

Double Modality in Korean

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The purpose of the present paper is to explain the phenomenon of 'double modality' in Korean. This paper claims that the most reasonable explanation for such a phenomenon requires the Performative Analysis (cf. Austin, 1965; Ross, 1970). The Performative Analysis for 'double modality' in Korean seems to be structurally and semantically correct.¹

By 'double modality', I mean that on the surface a seemingly simple sentence has two whole modality constituents doubled. 'Modality' here is used in the sense of Fillmore's Case Grammar (1968), where the initial constituents are composed of Proposition and Modality. In the traditional sense, modality here refers to the so-called 'verbal affix' or 'verbal ending' in Korean. Schematically, the phenomenon of double modality in Korean looks like (1).

- (1) $C_1^p - V - [Tns - SL - Md - S-type]_M - [Tns - SL - Md - S-type]_M$
 where: C=Case, V=Verb, Tns=Tense, SL=Speech Level,
 Md=Mood, S-type=Sentence Type, M=Modality

If we introduce the Performative Analysis into Korean Syntax, we can predict SL and S-Type among others, but I will ignore such a discussion here for brevity's sake of the main topic (cf. Lee H-B., 1970). For ease of readability, I will cite subcategorization of grammatical categories of the modality constituent.

(2) Tns	→	{ Non-past Past (Past) }	*For Short
SL ²	→	{ Authoritative Formal Familiar Intimate(1) Intimate(2) Plain(=Neutral) }	Autho Fol Fal Inti(1) Inti(2) Plain(Neut)
Md	→	{ Indicative Retrospective Activitive Apperceptive }	Indi Retro Acti Apper

¹ For other types of support for the Performative Sentence in Korean, see Lee H-B. (1970).

² I owe the subcategorization of Speech Level to Martin-Lee (1969). It should be noted that Polite SL in Yang I-S. (forthcoming) is treated quite differently from Martin-Lee (1969).

$$S\text{-type} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Statement} \\ \text{Question} \\ \text{Command} \\ \text{Suggestion} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{Stat} \\ \text{Ques} \\ \text{Comm} \\ \text{Sugg} \end{array}$$

Since the modality constituent of Korean is morphologically so complex, I will cite a table for ease of readability. Speaking of Speech Level, only Formal SL has its surface form (i.e. *sip*), and yet each SL is ultimately determined by the total combination of grammatical categories such as SL, Mood, and S-type. As we see in the following table, the paradigm has many gaps, simply because many grammatical categories in certain combinations have unrealized surface forms. Tense category is omitted in the table, since it does not contribute to the determination of Speech Level. On the surface, only Past tense has its form (i.e. *Ass*). When it is doubled, it becomes Past-Past tense (i.e. *Ass-Ass*). Present tense is not realized on the surface in terms of its own shape. Retrospective mood and Apperceptive mood are not shown in the table. In terms of forms, Plain SL and Neutral SL are substitutable with each other in most cases. But strictly speaking, they are different; only Neutral SL is used in the modality of the embedded sentence. For example, both *nin-ya* and *ni* (*ni* is not shown in the table) are substitutionally used for Plain SL in the question sentence, but only *nin-ya* is allowed in the modality of the embedded question sentence.

(6) *Simplified Table of Modality Elements*

	Formal SL Md S-t	Familiar SL Md S-t	Intimate (1) SL Md S-t	Intimate (2) SL Md S-t	Plain SL Md S-t	Autho SL Md S-t
Stat	sip ni ta	— — ne	— — A	— — ci	— nin ta	— — o
Ques	sip ni kka	— — na	— — A	— — ci	— nin ta	— — o
Comm	sip si o	— — ke	— — A	— — ci	— — Ala	— — o
Sugg	sip si ta	— — se	— — A	— — ci	— — ca	— — o

With the above preliminary information about the modality constituent, we are now ready to discuss the main topic. Let us consider the following sentences.

