

ELLIPSIS OF THE NOMINATIVE AND THE ACCUSATIVE CASE PARTICLES  
IN KOREAN

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**To my grandmother ♥**

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to empirically describe the ellipsis of the nominative case particle, *-i/ka* and the accusative case particle, *-(l)ul* in spoken and written texts by applying the notions of information focus (Lambrecht, 1994). Although numerous previous studies claimed that the case particles, *-i/ka* and *-(l)ul* overtly mark focused referents, the notions of focus has never been empirically validated. Mostly, the notion of focus is just described as a main factor without empirical evidence. The research questions of the present study are as follows: 1) Contextually recoverable elements are omitted in Korean language. In this vein, case particles, *-i/ka* and *-(l)ul* considered not to be realized most of time since they are easily recoverable. Is the recoverability the main cause of the case particle ellipsis? 2) The ellipsis pattern of the case particles seems arbitrary. How can the ellipsis pattern be predicted most accurately? What are the contributing factors? 3) The case particles are almost always realized in the deferential speech style and written texts. How does different registers of Korean language influence the ellipsis pattern of *-i/ka* and *-(l)ul*? What aspects of the deferential speech style and written texts increase realizations of these particles in sentences?

The current study investigated these questions using data consist of paired conversations and transcribed data from the Korean National Corpus, TV news broadcasts, TV debate shows and mobile chat discussions. The findings from the research show that the impact of focus on the case particle ellipsis is more complex than previously assumed: effect of focus is only shown to the nominative case particles *-(i)ka*. The investigation also revealed that directionality of the information transfer has impact on the ellipsis patterns on *-i/ka* and *-(l)ul*.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are mainly from H.-m.Sohn (1999).

*	ill forms
NP	Noun phrase
AC	Accusative particle
AD	Adverbial suffix; adverbializer
ADM	Admonitive (warning)
AH	Addressee honorific
APP	Apperceptive sentence-type suffix
BLN	Blunt speech level or suffix
CAS	Causative suffix
CL	Numeral classifier (counter)
CMP	Complementizer suffix
CNJ	Conjunctive suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DEF	Deferential speech level
DM	Discourse Marker
DR	Directional particle
EM	Emphasizer
EX	Exclamatory suffix
FML	Familiar speech level or suffix
GN	Genitive particle
hon.	Honorific word
HT	Honorific title
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix

IN	Indicative mood suffix
INF	Infinitive suffix
INJ	Interjection
INT	Intimate speech level or suffix
NM	Nominative case particle
NOM	Nominalizer suffix
NS	Name suffix
PAS	Passive suffix
PL	Plural suffix or particle
PLN	Plain speech level or suffix
POL	Polite speech level, suffix, or particle
PR	Propositive sentence-type suffix
PRM	Promissive sentence-type suffix
PRS	Prospective modal suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
Q	Question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix
QT	Quotative particle
RL	Relativizer (or abnominal modifier) suffix
RQ	Requestive mood suffix
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix
SUP	Suppositive mood suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle
TR	Transferentive suffix
VOC	Vocative particle

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Phenomena

Linguists do not agree on how particles in the Korean language should be described. Particles are like suffixes on the surface level in that they attach to their preceding NPs, as do suffixes in Indo-European languages, but they are different in that these Korean particles reflect the agglutinative nature of the language (<sup>1</sup>U.-s. Kim, 2003; H.-j. Lee, 2006a). Unlike affixes in Indo-European languages, particles are not inflected; rather, they are added to nouns or NPs to show both grammatical functions and functional meanings.

- (1.1) 유미가 학교에 갔어  
Yumi-**ka** hakkyo-**ey** ka-ss-e.  
Yumi-NM school-LOC go-PST-INT  
'Yumi went to school.'

In (1.1), the nominative case particle *-ka* fulfills a grammatical function by explicitly marking the subject NP (noun phrase) of the sentence whereas the directional particle *-ey*, shows a functional meaning of 'to' by marking *hakkyo*.

Among many particles of Korean language, <sup>2</sup>*-ka* and *-lul* are probably the most controversial ones due to their multifarious functions. Many scholars have stated that particles, *-ka* and *-lul* not only mark the grammatical case but also denote ideas such as exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, emphasis, selectional listing, or focus elements and even topicalization. Most of all that these particles can be optional

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<sup>1</sup> Two initials are given for Korean authors when they are first introduced.

<sup>2</sup> Following conventions, *-ka* is used to represent the nominative case particles which also include *-i* whereas *-lul* is used to represent the accusative case particles which also include *-ul*. It must be noted that *-i* is the earlier form of the two nominative case particles although *-ka* is often used to represent the nominative case particles.

elements of the sentence in certain context or required elements in other context engendered many questions. Their realization patterns and implications of patterns often have been used as evidences to support claims that they have functional meanings. These controversial issues are frequently observed in colloquial conversations.

(1.2) A:   미아 Ø, 영수를 좋아해?  
 Mia Ø Yengswu-lul cohah-ay?  
 Mia Ø Yengswu-AC like-INT  
 ‘Mia Ø likes Yengswu?’

B:   미아 말고 유미가 영수를 좋아해.  
 Mia malko **Yumi-ka** Yengswu-lul cohah-ay.  
 Mia not Yumi –NM Yengswu-AC like-INT  
 ‘Not Mia but Yumi likes Yengswu.’

In (1.2), *Mia* and *Yumi* both are the subjects yet *-ka* was omitted after *Mia* whereas it was overtly expressed after *Yumi*. This kind of seemingly arbitrary pattern has engendered many arguments about these case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* including their functional meanings and ellipsis patterns.

The ellipsis of these case particles shows different patterns in the deferential speech styles. The case particles are frequently omitted in colloquial conversations but they are mostly realized in formal conversations in which the participants mostly use the deferential speech style. The following excerpt is from the TV debate show, *BS Sayngpangsong Simya Tholon* (7.13.2008). Person A uses the deferential speech style. In his utterance, *-ka* and *-lul* overtly marked all nominative and accusative NPs. The case particles are bold faced for convenience.

Excerpt 1

1    A:   두 달 이상 우리 나라를 뜨겁게 달구고 있는.....  
 twu tal       isang wuli   nala-**lul**       ttukepk-ey   talkwu  
 two months   over   our   country-AC   hot-ly       heat  
 -ko   iss-nun...

-GN            RL  
 ‘Our nation’s (hot topics) over two months...’

- 2            ...한복판에 인터넷이 있음을  
 ...hanpokphan-ey    intheneys-i    issum-ul  
 ...middle in    at    internet NM    exist AC  
 ‘...Internet is in the midst of...’
- 3            모두가 다 아는 사실입니다.  
 motwu-ka    ta    a-nun            sasil    i-pnita.  
 Everyone-NM all    know-RL            fact    is DEF  
 ‘Everyone knows that internet has been the center of...’

The present study investigates the ellipsis patterns of the so called case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* on the discourse level. I argue that notions such as exclusiveness, selectional listing, or focus elements are better described on the discourse level because they are not independent of context. Example (1.3) exemplifies my suggestion. Person B simply says one noun, *panana* ‘banana’; yet, the sense of focus or exclusiveness is expressed, solely because of the context of discourse.

- (1.3) A:    뭐 먹었어? 사과? 바나나?  
           mwe mek-ess-e? sakwa?            panana?  
           What eat- PST-INT apple            banana?  
           ‘What did you eat? Apple or banana?’
- B:    바나나.  
       panana.  
       banana  
       ‘Banana.’

The current study investigates the ellipsis pattern of the <sup>3</sup>case particles by applying notions such as information focus (Halliday 1967; Jackendoff 1972;

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<sup>3</sup> Case particles in Korean are often described to be of two types: the structural particles and the semantic case particles (H.-m. Sohn, 1999). In this dissertation, the case particles refer to only those of the structural case particles, which are the nominative and the accusative case particles since the semantic case particles are not within the scope of this study.

Lambrecht 1994), activation cost (Chafe 1994) and differential subject/object marking (Bossong 1983, Aissen 2003).

The research questions of the present study are as follows:

1. Contextually recoverable elements are omitted in Korean language.

In this vein, case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* are considered not to be realized most of time since they are easily recoverable. Is this pattern true? If not, how can this phenomenon be explained?

2. The ellipsis pattern of the case particles seems arbitrary. How can the ellipsis pattern be predicted most accurately? What are the contributing factors?

3. Previous studies described that the case particles are almost always realized in the deferential speech styles. How does speech styles of Korean language influence the ellipsis pattern of *-ka* and *-lul*? What aspects of the deferential speech styles increase realizations of these particles in sentences?

## 1.2 DATA AND METHOD

### Data

The current study analyzed approximately 32,000 *ecels* of spoken and written texts in Korean. An *ecel* is “the morphosyntactic combination of one word and particle(s), or one word and ending(s), or one word alone” (H.-s. Kim 2006).

The spoken data consist of three transcribed two-party informal conversations from the Korean National Corpus (KNC), and three recorded informal two-party conversations collected for this study. The KNC is often also called the Sejong Corpus, because it is the product of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Project (<http://www.sejong.or.kr>). The corpus currently contains about 200 million *ecels*. The Sejong Corpus is an ideal source not only due to its vast size but also because of

the diversity of its content. It consists of both spoken and written texts in various genres and with a variety of subjects, which enables researchers to investigate possible genre differences. It also contains demographic data of the interlocutors such as gender and age, which may affect language use.

The three transcribed conversations were randomly selected from the spoken data section of the KNC using three criteria: (1) only two interlocutors, (2) only face to face conversations (no telephone conversations), and (3) mainly in the intimate speech style.

To collect the recorded conversation data, I recruited six participants who were international students attending Kapi‘olani Community College in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. All the participants were in their 20s and originally from Seoul. Each pair consisted of two very close friends, so they used the intimate speech style. They voluntarily participated in the experiment, for which they received monetary compensation. The researcher received approval from the Human Studies Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Hawai‘i to recruit participants and conduct the experiment.

Each conversation lasted 50 minutes and took place in a conference room. The participants were first asked to turn off their cellular phones and told to talk to each other naturally on any topic of their choice. They were provided light snacks and drinks to create a comfortable atmosphere and notified that the time would be kept track of by the researcher, who then left the room during the recording.

Table 1. Participants’ Demographic Information

Pair	Speaker	Age	Gender	Relationship	Hometown
1	A	22	F	Close friend	Seoul
	B	24	F	Close friend	Seoul
2	A	25	M	Close friend	Seoul
	B	25	M	Good friend	Seoul

3	A	25	F	Good friend	Seoul
	B	23	F	Good friend	Seoul

The written data consist of three types of texts: the commercial law code of Korea, internet newspapers, and cellular phone chats. The commercial laws were extracted from <https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/> (대한민국 상법). The internet newspaper articles were extracted from the websites of the *Korean Herald* (2012) and the *Kyenghyangsinmwun* (2012). The chat discussions were extracted from the investigator's cellular phone. The data were randomly selected from the sources.

### **Methodology for analysis**

All realized and omitted case particles were counted based on a clausal unit. Certain types of construction were excluded from the analysis, applying the same principles to spoken and written texts. First, light verb (*-hata*) constructions were excluded because NPs in these constructions are almost always realized without a particle. Second, number + counter constructions, such as *twu kay* 'two items' or *ssaicu 6* 'size 6', were excluded because this type of construction usually increases the specificity of the entity to which it refers.<sup>4</sup> Third, words that contain phonologically contracted case particles such as *i gey* (from *i ges i* 'this thing + nominative case') or *i gel* (from *i ges ul* 'this thing + accusative case') were excluded. The justification for this exclusion is that this kind of contraction usually occurs after the monosyllabic word *ges* 'thing', to the extent that the forms may be becoming fixed expressions (which are also excluded). Fourth, *nay* 'I' is excluded because *nay* cannot be expressed without the nominative case particle, *-ka*. Fifth, phrases in which the accusative particle *-lul* would mark not an object but other

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to H-j. Lee (2008) and Y-h. Park (2006) for discussions of specificity and the case particle ellipsis.

categories, replacing *ey* ‘to’ (e.g., *hakkyo lul kata* or ‘go to school’), are excluded because the study focuses on the nominative and accusative cases. The same rule was applied to the nominative case particle *-ka*. Lastly, only one subject was identified from the so called double nominative constructions. The nominative NP that immediately before the predicate was taken as a subject NP.

An ambiguous situation sometimes arise because the particle *-nun* can also mark the nominative case. In a sentence such as *Yumi Ø an wa* ‘Yumi does not come’, either, the nominative case particle and the topic-contrast particle *-nun* can be realized after *Yumi*. I argue that it is the nominative case particle *-ka* that is ellipsed in the sentence. *-Nun* is not omitted when it denotes contrastiveness (C-m. Lee 1999, H-m. Sohn 1999) and I claim that the so called topical *-nun* cannot be expressed in colloquial conversations because a topical referent, which is discourse old information is mostly omitted in colloquial conversations thus a topic particle *-nun* is not allowed without its noun phrase. This notion is discussed further in Section 4.2.2.

### **1.3 Organization of the study**

This proposal is organized as follows; Chapter 2 summarizes previous literatures regarding information structure, case, ellipsis and differential subject/object marking. Chapter 3 discusses controversial arguments regarding the case particle ellipsis in Korean. Topics such as categorization of case particles, topic-contrast particle *-nun*, recoverability conditions of ellipsis and heavy subject/object constraints are explained in this chapter. Chapter 4 describes the ellipsis pattern of *-ka* and *-lul* in colloquial conversations. I analyze the effect of the notion of focus (Lambrecht 1994) and the activation cost (Chafe 1994) on the overt case marking of *-ka* and *-*

*lul.* Chapter 5 describes the ellipsis pattern of these case particles in other registers of texts such as formal conversations in the deferential speech style and a variety of written texts. In Chapter 6, I conclude the dissertation by summarizing the findings, and describing pedagogical implications and providing proposals for future study.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 2.1 Introduction

As this dissertation combines perspectives, drawing on theories of information structure and the multidimensional nature of case as well as discourse analysis, it is essential to describe the theoretical frameworks and notions that the study draws on.

This chapter explains the theoretical frameworks and presents relevant previous studies for this dissertation. Section 2.2 describes important concepts related to information structure, including topic and focus. Next, definitions and functions of case will be reviewed in Section 2.3 then, theory of ellipsis is discussed in Section 2.4. Section 2.5 explains differential subject/object marking as well as the patterns of the case particles *-ka* and *-lul*.

#### 2.2 Information Structure

The theory of information structure, which is the central theoretical framework in this dissertation, is about the way in which information is formulated within a sentence. According to Prince (1981a), information structure deals with “the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver” (p. 224). This definition claims that information structure describes how a speaker packages intended information in a sentence for optimal communication with a listener. In other words, the theory is about the way linguistic devices such as prosody, word order, or particles are used by speakers to meet communicative needs based on the speakers’ assumptions about the listeners.

The following example shows how the accentuation of particular constituents of a sentence is used in a conversation to properly fulfill communicative needs.

- (2.1) A: What did you eat for lunch?  
B1: I ate a HAMBURGER for lunch.  
B2: I ate a hamburger for LUNCH.

B1 and B2 are the same sentence, but each accentuates a different constituent. B1 is the natural response to A: The accentuated constituent *hamburger* is what answers the question. B2 is unnatural, because accentuating *lunch* does not answer A's question. B1 shows an utterance tailored by using a linguistic device, prosody in this example, for optimal communication in the given situation.

