ㅇ *ng* [ŋ]. ㄹ *l* [l, r]; Vowels: ㅣ *i* [i]; ㅔ *ey* [e]; ㅐ *ay* [ä]; ㅓ *o* [o]; ㅜ *wu* (u after bilabials and y) [u]; ㅡ *u* [i]; ㅚ *e* [ë]; ㅑ *a* [a]; ㅟ *oy* [ö]. Glides are marked with *y* and *w* as in: ㅈ *ya* [ja], ㅊ *ye* [jë], ㅊ *wi* [wi], ㅊ *we* [wë], ㅊ *ui* [ü].

-m⁽²⁾ and -ki.

2. A brief remark on the main types of Korean verbals is essential since the nominalization takes the form of verbal plus nominalizer. Korean verbals are of two major classes: verbs and adjectives.

2.1. The main types of Korean verbs are as follows:⁽³⁾

- (1) verb proper: *mek-* 'eat'; *ca-* 'sleep'
- (2) adjective+verbalizer: *noph.i-* 'heighten'⁽⁴⁾
- (3) verb/adjective+aux: *mek.u.peli-* 'eat up'; *kow.a.ci-* 'become pretty'⁽⁵⁾
- (4) verbal noun+post-nominal verb: *yensup.ha-* 'practice'⁽⁶⁾

2.2. The main types of Korean adjectives are as follows:

- (1) adjective proper: *noph-* 'high'
- (2) verb+adjectivalizer: *wus.e.uw-* 'funny'; *mit.ew-* 'trustworthy', *nolla.w-* 'surprising'; *kuli.w-* 'longing'
- (3) adjective/verb+auxiliary: *kkam.a.h-* 'blackish'; *twungkul.e.h-* 'roundish'
- (4) verbal noun+postnominal adjective: *tahayng.ha-* 'fortunate'; *ceng.taw-* 'affectionate'; *salang.slew-* 'lovely'; *hay.low-* 'harmful'
- (5) copula: *-i-*.⁽⁷⁾

3. Nominalization takes place in verbs, adjectives, and the copula by adding a nominalizer, -m or -ki. A certain limited number of verbs and adjectives have derived nouns.⁽⁸⁾ Some critical examples of derived, or deverbal, nouns are listed below.

(2) -m has two phonologically conditioned variants: -um after a consonant, -m after a vowel.

(3) The term, verb or adjective is used to mean the stem only.

(4) The causative morpheme, as is analyzed here, is a verbalizer when added to an adjectival stem.

(5) The morpheme between stem and auxiliary, i. e. -u- and -a- in the examples, is termed 'infinitive', a mood suffix by Martin (cf. *op. cit.* pp. 41-3).

(6) What is termed 'verbal noun' here, if to avoid ambiguity arising from the term, is a class of nouns, to which an auxiliary -hata can be added to function as verbal: *yenkwu*: *yenkwu-hata* (*study(n)*: *study(v)*)

(7) The copula -i-, which is treated as a subclass, has variants: $\begin{Bmatrix} -i- & \text{in env. C-} \\ -\phi- & \text{in env. V-} \end{Bmatrix}$ In -m and -ki nominalizations, it takes -i- only, regardless of the preceding shape: *Yeca. \phi.ta* '(She) is a woman'; *yecha.i.m* or *yecha.i.ki* 'being a woman'

(8) Derived nouns are called deverbal nouns, or deverbale nomina by Altaicists. (cf. e.g. G.J. Ramstedt's articles on deverbal nouns: "Das deverbale Nomen auf i in den altaischen Sprachen," *Studia Orientalia* 11. 6-85 (1945); "Das deverbale Nomen auf -m in den altaischen Sprachen," *MSFOu* 48. 255-64 (1950), as quoted in Wan-Jin Kim, "On the Syntactic Function and Development of Korean -n, -l," *Kwuksu Yenkwu* 2. 43-72 (1957).