- (7) a. John-ka kimchie-lil mək-*nin-ta* where:
 Nom Acc eat Indi Stat *Nominative*
 'John eats kimchie' (Plain SL) *Accusative*
- b. John-ka kimchie-lil mək-*sip-ni-ta*
 Fol
 'John eats kimchie' (Formal SL)
- (8) a. John-ka kimchie-lil mək-*nin-ta-nin-ta*
 Indi Stat Indi Stat
 '(I tell you that)John eats kimchie' (Plain SL)

- b. John-ka kimchie-lil mək-*nin-ta-sip-ni-ta*
Indi Stat Fol Indi Stat

‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Formal SL)

Sentences (7) are unquotative expressions. On the other hand, sentences (8) are ‘some sort’ of quotative expressions. My expression ‘some sort’ of quotative expression needs clarification. As far as the message is concerned, sentences (7) and sentences (8) are the same in terms of truth-value synonymity. As English translations suggest, some sort of quotative expression (8) are allowed to be used only by the speaker, excluding the second person and the third person. Through some sort of quotative expressions (8), the speaker seems to communicate with the addressee about things or events by ‘filtering’ things or events through the speaker himself. When we change statement sentences (8) into question sentences, we get sentences (9).

- (9) a. John-ka kimchie-lil mək-*nin-ta-nin-ya*
Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Indi Ques

‘(I ask you) Does John eat kimchie?’ (Plain SL)

- b. John-ka kimchie-lil, mək-*nin-ta-sip-ni-kka*
Indi Stat Fol Indi Ques

‘(I ask you) Does John eat kimchie?’ (Formal SL)

Through some sort of quotative expressions (9), the speaker seems to communicate with the addressee about things or events by ‘filtering’ things or events through the addressee. Let us call this sort of quotative expressions (8) and (9) ‘filtered quotative’ expression just for convenience.

Let us now observe formal differences between sentences (7) and sentences (8). Sentences (7) contain only one modality constituent, say, *nin-ta* in (7a) and *sip-ni-ta* in (7b). On the other hand, sentences (8) contain double modality, say, *nin-ta* and *nin-ta* in (8a) and *nin-ta* and *sip-ni-ta* in (8b). Two modalities in double modality may be referred to as the ‘inner’ modality and the ‘outer’ modality. Our concern here is how to provide a generative source for double modality. In what follows, we will examine some alternatives for the explanation of the phenomenon of double modality in Korean.

One might propose Extra-Modality Copying, which says that the ‘outer’ modality is copied from the ‘inner’ modality. If we follow this approach, we must explain why the identical elements are doubled in (8a) while the non-identical elements are doubled in (8b). We have no reasonable justification for such a heterogeneous copying transformation. Furthermore, in

sentences (9), the 'inner' modality elements belong to the modality elements of the statement sentence while the copied 'outer' modality elements belong to the modality elements of the question sentence. Here also, we have no justification for such a heterogeneous copying transformation. Thus, the approach of Extra-Modality Copying is not interesting for the reasonable explanation for the phenomenon of double modality under consideration.

Some others might propose Semantic Interpretation to the effect that the sentence which has double modality has the reading of the filtered quotative expression. If we follow the approach of Semantic Interpretation, we must postulate two modalities in the underlying structure; one is the 'inner' modality which is obligatory, and the other is the 'outer' modality which is optional, as shown in (10).

$$(10) S \longrightarrow P - M (M)$$

With certain constraints on modality constituents to the effect that the 'inner' modality has the constant form while the 'outer' modality varies, for example, this approach of Semantic Interpretation might account for the data under consideration.