There are two important points that need to be addressed in information structure. As shown in (2.1), information structure is not concerned with the propositional content of a sentence, but with "how the content is transmitted [rather] than with the content itself" (Chafe 1976, p. 27). The speaker selects the way information is delivered based on his assumption of how the addressee will interpret what he says in the context. This notion entails the second important point. Although information structure involves psychological phenomena, they must be represented in linguistic forms to be a domain of information structure. For example, information structure can be

*manifested in aspects of prosody, in special grammatical markers, in the form of syntactic constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence, in the form of complex grammatical constructions, and in certain choices between related lexical items. (Lambrecht 1994, p. 6)*

Including these two essential points, Lambrecht (1994, p. 5) defined information structure as follows:

*That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with*

*lexicogrammatical structures<sup>5</sup> in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.*

This study adopts Lambrecht's definition because it provides the most comprehensive explanation of the essential notions of information structure.

### **2.2.1 Notions of information structure**

Lambrecht (ibid, p. 6) claimed the most important categories of information structure are “i) presupposition and assertion, which have to do with the structuring of propositions into portions which a speaker assumes an addressee already knows or does not know; ii) identifiability and activation, which have to do with a speaker's assumption about the statuses of the mental representations of discourse referents in the addressee's mind at the time of an utterance; and iii) topic and focus, “which have to do with a speaker's assessment of the relative predictability vs. unpredictability of the relations between propositions and their elements in given discourse situations.”

Lambrecht (ibid, p.52) claims two types of information are produced when an utterance is made. They are presupposition and assertion. “Presupposition is a type of information that is shared by a speaker and a hearer so presupposition is old information whereas assertion is information that is added to hearer's mental word as a result of utterance” (ibid, p.7). Lambrecht emphasized that both presupposition and assertion to be understood in the realm of pragmatics so they reflect the relation between a person and proposition.

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<sup>5</sup> Halliday coined the term “lexicogrammar.” He used the term to show interdependency and continuity between lexis (vocabulary) and grammar (syntax). Refer to Halliday and Matthiessen (2013) for more information.

Regarding identifiability and activation, Lambrecht explains that “an identifiable referent is one for which a shared representation already exist in the speaker’s and the hearer’s mind” whereas as unidentifiable referent is one for which a representation exists only in the speaker’s mind.

Chafe (1987)’s ideas are incorporated to describe activation. Chafe (1987, 1994) proposed that information that human contain can be categorized into three states; active, semi-active and inactive. Activation cost refers to effort that is required to retrieve each type of information. In this sense, new or inactive referent have higher activation cost than active referent, which is a discourse old referent. Active information refers to ‘given’ information whereas inactive information refers to ‘new’ information. Regarding semi-active information, he described it as a referent that “a) was active at an earlier time in the discourse, b) is directly associated with an idea that is or was active in discourse, or c) is associated with the nonlinguistic environment of the conversation and has for that reason been peripherally active but not directly focused on...” (Chafe 1994, p. 86).

### **2.2.1.1 Topic**

What is topic? Although countless attempt has been made to answer this question, I believe there has not been a consensus answer. In this section, I will first explain notion of sentential topic by referring to scholars such as Strawson, Gundel and Reinhart. I will also describe Kuno (1973)’s argument about thematic –*wa*. One might wonder why I refer to rather these old studies that were already described extensively in previous literatures. I am reintroducing the findings of these scholars because their findings are significant yet they are often surprisingly overlooked and even misinterpreted. I also want to claim that the notion of topic is

not clearly defined despite of extensive attempts, and I propose that terms such as topic particle should be avoided since the notion of topic is not clearly defined.

There are two types of topic, discourse topic and sentential topic. Sentential topic will be the focus of this section since discourse topic, which is what a whole conversation is about, has not much to do with this study.

Sentential topic is “the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the term theme, coined by the Prague School of functional linguistics, following Mathesius (English translation: 1975). E.g. Firbas (1969; 1975), Sgall, Hajicova and Benesova (1973), Danes (1974)” (Reinhart 1981, pg. 55). It has been described in ways such as chain-initial topic (Givon 1993), scene-setting (Chafe 1976; Li& Thompson 1976), or old or given information (Chafe, 1976; Halliday, 1967; Lambrecht 2001). On the other hand, Vermeulen (manuscript, 2008) stated that sentential topic is a syntactic category that **newly** introduces a referent what the rest of the sentence is about (pg. 2). In English, topic is often described as the first constituent of the sentence.

Exemplary English sentence is shown below.

- (2.2) a. I like John.  
b. John, I like.  
c. John, I like him.

‘I’ is a topic of the sentence in (2.2a) and ‘John’ becomes a topic through topicalization or left dislocation construction in (2.2b) and (2.2c). In these two processes, the canonical form is violated purposely to raise the status of the object to topic status. As a result, John receives more emphasis through its topic status and it also makes the information process of the sentence easier for listeners (Prince 1984). Li-Thompson (1976) explained this kind of phenomenon as below to argue that topic is the first element of the sentence.

*“The reason that the topic but not the subject must be in sentence-initial position may be understood in terms of discourse strategies. Since speech involves serialization of the information to be communicated, it makes sense that the topic, which represents the discourse theme, should be introduced first. The subject, being a more sentence-oriented notion, need not receive any priority in the serialization process” (pg. 465).*

However, I argue that Li-Thompson’s claim should be taken as a tendency in English, but not necessarily as a universal characteristics. The topic first principle cannot be applied to VOS or VOS languages.

Topic is also often described as being old/given information. This may be true for most occasions but this should not be a determining factor. Following excerpt is from Reinhart (1981).

*“Rick Miranda says earnestly: "It's not just we do good, we feel good ... We've learned things ... we never learned from our parents." If Joan Santini were listening to Rick Miranda, her blue eyes would open wide and they'd be saying, "Jeez, we had anything like that back home." Born and raised in Denver, 39-year-old Joan Santini is possessed of a sparkling ingénue prettiness that is the perfect reflection of her eager conversion to New York ...” (The Village Voice, Oct. 1, 1979, 31)*

Reinhart (1981) stated that a new topic, Joan Santini, was introduced in the second paragraph. She argued the fact that Joan’s biographic information is provided after Joan’s name is introduced reveals that the hearers were not aware of Joan Santini. She also stated that the first sentence of a paragraph usually contains unlinked sentence topic (pg. 77).

One commonality that I found among these various descriptions of sentential topic is the notion of ‘aboutness’. It seems that the notion of ‘aboutness’ was never challenged when it comes to the definition of topic regardless of whether it is a discourse or sentential topic.

I believed that topic should be defined by the notion of ‘aboutness’. Then what does it mean to be about something? How one should identify a topic of a sentence based on notion of aboutness? Strawson (1964) stated as follows,

*“Stating is not a gratuitous and random human activity. We do not, except in social desperation, direct isolated and unconnected pieces of information at each other, but on the contrary intend in general to give or add information about **what is a matter of standing current interest or concern.**”* (pg. 97)

In the above excerpt, he described the topic as “a matter of standing current interest or concern.” Strawson called this Relevance principle. Gundel (1988) also made similar claim in defining what a topic is. She claimed as follows,

*“An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee’s knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E”* (p. 210).

Strawson’s verification process is worth to be mentioned. He claimed that verification of truth of a statement is a topic centered process. For example, when people verify if a sentence ‘all humans are mortal’ is true, people will check if all human members are mortal instead of verifying if any immortal beings are included in humans. In other words, since the sentence is about humans, not about immortal beings, people will check what they know about human and eventually expand the knowledge about humans as they assess the truth of the sentence.

Kuno (1973)’s description of ‘*thematic -wa*’ is one of the most mentioned articles about topic particle. In the article, he explained nature of theme and proposed two functions of *-wa*. *-Wa* is often considered as equivalent to *-nun* in Korean language. One of two functions of *-wa* was marking a topic and he called this type of *wa* as *thematic wa*. He claimed that NP must be anaphoric in order to be considered as a topic. He also suggested that generic NPs are often considered as theme. Kuno defined anaphoric NPs as referents that “has already been referred to,

so that listeners know what the speaker is talking about” (pg. 39). He stated that anaphoric NPs can be “within the same sentence, in the temporary registry, or in the permanent registry (as in the case with the sun, my wife, etc.)” (pg. 40). For generic noun phrases, he described them as phrases that “refer to classes such as man (human beings in general), American (Americans in general all Americans) and the linguist (linguists in general) (pg. 41).

Although Kuno’s arguments maybe insightful, his claim that a topic NP must be anaphoric conflicts with Strawson’s (1964) claim that a topic NP is not always a given information.

In this section, the findings from representative previous literatures on the notion of topic were described to show that there is no consensual agreement in identifying a sentential topic.

### **2.2.1.2 Focus**

Focus has been defined in many ways. Probably the most common way is to explain focus in terms of discourse function that expresses prominence of the information over other information. Halliday (1967), Chafe (1976), Prince (1981b), and Lambrecht (1994) are some of the prominent figures who take this approach. They often associate focus with categorization of old and new information and claim new information receive prominence or focus.

Halliday (1967) suggested that information focus is one type of emphasis. It reflects the part of the information that the speaker wishes to emphasize in the sentence. Halliday defined focal as new information, “but not in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned ... but in the sense that the speaker presents

it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse” (p. 204). He then stated that information focus is assigned in terms of the two factors, ‘given’ and ‘new.’

Jackendoff (1972) adopted Halliday’s dichotomized idea of focus and proposed that information can be separated into old and new information that can be identified by syntactic constituents in the sentence. According to Jackendoff, information can be divided “into presupposition and focus, and that this division is somehow reflected in the syntactic structure of a sentence” (Jackendoff, 1972, p. 230).

Lambrecht (1994) proposed three types of <sup>6</sup>focus, drawing on the theory of information structure, which is “concerned with the relationship between linguistic form and the mental states of speakers and hearers” (p. 1). In this framework, he defined focus as “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (1994, p. 213). The three types of focus he proposes are predicate-focus, argument-focus and sentence-focus. Examples of each type of focus are provided below.

(2.3) PREDICATE-FOCUS STRUCTURE

A: What happened to your car?

B: My car/It broke DOWN.

ARGUMENT-FOCUS STRUCTURE

A: I heard your motorcycle broke down?

B: My CAR broke down.

SENTENCE-FOCUS STRUCTURE

A: What happened?

B: My CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994, p. 223)

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<sup>6</sup> Lambrecht (1994) stated prosodic feature is not a mandatory feature of focus although it is closely related to the notion of focus. Thus it was not included in this dissertation.

Lambrecht determined the types of focus by where focal information lies in the sentence. Therefore, the predicate of a sentence is the focal element in the predicate focus structure whereas the argument or the NP is the focal element in the argument focus structure. Regarding the sentence focus structure, he claimed that the proposition of focus can only be expressed by all constituents of a sentence.

In his view, focus is defined as a pragmatically structured proposition, not a syntactic manifestation, which is different from Jackendoff's (1972) notion of focus, where the information is categorized into old and new information, identified as syntactic constituents. Also, Lambrecht described focus construction as a relational construction in respect to the proposition of a sentence, which allowed having predicates, NPs, and the entire sentence as the focal element, whereas Halliday was not specific about whether focal element is defined as the unit of a word or as an entire sentence.

In this study, I follow Lambrecht's definition of focus for several reasons. First, Lambrecht's definition allows a pragmatic interpretation of presupposition. Second, the use of the term "pragmatic assertion," that is, "the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered" (1994, p. 52), prevents potential confusion caused by misinterpretation of the terms "old" and "new" information.

- (2.4) A: Did you go to the restaurant or the theater?  
B: I went to the theater.

(Lambrecht 1994, p. 211)

In the example above, *the theater* is technically old information in the sense that Person A had mentioned it in his utterance, so it cannot be the focal element in Person B's utterance, although it is clear that *the theater* is the information that Person B wishes to convey as focus. The notion of pragmatic assertion prevents

this kind of misinterpretation. Although Halliday (1967, p. 204) specifically stated that old information is not meant “in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned,” some linguists, including H-b. Im (2007), have interpreted “old” in this literal sense. In order to avoid such confusion, I follow Lambrecht’s definition of focus.

### **2.3 Case**

Understanding case particles entails a proper understanding of case. Without knowledge of case, it becomes impossible to accurately describe case particles.

Case was traditionally depicted as a marked relation between nouns and predicates in a sentence (Hockett, 1958, p. 234), but numerous modifications have been made to this definition to provide a more complete and accurate description. For example, Hockett’s definition excludes genitive case because genitive case marks the relation between two nouns. Nowadays, case is generally defined as marking the syntactic relation between the head and the syntactically bound noun (Blake, 2001, p. 1). This definition allows the genitive case to be included because the second noun becomes the nucleus of the first noun.

Another example of modification is a conceptual extension of case. Case was originally used to refer only to inflectional marking but, nowadays, it may be extended to cover prepositions or postpositions. Furthermore, in recent theories, any mechanisms that express the relationship that dependent nouns bear to their heads are considered to indicate case. Thus, even word order can denote case. In this view, case is “abstract existing independently of the means of expression” (Blake, 2001, p. 47) and considered a universal phenomenon.

Regarding the function of case, O'Grady (1991) explained that case carries the information about the type of category with which a nominal combines. Therefore, accusative case indicates that the nominal should combine with a transitive verbal category whereas a nominal with nominative case should combine with a non-transitive verbal category. O'Grady later redefined case in terms of dependency and he suggested that "case markers are functors that add to a nominal a dependency on a verbal category of the appropriate type" (O'Grady, 2004, p. 7).

In grammars of the Korean language, case has been defined in different ways and sometimes even considered not to exist. S-j. Ko (2004, p. 27), drawing on findings of K-s. Nam (1991), enumerated three types of definition of case that were used before 1990. In the first type of definition, case was described as the relation that nominal phrases bear to other constituents in a sentence, and case is licensed by case particles. In this sense, case describes a relationship, which can be defined syntactically and semantically, between a noun and its predicates or other nominal phrases. Therefore, this definition allowed both structural case and semantic case. The second type defined case purely syntactically, as a slot that nominals occupy in a sentence; these nominals fulfill their syntactic functions through particles. In this type of definition, cases that are defined semantically in the first type of definition were described as connective words. In the third type of definition, case was defined as a status or slot of nominals as a constituent of the sentence in respect to predicates. This is similar to the second type of definition, but here, the relation is limited to the predicate only.

H-m. Sohn (1999, p 327) defined the case as "the grammatical relation that a noun has *vis-à-vis* its predicate, another noun, a clause or a discourse." He stated case can be categorized into two group, syntactic and semantic case. Syntactic case

includes nominative, accusative, and genitive cases, whereas the semantic group includes dative, goal, and locative cases, among others. Semantic cases are marked by case particles whereas syntactic case may not be overtly marked. He also stated that “this dichotomy, however, does not preclude syntactic case particles from having some semantic functions as well and vice versa.