3.1. Most of the derived nouns bear the form of *v/adj+i*.

(1). *v+i*: *kal.i* 'tilling'; *nol.i* 'game'; *mek.i* 'food'; *pel.i* 'earning'

(2). *adj+i*: *noph.i* 'height'; *kil.i* 'length'; *kiph.i* 'depth'; *khu.i* < khi > 'height'; *tew.i* 'heat'; *chwuw.i* 'cold(ness)'; *puphu.i* < pu-phi > 'bulk'

3.2. A few derived nouns end in *-em*: *mut.em* < mu-tem > 'tomb' (derived from *mut-* 'bury'); *cwuk.em* < cwu-kem > 'corpse' (derived from *cwuk-* 'die').⁽⁹⁾

3.3. A characteristic of the derived nouns is that their behavior as verbs or adjectives is completely lost, as the term 'deverbal(ized)' noun indicates. They are completely converted into nouns. Contrasted with the productive nominalizers *-m* and *-ki*, neither *-i* nor *-em* is capable of producing new derived nouns. In terms of productivity, *-i* or *-em* may be regarded analogous to English *-th* as in *truth* and *warmth*; *-m* or *-ki*, on the other hand, to *-ness*.

4. As already pointed out, the productivity of nominalizers *-m* and *-ki* is open in the sense that they can nominalize any verbs or adjectives. Unlike the derived nouns, those nominalized by *-m* and *-ki*, which we call tentatively 'transformed nouns' simply to contrast them with the derived nouns, have the function of both nouns and verbs/adjectives, as will be seen in § 6, where the syntactic structure of nominalization is described.

4.1. Some of the critical examples of *-m* and *-ki* nominalizations are selected and listed below together with the corresponding derived nouns, most of which were listed in § 3.1.-§ 3.2. To reiterate the point, derived nouns are the case of complete conversion; transformed nouns are, typically but not always, of partial conversion, by which is meant the amphibious nature of the transformed nouns possessing the syntactic behavior of both nouns and verbs/adjectives. Certain transformed nouns have also established, by usage, characteristics of complete conversion, that is, complete deverbalization as in the derived nouns. Thus the same morphemic form, transformed by *-m* nominalization, reveals the function of both partial and complete conversion, as will be seen in some of the examples below. The examples of complete conversion, due to *-m/-ki* nominalization, might as well be classed as derived nouns. In our listing, however, such transformed nouns are each entered twice in parallel; one is marked C (complete conversion); the

(9) It may be noted that the Current Korean Spelling System makes no effort to distinguish morphemic shapes of some of the derived nouns as cited here: *mut.em* 'tomb' (the graphic division adopted is < mu-tem >); likewise, *cwuk.em* 'corpse' is < cwu-kem >.

other, unmarked. All the unmarked entries under the transformed nouns, it is to be understood, are the cases of partial conversion; all under the derived nouns, unmarked as they are, of complete conversion by our definition.

4.1.1 Verbs nominalized.

Verbs	Transformed Nouns		Derived Nouns
	- <i>m</i>	- <i>ki</i>	(- <i>i</i> , - <i>em</i> , etc.)
<i>mek</i> - 'eat'	<i>mek.um</i>	<i>mek.ki</i>	<i>mek.i</i> 'food'
<i>nol</i> - 'play'	<i>nol.um</i>	<i>nol.ki</i>	<i>nol.i</i> 'game'
	<i>nol.um</i> (⟨no-lum⟩) (C) 'gambling'		
<i>ca</i> - 'sleep'	<i>ca.m</i>	<i>ca.ki</i>	
	<i>ca.m</i> (C) '(my) sleep'		
<i>sal</i> - 'live'	<i>sal.um</i> ⟨salm⟩([sam])	<i>sal.ki</i>	
	<i>sal.um</i> ⟨salm⟩([sam]) (C) 'life'		
<i>cwuk</i> - 'die'	<i>cwuk.um</i>	<i>cwuk.ki</i>	<i>cwuk.em</i> ⟨cwu-kem⟩
	<i>cwuk.um</i> (C) 'death'		'corpse'
<i>mut</i> - 'bury'	<i>mut.um</i>	<i>mut.ki</i>	<i>mut.em</i> ⟨mu-tem⟩
<i>mūt</i> - 'ask'	<i>mūt.um</i> ⟨mul-um⟩([murīm])	<i>mūt.ki</i>	'tomb'
	<i>mūt.um</i> ⟨mul-um⟩([murīm]) (C)		
	'question'		
<i>sey</i> - 'count'	<i>sey.m</i>	<i>sey.ki</i>	
	<i>sey.m</i> (C) '(my) count'		
<i>po</i> - 'see'	<i>po.m</i>	<i>po.ki</i>	
		<i>po.ki</i> (C) 'example'	
<i>pel</i> - 'earn'	<i>pel.um</i> ([pəm])	<i>pel.ki</i>	<i>pel.i</i> 'earning(s)'
<i>pel</i> i- 'abandon'	<i>pel.i.m</i>	<i>pel.ki</i>	
	<i>pel.i.m</i> (C)		
<i>phul</i> - 'solve'	<i>phul.um</i> ([pum])	<i>phul.ki</i>	<i>phul.i</i> 'solution'
<i>el</i> - 'freeze'	<i>el.um</i> ([əm])	<i>el.ki</i>	
	<i>el.um</i> (C) 'ice'		
<i>wul</i> - 'weep'	<i>wul.um</i> ([wum])	<i>wul.ki</i>	
	<i>wul.um</i> (C)		
<i>wus</i> - 'laugh'	<i>wus.um</i>	<i>wus.ki</i>	
	<i>wus.um</i> (C) 'laughter'		