Now let us expand our data in order to test whether the approach of Semantic Interpretation, which invokes two modalities in the underlying structure, can account for the expanded data. (*Experiencer (=Dative), Complementizer*)

- (11) a. na-ka ne-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
 I Nom you Exp Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
 (quote)
 malha-nin-ta
 tell Indi Stat

'I tell you that John eats kimchie' (Plain SL)

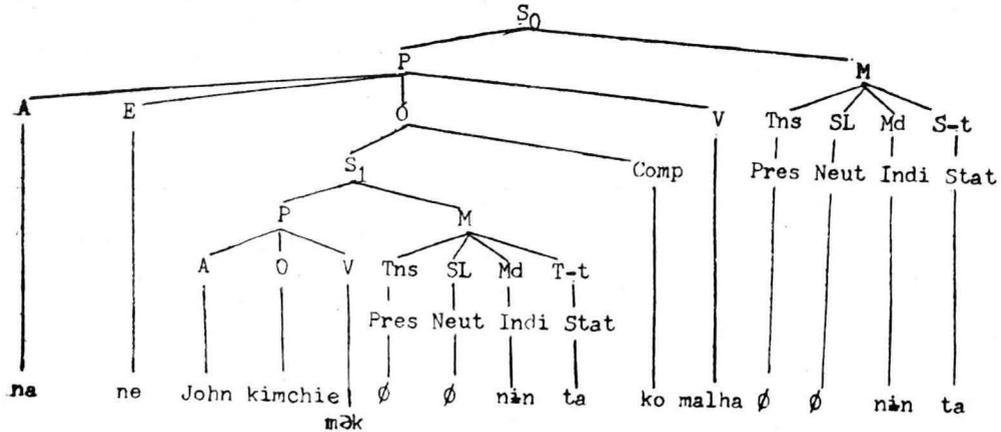
- b. ce-ka tangsin-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
 I Nom you Exp Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
 (quote)
 malha-sip-ni-ta
 tell Fol Indi Stat

'I tell you that John eats kimchie' (Formal SL)

The sentence (8 a) which contains double modality is synonymous with the sentence (11 a) which contains the quoting sentence, where the speaker is the subject and the addressee is the second person. The sentence (8 a) and the sentence (11 a) are substitutable in any context. The only difference between them is that the latter includes some portion of redundancy (i.e. the quoting sentence). The same is true of sentences (8 b) and (11b). Since

sentences (11 a, b) do not contain double modality, the approach of Semantic Interpretation must not choose the second Modality from (10); instead it must invoke *KO-Quote-Complementation* for the underlying structure (12) of the sentence (11 a).

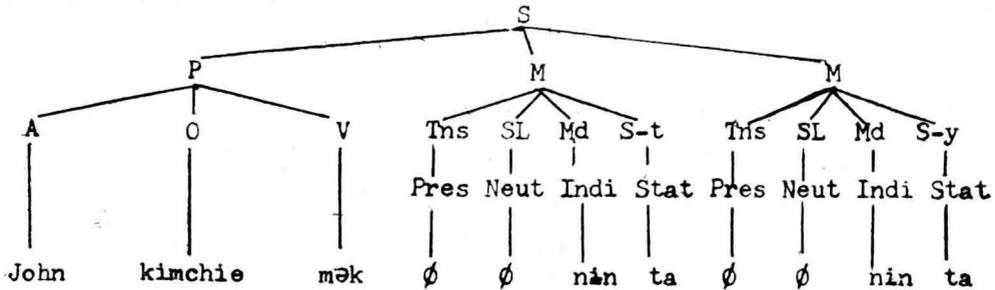
(12) (underlying for 11 a)



where: Agentive, Experiencer (Dative), Objective,
 Proposition, Modality, Complementizer, Tense,
 Present (=Non-past), Sentence-type, Indicative,
 Neutral SL, Statement, Mood

The approach of Semantic Interpretation must postulate a separate underlying structure for the sentence (8 a), since this sentence contains double modality. In other words, the underlying structure for the sentence (8 a) most choose both the 'inner' modality and the 'outer' modality from (10), as in (13).