On the other hand, some linguists have challenged the existence of case in Korean. Y.-h. Kim (1974, cited in D.-h. Im, 2002, p. 151), under the influence of case grammar, (Fillmore, 1968) defined case as the syntactic relations between NPs at the deep structural level and claimed that particles merely mark these relations in the surface structure. Therefore, she used the terms “subjective” and “objective” particles instead of “case” particles, in order to reserve “case” to describe deep structure. Im (2002) also cited that Suh (1994) extended Kim’s denial of the idea of case particles to categorize them as functional markers. In addition, Suh labeled particles that appear after an adverbial clause “postpositions.”

S.-j. Ko (2001, 2004) advocated the view that the Korean language does not have case. His claim is based on the following reasons: First, he claimed that nouns in Korean do not reflect different cases through morphological changes as in Indo-European languages such as Latin or German. Second, Korean case particles are used at the clause or phrase level, whereas case particles are attached only to nouns, or at the lexical level. Third, Korean cases do not have one-to-one correspondence with case particles. Fourth, in Korean, case particles, which should denote only grammatical functions, may change the meaning of a sentence. Fifth, case stacking phenomena are found in the Korean language. Sixth, nominative case particles, -*i/ka*, can not be used with indefinite pronouns. And finally, the meaning or function of nominative case particles varies by situation in Korean.

H-s. Lee (2006a, p. 139) made similar claims regarding case. Lee also argued that particles in the Korean language have semantic meaning and therefore are not like those of the Latin language where cases are inflected through suffixes, and suffixes only fulfill a grammatical function with no meaning. What is more important is his claim that NPs without case particles do not have any case. He proposed that only NPs that are overtly marked have specific syntactic and semantic meanings, whereas NPs that are not overtly marked by particles can have diverse grammatical and functional meanings (p. 156).

Y-w. Han (2003, p. 6), defined case as the syntactic position that nouns bear and claimed that case is licensed by word order. Only when case cannot be licensed by position are particles added to license case. If case appears even when case can be determined by word order, it is not structural case but aspectual case that shows subjectification.

## **2.4 Theory of ellipsis**

Ellipsis refers to the omission of a sentential element. According to Merchant (2012, p. 2), “the term ellipsis has been applied to a wide range of phenomena across the centuries, from any situation in which words appear to be missing.” Ellipsis is defined in the *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* (2002, p. 177) as “the leaving out of words or phrases from sentences where they are unnecessary because they have already been referred to or mentioned.” The *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* (2007, p.119) similarly defines it as “the omission of one or more elements...when they are supplied by the context.” (2.5) is an example of bare argument ellipsis, called stripping, in which only one constituent remains while other constituents are elided (Lobeck 1995).

(2.5) Jane gave a gift to Jason, but *Jane did* not to Dorris.

Although *Jane did* is missing, the sentence is still accepted as a proper sentence.

Other types of ellipsis include gapping, sluicing, and nominal ellipsis, among others, but these are not within the scope of this dissertation, and are not discussed further.

McShane (2005) proposed the theory of ellipsis. Although Levinsohn (2009) questioned whether McShane's findings can really be described as theory, McShane, drawing on Nirenburg and Raskin's (2004) work, argued that

*a theory can be defined as a combination of its function and its components. Its function must be to promote (1) selection of the best description methodology and (2) subsequent evaluation of the quality of the description, leading to iterative improvements in both methodology and description. (p. 5)*

Indeed, she compiled numerous descriptions of ellipsis and provided general rules of ellipsis as well as confirming that it is a universal property of natural language. Considering that the majority of previous studies on ellipsis have had descriptive purposes and focused on what can be elided, I believe that McShane shed some new light on the topic.

One of McShane's (2005) main arguments is that there exists semantic ellipsis in addition to syntactic and morphological ellipsis. She defined syntactic ellipsis as "the nonexpression of a word or phrase that is, nevertheless, expected to occupy a place in the syntactic structure of a sentence" (p. 1) and semantic ellipsis as "the nonexpression of elements that, while crucial for a full semantic interpretation, are not signaled by a syntactic gap" (p. 3). Stripping or bare argument ellipsis, as in (2.5), is syntactic ellipsis. An example of semantic ellipsis is shown in (2.6).

(2.6) John is reading *Tolstoy*.

(2.6) means that John is reading a book written by *Tolstoy*; "a book written by" is omitted, yet there is not a syntactic gap.

Two conditions must be fulfilled by an ellipsis construction: recoverability and licensing. The condition of recoverability is particularly important for this study because disputes over the existence of the case particle ellipsis phenomenon in Korean mainly involve the issue of recoverability. Those who believe case particle ellipsis does not exist in Korean argue that non-expressed particles cannot be recovered. They also claim that the expression of the particle changes the meaning of a sentence. An exemplary sentence is provided in (2.7), where *Mia* is not marked by any case particle, but it could be marked by either the nominative case marker *-ka* or the topic-contrast marker, *-nun*.

(2.7)   미아 () 자?  
           Mia   ()    ca ?  
           Mia   omitted   sleep?  
           ‘*Is Mia sleeping?*’

This recoverability issue will be discussed in Section 4.2.5, and so will not be pursued further here. However, I believe the key concept of the recoverability condition is that the omitted element must be understandable in the context; recovering the exact element is not the issue. Aelbrecht (2010) made the similar claim that a constituent can be omitted if the hearer can recover the meaning from context while acknowledging the lack of consensus on this topic,

## 2.5 Differential subject/object marking

H.-j. Lee (2008) analyzed ellipsis patterns of Korean case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* using the CallFriend Korean corpus (LDC, 1996) within the framework of the stochastic optimality theory. Her study followed Aissen’s (2003) notion of categorical differential case marking, which is also called differential subject/object

marking to provide an explanation of frequency effects on the case particles in Korean language.

Before Lee's (2008) investigation is described, an explanation of differential object marking (DOM) will be provided for more comprehensive understanding. Differential object marking refers to a phenomenon where some direct objects are overtly case marked while others are not marked. Bossong (1983, p. 8) developed the idea and claimed that "two kinds of semantic properties underlie the differentiation of objects": animacy, which is independent of the context, and referential features, which "vary as a function of syntagmatic and pragmatic environment." DOM is thought to exist in more than 300 languages, including Romanian, Slavonic, and Sino-Tibetan languages (Bossong, 1983), Persian, Hindi (Malchukov, 2008), and Hebrew (Aissen, 2003). Bossong made the hypothesis to predict the likelihood of an object being overtly case-marked using what is known as the Silverstein Hierarchy, and suggested that animacy may be the most important element of semantic distinction. Using this hierarchy, Bossong made predictions as shown in the figure below. The figure 1 shows that if every concrete object noun is marked, then discrete or countable objects should be marked too because they are subclasses of concrete noun, and so on through the hierarchy.

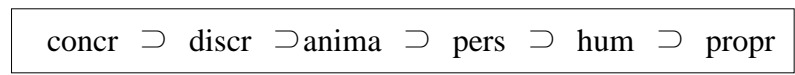


Figure 1. Silverstein hierarchy (Adopted from Bosong, 1983 p. 9)

Aissen (2003) extended the concept of DOM to Differential Subject Marking (DSM) and attempted to formally integrate the "functional-typological understanding of DOM" (p. 439) into generative syntax. He incorporated Prince and Smolensky's (1993) notion of harmonic alignment within the framework of the Optimality Theory

(OT). Although the Optimality Theory is traditionally described as a theory of constraint interaction in phonology, Aissen suggested that the idea of OT is applicable to the DOM phenomenon because the DOM phenomenon is also a product of constraints. Thus, he stated that “the formal operation of harmonic alignment provides the means to express this parallelism between phonology and syntax” (p. 440).

Prince and Smolensky proposed the harmonic alignment (1993, Ch. 8) regarding two kinds of structural positions in the syllable, the Peak and the Margin; onset and coda are included in Margin. Based on this alignment, the unmarked situation is for the Peak to be filled by a relatively more sonorous element like a vowel while the Margin is filled by a relatively less sonorous sound such as an obstruent. According to Aissen, OT allows these hierarchies to be “interpreted as constraint hierarchies and thereby constitute the substance from which grammars are constructed” (p. 442). Constraint hierarchies, which are marked by asterisk (\*) are provided in (2.8).

- (2.8) a. \*MARGIN/VOWEL » ... » \*MARGIN/OBSTRUENT  
 b. \*PEAK/OBSTRUENT » ... » \*PEAK/VOWEL

Adopted from Aissen (2003, p. 442)

Following this approach, Aissen proposed harmonic alignment for the DOM phenomenon in the domain of animacy<sup>7</sup> as shown in (2.9–2.11):

- (2.9) a. Relational Scale: Su(bject) > Object (Oj)  
 b. Animacy Scale: Hum(an) > Anim(ate) > Inan(imate)

(Croft, 1988)

- (2.10) a. Su/Hum  $\alpha$  Su/Anim  $\alpha$  Su/Inan

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<sup>7</sup> Aissen also proposed a constraint hierarchy for definiteness, but it is not included because of space limitations.

b. Oj/Inan  $\alpha$  Oj/Anim  $\alpha$  Oj/Hum

(2.11) a. \*SU/INAN  $\gg$  \*SU/ANIM  $\gg$  \*SU/HUM

b. \*OJ/HUM  $\gg$  \*OJ/ANIM  $\gg$  \*OJ/INAN

The scales in (9) and the hierarchies in (10) and (11) describe the DOM phenomenon that highly prominent object nouns such as those referring to humans will be marked, whereas inanimate objects are less likely to be marked. In addition, by capturing the way that differential subject marking and differential object marking are in a mirror-image relation in the domain of animacy, Aissen extended his claim to the DSM phenomenon.

H-j. Lee (2008) followed Aissen's (2003) study by investigating whether the DSM or the DOM effect is observed in Korean. Lee analyzed patterns of Korean case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* using the CallFriend Korean (CFK) corpus and found that the hierarchies of person, animacy, and definiteness have effects on case ellipsis patterns. Lee showed that NPs high on the hierarchies of person, animacy, and definiteness are more marked as objects than subjects. When such NPs are used as subjects, they are more likely not to be marked by case particles. Lee claimed that these patterns, differential subject marking (DSM) or differential object marking (DOM), are engendered by the need to distinguish subjects and objects. Lee stated that as in "the functional approach of Silverstein (1976), subjects prototypically has features that are high on the hierarchies of person, animacy and definiteness, while objects prototypically have low features" (p. 52). Case particles mark atypical subjects, such as NPs with low animacy, to avoid the interpretation that the NP is the object. To explain the omission of particles, Lee proposed the economy principle of production as a driving force; that is, the speaker tends to use the minimum effort possible to make an utterance.

Similar results were found in H-d. Ahn et al. (2002, p. 77). Ahn et al. also claimed that case ellipsis is driven by “Minimize Effort,” which is heavily restricted by the optimal principle of recognition, “Maximize Information” (p. 78).

## CHAPTER 3

### ARGUMENTS IN CASE PARTICLE ELIIPSIS

#### 3.1 Introductions

This chapter discusses controversial arguments in case particle ellipsis. Case particle ellipsis has been extensively investigated and continues to be the topic of many studies. Considering that ellipsis is a complicated matter that “requires reference to syntax, lexical semantics, discourse, prosody, semantics, stylistics” (McShane 2005, p. 3), it seems inevitable that previous studies on ellipsis phenomena in the Korean language proposed numerous claims from various perspectives. I attempted to classify and show some of the previous literature on case particle ellipsis in Korean based on their proposed influential factors. I classified them into three main categories.

- a. Semantic/pragmatic factors: H.-m. Sohn (1999), Lee & Ramey (2000), S.-j. Ko (2002), Y.-c. Hong (2004), H.-j. Lee (2006a, 2006b), Y.-h. Park (2006), J.-h. Han (2014)
- b. Syntactic factors: Sells (1995), H.-d. Ahn (1988), K.-y. Choi (2005), Y.-c. Hong (1994, 2004), Ahn & Cho (2006), H.-b. Im (2007), H.-b. Chung (2012)
- c. Non-linguistic factors: E.-s. Ko (2001), J.-w. Kim (2003), Eun & Strauss (2004)

Some of these studies (Ahn & Cho 2006; Y.-c. Hong 2004; H.-s. Lee 2006) claim that case particle ellipsis do not exist in Korean. They mainly claim that bare NPs are not the same as NPs with omitted particles in that those bare NPs do not allow any particles to be assigned.

Before describing these claims, it seems that case particles must be defined first. In the next section, I have described and categorized previous claims regarding Korean case particles. The categorization of *-ka* and *-lul* has engendered many discussions due to their dual functions. They are generally described as syntactic particles that fulfill grammatical functions. Nevertheless, they often denote pragmatic meanings such as exclusiveness, focus or etc. This multifarious nature caused disagreement how they should be categorized.

## **3.2 Controversial Issues**

### **3.2.1 Case particle categorization**

As mentioned, one of the controversial topic over case particle ellipsis is related to categorization of the case particles. Case particles may be categorized as structural case which only marks syntactic relation while they can also be categorized as semantic or pragmatic marker.

Regarding the classification of particles in the past, C-s. Suh (1996, p. 122) described three major types of categorization, which all recognized the function of case particles to fulfill the syntactic roles of marking the subject and object of a sentence. Cwu (1910 cited in Suh 1996) represents the first type. He categorized particles and sentence enders into separate categories just as nouns or verbs. He classified structural cases as *kyes* and connective particles as *is*. Cwu's system shows the agglutinative nature of the Korean language and emphasizes the importance of dependent grammatical elements such as particles and sentence enders.

In the second type of categorization, only particles were considered as a separate category. Sentence-enders were included in the predicate category. H.-p.

Choy's (1930) is the major work that proposed this classification. His classification system became widespread, and eventually it was used in Korean language education. Choy's system reflects the natures of both agglutinative languages and Indo-European languages, but for this reason engendered numerous controversies about how to provide explanations for phenomena such as case stacking or multiple nominative/accusative case sentences.

Another type of classification recognizes particles and sentence-enders as inflected enders. In this system, the agglutinative nature of the Korean language is not reflected. For this reason, this classification was rarely recognized (Suh, 1996, p. 123).

In S-j. Ko (2001, 2004), the notion of case particles in the Korean language is completely rejected, just as is the concept of case. Believing that the conventional classifications of particles are made under the false assumption that case exists in Korean, Ko proposed a new system of classification based on the distribution patterns of particles and their meanings. Drawing on the study of Y-j. Nam (1997), which analyzed the types of NPs that each particle is allowed to combine with (Ko, 2004, p. 124), Ko showed that the structural particles *-ka* and *-lul* have similar patterns as the delimiters *-nun* and *-to*. He also supported his claim by showing that *-ka* and *-lul* are realized in the last slot, just as are *-nun* and *-to*, and he went on to suggest a new classification of particles, which is shown in Table 1. The conventional classification is also shown for comparison.

Table 2. Classification of particles by combining order and semantic function

Slot order	Previous	Examples	Suggestions
1	Case particle/ postposition	<i>ey, ekey, ese, lo</i>	Functional particle
	Case particle/ connective	<i>kwa, (hako)chelem</i>	

2	Delimiter/semantic particle	<i>man, puthē, kkaci cocha, mace, mada</i>	Delimiter (?) particle
3	Case particle	<i>ka, lul, ui</i>	Aspectual particle
	Delimiter	<i>nun, to, ya, na, nama, lato</i>	
Exception		<i>yo, lako</i>	

S-j. Ko (2004, p. 130)

Ko described the first type as functional particles because they function to denote the meaning of the NPs that precede them. For example, *-ey* denotes the meaning of place whereas *-lo* denotes the meaning of path or instrument. The second type contains delimiters such as *-man*, and these particles do not fulfill any syntactic roles. The third type, which he called aspectual particles, are similar to discourse markers. Ko explained that these aspectual particles do not fulfill syntactic roles or delimit the NP, but have pragmatic meanings, such as the use of *-nun* to show the speaker's intention to contrast two topics.