<i>mak-</i> 'block'	<i>mak.um</i>	<i>mak.ki</i>	<i>mak.kay</i> <ma-kay> ([magä]) 'plug'
<i>teph-</i> 'cover'	<i>teph.um</i>	<i>teph.ki</i>	<i>teph.kay</i>
<i>noph.i-</i> 'heighten'	<i>noph.i.m</i>	<i>nop.hi.ki</i>	
<i>kongpu.ha-</i> 'study'	<i>kongpu.ha.m</i>	<i>kongpu.ha.ki</i>	
<i>mek.e.peli-</i> 'eat up'	<i>mek.e.peli.m</i>	<i>mek.e.peli.ki</i>	

4. 1. 2. Adjectives nominalized.

Adjectives	Transformed Nouns		Derived Nouns
	-m	-ki	
<i>khu-</i> 'big'	<i>khu.m</i>	<i>khu.ki</i> <i>khu.ki</i> (C) 'size'	<i>khu.i</i> < <i>khi</i> > 'height'
<i>noph-</i> 'high'	<i>noph.um</i>	<i>noph.ki</i>	<i>noph.i</i> 'height'
<i>kiph-</i> 'deep'	<i>kiph.um</i>	<i>kiph.ki</i>	<i>kiph.i</i> 'depth'
<i>mukew-</i> 'heavy'	<i>mukew.um</i>	<i>mukew.ki</i> ([mugəp'k'i])	<i>mukew.i</i> <mu-key> 'weight'
<i>chwuw-</i> 'cold'	<i>chwuw.um</i>	<i>chwuw.ki</i> ([c'up'k'i])	<i>chwuw.i</i> 'cold(ness)'
<i>tew-</i> 'hot'	<i>tew.um</i>	<i>tew.ki</i> ([təp'k'i])	<i>tew.i</i> 'heat'
<i>elyew-</i> 'difficult'	<i>elyew.um</i> <i>elyew.um</i> (C)	<i>elyew.ki</i> ([ərjəp'k'i])	
<i>kuliw-</i> 'longing'	<i>kuliw.um</i>	<i>kuliw.ki</i> ([kīrip'k'i])	
<i>phyenghwa.sulew-</i> 'peaceful'	<i>phyenghwa.sulew.um</i>	<i>phyenghaw.sulew.ki</i> ([p'jəŋhwasirəp'k'i])	
<i>koyo.ha</i> -(10) 'quiet'	<i>koyo.ha.m</i>	<i>koyo.ha.ki</i>	

5. Before proceeding to syntactic descriptions of nominalization, we will examine the nominalization in expanded verbal forms, i.e. stem plus suffix sequences. Sequence positions of expanded verb/adjective forms, with the nominalizer *-m* or *-ki* as the closing suffix, may be drawn as follows.⁽¹¹⁾

(10) *koyo-* in *koyo.ha-*, which was originally a bound form, is now used as a free form, especially in poetry.

(11) For an extensive treatment of Korean verbal suffixes, see Marshall R. Pihl, Jr, A *Study on Non-conclusives in Modern Korean* (Seoul, 1965). The sequence of verb suffixes posited in the text is based on Martin (cf. pp. 37-8). Notice the modifications made here: "aspect" morphemes have no place in our nominalization and also left out is the position of "style"

I II III IV V

Stem- (Causative/Passive)-(Honorific)-(Past₂){Past₁
Future}- Nominalizer

Causative (or passive), honorific, and tense suffixes are optional, as indicated by the paired parentheses. The major variants of each suffix morpheme are listed below.