(13) (underlying for 8 a)



As we see in the above, if we follow the approach of Semantic Intertation, we are forced to postulate two separate underlying structures for the synonymous sentences (8 a) and (11a). Then, the consequence of the postulation of two separate underlying structures for the syno-

nymous sentences is that the sentence (8 a) and the sentence (11 a) must be semantically different. This consequence is empirically false, simply because the sentence (8 a) and the sentence (11 a) are synonymous with each other. Furthermore, speaking in terms of forms, the approach of Semantic Interpretation proposed for the phenomenon of double modality in Korean loses generality. This statement needs clarification. Sentences like (11) are 'reducible' to sentences like (8) in terms of actual speech naturalness. This means that when somebody uses sentences like (11) instead of sentences like (8), he will sound like a beginning student in Korean who tends to use grammatically acceptable but unnatural utterances. Since sentences like (11) are both semantically and formally 'reducible' to sentences like (8), sentences like (8) must have two separate generative sources: one is (12), and the other is (13), for example, according to the approach of Semantic Interpretation proposed for the phenomenon of double modality in Korean. Thus, it is safe to say that the proposed approach of Semantic Interpretation loses linguistically significant generality.

Since both the approach of Extra-Modality Copying and the approach of Semantic Interpretation for the phenomenon of double modality in Korean are not satisfactory, we need an alternative explanation. For a third alternative, let us hypothesize that the generative source for double modality is the Performative Sentence, where Agentive NP is the first person and Experiencer NP is the second person. Under the the Performative Analysis for double modality, we need two rules in order to derive the sentence with double modality (e.g. (13)) from the underlying structure (12); they are Performative Modality Preserving, which lowers the modality of the Performative Sentence to the modality of the immediately embedded sentence, and Performative Deletion (cf. Ross, 1970:249). On the assumption that the Performative Analysis is the correct approach for the phenomenon of double modality in Korean, let us formulate those two rules first.

(14) *Performative Modality Preserving* (opt)

$$\text{SD: A} \quad + \text{E} \quad - [\text{P-M}]_s \quad - \text{KO} \quad + \text{V} \quad - \text{M}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +1st \\ \text{Person} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +2nd \\ \text{Person} \end{array} \right] \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +Perform \end{array} \right]$$

$$1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \quad \quad 4 \quad \quad \quad 5$$

$$\text{SC: } 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 \longrightarrow 1, 2, 3 \# 5, 4, 5$$

(15) *Performative Deletion*

$$\text{SD: A} \quad + \text{E} \quad - [\text{P+M}]_s \quad - \text{KO} \quad + \text{V} \quad + \text{M}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +1st \\ \text{Person} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +2nd \\ \text{Person} \end{array} \right] \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +Perform \end{array} \right]$$

$$1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad 3$$

SC: 1, 2, 3 \longrightarrow ϕ , 2, ϕ ,

where: If (14) applies, (15) is obligatory;

otherwise, (15) is optional.

Now justification for the Performative Analysis of double modality in Korean is in order. It is a fact that the statement sentence with double modality requires the first person Agentive and the second person Experiencer (=Dative), which is one of the requirements for the Performative Sentence (cf. Austin, 1965:56). Observe the following sentences.

(16) a. Harry-ka Mary-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
 Nom Exp Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
 (quote)
 malha-nin-ta
 tell Indi Stat

‘Harry tells Mary that John eats kimchie’

b. (Harry-ka Mary-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
 Nom Exp Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
 malha-nin-ta)-nin-ta
 tell Indi Stat Indi Stat

‘(I tell you that) Harry tells Mary that John eats kimchie’

c. na-ka ne-eke (Harry-ka Mary-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil
 I Nom you Exp Nom Exp Nom Acc
 mək-nin-ta)-ko malha-nin-ta)-ko malha-nin-ta
 eat Indi Stat Comp tell Indi Stat Comp tell Indi Stat

‘I tell you that Harry tells Mary that John eats kimchie’

d. *(na-ka ne-eke (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
 I Nom you Exp Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
 malha-nin-ta)-nin-ta
 tell Indi Stat Indi Stat

‘(I tell you that) I tell you that John eats kimchie’

The sentence (16 a) shows that the form ‘Harry tells Mary that’ is allowable for the framework of P-Marker (12) although Agentive NP is not the first person and Experiencer (=Dative) is not the second person. The sentence (16 a) looks like a conterexample to the Performative Analysis for the double modality construction. However, such an observation is superficial. The sentence (16 b) shows that if Agentive NP and Experiencer NP are not the first person and the second person respectively, another modality is suffixable at the end of the sentence. The sentence (16a) is an indirect quotative expression while the sentence (16b)

- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Familiar SL)
- c. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-A³
Stat
- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Intimate(1) SL)
- d. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ci
Stat
- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Intimate(2) SL)
- e. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-nin-ta
Indi Stat
- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Plain SL)
- f. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-o
Stat
- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Authoritative SL)

Those sentences carry the same message; the only difference between them is the Speech Level. The ‘outer’ modality in (18) has nothing to do with NP’s (i.e. *John* and *kimchie*) in the bracketed sentence. Instead, the Speech Level of the ‘outer’ modality is determined by ‘who says the bracketed sentence to whom’ in the real speech act.

Note that the bracketed sentences in (18) have the same SL, namely, the Neutral SL. It is nothing surprising, since the modality of sentential complementations in Korean has the Neutral SL (except for the direct quotative complementation). This fact suggests that the ‘outer’ modality in sentences (18) belongs to the Performative Sentence’ and that the immediately lower sentence under the Performative Sentence is *KO*-Quote-Comp (cf. (12)). In fact, on the surface, we have sentences with *KO* (i.e. the quotative morpheme) in the place of the ‘outer’ modality. Incidentally, in that case, there is no way to distinguish the Speech Level as seen in (19), which express only the Plain SL.

- (19) a. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta)-ko
Nom Acc eat Indi Stat Comp
(quote)
- ‘(I tell you that) John eats kimchie’ (Plain SL)
- b. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-Ass-ta)-ko
Past
- ‘(I tell you that) John ate kimchie’ (Plain SL)

³ A as well as Ala and Ass is a morphophoneme, which is realized *a* after *a* or *o*; in other environments, it becomes ə (Vowel Harmony). *ta* plus *a* become *tɛ*. *ha* ‘do’ plus *a* become *hɛ*. Such a change must be explained.

In sentences like (19), the only way to express the Speech Level other than Plain SL is to suffix the 'low-form' polite mediator *ya* and the 'high-form' polite mediator *yo* to the quotative morpheme *ko*, forming the 'low-form' Polite SL and the 'high-form' Polite SL respectively, as seen in (20).

- (20) a. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-Ass-ta)-ko-yo
 Nom Acc eat Past Stat Comp
 '(I tell you that) John ate kimchie' (High-form Polite SL)
- b. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-Ass-ta)-ko
 Comp
 '(I tell you that) John ate kimchie' (Plain SL)
- c. (John-ka kimchie-lil mək-Ass-ta)-ko-ya
 Comp
 '(I tell you that) John ate kimchie' (Low-form Polite SL)

When the total Performative Sentence is deleted (only optional case), the Speech Level is incorporated into the modality of the immediately lower sentence, which is the top-most surface sentence. I will not formulate this fact in terms of the rule here. What is relevant and important is that the 'outer' modality and the filtered quotative complementizer, *ko*, are in complementary distribution. In other words, in one speech utterance, if we choose a sentence like (19), we can not choose a sentence like (18) at the same time, and vice versa.

Sentences with *Ko-Quote-Comp* need further comments. Observe the following sentences.

- (21) a. (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko
 Nom Goal go Indi Stat Comp
 '(I tell you that) John will go to Korea'
- b. Mary-ka na-eke (John-ak Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko
 Nom I Exp Comp
 'Mary tells me that John will go to Korea'
- c. Mary-ka na-eke (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko malha-Ass-ta)-ko
 Nom I Exp Comp tell Past Stat Comp
 '(I tell you that) Mary told me that John will go to Korea'
- d. *na-ka ne-eke (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko
 I Nom you Exp Comp
 'I tell you that John will go to Korea'
- e. na-ka ne-eke (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko malha-nin-ta
 I Nom you Exp Comp tell Indi Stat
 'I tell you that John will go to Korea'
- f. *(na-ka ne-eke (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko malha-nin-ta)-ko
 I Nom you Exp Comp tell Indi Stat Comp

g. (na-ka ne-eke (John-ka Korea-e ka-nin-ta)-ko malha-Ass-ta)-ko
tell Past Stat Comp