K-y. Choi (2005), emphasizing that agglutinative nature of Korean, also proposed a new way of categorizing particles. For Choi, the previous dichotomization of particles into case particles and non case particles was not really based on criteria but rather on characteristics of each type; he claimed that Korean particles have agglutinative functions such as marking parsing units and licensing position for overt realization, and prominence. He used two of these functions, licensing position and prominence, to categorize particles. For example, he proposed that structural case particles have [-licensing position, -prominence] features whereas semantic particles have [+licensing position, -prominence] features. Although he introduced a novel perspective regarding particle categorization, he did not provide actual classifications of particles, stating that further investigations are required.

I argue that dual nature of case particles must be acknowledged to accurately capture the function of *-ka* and *-lul* so that they can be properly categorized. For example, S-j. Ko (2004) claims that these two particles are the aspectual particles but he overlooked the fact that *-ka* only follows nominative case referent, whereas *-lul* only follows accusative case referent, but never vice-versa. In this vein, I conform to the traditional view that they are structural particles. However, I disagree with H.p. Choy (1930) that case is only licensed by the case particles. I argue that although these particles may overtly mark a case of a sentential element for the purpose of disambiguation, case, a relation of an argument to its predicate, is rather determined thematically. This gives rise to the question of the function of structural particles. I suggest that structural particles overtly express case; however, these particles are optional elements in that they do not license case, and this aspect that they are optional elements allows them to function as pragmatic markers that express a speaker's intention, such as emphasis and contrastiveness, without having lexical meanings such as semantic particles.

### 3.2.2 Topic-contrast particle ‘*-nun*’

Another controversy regarding the case particle ellipsis in Korean is involved with the so-called topic-contrast particle *-nun*.

- (3.1) 미아 ∅ 숙제 했어?  
 Mia-∅ swukcey haysse?  
 Mia-∅ homework do-PST-INT  
 ‘Did Mia do homework?’

In (3.1), a case particle is not expressed. A native speaker's intuition suggests that there are two possible candidates to mark ‘*Mia*’. They are a nominative case particle ‘*-ka*’ and a so-called topic or topic-contrast particle *-nun*; yet it seems

impossible to accurately recover the omitted element. I argue in Chapter 3.2.3 that exact recoverability of the omitted word is not a requirement of ellipsis, so the discussion about recovering exact omitted word may not be much meaningful. However, this particular problem must be addressed, because this has been a controversial topic engendering many disputes, and I argue that *-nun* is rarely omitted in conversational Korean. First, it must be stated that (3.1) is a constructed sentence; therefore, any attempt to recover the omitted particle is problematic since context is not provided at all. Given that my assumption about the context of (3.1) is correct, ‘*Mia*’ in (3.1) is most likely a referential marker, a constituent in an external argument position, which should be realized without any particle.

Assuming that a particle is omitted, I propose that it must be the nominative case particle *-ka*, because the so-called topic-contrast particle *-nun* is almost never omitted. In order to support this claim, the particle *-nun* must be accurately defined.

*-Nun* has two main functions: marking a topic constituent and contrasting a constituent. *-Nun* must be expressed when it marks the contrasting constituent, because the constituent receives focus as in (3.2) (Lambrecht 1994, H.-m. Sohn 1999, Winkler 2005).

(3.2) A:   오늘 파티에 유미가 오냐?  
           onul   phathi-ey    Yumi-ka                   o-nya?  
           today party-LOC   Yumi-NM    come-PLN  
           ‘*Is Yumi coming to the party today?*’

B:       몰라, 그런데 미아는 못 와.  
           molla,           kulentey    Mia-nun       mos   w-a.  
           do not know   but           Mia-TC       cannot come-INT  
           ‘*I don’t know but Mia can’t come*’

In (3.2), B replies to A that Mia cannot come and Mia is in contrast to those who can come to the party. Mia is a focus element, and *-nun* as a contrastive particle marks the referent *Mia*. This nature of *-nun* indicates that the particle can be ellipsed only when it functions as a so-called topic marker.

I first claim that the so-called Korean topic particle *-nun* should not be labeled as topic marker. I argued that function of *-nun* that marks the topic is inaccurate description, and the function of marking topics actually shows contrastiveness with domainless universe as H-m. Sohn (1981) argued. Secondly, I claim that *-nun* is rarely omitted in conversations, because its fundamental meaning is ‘to contrast’, and topical referents are mostly omitted in Korean.

The so-called topic marker *-nun* has been described extensively in the literature of Korea, and three major functions of *-nun* have been suggested in the literature. H.-k. Park (2007) categorized previous studies into three categories. The following excerpt is taken from Park (2007, p. 93).

*First, Choi, Hyeonbae (1978) and Huh, Woong (1995) described -nun from traditional grammar perspective. Choi (1978: 636-650) suggested ‘-nun’ functions as ‘different’ and ‘title of proposition’ whereas Huh (1995: 1409~1410) described it as uniquely different, titles or emphasis.*

*Secondly, there are studies that compared meaning differences between -ka and -nun. These studies are Nam, Ki-sim (1972), Im, Hong-bin (1972/1998), Kim, Jong-taek (1977), Choi, Kyusoo (1991, 1993), Lee, Chunsook (1993), Hong, Saman (2002) and Ko, Seok-joo (2002) and etc. They described functions of -ka as exclusive contrast, optional selection or marking new information/unknown entity whereas -nun as contrastiveness, or marking old information/known entity.*

*Lastly, there are studies described -nun from notions such as topic-comment, presupposition, focus, given or new information. These studies are Nam, Ki-sim (1972), Im, Hong-bin (1972), Yang, Donghui (1975), Chae, Wan (1976, 1977), Kim, Ilwoong (1980, 1984a, 1984b), Lee, Pilyeong (1982), Sung, Kicheol (1984), Lee, Chunsook (1993), Suh, Chungsoo (1996), Hong, Sa-man (2002), Choi Kyusoo (1991, 1999, 2004), Jun, Yeongchel (2006) and etc.*

Park (2007) also stated that Im (1972) and Yang (1975) described syntactic role of *-nun* in sentence structure. Im particularly argued that *-nun* should be categorized as a topic marker, which embraces meanings such as emphasis, confrontation, exclusion and restriction. However, he stated that topical *-nun* is often omitted in spoken forms in that topicality cannot be the fundamental meaning of *-nun*.

Studies by Sung (1984), Suh (1996), Nam (1972) and Chae (1976, 1977) described *-nun* from a discourse perspective. Sung (1984) and Suh (1996) considered that fundamental meaning of *-nun* is ‘to contrast’, whereas Nam (1972) and Chae (1976, 1977) considered that *-nun* has two separate functions, which are to mark the topic and to contrast (p. 93).

I claim that *-nun* is not a topic marker based on the following reasons.

First, in order for *-nun* to be called as a topic marker, every topic should be marked as *-nun*. As you know, this is not true. A topic can be marked by many other particles in Korean such as *-ka*, *-to*, etc.

- (3.3) A:    맥스가 누굴 좋아해?  
           Mayksu-ka   nwukwu-l    cohahay?  
           Max-NM     who-AC     like-INT?  
           ‘Max likes Mia?’
- B:    맥스가 로사를 좋아하지.  
           Max-ka     Rosa-lul     cohaha-ci.  
           Max NM    Rosa AC     like-suppose  
           ‘Max likes Rosa.’

In (3.3), the topic element is Max, which is old and the given referent in this conversation. However, it is marked by *-ka*. One may argue that the speaker perhaps intended to emphasize Max, which induced realization of *-ka*. This may be true, but it does not change the status of Max. Max is still a topic element, and not a focus element. *-Ka* used to be called as subject case markers in traditional grammar, but they are now called nominative case particles, because *-ka* do not

always mark subjects, but are realized following any nominal phrases. In the same vein, *-nun* should not be called as topic marker since it solely does not always mark a topic. Many literatures that consider *-nun* as a topic marker ignore this crucial fact and only show examples in which *-nun* is realized after a topic NP of a sentence.

(3.4) A: 그 남자는 어때?  
 ku namca-nun ett-ay?  
 that man-TC how INT  
 ‘How is that man?’

B1: 그 남자는 괜찮았어.  
 ku namca-nun kwaynchanh-ass-e.  
 that man-TC all right-PST-INT  
 ‘As for that man, he is okay.’

B2: 그 남자가 괜찮았어.  
 ku namca-ka kwaynchanh-ass-e.  
 that man-NM all right-PST-INT  
 ‘It is that man who is all right.’

Imagine A and B are talking about the man that B met through the arranged marriage meeting. B may answer A’s question as (B1) or (B2). If *-nun* is truly a topic marker, *ku namca* ‘that man’ in B2 should lose its topic status. However, that is not the case. Regardless of what type of particle is realized, ‘that man’ does not lose its status as a topic element of B’s response. One may argue that ‘that man’ in B2 is a <sup>8</sup>focused element due to the so-called exhaustive function of *-ka*. I argue that this kind of confusion rises from misunderstanding the notion of topic/focus construction. Determination of topic/focus elements are decided by the notion of relational givenness and newness. ‘That man’ is a matter of standing current interest or concern and the speaker intends to increase the addressee’s

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<sup>8</sup> The term focus here means a linguistic term. Focus as a term in general is used for emphasis and should not affect the status of sentential topic.

*knowledge about*. Therefore ‘that man’ is a topic of the sentence. –*Ka* in (3.4 B2) amplifies the prominence of the referent, but it does not change the topic status of the referent. In addition, I find it difficult that a pragmatic notion such as topic can be always licensed or marked by a particle, because this is rather a syntactic relation. This is why maybe Lambrecht (1994) stated that “it accounts for the fact that in those languages which do have formal topic marking this marking reflects only imperfectly the relative degrees of topicality of given referents” (p. 119). Lambrecht also stated that if the topic is determined by the notion of aboutness or as the matter of the current interest, “the relevance of the referent being considered as a topic in respect to the discourse is crucial that the topic of a sentence on the basis of the syntactic structure of the sentence alone” are not reliable topic indicators<sup>9</sup>(p. 120). As shown in the examples so far, the function of –*nun* as a topic marker is imperfect; hence, it should not be named as a topic marker. Therefore, claims such as topical –*nun* omitted in conversation are based on incorrect description regarding the function of –*nun*.

Another important point that I want to address is that the so-called topic marker –*nun* is not even allowed syntactically in a colloquial conversation, because topical referents are mostly ellipsed. Topic elements are generally old/given information. These recoverable NP elements are omitted in Korean language, because Korean is a situational language. If NPs are not realized, particles cannot be used; hence, there will be no particle to be omitted. Therefore, all or most of ‘–*nun*’ that are realized in colloquial conversations must show contrastiveness.

(3.5) 유미 ( ) 숙제 했어?  
 Yumi ( ) swukcey hay-ss-e?

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<sup>9</sup> He meant this statement in English, but I believe it is also applicable to the Korean language.

Yumi ( ) homework do-PST-INT  
 ‘Did Yumi do homework?’

‘-*Nun*’ and ‘-*ka*’ are both syntactically allowed to be realized in the parenthesis.

Many scholars have debated which one of the particles ‘-*nun*’ or ‘-*ka*’ was ellipsed.

Based on the arguments that I provided, it is clear that it is not ‘-*nun*’ for sure. If ‘-

*nun*’ is used as a topic marker, *Yumi* should be omitted. Therefore, the so-called

topic marker ‘-*nun*’ is not a possible candidate. If ‘-*nun*’ functions as a delimiter

that expresses contrastiveness, it should not be omitted, because contrastive ‘-*nun*’ is

always realized. Therefore, only two options are available. It is ‘-*ka*’ or ‘*Yumi*’

as a bare NP. (3.4) and (3.5) are constructed sentences, and these two examples

showed that working with constructed sentences without any context can be

misleading. In real life, a conversation would occur in the following form as shown

in (3.6)

(3.6) A: 그 남자는 어땠어?  
 ku namca-nun ettay-ss-e?  
 that man-TC how-PST-INT  
 ‘How was that man?’

B: (zero) 관 찰 았 어.  
 (zero) kwaynchanh-ass-e.  
 (He) all right-PST-INT.  
 ‘(He) was all right.’

In (3.6), the subject or the topical constituent is omitted in B’s response, because *ku*

*namca* ‘**that man**’, which is already given in the question, is a recoverable element

and hence, it is not realized again. Since the referent is omitted, the particle is not

allowed.

Below is an excerpt from the data I collected. A and B were talking about the beach that B went to with her friends, and A who can’t really swim was

wondering how the beach was. In this excerpt, discourse old constituents are omitted.

Excerpt 2

1. A:    별로 안 깊었어 물이?  
          pyello  an  kiph-ess-e       mwul-i?  
          so so    not deep-PST-INT  water-NM  
          ‘*Water was not really deep?*’
  
2.    B: → (zero) 진짜 안 깊어. 가도 가도 안 깊어.  
          (zero) cincca an kiph-e.    kato kato  an    kiph-e.  
          (zero) really not deep-INT, go go    not    deep INT  
          ‘*It really was not deep even if you go farther and farther.*’
  
3.    A: → (zero) 거기 원래 좀 안 깊은덴가?  
          (Zero) keki  wenlay       com  an    kiph-un  
          (zero) there  originally  DM   not    deep-RL  
          tey-n-ka?  
          place-RL-guess?  
          ‘*I guess water is just not deep there.*’

As mentioned before, the topic element, *mul* ‘water’ in this excerpt is omitted in line 2 and line 3. I call this phenomenon heavy subject/object constraint, because Korean tends to omit old/given constituents.

I have one more point that I want to address regarding example (3.6), which is shown again below.

- (3.6) A:    그 남자는 어땀어?  
          ku    namca-nun  ettay-ss-e?  
          that  man-TC       how-PST-INT  
          ‘*How was that man?*’
  
- (3.7) B:    그 남자는 괜찮았어.  
          ku    namca-nun  kwaynchanh-ass-e.  
          That  man-TC       all-right-PST-INT  
          ‘*As for that man, he was okay.*’

In B's response, a discourse old referent *ku namca* 'that man' is not omitted. Why is it realized although it is recoverable? This is because the speaker intends to contrast him with other men that she met in the arranged marriage meeting, and this contrastiveness meaning is shown through the particle *-nun*. If *-nun* is not realized as shown below, the contrastive meaning is lost. In this case, I assume 'that man' is realized for other purpose such as confirming that A's question is about him, or because B needs to take some time before answering the question.