Causative (or passive) → {-i, -li, -hi, -ki, ...}

Honorific → {*-usi* in env. C -}
 {-si in env. V -}

Past₁ → {-ess, -ass, yess, ...}

Past₂ → {-ess, -ass, -yess, ...}

Future → -keyss

Nominalizer₁¹² → {-um in env. C -}
 {-m in env. V -}

Nominalizer₂¹³ → -ki

5.1. Illustrative examples are given below to see the co-occurrence restriction of verbal suffixes in nominalization. In place of English translation equivalents, sequence positions of suffix components are marked, each in abbreviation. (C=causative; H=honorific; P₁=Past₁; P₂=Past₂; F=Future; N₁=-m; N₂=-ki)

mek- 'eat'

mek.i.m (-C-N₁)

mek.i.ki (-C-N₂)

**mek.usi.m* (-H-N₁); **mek.usi.ki* (-H-N₂)⁽¹⁴⁾

mek.ess.um (P₁-N₁)

mek.ess.ki (-P₁-N₂)

**mek.keyss.um* (-F-N₁)

**mek.keyss.ki* (-F-N₂)

**mek.ess.ess.ki* (-P₁-P₂-N₂)

morphemes. Causative (or passive) suffixes, which immediately follow the stem, are not specified by Martin in his formulation. The position of nominalizers is that of the final, which marks "mood"; those which optionally fill the positions between the final and the stem are the prefinals. On this, see Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 9ff.)

(12, 13) Nominalizer₁ (-m) and Nominalizer₂ (-ki) are termed substantive and nominative respectively, by both Martin and Pihl. See Martin, *op. cit.* p. 38; Pihl, *op. cit.* p. 22.)

(14) The verb, *mek-* 'eat' is not permitted to have the honorific suffix, which is due to a semantic restriction of the lexeme, *mek-*.

po- 'see'

po. si. m (-H-N₁)

po. si. ki (-H-N₂)

po. ass. um (-P₁-N₁)

po. ass. ki (-P₁-N₂)

po. i. si. ess. um (-C-H-P₁-N₁)

po. si. ess. ki (-H-P₁-N₂)

**po. si. ess. keyss. ki* (-H-P₂-F-N₂)

**po. si. ess. keyss. um* (-H-P₂-F-N₁)

noph- 'high'

noph. i. m (-C-N₁)

noph. i. ki (-C-N₂)

noph. usi. m (-H-N₁)

noph. usi. ki (-H-N₂)

noph. ass. um (-P₁-N₁)

noph. ass. ki (-P₁-N₂)

coyong. ha- 'quiet'

coyong. ha. si. ki (-H-N₂)

coyong. ha. yess. um (-P₁-N₁)

Some of the above examples—ungrammatical, as indicated by the presence of asterisks—disclose the structural restrictions imposed on the nominalization in expanded verbal components containing the future, past-future or past-past tense morpheme. Then the nominalization in expanded verbal shapes may be generalized as follows:

Verbal (+C) (+H) (+T_{past1}) + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} -m \\ -ki \end{matrix} \right\}^{(15)}$

6. The descriptive analysis of nominalization has so far been confined to the morphological level. Now we are to examine the nominalization in the light of syntactic structures on the sentence level. The distinction between transformed and derived nouns

(15) For a structural parallel, see the following *to-* and *ing-*nominalizations in English: $\left\{ \begin{matrix} to \\ ing \end{matrix} \right\}$ (+T_{perfect}) + Verb. This may permit to gener from the ate, for instance: *to eat/to have eaten; eating/having eaten*. In English, moreover, the progressive tense (T_{prog} → *be-ing*) may be put in as an optional element after the perfect tense morpheme.

becomes clear at once in their syntactic characteristics. Proceeding from the basic sentences to the transformed, we will account for certain structural ambiguity, both syntactic and semantic, arising from different constituent structures or different degrees of conversion.

6.1. Based on the major types of Korean predicate, the following basic sentence types may be set up: verbal, adjectival, and nominal.

Verbal predicate: V-*n.ta* *Mek. nun. ta* '(I, you,...) eat.'

Adjectival predicate: A-*ta* *Noph. ta* '(It is) high.'

Nominal predicate⁽¹⁶⁾: N-*i.ta* *Ton. i.ta* '(It is) money.'