(I tell you that) I told you that John will go to Korea' ka-nin-ta)-ko

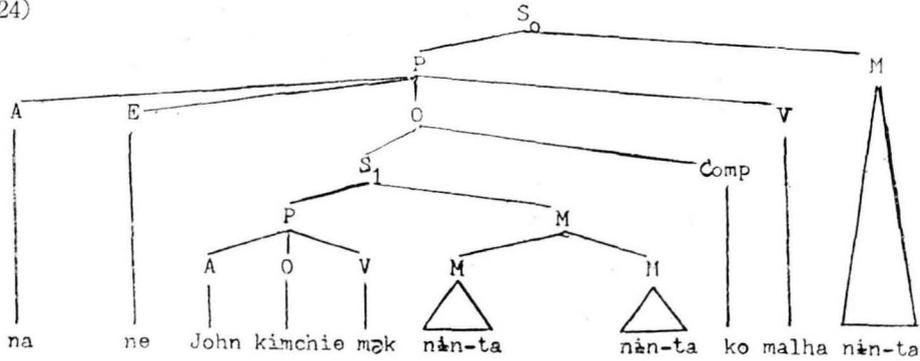
h. na-ka ne-eke (na-ka ne-eke (John-ka Korea-e
malha-Ass-ta)-ko malha-nin-ta

'I tell you that I told you that John will go to Korea'

It is clear that the quotative sentence has two parts: one is the quoted part, and the other is the quoting part. One characteristic of the sentence like (21 a) is its lack of the quoting part. Our concern here is to fill up the quoting part (i.e. the gap), which is missing. When asked to fill up the gap, native speakers of Korean will fill the gap up with 'I tell you', which has the form of the sentence like (21 e). To put it differently, what is deleted is the Performative Sentence.' One might argue that this does not provide any evidence for the Performative Sentence since the quoter is not necessarily the speaker (i.e. the first person) and the addressee is not necessarily the second person. He might cite the sentence like (21 b), which has the quoting part of 'Mary tells me that'. This looks a valid counterexample against the Performative Analysis of the sentences under consideration. However, if we expand our data, such a counter-argument falls down. As the sentence like (21 c) shows, if the quoter is not the first person and the addressee is not the second person, another *KO-Quote-Comp* is again suffixable to the sentence. When asked to fill up the gap for the sentence (21 c), native speakers of Korean will again fill up the sentence with 'I tell you'. On the other hand, if the quoter is the first person and the addressee is the second person, *KO-Quote-Comp* is no longer allowed to be suffixed to the end of the sentence. This is shown in the sentence (21 f). Sentences (21 a, e) show that the quoting part may be realized or may not be realized on the surface. The unrealized quoting part is explainable by Performative Deletion (cf. Ross, 1970:249).

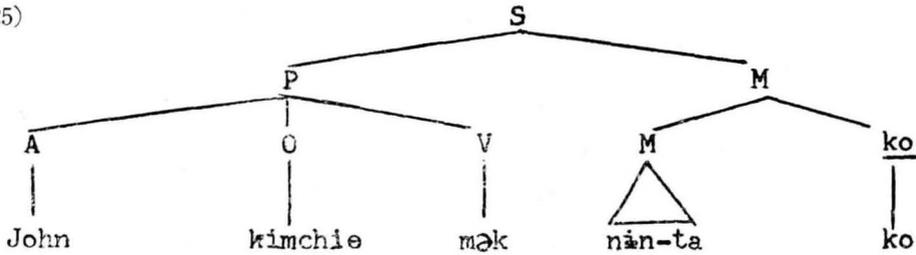
I stated that if the quoter is the first person and the addressee is the second person, *KO-Quote-Comp* is no longer allowed to be suffixed to the end of the sentence. However, this statement is too strong. The sentence (21 g) shows that the above statement does not hold true. If this is true, *KO-Quote-Comp* can not provide any evidence for the existence of the Performative Sentence. However, the seemingly counterexample sentence (21 g) to the Performative Analysis of the data under consideration rather provides a determining factor for the Performative Analysis. Observe the ungrammatical sentence (21 f), where the first person is the speaker and the second person is the addressee. We must pay attention to the difference

(24)



Performative Deletion to (24) yields (25).