- (3.8) A:    그 남자는 어땠어?  
           ku    namca-nun    ettay-ss-e?  
           That man-TC        how-PST-INT  
           '*How was that man?*'
- B:    그 남자, 괜찮았어.  
           ku    namca, kwaynchanh-ass-e.  
           That   man   all-right-PST-INT  
           '*That man, he was okay.*'

In this section, I argued that so-called topic particle *-nun* can not be omitted, because so-called topical referent or NP, which is discourse old/given is not realized in conversational Korean due to Korean being a situational language. I also argued earlier that *-nun*'s fundamental meaning is to contrast. So claims that topical *-nun* is omitted are based on an inaccurate idea. To support my claim, I showed that *-nun* is an imperfect topic marker. All topics are not marked by *-nun*, and *-nun* does not always mark a topic. If the fundamental function of *-nun* is to mark a topic, its meaning should be always retained, but that's not the case. Secondly, adopting Lambrecht (1994), I stated that topic, which is a pragmatic term, should not be defined syntactically. Topic is an extremely difficult concept to be defined, and the only consensual point is that topic is what the sentence is about. However, this consensual idea seems too abstract to be syntactically determined, and it results in an imperfect description that has engendered many arguments.

### 3.2.3 <sup>10</sup>Arguments against ellipsis: Syntactic approaches

Ahn and Cho (2006, 2007) argued that sentences with non-canonical word orders do not allow the ellipsis of the nominative case particles but do allow the ellipsis of the accusative case particles. Y-c. Hong (1994, 2004) made a similar claim that the nominative case particles in such sentences must be realized in the specifier position. Exemplary “scrambled” (i.e., non-canonical word order) sentences are given in (3.9–3.11). The first two are acceptable, but the sentence in (3.11), in which the nominative case particle is omitted, is unacceptable.

- (3.9) 철수를 메리가 만났어.  
Chelswu-lul Mary-ka manna-ss-e.  
Chelsoo-Acc Mary-Nom meet-Pst-INT  
'Mary met Chelsoo.'
- (3.10) 철수 메리가 만났어.  
Chelswu Mary-ka manna-ss-e.  
Chelsoo(-Acc) Mary-Nom meet-PST-INT  
'Mary met Chelsoo.'
- (3.11) \*철수를 메리 만났어.  
\*Chelswu-lul Mary manna-ss-e.  
Chelsoo-Acc Mary(-Nom) meet-PST-INT  
'Mary met Chelsoo.'

(Ahn and Cho 2007: 54)

Ahn and Cho (2006) adopted the determiner phrase (DP) hypothesis and Landau's (2007) proposal regarding the extended projection principle (EPP). In Korean linguistics, case morphemes are analyzed under two main hypotheses, the noun phrase (NP) hypothesis and the DP hypothesis. Under the NP hypothesis, the case morphemes are treated as inflectional suffixes; thus, case particles are attached to

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<sup>10</sup> It is also arguable that case particles ellipsis is actually a case particle insertion. Although this is an insightful idea, this was not included in the dissertation since previous studies that made such claim could be found.

their head nouns (Sells 1995). Under the DP hypothesis, case particles are treated as a functional category, and they form their own phrases, DPs, based on the fact that the case particles and delimiters of Korean share characteristics with determiners of other languages (Ahn and Cho 2007). The tree structures of NP and DP are shown below. If a nominal is without an overt case particle, it is regarded as a DP whose head is a null D.

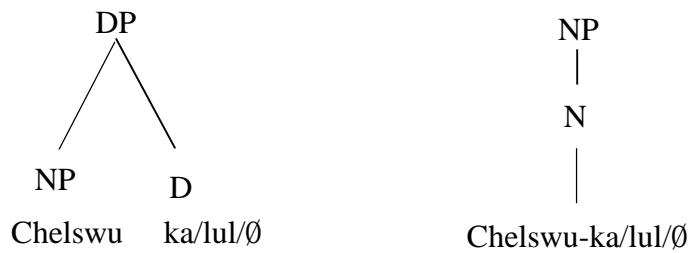


Figure 2. DP structure and NP structure

The EPP (Extended Projection Principle) is a hypothesis proposed by Chomsky (1981), according to which a clause must have a subject. This structural requirement explains why English has expletive subjects, for example in *It rained yesterday*. This is allowed because the EPP only requires a subject to have syntactic features ( $\Phi$  features), such as case. Semantically empty elements therefore still fulfill this requirement. Landau (2007) developed this idea, proposing that the head of the EPP-satisfier, which is a determiner or case particle in languages such as Korean, must be pronounced. Ahn and Cho (2006, 2007) adopted this proposal and claimed that ellipsis of nominative case particles is not allowed because the head is not pronounced, which explains the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (3.11) above.

I propose that (3.11) becomes unacceptable because the absence of the nominative case particle hinders interpretation of the sentence for the receiver, not because a subject position does not allow ellipsis, as Ahn and Cho (2006, 2007)

claimed. One function of the case particles is to distinguish between subjects and objects. Hence, a preference exists for subjects and objects that are in ambiguous environments—such as sentences that have non-canonical word order or that contain many modifiers—to be marked by the case particles.

Regarding (3.10), in which the accusative case particle is omitted, I argue that this type of structure interferes with comprehension much less than that in (4.11) because the receiver of the message can interpret the unmarked NP as a non-sentential element, which is often called topicalization or left dislocation.

H-s. Lee (2006) adopted a semantic approach to claim that the case particle ellipsis phenomenon becomes problematic in regard to two notions: meaning change and recoverability. He argued that the omission or realization of a particle can bring a change in meaning. Ellipsis is presumed to not create any change in meaning, which is why the ellipsis phenomenon is sometimes explained by the economy principle or, from a sociolinguistic view, as related to the level of formality. Claiming that case particle ellipsis in Korean violates these two conditions, Lee argued against the existence of case ellipsis in Korean. The examples in (3.12) are from Lee.

- (3.12) a.      철수 밥 먹어.  
                  Chelswu    pap    mek-e.  
                  Chelswu    meal   eat-INT  
                  ‘Chelswu is eating a meal.’
- b.      철수가 밥 먹어.  
                  Chelswu-**ka**   pap    mek-e.  
                  Chelswu-NM   meat   eat-INT  
                  ‘It is Chelswu who is eating a meal.’

Lee (2006, p. 141)

Although the two sentences in (3.12) have the same propositional meaning, that Chelswu is having a meal, they can pragmatically have two different meanings. In

(a), the speaker is simply describing the fact that Chelswu is having a meal, but (b) also expresses the speaker's feelings by emphasizing that it is Chelswu who is eating, not anyone else. In this sense, these are two different sentences rather than one being a variation of the other. Lee claims that explanations disregarding this kind of meaning change are based on the view that case particles have only grammatical functions, not lexical meanings. He argues that the case particles have lexical meanings, as shown in (3.12b), and that therefore omitting these particles will change the meaning of a sentence because the particles' meanings will be lost.

I disagree with Lee, and argue that ellipsis of the case particle does exist in Korean. First of all, I find it problematic to use the term "lexical meaning" to denote the pragmatic meanings that can be expressed by case particles such as *-ka* or *-lul*. I believe that pragmatic meanings are derived from context; therefore, pragmatic meanings are not equivalent to lexical meanings. If *-ka* or *-lul* have lexical meanings, they should be able to express their lexical meanings independently without any context, like *-ey* 'at', or *-eyse* 'from' or 'at'. *-Ka* and *-lul* do not have any lexical meaning. In addition, although Lee proposed that *-ka* and *-lul* have lexical meanings, he did not specifically define what they are. The example in (3.12b) was translated as 'it is *Chelswu* who is eating a meal', but this translation does not work all the time. In some situations, as in excerpt 3, the degree of emphasis created by the particles is not always so intense. Translating *-ka* with Lee's proposed lexical meaning would sometimes make a sentence awkward. Excerpt (3) demonstrates such a situation.

Excerpt 3

A: 그냥 아무 얘기나 하면 돼요?  
 kunyang amwu yayki-na ham-yen tway-yo?  
 Just any story-or do-if ok-POL

*'Is it okay to do (talk) any story?'*

B: 캠핑 얘기 하자, 캠핑.  
khaymphing yayki ha-ca, khaymphing.  
camping story do-PR camping  
*'Let's talk about camping, camping'*

→ 내가 적어 왔어. 캠핑 갈 거.  
nay-ka ceke wasse. khaymphing-ka-l-ke.  
I-NM write come-PST-INT camping-go-RL-thing  
*'I wrote and brought a memo about camping'*.

Excerpt (3) is from the experiment that I conducted. The two participants were asked to have a casual conversation for the experiment. Person A asked if it was okay to talk about anything, and then Person B interrupted the researcher's attempt to answer A's question by suggesting they talk about the camping trip that they had planned. She said *nay -ka ceke wasse* 'I wrote and brought the memo'. If we translate this sentence with the lexical meaning that Lee proposed, it becomes, 'It is I who brought the memo', but this translation is awkward considering the context. There were only two people who knew about the camping trip, A and B. It would be strange for B to emphasize that she brought the memo as if someone had asked who brought the memo. Although it was somewhat unexpected for B to bring the memo, the translation with Lee's implied lexical meaning of *-ka* is still awkward.

The next excerpt also shows that the lexical meaning that Lee proposed is not always applicable. Excerpt 4 begins with one of the participants asking if the other participant brought the lotion that she mentioned earlier.

#### Excerpt 4

B: 너 나 이거 로션 갖고 나오라고 했는데 로션 갖고 왔어?  
ne na i ke losyen kacko nao-lako-hay-ss-nuntey  
you, I this thing lotion bring come-QT-do-PST-CNJ  
losyen kacko wa-ss-e?  
lotion bring come-PST-INT  
*'I asked you to bring the lotion, did you bring it?'*

A:     깜빡했어.  
         kkamppak-hay-ss-e.  
         forget-do-PST-INT  
         ‘I completely forgot’

문자 할려다가 그 때 카톡이 와 갔고...  
mwunca  ha-llye-taka        ku  ttay  <sup>11</sup>khathok-i  
text      do-intend-while    that  when  Kakao Talk-NM  
wa -ka-ss-ko...  
come-because-PST-and...  
‘because Kakao Talk (chatting app.) message came when I was about  
to text you’

When B asked A if A brought the lotion, A responded that she completely forgot because she received the text message from the Kakao Talk. She marked the referent, *khathok*, with the case mark *-i*. According to Lee’s argument, this sentence should be translated as ‘it is *khathok* that I received...’ However, this translation is very awkward.. The translation is much more appropriate without such a lexical meaning ascribed to *-i*.

Secondly, even if Lee’s claim that the nominative case particle has a lexical meaning were tenable, the meaning changes that are caused by the realization or omission of case particles are rather negligible. I acknowledge that (3.12a) and (3.12b), which are repeated below for convenience, have pragmatically different meanings and that the particle *-ka* amplifies the prominence of the referent *Chelswu*. However, this kind of meaning change cannot be a significant factor in determining whether the ellipsis phenomenon really exists in Korean. The meaning change is so subtle that the listener would not have any trouble understanding that Chelswu is eating a meal regardless of the presence or absence of case particles.

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<sup>11</sup> Kakao Talk is the text application. *Khathok* is shorten for Kakao Talk message.

- (3.12) a.      철수가 밥 먹어.  
 Chelswu-ka    pap    mek-e.  
 Chelswu-NM   meal   eat-INT  
 ‘Chelswu is eating a meal.’
- b.      철수 밥 먹어.  
 Chelswu ∅    pap    mek-e.  
 Chelswu ∅    meal   eat –INT  
 ‘Chelswu is eating a meal.’

In (3.13), case particles are omitted in each sentence. Lee provided, in parenthesis, possible particles that could be used without making these sentences ungrammatical. He claims that an ellipsed particle cannot be accurately recovered, so this type of structure violates the recoverability condition of ellipsis.

- (3.13) A.      철수는 학교 {∅/에/로/를} 갔어.  
 Chelswu-nun    hakkyo {∅/ey/lo/lul}      ka-ss-e.  
 Chelswu-TC    School {∅/at/into/AC}      go-PST-INT  
 ‘Chelswu went to school’
- B.      그는 어제 미아{∅/와/를} 만났어.  
 ku-nun          ecey          Mia {∅/wa/lul}          manna-ss-e.  
 He-TC          yesterday      Mia {∅/with/AC}      meet-PST-INT  
 ‘He met with Mia’

modified from H.-s. Lee (2006, p. 142)

The differences in meaning that would be made by each particle that Lee provided, particularly between *hakkyo ey* ‘to school’ and *hakkyo lo* ‘into school’ in (3.13), are rather subtle. Even native Korean speakers would have a difficult time pinpointing the difference in meaning.

I argue that Lee applied an overly strict definition of the recoverability condition of ellipsis. Ellipsis allows some room in the interpretation of the omitted element as long as the interpretation does not change the propositional meaning. It is not the case that exact words have to be recovered, according to most definitions of ellipsis. For instance, it is defined as “the omission of one or more

elements...when they are supplied by the context” (*Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*). McShane (2005, p. 16) stated that “the content of the category must be recoverable (understandable).” Aelbrecht (2010) also stated that a constituent can be omitted if the hearer can recover the meaning from context. In accordance with these definitions of ellipsis, I argue that it is the recovery of meaning, not an exact word, that is crucial and that recovery of meaning should be the condition of ellipsis. Consider the example from McShane in (3.14).

(3.14) [The speaker, eyeing two slabs of chocolate cake] Shall we  $\emptyset$  ?

(McShane 2005, p. 16)

In this sentence, a verb phrase is omitted, so recovering the exact words to retain the exact same meaning is impossible. The omitted elements might be *take those pieces of chocolate cake*, or *take those*, or *eat*, and so on. However, the receiver of the message will understand without difficulty what the speaker meant by *Shall we*? Therefore, I agree with McShane’s claim that (3.14) is a proper sentence that contains VP ellipsis.

### 3.2.4 Semantic and pragmatic factors

Studies that propose that ellipsis of the case particles in Korean is determined by semantic or pragmatic factors have mainly claimed that the nominative particle *-ka* or the accusative particle *-lul* cannot be omitted when they mark a focused constituent.

(3.15) Q: 흥부와 놀부중에 누가 재산이 많니?  
 Hungpu-wa Nolpu cwungey nwu-**ka** caysan-i manh-ni?  
 Hungpu-and Nolpu among who-NOM wealth-NOM be.much-Q  
 'Who is richer, Hungpu or Nolpu?

A1: 놀부가 재산이 많다.  
 Nolpu-**ka** caysan-i manh-ta.

Nolpu-NOM wealth-NOM be.much-DCL  
'*Nolpu is richer.*'

A2: \*놀부 재산이 많다.  
\*Nolpu-∅ caysan-i manh-ta.  
Nolpu-∅ wealth-NOM be.much-DCL  
'*Nolpu is richer.*'

Lee and Ramsey (2000: p.146)

In (3.15), *Nolbu* is the new information that receives the focus because it is the semantic component “whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994, p. 213). In other words, *Nolbu* is the unpredictable argument that provides the information that the receiver of the message learns by hearing the message. This aspect of the case particle ellipsis phenomenon in Korean is almost unanimously accepted by linguists who accept the notion of information structure. Ahn and Herschensohn (2013, p. 2) provide a concise explanation: “Although Korean case particles can drop fairly freely, there is a limit to the situations where the dropping of case particles is permitted...when the noun receives a focus interpretation, the nominative and the accusative case particles cannot drop.”

Y-c. Hong (2004) advocated a novel view of case particle omission. He proposed that NPs with omitted case particles should be treated differently from NPs that were not assigned case particles at all. He first introduced two generalizations regarding case (p. 298):

1. Case particles can be omitted in complement position.
2. Case particles must not be omitted in Spec. position.

Although he borrowed the notions of complement and specifier from transformational grammar, Hong defined these terms rather semantically. He claimed that complements include constituents that are themes of sentences whereas specifiers include constituents that fulfill the roles of agent or experiencer. This

conceptual extension of the definitions of complement and specifier enabled Hong to explain the examples in (3.16). These examples are from Hong (2004).