6.2. These basic sentences are expanded by adding build-up elements such as a noun phrase (NP), a prenominal modifier (PnM), and a preverbal modifier (PvM). Build-up elements added to the basic sentences, it is noteworthy, do not affect the freedom of order; only relative emphasis controls the order of such build-ups.

6.3. As has been noted at the very outset, the *-m/-ki* nominalization we are primarily concerned with in this study is a part of Korean nominalization. Two types of nominalization are kept distinct:⁽¹⁷⁾ suffixal nominalization (i.e. *-m/-ki* nominalization); phrasal nominalization (i.e. modifier-plus-bound noun nominalization; e.g. *-un kes*, *-ul kes*, *-un pa*, *-un i*⁽¹⁸⁾). In the following we will briefly discuss the phrasal nominalization with some illustrative examples before we move on to the *-m/-ki* nominalization.

6.3.1. For the phrasal nominalization the source sentence is first prenominalized by adding a modifier suffix to it.⁽¹⁹⁾ Then, the prenominalized string (PnM) is preposed

(16) It may also be called copulative predicate since it consists of nominal plus copula *-i-*. The copula has two phonologically conditioned variants: *-i* after C; ϕ after V. In *-m/-ki* nominalization, however, it takes *-i* only, regardless of the preceding shape: *Ton.i.ta* '(It's) money.' \Rightarrow *ton.i.m* or *ton.i.ki* 'being money'; *Yeca. ϕ .ta* '(She, It) is a woman.' \Rightarrow *yeca.i.m* or *yeca.i.ki* 'being a woman'. Since the syntactic behavior of the copula closely follows that of adjectives, it may be appropriate to place it in the adjectival class as a subtype. Then, the basic sentences of Korean are, depending on the type of the predicate: verb type and adjective type, both of which are then included in one large *verbal* type.

(17) What we call suffixal nominalization may be regarded analogous to English infinitive/gerund nominalization; phrasal nominalization to *that-*, *what-*, *whoever-*, or *whether-* nominalization. See Robert B. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations* (Bloomington, 1960).

(18) Some of the representative bound nouns are: *kes* 'fact, thing', *pa* 'fact', *i* 'person', *tey* 'place', *cwul* 'ability, way', *swu* 'means', *ka* 'question', *ci* 'whether'.

(19) Four types of modifier morphemes may be distinguished: indicative (*-nun* for verb; *-n/-un* for adj.) perfective (*-n/-un* only for verb), prospective (*-l/-ul*), and imperfective (*-ten*). In this respect, Pihl sets up two kinds: perfective (*-un/-n*) and prospective (*-ul/-l*) (Pihl, *op. cit.* p. 22).

to a bound noun, which is a constituent of the matrix sentence. We will illustrate this process with the sample sentences cited above (§ 6.1.).

- (1) *Mek.nun.ta* \Rightarrow (1.1) *mek.nun kes* '(the thing/fact)' that (I, you,...) eat'
 \Rightarrow (1.2) *mek.un kes* '(- - -) that (- - -) have eaten'
 \Rightarrow (1.3) *mek.ul kes* '(- - -) that (- - -) will eat'
 \Rightarrow (1.4) *mek.ten. kes* '(- - -) that (- - -) was eating'
- (2) *Noph.ta* \Rightarrow (2.1) *noph.un kes* '(the thing/fact) that (it) is high'
 \Rightarrow (2.2) *noph.ul kes* '(the thing/fact) that (it) will be high'
- (3) *Ton.i.ta* \Rightarrow (3.1) *ton.i.n kes* '(the fact) that it is money'
 \Rightarrow (3.2) *ton.i.l kes* '(the fact) that it will be money'

The process of transformation, by which the nominalized strings are embedded as source strings in the matrix sentence, is shown below:

Structural Description:

Matrix sentence:

$$\frac{Ne.^{(20)}ka}{X_1} \frac{ku}{X_2} \frac{ket.ul}{X_3} \frac{al.ko.iss.ta}{X_4} \text{ 'You know it.'}$$

Source sentence: X_5 (all the nominalized strings above, i.e. (1.1), (1.2), (1.3), (1.4), (2.1), (2.2), (3.1), (3.2))

Structural Change: X_5 replaces X_2 ($X_1 - X_5 - X_3 - X_4$)

Restructured sentences, as a result of the above transformation, are:

- (4) *Ne.ka mek.nun kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that you eat.'
(5) *Ne.ka mek.un kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that you have eaten.'
(6) *Ne.ka noph.un kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that it is high.'
(7) *Ne.ka noph.ul kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that it will be high.'
(8) *Ne.ka ton.i.n kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that it is money.'
(9) *Ne.ka ton.i.l kes.ul al.ko iss.ta* 'You know that it will be money.'