(25)



Case Marking will yield (26), which ultimately becomes (27).

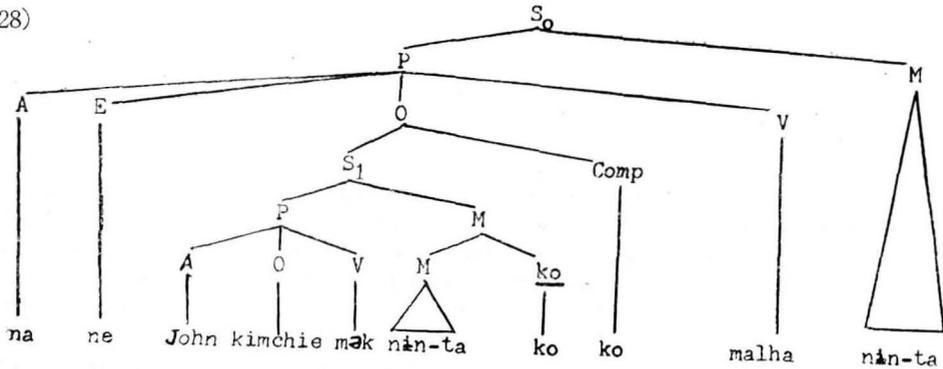
(26) /// John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta-nin-ta ///

(Note: Three slashes refer to the representation which has not undergone morphophonemic rules.)

(27) [jon-i kimchi-ril mənɲindanda]

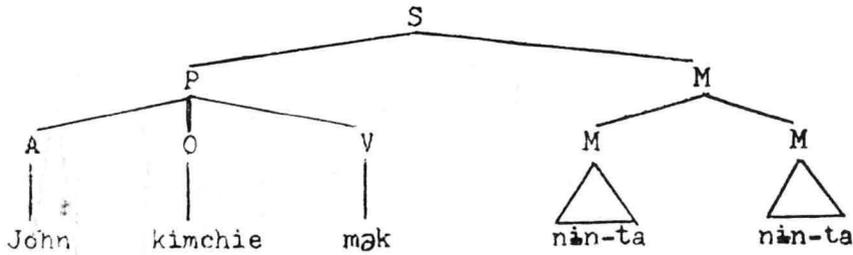
On the other hand, if we do not apply Performative Modality Preserving, we may apply *KO-Quote-Comp Preserving*, which yields (28),

(28)



Performative Deletion to (28) yields (29),

(29)



Case Marking will yield (30), which ultimately becomes (31).

(30) /// John-ka kimchie-lil mək-nin-ta-ko ///

(31) [jon-i kimchi-ril məpnindago]

We have discussed the topic only with the statement sentence. The principle shown also holds true of the question sentence though some minor adjustments are needed. We do not discuss them here.

To conclude, the phenomenon of double modality in Korean can best be explained by introducing the Performative Analysis into Korean syntax. If that is true, Ross's proposal for the existence of the Performative Sentence in natural languages is formally and semantically supported. In the interests of universality, it will be interesting to check whether the phenomenon of double modality exists also in other languages.⁴

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⁴ R. Lakoff (1971) informs us that so-called sentence particles such as *yo*, *ne*, *na*, etc. in Japanese can be explained by the Performative Analysis, citing Uyeno, T.: *A Study of Japanese Modality: A Performative Analysis of Sentence Particles*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan (forthcoming). As far as I know, Japanese sentence particles are not the phenomenon of double modality as in Korean. This statement does not mean that the Performative Analysis for Japanese sentence particles is wrong. Another interesting characteristic of Japanese sentence particles is that such particles may be distributed to almost any elements in the sentence in colloquial speech. For details about Distribution Transformation in Korean and in Japanese, see Yang (forthcoming).