- (3.16) a. 저기에 비행기 추락했다.  
 ceki-ey bihayngki chwulakhay-ss-ta.  
 There-LOC airplane crash-PST-PLN  
 ‘Plane is crashed over there.’
- b. \*철수가 미아 행복하게 했다.  
 \*Chelswu-**ka** Mia hayngbokha-kye-hay-ss-ta.  
 Chelswu-**NM** Mia happy AD-do-PST-PLN  
 ‘Chelswu made Mia happy.’
- c. \*철수 미아를 좋아하니?  
 \*Chelswu Mia-**lul** coaha-ni?  
 Chelswu Mia AC like-INT  
 ‘Chelswu likes Mia.’

*Bihayngki* in (a) is the subject of the sentence; even though *-ka* is omitted, it is still a proper sentence because *bihayngki* is the theme of the sentence. In sentence (b), the accusative marker *-lul* is omitted, and this makes the sentence incorrect because *Mia* is the experiencer in the sentence, and therefore, should have been overtly marked by a case particle according to Hong’s generalization. Regarding the sentence in (c), where the agent NP, *Chelswu*, appears without a particle, which violates Hong’s generalization, he described this kind of NP as *ithale*, which can be translated as a ‘fallen’ word. *Ithale* have two features: They do not allow case particles, so they are independently located in a structure, and they denote referents. Hong (2004) also claimed that a fallen word is pronounced with more accentuation, and that a brief pause would follow the utterance; however, he did not provide any supporting phonological data.

### 3.2.5 Recoverability and ellipsis of *-ka* and *-lul*

Recoverability, which is often described as the cause of case particle ellipsis in Korean, is discussed in this section. The general consensus has been that the nominative/accusative case particles are mostly ellipsed in conversation because they are recoverable by context. This convention is based on the notion that Korean is a situational language in which contextually recoverable elements are omitted in conversation. For example, in (3.17), the subject *ce* ‘I’ is not repeated in the second sentence because it is recoverable.

- (3.17) 저는 1 학년이에요. (omitted) 한국 사람이에요.  
ce-nun 1 haknyen-ieyyo. (omitted) hankwuk salam i-eyyo.  
I-TC 1 school year-POL (omitted) Korea person-is-POL.  
‘I am a freshman.’ ‘I (omitted) am Korean.’

To investigate whether recoverability also affects the ellipsis patterns of the nominative and accusative case particles, *-ka* and *-lul*, I analyzed a number of incidents where these case particles are realized and ellipsed. I then categorized them by grammatical category. I hypothesized that, if recoverability is the main cause of ellipsis, then *-ka* and *-lul* would almost always be ellipsed because they are usually easily recoverable given that *-ka* marks nominative case and *-lul* marks accusative case.

Table 3 shows the results of this analysis. The analysis revealed that case particles are realized more frequently than they are ellipsed. The nominative case particles in particular were realized in almost 70% of the total possible places for their realization. This finding contradicts the conventional idea. Even in colloquial conversations, the nominative case particles are more likely to be realized

then omitted. Regarding the accusative case particles, although they are more likely to be omitted, 41% of accusative referents are still overtly marked with a particle. This realization rate is also higher than expected given the conventional assumption that case particles should be mostly omitted in casual conversations because they are recoverable elements.

Table 3. Frequency of case particle realization and omission

	Marked	Unmarked	Total
Nominative	219 (68.87%)	99 (31.13%)	318 (57.43%)
Accusative	90 (40.91%)	130 (59.09%)	220 (42.57 %)

Based on these results, I claim that recoverability is not a primary factor in the ellipsis of the nominative/accusative case particles. If recoverability were the main factor, almost every nominative/accusative case particle should be ellipsed because these particles are almost always recoverable by context. I argue that recoverability is instead directly related to the ellipsis patterns of NPs (noun phrases), but not of their corresponding particles. As noted earlier, the Korean language allows contextually recoverable elements to be omitted in conversation. Therefore, discourse-new NPs are realized whereas discourse-old NPs are more likely to be omitted. See (3.18) for an example.

(3.18) A:    내일 누구 와요?  
           nayil            nwuku            wa-yo?  
           Tomorrow    someone        come-POL  
           ‘Is anyone coming tomorrow?’

B1:    미아가 와요.  
        Mia-**ka**        wa-yo.  
        Mia-NM        come-POL.  
        ‘Mia comes.’

B2:    미아 와요.  
        Mia    ∅        wa-yo.

Mia zero come POL.  
 ‘Mia comes.’

In (3.18), when B responds to A’s question, *Mia*, being a discourse-new and non-recoverable element, is realized whereas *nayil* ‘tomorrow’, being a discourse-old and recoverable element, is not realized. When B answers ‘Mia comes’, B means she comes tomorrow, not on another day, although B does not say *nayil* ‘tomorrow’. However, recoverability does not provide a sufficient explanation for why the case particle *-ka* is realized in B1; it is a recoverable item because *Mia* is the only NP and is clearly the subject of the sentence. If the sentence is produced without the particle, as in B2, the sentence may even become awkward.

A similar example for the accusative case particle is shown in excerpt 5. A and B are talking about a mutual friend who just came back from Korea. They are upset because their friend spend \$500 shopping for himself but bought them only cheap gifts.

Excerpt 5

- 1 A: 자기는 500 불 어치 사구  
 caki-nun 500 pwul echi sa-kwu  
 self -TC 500 dollar worth buy-CNJ  
 ‘He bought \$500 of goods’
- 2 B: 진짜 치사하지 않냐?  
 cincca chisaha-ci anh-nya?  
 really cheap-NOM not-PLN?  
 ‘Isn’t he really cheap?’
- 3 → 신발을 세 개나 샀대.  
 sinpal-**ul** sey kay-na sa-ss-tay.  
 shoes-**AC** three item-as much as buy-PST-I heard  
 ‘(I heard he) bought as many as three pairs of shoes’.

In line 3, *sinpal* ‘shoes’ is clearly the object of the sentence. Moreover, the accusative case particle is realized although the sentence would not be awkward even

without it. I argue that this kind of realization pattern clearly shows that recoverability is not a determining factor, and, furthermore, that the realization patterns of these case particles imply that they have more functions than simply marking the sentential subject or object.

The reason that these case particles are more likely to be realized than is conventionally assumed, even when they are recoverable, is that the case particles mark unpredictable referents. This type of NP is often described as having new, inactive, unpredictable, or focused referents. As mentioned earlier, Korean tends to allow only new or unrecoverable constituents to appear in colloquial conversation, while predictable constituents are mostly ellipsed. I call this phenomenon the *heavy subject/object constraint*, drawing on Chafe's notion of *light subject constraint* (1994). Chafe claimed that most subjects in English are 'given' referents or discourse-old referents because English grammar almost always requires the realization of the subject. Pronouns such as *he* and *she* are good examples as shown in (3.19). These pronouns cannot be used without their antecedents already given in the context. According to the data Chafe sampled, only 19% of subjects did not express given information; 81% of the subjects were given or accessible.

(3.19) a. **He** talked to his father last night.

b. **She** went yesterday.

Chafe described this phenomenon as the light subject constraint because given referents carry a light information load—meaning that the information is already given or old.

I claim that the opposite is true in Korean. I argue that most of the NPs that are realized in conversation in Korean have a heavy information load due to the nature of the Korean language. To demonstrate, (3.20) provides an example



of the analysis. Inactive referents comprised about 77% of the subjects and 79% of the objects. This finding confirms that Korean has heavy subject/object constraints.

Table 4. Frequency of inactive/accessible/active referents.

	Inactive	Accessible	Active	Total
Subjects	116 (77.3%)	11 (7.3%)	23 (15.3%)	150
Objects	93 (78.8%)	5 (4.2%)	20 (16.9%)	118

The heavy subject/object constraint of Korean can be described in terms of the notion of focus as well. I believe that the notion of focus accurately reflects Korean's nature as a situational language because predictability is a determining factor. I therefore hypothesized that most of the realized NPs in conversational Korean are focused or unpredictable referents, and the analysis found the evidence supporting this hypothesis. The same data presented in Table 5 are here analyzed and categorized as focus and non-focus elements, and the results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Frequency of focused/non focused elements

	Focus	Non-Focus	Total
Subjects	128 (83.7%)	25 (16.3%)	153
Objects	90 (78.3%)	25 (21.7%)	115

These results confirm again that Korean has a heavy subject/object constraint for realized noun constituents or noun phrases in sentences. As mentioned earlier, this heavy subject/object constraint often entails realization of the case particles *-ka* and *-lul*.

## CHAPTER 4

### ELLIPSIS OF *-KA* AND *-LUL* IN COLLOQUIAL SPEECH

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul* in casual speech. Seemingly arbitrary ellipsis patterns of the nominative case particle *-ka* and accusative case particle *-lul* instigated a lot of arguments for the explanation and the phenomenon has been investigated extensively. Before 2000's, the investigations were mostly conducted with constructed sentences made by scholars in the realm of syntax. One of the problems of working with purposely constructed sentences is that they do not reflect any context. They are not authentic. As a result, these studies may have provided some hypothesis as to how case particles are not realized or even prevented in certain syntactic environment. Yet these studies did not accurately capture how case particles are actually used in actual conversation. After 2000's, transcribed data from recorded conversations began to be used for investigations of case particle ellipsis. The studies that used transcribed data mainly adopted pragmatic approach to describe the phenomenon. These studies proposed that factors such as transitivity, animacy and definiteness affect case particle ellipsis. The concern I have with these findings is that the notion of focus was not accurately reflected in these findings although the notion of focus is often described as the most determining factor in case particle ellipsis phenomena.

Most of the previous literatures agree that focused constituents tend to be marked by *-ka* and *-lul* (H-j. Lee 2006b; H-b. Chung 2012), yet this overarching factor was often overlooked. For example, some of the previous studies showed with empirical data that animacy effect is found in the ellipsis pattern of these case

particles. This means that the case particles are more likely realized with inanimate subject noun phrases (NPs) than with animate subject NPs. However, what if the NP were a focused element? A focused NP is more likely marked by *-ka* or *-lul* regardless of its animacy. This indicates that categorizing NPs by animacy alone may produce distorted results. In order to accurately describe animacy effect, the overarching variable, which is the notion of focus, must be controlled first and then compared according to animacy of NPs. I argue that the same logic should be applied to other factors such as transitivity and definiteness.

Another point I want to address in the current study is that effects of focus on case particle ellipsis in Korean has not yet been empirically described, although overwhelming previous studies proposed that focused referents should be marked by case particles. In this chapter, I provided empirical data to investigate if the notion of focus indeed affects ellipsis of case particles, nominative case particle *-ka* and accusative case particle *-lul*. I also investigated if focused constituents of a sentence are always marked by the case particle.

## **4.2 Ellipsis of *-ka***

### **4.2.1 Focus and activation cost**

I propose that the informational status of NPs, which is often described in terms of whether they are discourse-new or discourse-old entities, is the prominent factor that affects the ellipsis patterns of the case particles *-ka* and *-lul*. I argue that information structure—focus constructions in particular—determines the ellipsis pattern most accurately. My analysis shows that discourse-new NPs, which must always be realized even in casual conversation to avoid communication breakdown, tend to entail the realization of their corresponding case particles. I argue that it is

this pragmatic relationship between the informational status of NPs and their corresponding case particles that determines the ellipsis pattern. The discourse-new element in a sentence is the main element that needs to be focused on, and it is also the element among the sentential constituents that requires the most effort from the receiver because it is the new piece of information. Thus, a discourse-new NP entails the realization of a case particle because case particles draw the listeners' attention to the elements that they need to focus on and that require more of their mental effort to process.

The concept of focus must be delineated to avoid confusion. In this study, I do not mean focus in the simple sense of the speaker's emphasis. A focus constituent must meet the criteria described by Lambrecht (1994): "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (p. 213). In other words, a focal element, the constituent of a sentence that receives focus, is an unpredictable element of a sentence that refers to information that the listener gains only from the speaker. The referent must be unpredictable to be a focal element. Focal elements are often the constituent of a sentence that provides an answer to a wh-question, as shown in (4.1).

- (4.1) A:    내일 누구 가요?  
           nayil        nwukwu        ga-yo?  
           Tomorrow    someone     leave-POL  
           '*Someone leaves tomorrow?*'
- B:    미아가 가요.  
           Mia-ka        ga-yo.  
           Mia NM       leave-POL.  
           '*Mia leaves.*'

In (4.1), the focal element is *Mia* whereas the presupposition is the idea that someone is leaving tomorrow. *Mia* is the unpredictable element, and the information that it is *Mia* who is leaving is obtainable only by hearing the speaker.

I argue that the focal constituent of a sentence tends to be overtly marked by its corresponding particle due to its informational prominence. This concept is slightly different from Chafe’s (1994) three-way categorization of the mental status of information. Lambrecht (1994) categorized referents in terms of predictability whereas Chafe categorized referents in terms of “activation cost”: the mental effort of a listener that is required to process the information. I hypothesized that focus, or informational prominence, has a crucial effect on the ellipsis pattern of the case particles, and I conducted an analysis to validate this claim. In this analysis, each NP was first categorized by whether it was a focal element or not. Then each NP was categorized again by whether it was overtly marked by a case particle. I argue that focal constituents tend to be overtly marked by the case particles *-ka/-lul*, whereas non-focal constituents tend to be realized without these particles. Previous studies have proposed that focal constituents are overtly marked by the case particles; however, no study has provided empirical data supporting this proposal.

Table 6. Ellipsis of case particles by focal element

	Focal	Non focal
Marked	258 (66%)	51 (35%)
Non-marked	135 (34%)	94 (65%)
Total	393	145

The results of the analysis confirmed my hypothesis. Focal NPs were realized with the case particles more than non-focal NPs. Sixty-six percent of focal NPs are overtly marked by the case particles and 34% are not, whereas 35% of non-focal NPs are marked by the case particles, and 65% are not. The difference is significant ( $X^2 = 40.24, df = 1, p < 0.01$ ). Based on these results, I argue that the status of a focal element or the predictability of information by a listener tends to determine the ellipsis pattern of the case particles. However, as table 6 shows, some focal

constituents are not marked, and some non-focal constituents are marked. These deviant cases will be explained in Section 4.2.3.

Chafe (1973, 1994) has made similar claims, arguing that new information tends to be overtly marked by case particles. The analysis shows that inactive referents are indeed marked by case particles more often than active referents are: Sixty-two percent of the inactive referents were overtly marked by the case particles. However, I argue that focus predicts the ellipsis pattern of the case particles in Korean more accurately than Chafe's mental status of information categories (i.e., active, semi-active, and inactive).

Chafe's three categories of the mental status of information can be problematic in describing the ellipsis pattern for active referents. Active referents are usually predictable referents, because they have already been mentioned by the interlocutors. Pronouns is a good example of this category. However, even previously mentioned referents can be unpredictable in some situations, which creates conflict because active referents entail ellipsis of the case particles whereas unpredictable referents entail realization of the case particles. Excerpt (5) presents a situation where a referent has two conflicting informational statuses. In the excerpt, A and B are talking about Mia and Amy (pseudonyms), who worked hard to throw a birthday party. The excerpt begins with A explaining how she tried to leave the party because there were many strangers, but Mia did not want her to leave.