6.4. Now we will return to the *-m/-ki* nominalization at the sentence level. The

Martin recognizes a single modifier mood (*-un/-n*) and allomorphs (Martin *op. cit.* p. 38). According to Martin, the *-ul/-l* shape is analyzed as 'prospective aspect' morpheme; thus what is regarded as prospective modifier by Pihl is, by Martin, prospective aspect (*-ul/-l*) plus zero form of modifier mood.

(20) *ne* 'you' \rightarrow *ney* in env. — *ka*.

procedure illustrating the transformation is similar to that applied in the preceding phrasal nominalization. The string nominalized by *-m* or *-ki* is embedded in the matrix sentence.

(11) Matrix sentence: *Na. (22)ka X.lul coh.a.han.ta* 'I like X.'

In this matrix sentence will be embedded the following source sentences (12—15), each of which is then nominalized in two ways (a,b). Restructured sentences are shown after the nominalized strings.

(12) *Na.ka can.ta* 'I sleep'.

$\Rightarrow na.ka ca.m \Rightarrow Na.ka cam.ul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (12a)

$\Rightarrow na.ka.ca.ki \Rightarrow Na.ka caki.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (12b)

(13) *Na.ka nol.ass.ta* 'I played'.

$\Rightarrow na.ka.nol.ass.um \Rightarrow Na.ka nol.ass.um.ul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (13a)

$\Rightarrow na.ka.nol.ass.ki \Rightarrow Na.ka nol.ass.ki.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (13b)

(14) *Pata.ka koyo.ha.ta* 'The sea is calm.'

$\Rightarrow pata.ka koyo.ha.m \Rightarrow Na.ka pata.ka koyo.ham.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (14a)

$\Rightarrow pata.ka koyo.ha.ki \Rightarrow Na.ka patâ.ka koyo.ha.ki.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (14b)

(15) *Ku i.ka hankuk salam.i.si.ta* 'He is a Korean.'

$\Rightarrow ku i.ka hankuk salam.i.si.m \Rightarrow Na.ka kui.ka hankuk salam.i.si.m.ul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (15a)

$\Rightarrow ku i.ka hankuk salam.i.si.ki \Rightarrow Na.ka ku i.ka hankuk salam.i.si.ki.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta$ (15b)

The degree of grammaticality of the restructured sentences above is not uniform. Probability of ever speaking, hearing, or writing some of the sentences is very slight (e.g. 12a, 13a, 13b, 14b, 15a, 15b), which arises from, among others, the following factors: 1) the contextual restrictions of the verbal constituent of the matrix sentence, *coh.a.ha-* 'like' imposed on the embedded strings; 2) the semantic and/or stylistic distinction of the nominalizers, *-m* and *-ki*. Now by altering the matrix sentence (11) and some verbal components of the source sentences, we will examine how the degree of grammaticality can be adjusted, noting also the semantic and stylistic difference of the two nominalizers.

(12a') *Na.ka ca.ss.um.ul cungmyeng.ha.la*

'Prove the fact that I slept.'

(21) *na* 'I' \rightarrow *nay* in env. — *ka*.

(13a') *Na.ka nol.ass.um.ul siinha.n.ta*

'I admit that I have played.'

(13b') *Ne.ka nol.ass.ki ka swip.ta*

'It is likely that you have played.'

(14b') *Na.nun pata.ka koyoha.ki.lul pala.n.ta*

'I wish the sea to be calm.'

(15a') *Ku pun.i hankwuk salam.i.si.m.ul cungmyeng.ha.la*

'Prove that he is a Korean.'

(15b') *Na.nun ku pun.i hankwuk salam.i.si.ki.lul pala.n.ta*

'I wish him to be a Korean.'

In these reformed sentences arises no question of grammaticality; they are all well-formed. As to the stylistic distinction between *-m* and *-ki*, the following generalization may be set up: *-m* is more formal and more literary than *-ki*, that is to say, *-ki* is informal and colloquial. The phrasal nominalization (§ 6.3.1), when compared with the *-m/-ki* nominalization, turns out to be the least formal with the least co-occurrence restriction. For a subtle semantic distinction between the two nominalizers, see § 8.