Excerpt 5

- 1     A: → 미아가 어디 가냐구, 어디를 가냐구.  
           **Mia-ka**       eti   ka-nya-kwu   eti   ka-nya-kwu.  
           Mia-NM       where go-PLN-CNJ where go-PLN-CNJ
- 2           나한테 자꾸 어디 가냐구.  
           na    hanthey       cakkwu   eti       ka-nya-kwu.  
           I     to               repeatedly where   go-PNL-CNJ

- 3           → 불쌍했지 미아가.  
 pwulssanghay-ss-ci   **Mia-ka.**  
 poor-PST-SUP       Mia-NM  
*'Mia kept saying to me 'where are you going?'. She repeatedly saying 'where are you going?' (I) felt sorry for Mia.*
- 4       B:    그 날 미아랑 애미가 진짜 고생했어  
 ku nal,       Mia-lang   Amy-ka       cincca kosaynghay-ss-e.  
 That day      Mia-and      Amy NM      really suffer-PST-PLN  
*'On that day, Mia and Amy really suffered.'*
- 5       A:    애미는 고생한 것도 아냐.  
 Amy-nun      kosayng      han   kes-to       an-ya.  
 Amy-TC      suffer       not   NM even      not-PLN
- 6           미아가 진짜 고생했어.  
 Mia-ka       cincca kosaynghay-ss-e.  
 Mia-NM      really suffer-PST-INT  
*'Amy did not even suffer. Mia really suffered.'*
- 7       B:→  아냐, 아냐 미아가 원래 서기를 원래  
 an-ya an-ya       **Mia-ka**       wenlay seki-lul   wenlay  
 no-PLN NO-PLN   Mia-NM       originally sectary-AC at first
- 8           말기로 했는데 원래는  
 math-kilo           hay-ss       nuntey   wenlaynun  
 assign-decide to   do-PST      CNJ      originally  
*'No, no, Mia originally was assigned to be a sectary'*
- 9       A:    총무  
 chongmwu,   chongmwu  
 treasure,    treasure  
*'treasure, treasure'*

In the excerpt, *Mia* in line 7 (underlined) is an unpredictable referent. The listener cannot accurately predict who was supposed to be the treasurer and collect money, so she must rely on the speaker's utterance for this information. Therefore, *Mia* is a focal element in line 7. However, although *Mia* is overtly marked by the particle -*ka*, I believe that *Mia* is an active referent here. The referent *Mia* has been mentioned throughout the previous utterances (lines 1 and 3). She is the most

salient topic of the conversation in the excerpt. Also, her name is mentioned in every utterance in which the referential distance is zero. Further, in terms of the temporal aspects of Chafe's three mental states (1994, p. 73), as Figure 3 shows, the idea of *Mia* was active from the previous utterance (i.e., T1 in the figure).

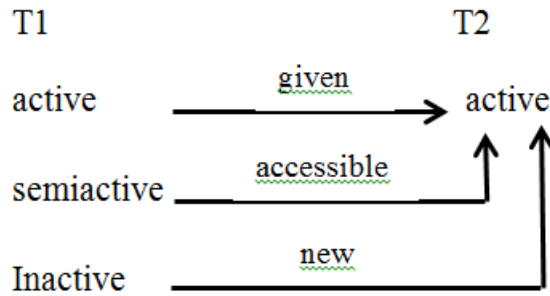


Figure 3. Activation States, Activation Cost and Time

Thus, considering several factors including saliency, referential distance, and activation cost, I believe that the mental effort required by the listener to process the referent *Mia* in line 7 of excerpt (5) would be minimal, or at least not as great as the effort required to process information with an inactive status. Hence, I argue that Chafe's activation cost does not accurately predict Korean case particle ellipsis.

#### 4.2.1.1 Asymmetrical ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul*

As demonstrated in Section 3.2.5, the nominative and accusative case particles show different ellipsis patterns. In the data analyzed in that section, the nominative case particles were generally realized, whereas the accusative case particles were generally ellipsed. To address this issue, I conducted a second analysis to see if grammatical category affects focus constructions and ellipsis patterns of the case particles *-ka/lul*. See tables 7 and 8.

Table 7. Interaction of nominative case *-ka* and focus construction for subjects

	Marked	Ellipsed	Total
Focus-NPs	188 (82%)	41 (18%)	229
Non Focus NPs	31 (35%)	58 (65%)	89

As table 7 shows, the ellipsis patterns of the nominative case particle *-ka* can be more accurately described by the notion of focus ( $X^2 = 667799, p < 0.01$ ). The realization rate for focused NPs is significantly higher than it is for non-focused NPs, and vice versa for ellipsis. This finding confirms that the nominative case particle *-ka* is partly used to mark a focal element of a sentence. The analysis also confirms my hypothesis that Korean subjects have heavy subject constraints. Out of 318 NPs in the data set, 229 (72%) are focal elements, which are identified as new information.

Although the notion of focus most accurately indicates the ellipsis patterns of the nominative case particle *-ka*, deviant cases do exist. These deviants will be explained in 4.2.3.

Regarding ellipsis patterns of the accusative case particle *-lul*, no significant results were observed (see table 8).

Table 8. Interaction of accusative case *-lul* and focus construction for objects

	Marked	Ellipsed	Total
Focus-NPs	70 (43%)	94 (57%)	164
Non Focus NPs	20 (36%)	36 (64%)	56

Accusative case particles seem to be ellipsed regardless of their information status, although more focused NPs than non-focused NPs are overtly marked by the particle *-lul*. This observation contradicts my initial hypothesis that the notion of focus will accurately predict the patterns of both nominative and accusative case particles.

These results confirm that Korean has heavy object constraints. Out of 220 NPs, 164 NPs (75%) are focal elements. The results also seem to support the claim that there is a universal tendency for objects to contain new information more often than subjects do.

#### 4.2.2 Animacy

I first argue that the animacy effect is not found in the ellipsis pattern of the nominative case particle *-ka*. The notion of an animacy effect has been discussed in numerous previous studies (Aisson 2003; Bossong 1983; Comrie 1989; Fry 2003; Hopper & Thompson 1980; H-j Lee 2008), according to which subjects tend to have animate referents whereas objects tend to have inanimate referents. Noticing this difference, Aisson (2003) and Bossong (1983) proposed the concept of differential subject/object markings. Subjects with features toward the lower end of a person/animacy hierarchy such as inanimate referents are overtly marked, whereas object marking follows a mirror image pattern. Fry (2003) also argued that nominative particles are more likely to be realized on subjects with inanimate referents, but that accusative particles are not affected by animacy. H-j. Lee (2008) conducted analysis of phone conversations in Korean and found similar results. She attributed this pattern to the role of the case particle *-ka*, which is to distinguish between subjects and objects in sentences. She claimed that case particles mark atypical subjects such as those with low animacy so that they are not misunderstood as objects. Exemplary sentences are shown below. (4.2) has an animate subject, *chinkwutul* ‘friends’, which is not marked. (4.3) has an inanimate subject, *nai* ‘age’, which is marked by *-ka*.

(4.2) 너 친구들 온 적 있냐 여기에?  
ne chinkwu-tul Ø on cek-iss-nya yeki-ey?  
you friends-PL (zero) come been-exist-PLN here-LOC  
*‘Have your friends been here?’*

(4.3) 나이가 좀 많아 나 보다.  
nai-ka com manh-a na pota  
age-NM little more-PLN I than  
*‘Age is little older than I am.’*

Although I agree that Korean follows the universal tendency for subjects to be animate and objects to be inanimate, I disagree with the claim that this tendency affects the ellipsis patterns of the case particles. I argue that previous studies did not consider the effects of focus. What if inanimate subjects are unpredictable referents? Case particles will overtly mark these inanimate subjects because they are the focus constituents of sentences, not because they are inanimate subjects or atypical subjects as described in previous studies. In other words, focus, which is an influential variable, must be controlled to claim that the animacy effect is reflected in the case particle ellipsis.

To accurately investigate whether the animacy effect is found in the nominative case particle ellipsis, 318 realized nominative NPs were analyzed. They were categorized as focus or non-focus constituents. In this way, the focus variable is controlled because focused subject referents are compared with other focused subject referents while non-focused subject referents are compared only with non-focused subject referents. Table 9 shows the results for the subject referents ( $n = 318$ ). If an animacy effect exists, the case particle is more likely to be ellipsed with animate subjects and overtly expressed with inanimate subjects. Table 9 does not show this pattern.

Table 9. Animacy and the ellipsis of *-ka*

	Marked	Ellipsed	Total
Animate	89 (69%)	40 (31%)	129
Inanimate	130 (68.8%)	59 (31.2%)	189

Both animate subjects and inanimate subjects were marked by *-ka* at higher rates than they were unmarked; the difference between them was not significant ( $X^2 = 0.0016, p = 0.968477$ ). Even without counting the focus effect, no animacy effect is observed.

Table 10 shows the ellipsis pattern of *-ka* with focused referents.

Table 10. Animacy and the nominative case particle *-ka* for **focused elements only**

	Marked	Unmarked	Total
Animate	74 (77.9%)	21 (22.1%)	95
Inanimate	114 (75.5%)	37 (24.5%)	151

For focused elements, *-ka* tends to mark subjects regardless of their animacy status.

The difference between the animate subjects (78%) and inanimate subjects (76%)

was not significant ( $X^2 = 0.1861, p = .666176$ ).

A similar result was obtained for non-focused elements. The sample size is smaller, which is expected because Korean has heavy subject/object constraints in which only unpredictable or focused elements tend to appear while discourse-old elements are omitted. As Table 11 shows, animate subjects were marked by *-ka* more often than inanimate subjects were and the difference was not significant ( $X^2 = 0.0593, p = .807639$ ).

Table 11. Animacy and nominative marking for **non-focused elements**

	Marked	Ellipsed	Total
Animate	30 (44.1%)	38 (55.9%)	68
Inanimate	32 (42.1%)	44 (57.9%)	76

Tables 10 and 11 clearly show that the focus effect is an overarching factor in

nominative case particle ellipsis. The particle was overtly expressed with focused

constituents and ellipsed with non-focused constituents. Excerpt (6) below

exemplifies this pattern. In this excerpt, two friends are talking about their military service experience.

Excerpt 6

- 1 A: 그 해병대 훈련 받을 때  
 ku haypyengtay hwunlyen pat-ul ttay  
 that Marine training receive-RL when

- 2            그 지옥 주라는 거 하나?  
ku    ciok   cwu-la-nun   ke    ha-nya?  
that   hell   week-QT-RL   thing   do-PLN
- 3            일주일 동안 잠 안 자는 거.  
ilcwuil            tongan cam    an    ca-nun            ke.  
one week        for    sleep not    sleep-RL        thing  
*'When you receive a Marine training, do you do a Hellweek training that you do not sleep for a week?'*
- 4        B:        잠은 조금 줘, 어떻게 일주일 동안  
cam-un            cokum cwe,    ettehkey        ilcwuil            tongan  
sleep-TC        little    give,    how            one week        for
- 5            잠을 안 자냐, 밥도 조금 줘.  
cam-ul            an    ca-nya,            paptō cokum cwe.  
Sleep-AC        not    sleep-PLN,    meal little    give  
*'They give little bit of sleep, how can you not sleep for a week? They give you little bit of food too.'*
- 6        A:        밥을, 보트 막 이렇게 하는 거 뭐야?  
papul pothu mak    ilehkey            ha-nun    ke    mwe-ya?  
Meal, boat    DM    like this        do-RL    thing    what-PLN?  
*'Meal... what is that thing that you do with a boat like this?'*
- 7        B: →    그거는 UDT, 수색대 애들이 하는 거구.  
kuke-nun        UDT, swusayk-tay    **aytul-i**        ha-nun    ke-kwu.  
That-TP        UDT, search-unit    crews-NM    do-RL    thing-CNJ  
*'That is what UDT unit does and...'*

A is asking about a specific type of training that A assumes B has experienced. In line 7 (line 4 in Korean), B corrects A's misunderstanding: It is the UDT unit crews that do that kind of training (and B was apparently not in a UDT unit). The subject of B's utterance in line 7 (line 4 in Korean) is animate: 'UDT unit crews'.

However, it is a focus constituent and marked by *-ka* because it is a discourse-new and unpredictable referent. As shown in the excerpt, the focus effect overshadows the animacy effect in colloquial conversations.

In this section, I proposed that the animacy effect is not observed in the nominative case particle ellipsis in Korean. As I argued, Korean has heavy subject constraints. This means that discourse-old NPs will not be expressed mostly, which extensively affects the ellipsis pattern of the case particles. I claim that other factors, including the informational status of referents such as focus and activation cost, more accurately explain the ellipsis pattern of the case particles and overpower the animacy effect.

### **4.2.3 Deviants**

As the analysis shows, the information status of the NP seems to be the most important determining factor in the ellipsis pattern of the nominative case particle, but some other factors also have an effect. For example, 18% of the focal constituents for subjects are not overtly marked by case particles although they should be marked. In this section, factors that explain deviants such as unmarked focal constituents that are discourse-new but not marked referents are described. I propose that such deviations from the normal patterns tend to occur in <sup>12</sup>idiomatic expressions and spontaneous reactions; when the referents are discourse-new but known, or have amplified prominence; and in left-dislocation.

#### **4.2.3.1 Spontaneous reaction**

I argue that case particles are more likely not to be realized when a speaker is talking to him or herself or producing a spontaneous reaction. Native Korean speakers use the plain style in these situations. S-s.Yoon (2010) suggested that this

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<sup>12</sup> Explanation for the type of idiomatic expressions is included in Section 4.3 Ellipsis of *-lul*.

is because the plain style is used for “spontaneous self-presentation” (p. 154). A spontaneous reaction is not typically produced for other people and for this reason, I believe that the speaker does not expect a response from the people who might have witnessed the spontaneous reaction. In other words, the speaker and the addressee are actually the same person, and therefore all information is given information, which is normally not overtly marked by case particles. In addition, I assume that a referent about which an interlocutor expresses a spontaneous reaction is often in the same environment or at least presupposed in the context so the referent is actually shared; such a referent is also more likely to be realized without the case particle. Although I found only a few occurrences of spontaneous reactions that contained noun referents in the data, these referents were mostly realized without case particles.<sup>13</sup> In excerpt (7), Person A and Person B are talking about a college’s admission process. When B says that some students are not admitted, A has a spontaneous reaction of wishing good luck to her friend Soo-Jeong who wants to get into the college. The NP, *Soo-Jeong* is realized without any particle, even though this is the first mention of *Soo-Jeong* in the discourse.

Excerpt 7

- 1     A:     양악기에 비해서 훨씬 조금인데요.  
           yangakki-ey                            pihayse            hwelssin            ccokkum-  
           Western instruments-to        compare            much                little-  
           intey-yo,  
           CNJ-POL  
           *‘It is small compared to the western instruments (major),’*
- 2     B:     그래두.  
           kulay-twu.  
           so    even

---

<sup>13</sup> The small number of such instances is natural considering that the participants were supposed to be talking to each other.