7. Now we will examine certain syntactic ambiguity arising from different constituent structures and semantic ambiguity arising from different readings assigned to the same syntactic description.⁽²²⁾

7.1. (16) *Ne.nun nay.ka ca.ki.lul pala.n.ta* 'You want me to sleep.'

(17) *Ne.ka ca.m.i coh.keyss.ta* 'It may be good of you to sleep.'

(18) *Ne.ka ca.m.i an o.n.ta.* '(It's) you (who) can't fall asleep.'

The syntactic structure of *ca.m* in (17) and (18) is different in that *ca.m* in (18) can be preceded by prenominal modifiers like *ta.n* 'sweet' or *kip.h.un* 'deep', whereas such a modification is not possible in *ca.m* in (17). *Ca.m* in (17) is always exocentric in relation to its preceding elements, while *ca.m* in (18) is the head in endocentric construction. The former is a case of complete conversion; the latter, of partial conversion. The following diagrams will help account for the different constituent structures of (17) and (18).

(22) For an explication of the notion of semantic and syntactic ambiguity, see Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor, "The Structure of a Semantic Theory," *Language* 39. 170-210 and also Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal, *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions* (Cambridge, Boston, 1964); note their notion of 'sentoid' and semantic ambiguity and anomaly (pp. 24-6).

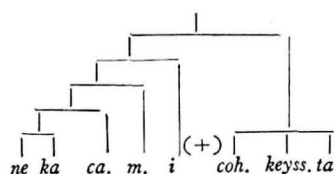


Diagram 1 (cf. (17))

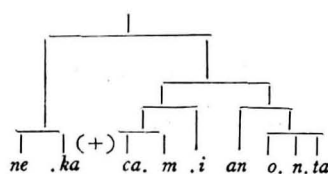


Diagram 2. (cf. (18))

In careful speech an open internal juncture (+) may be placed after *ca.m.i* in (17) and after *ne.ka* in (18), so as to distinguish the different ICs. But, since the presence of juncture is not indispensable, we cannot resort to 'phonological syntax.'

In the sentence (16), if *ne.nun* is dropped, syntactic ambiguity becomes apparent.

(19) *Na.ka.ca.ki.lul pala.n. ta* a) 'Somebody wants me to sleep.'

b) 'I want you to sleep.'

The following branch diagrams will reveal the different constituent structures arising from one sentence, which according to Katz and Postal, may be described as having two *sentoids*.⁽²³⁾

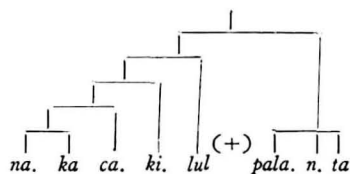
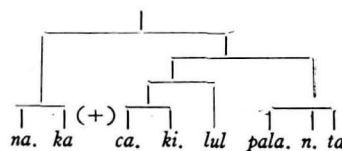


Diagram 3 (19a)



(Diagram 4 (19b))

(20) *Na.ka nol.n.ta* 'I play.'

[nonda]

(21) *Na.ka nol.ki.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta* 'I like to play.'

(22) *Na.ka nol.um.ul coh.a.ha.n.ta*

[nolmül]

(a) 'I like to play.'⁽²⁴⁾

[norimül]

(b) 'I like gambling.'

(23) *Na.ka nol.i.lul coh.a.ha.n.ta* 'I like games.'

(24) *Na.nun ne.ka nol.um. ul ihay.mos.ha.n.ta*

[nolmül]

'I can't understand your playing.'

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

(24) Probability of ever uttering the sentence (22) in the sense of (a) is very low, even with the distinctive phonetic change ([nolmül]); sentence (21) will replace sentence (22) in the sense of (a). Yet, it does not seem improbable to produce the sentence (22), with the phonetic distinction, in the sense of (a).

(25) *Na.nun i nol.um.ul ihay.mos.ha.n.ta* 'I can't understand this gambling.'

The sentence (22) is semantically ambiguous since *nol.um*, as used here, can have two readings, i.e. 'the fact of playing' (transformed noun) and 'gambling' (derived noun) although a phonetic distinction can be made in the pronunciation of *nol.u.m.ul* ([*nol-mil*] for (22a) vs [*norimil*] for (22b)). *Nol.um* in (22a) and (24) is in contrast with *nol.um* in (22b) and (25). The former is a case of partial conversion, whereas the latter, being completely converted into a noun as a result of deverbalization, can have a prenominal modifier as its attribute in the endocentric construction. If we prepose, for instance, *i* 'this' to *nol.um* in (22), the meaning of *nol.um* becomes immediately clear—'gambling'. *Nol.ki*, like *nol.um* in (22a) and (24), cannot have an attribute: **ney nol.ki*; **i nol.ki*. If *na.nun* is deleted from (24), it becomes syntactically ambiguous as in the case of (19). Then three different readings are possible.

(26) *Ne.ka nol.um.ul ihay.mos.ha.n.ta*

(a) 'You can't understand gambling.'

(b) 'You can't understand the idea of playing.' (*nol.um.ul* becomes [*nolmil*], so does (c) below.)

(c) 'I can't understand the fact that you (are) play(ing).'

(26a) and (26b) are of the same phrase structure; thus arises semantic ambiguity; (26c) has a structure different from that of the other two.

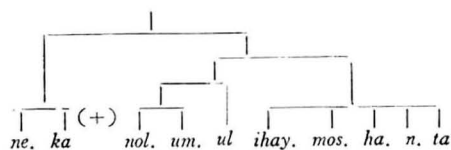


Diagram 5 (26a, 26b)

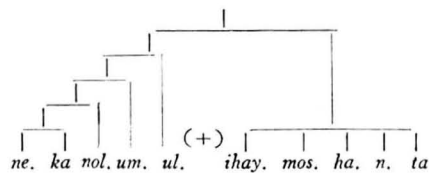


Diagram 6 (26c)

If we add to this syntactically ambiguous sentence a determiner or an attribute before *nol.um*, the syntactic structure becomes clear.

(27) *Ne.ka i. nol.um.ul ihay.mos.ha.n.ta* 'You can't understand this gambling.'

8. In regard to the stylistic distinction or the level of usage between the two nominalizers, though not so clear-cut as to keep one distinct from the other, we have remarked (cf. § 6.4) to the effect that *-m* is literary and formal while *-ki* is colloquial and informal. In regard to their semantic difference, *-m* may be said to have a connotation abstract, notional and

qualitative; *-ki*, concrete, factual and quantitative.⁽²⁵⁾ The following examples may help account for the subtle semantic distinction between these two productive nominalizers.

(28) *Po.m. un mit.um.i.ta* 'Seeing is believing.'

If *po.m* and *mit.um* are replaced by *po.ki* and *mit.ki* respectively, the sentence will be less natural, but not to the degree of semantic anomaly, because the content of the sentence is abstract and notional.⁽²⁶⁾

(29) *I kes.ulo wuli.nun ke salam.ui isang.i noph.um.kwa hakmun.i kiph.um.ul al swu iss.ta* 'With this, we know that his ideal is lofty and his knowledge is profound.'

(30) *Pu.mo.ui unhye.nun noph. ki,ka hanul.kwa kath.ko kiph.ki,ka pata.wa kath.ta* 'What we owe our parents is as high as the heaven and as deep as the ocean.'

In these two sentences, which are both formal or literary, *-m* and *-ki* are hardly interchangeable without damaging naturalness. What is referred to in (29) is quality; what is compared to in (30) is measurement, which is factual and quantitative. In (29), the derived nouns, *kiph.i* and *noph.i* cannot be used, for the construction is exocentric. They can be used in place of *noph.ki* and *kiph.ki* respectively in (30) without damaging naturalness but with a slight shift of stress, i.e. from the processive to static state.

(25) Somewhat similar to the semantic implication of *-m* and *-ki* nominalizers is the case of Japanese nominalizers *-mi* and *-sa*; one is closed and the other open, both affixable to adjective stems—e.g. *omo. mi* : *omo. sa* ('weightiness' : 'weight' / quality : quantity); *huka. mi* : *huka. sa* 'deepness': 'depth' / quality : quantity). Unlike Korean nominalizers *-m* and *-ki*, the Japanese analogues are both of complete conversion.

(26) A semantic distinction between 'Seeing is believing' and 'To see is to believe' is often said to be: the gerund is abstract; the infinitive is concrete. (cf. Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar* V, p. 162; R. W. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, pp. 28-9.) Then, the relation between the pair of nominalizers of Korean and that of English may be summarized as follows: *-m* : *-ki* = Gerund : Infinitive.