*'even so'*

3. A: 모집하는 인원에 비해서요.  
moci-p-ha-nun inwen-ey pihayseyo.  
recruit do-RL people to compare-POL  
*'(Few people are applying) compared to the number of recruitments.'*
4. B: 음  
um  
hum  
'hum'
5. A: 떨어지는 애들도 있어요.  
tteleci-nun aytul-to isse-yo.  
fail-RL people-even exist-POL  
*'There are still some students who does not pass.'*
6. B: 아~ 있어? 그럴구나,  
a isse? kuleh-kwuna,  
oh exist so-EX  
*'Oh (there are), (it is) so.'*
7. 아 진짜 수정이 잘 됐으면 좋겠다.  
a cincca Swuceng-i cal twayssumyen  
oh really Swuceng-NS well become-if  
coh-keyss-ta.  
good-PRS-PLN  
*'I really wish well for Swuceng.'*

Other examples I found in the data are listed below.

- (4.4) a. 아 진짜 소영이 소영이 진짜 약 사야겠다.  
a cincca Soyengi, Soyengi cincca yak  
ah, really Soyeng-NS Soyeng-NS really drug  
sa-ya-keyss-ta.  
buy-must-PRS-PLN  
*'Ah, I really must buy the drug that Soyoung bought.'*
- b. 가면 근데 김밥 없겠다.  
ka-myen kuntey kimpap eps-keyss-ta.  
go-if then kimpap does not exist-PRS-PLN  
*'When we get there, there will be no kimpap.'*
- c. 선생님, 진짜 착하시다.  
sensayng-nim cincca chakha-si-ta.

Teacher-HT really kind-hon.-PLN  
'Teacher is really kind.'

#### 4.2.3.2 Discourse-new but old information

Discourse-new NPs of which both the speaker and the addressee have previous knowledge tend not to be marked by the case particles. These NPs are known information, so they are discourse-old in a way, but I counted them as discourse-new because they were not previously mentioned in the discourse nor were they directly associated with the topic.

##### Excerpt 8

- 1 A: 하여튼,  
hayethun,  
Anyway  
'Anyway'
- 2 B: 옛날에 내가 좋아했던 오빠 있잖아.  
yeysnal-ey nayka cohaha-yss-ten  
old days at I-NM like-PST-used to  
oppa-iss-canh-a.  
older guy-exist-you know-INT  
'You know, the old guy that I used to like long ago'

The *oppa* 'older guy' that Person B used to like has not been mentioned earlier in the discourse, yet it is realized without *-ka*. There are two possible explanations.

*-iss* and *-canha* construction may be interpreted together as one unit to function as a discourse marker *-isscanha* (K.-k. Dong 2011). Dong (2011) proposed that a discourse marker *-isscanha* functions to introduce a new referent into a discourse as in excerpt 8. In this case, realization of the nominative case particles may be awkward before *-isscanha*. For example, if the referent *oppa*, 'older guy', is replaced with a person's name and the modifying elements are dropped, the sentence becomes such as *Mia isscanha...* This sentence may be

interpreted as ‘by the way, Mia...’ which functions to mark a shift of a discourse topic to Mia from other referents and the realization of *-ka* may intervene the discourse function of *-isscanh-*.

Another explanation is that B assumes that A can figure out whom B means. This type of construction, where one of the interlocutors just assumes that the other interlocutor has the necessary knowledge about the referent, often involves *-canh-* ‘you know’. S.-h. Hwang (2007) proposed that *-canh-* can be categorized according to three functions: confirmation, sharing, and discourse marker formative. She subcategorized the sharing function into sharing known and unknown information functions. E.-h. Kim (2014) also claimed that *-canh-* utterance is used to deliver shared information in the addresser’s domain of knowledge. I argue that the confirmation and sharing old information functions of *-canh-* involve referents that are “given” or “known,” and therefore such referents are not marked by the case particles. However, when an utterance in which *-canh-* functions to share unknown information which involves inactive or new referents, these will be overtly marked. In the excerpt below, Person A is sharing the unknown information that the teacher’s spouse is rich, and the new referent, *ton* ‘money’, is marked by the case particle *-i*.

Excerpt 9

- 1 P1: 근데 돈이 좀 많으시잖아.  
 kuntey ton-i ccom manh-usi-canh-a.  
 but, money-NM DM many-hon-you know-INT  
 ‘but (he) has a lot of money, you see’
- 2 P2: 그럴구나, 돈으로 가셨구나  
 kuleh-kwuna, ton-ulo ka-sye-ss-kwuna.  
 was so FML, money-by go-hon.-PST-EX

*'That was so, (she) went by the money (She got married because she was rich)'*

At the beginning of this section, I stated that focused elements tend to be marked by the case particle. Does this imply that whatever is the focused element must also be a “new” referent? This relationship is described as the “focus-newness correlation view” (Lambrecht 1994, p. 260). Lambrecht claimed that the weak version of the focus-newness correlation may be valid. The weak version claims that a “referent which is new to a discourse necessarily involves focus status” whereas the strong version claims that any constituent that carries an accent, which is one of the manifestations of focus, necessarily expresses a referent or denotatum that is new. I did not investigate prosodic features so I can not comment on the strong version. However, my data seem to support the weak version claim. As mentioned earlier, “focus information is present in every sentence” (Kiss 1998, p. 246), but only 393 NPs out of 538 NPs were focal elements in the analysis.

#### **4.2.3.3 Amplification and *-ka***

Explanations for marked non-focal referents will be given in this section. I propose that *-ka* can have an *amplifying* function; when *-ka* is used this way, it also marks non-focal referents. I also argue that what is known as topic *-ka* is actually a manifestation of the amplifying function of *-ka*.

The corpus analysis found that discourse-old NPs are overtly marked if they are intentionally emphasized or if the referents are associated with unexpected events. This notion has been described in previous researches (H.-m. Sohn 1999; S.-j. Ko 2004). Sohn claimed that “case particles are frequently omitted in colloquial speech if no emphasis, deference, or exclusiveness is intended” (Sohn 1999, p. 326). Excerpt

(10) shows an example. In the excerpt, Person A expresses surprise that somebody lost a lot of weight in the military.

Excerpt 10

A: 그 오빠가 좀 살이 약간 좀 졌었어.  
 ku oppa-ka com sal-i yakkan com  
 That older guy-NM DM weight-NM little DM  
 cy-ess-ess-e.  
 gain-PSST-PST-INT  
 ‘That guy was little over weight.’

군대 가니까 살이 쪽 빠진거야.  
 kwuntay ka-nikka **sal-i** ccwak ppacin-ke-ya.  
 Military go-because **weight-NM** all lose-thing-INT  
 ‘He lost a lot of weight because he went to military.’

I propose to categorize this type of use as what I call the amplifying function of *-ka*. I derived this term from the notion that *-ka* used in a situation such as excerpt (10) has amplified prosodic features compared to the other constituents of the sentence (Y.-b. Kim, 2004). The function of the amplifying *-ka* is to amplify or enlarge the prominence of the referent that it marks to express the speaker’s intention. The amplifying *-ka* may be associated with expressing meanings such as exclusiveness, exhaustiveness, emphasis, or unexpectedness but these meanings are given by context. By itself, *-ka* is meaningless. Thus, amplifying *-ka* serves a pragmatic function. The idea of the function that *-ka* performs is similar to that of a sentence focus construction in that the sentence focus construction is presentational; it has an event reporting character and is a form of emphasis. In excerpt 10, the speaker is reporting an event, which is that ‘the guy...lost a lot of weight in the military’. However, Lambrecht also described the sentence focus construction as having an “all new” character (1994, p. 144). This notion excludes active or discourse-old referents. The amplifying function of *-ka* is not bound by the information status of a referent, which allows active referents to be marked by the

particle. I also believe that describing the sentence focus construction as ‘presentational’ and ‘event reporting’ is ambiguous, because every sentence is essentially presentational or event reporting. In excerpt (11), *-silhem* ‘experiment’ is an active referent that can be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical, but *silhem* is still realized with the case particle *-i* (an allomorph of *-ka*) to express the speaker’s intention to amplify the referent.

Excerpt 11

- 1 B: 실험 시간에 나 맞은 편 조에 옛날에  
 silhem sikan-ey na macun phyen coey yeysnaley  
 lab time-at I other side group-at before-at  
 ‘in the group across from me in lab class, before,
- 2 내가 좀 맘을 뒀던 오빠가 있었어.  
 nay-ka com mam-ul-twess-ten oppa-ka-iss-ess-e.  
 I-NM little like-AC-PST-use to older guy-NM-exist-PST-INT  
 ‘The guy that I had crush before was in the group across from me.’
- 3 → A: 어. 실험이 즐겁겠다.  
 e, silhem-i julkep-keyss-ta.  
 I see, experiment-NM pleasant-PRS-PLN  
 ‘I see, the experiment must be pleasant.’
- 4 → B: 어. 실험이 즐겁지.  
 e, silhem-i julkep-ji.  
 Yes, experiment-NM pleasant-SUP  
 ‘Yes, the experiment is pleasant’

Another pattern involves what is generally known as topic *-ka*. In excerpt 11, *yay* ‘that person’, or ‘he’ in this excerpt, is the man that Person A has been dating, and is marked with *-ka* each time it occurs.

Excerpt 12

Context: P1 is describing how she has become much more tolerant and understanding since she has been dating a younger man.

- 1 A: By the way, since *yey-ka* is younger, what I feel is,
- 2 B: yeah?
- 3 A: Even if (1) *yey-ka* is not good at some things,
- 4 B: yes,
- 5 A: I can still understand
- 6 B: oh...
- 7 A: since *yea-ka* is younger
- 8 B: I see
- 9 A: You know, I think it is kind of cute (that he is not good at something)
- 10 B: I agree
- 11 If (2) *yea-ka* were older, I would have criticized him by saying he is not good at this and that.

In the excerpt, *yay* ‘that person’ is realized with *-ka* although it is an active referent. *-Ka* in this use has been described as a continuing topic marker. I argue that this explanation does not completely describe the situation. *Yay* is indeed a topic but being a topic does not explain why the referent *yay* is realized several times in a situation like this, where the topic is so obvious that it could be omitted. I believe *yay* is realized and marked by *-ka* because Person A wants to amplify the referent by the use of detail or illustration. *Yay* (1) in line 3 is realized with the particle, and it foregrounds that unshared information about the referent will be mentioned (i.e., that *yay-ka* is not good at some things). *Yay* (2) in line 11 also foregrounds unshared information, which is about a hypothetical situation (i.e., how the speaker would have felt if the referent were older). Therefore, I argue that when active referents are expressed as inactive referents, the so called continuing topic marker *-ka* is

realized; in other words, when the speaker intends to amplify the referent by the use of details that include unshared information about the referent. I believe this function can be used to explain the nature of some of the double nominative/accusative sentences. The first referent of a multiple nominative/accusative sentence is may be the topic, and its realization is optional when the referent is predictable.

Another piece of supporting evidence for the amplifying function of *-ka* can be found in a study by S.-y. Oh (2007). Oh investigated when and why Korean speakers use an overt form to refer to themselves or their recipients even when these references could be omitted. In other words, the participants of a conversation, the speaker and the receiver, are the most active referents and are mostly omitted; nevertheless, there are situations that require these active/old referents to be realized, often with a particle as shown in Excerpt (13), which is from Oh's study. In the excerpt, three people are talking about an incident at their workplace. K, who was actually involved in the incident, had secretly shared what happened with N. K is surprised that other colleagues know about the incident and asks N if N has shared the information with others.

Excerpt 13

1. K: 누가 얘기했어요.  
       nwu-ka       yaykihay-ss-eyo?  
       who:NOM    talk-PST-POL  
       '*Who told (it)?*'
  
2. N&L: ...  
       ...  
       '...'

3 → K: 남과장이 얘기했어요?  
**Nam-kwacang-i**                    yaykihayss-eyo?  
 Nam-section:chief-NOM      talk:ANT-POL  
 ‘Did you (Section Chief Nam) tell (it)?’

(Oh 2007, p. 480)

*Nam-kwachang* refers to one of the participants in the dialogue, yet it is realized with the case particle. Even if this overt reference form were omitted, N still would have understood that K’s question was directed at him, because K had shared the information with N only. Oh (2007) argued that the overt reference form was used to express K’s intention to attribute responsibility to the recipient. I agree with Oh and claim that the degree of attribution of responsibility to the recipient is amplified by overtly marking *Nam-kwachang* with the particle *-i*.

In the following excerpt from my data, the two participants are talking about forming a *kyey*, a traditional method of saving money by forming a group whose members all chip in, with each member taking a turn to receive a lump sum share.

Excerpt 14

- 1     A:    우리도 계 하자?  
           wuli-to        kyey    ha-ca?  
           we-too        kyey    do-PR  
           ‘We also should do kye.’
- 2     B:    계 할래?  
           kyey ha-llay?  
           kyey do-intend  
           ‘(You) want to do kyey?’
- 3     A:    언니만 세번째 주자로 해.  
           enni-man      seypencgay    cwuca-lo      hay.  
           you-only      third            member-as    do-INT  
           ‘You will be the third member (to take the money).’
- 4     B:    왜 첫번째.  
           way, chespencgay.  
           why, first

*'Why, (I like to be the) first.'*

5 → A:    아냐 안 돼 언니가 제일 유력해..  
          anya            an     tway            **ennika**            ceyil  
          no-INT,        not    becom            you-NM        most  
          yulyekh-ay            sakikkwun-ulo  
          most likely-INT        con-man-as  
          *'You are most likely a con man' (You are most like to disappear  
          with the money).*

In the excerpt, *enni*, an address term to refer to an older female friend, is Person B, one of the interlocutors in the conversation; therefore, *enni* is an active referent that could be omitted without creating a communication breakdown. However, *enni* in line 5 is expressed overtly with the nominative case particle *-ka* because Person A is pointing out why B cannot be the first member of the *kyey* to take the money. A claims that B would disappear with the money, and this is why *-ka* is overtly marked on the discourse-old referent *enni*.

#### 4.2.3.4 Dislocation – ‘*ithale*’

The notion of *ithale* suggests ideas that may explain why nominative case ‘*-ka*’ is not realized even if a nominative noun phrase (NP) is discourse new. Y-c. Hong (2004) claims that *ithale* must be a bare NP that has referentiality, and states that there are three types of referential expressions. One type is proper nouns and nouns of possessive structure. These nouns by themselves can make references to particular entities. The second type of referential expressions are those that refer to the entities that are already mentioned in the conversation. In Korean, these nouns often occur in conjunction with the demonstrative *ku* meaning ‘that’ or ‘it’ in English. The last type of the referential NP is when a NP refers to an entity that exists in the environment in which the conversation occurs. Thus, these NPs are usually physically identifiable (Hong, 2004, p. 304). The sentences in (4.5) are

examples of these types.

- (4.5) a      **철수** ∅ 영희를 좋아하니?  
**Chelswu**      ∅      Yenghuy-lul    cohaha-ni?  
Chelswu      ∅      Yenghui-lul    coahaha-ni  
Chelswu      ∅      Yenghui-AC    like-PLN?  
*'Does Chelswu like Yenghui?'*
- b      어제 친구를 한 명 만났거든 그런데 그 친구 ∅ 미아를  
          좋아한대  
ecey            chinkwu-lul    han    myeng    manna-ss-ketun  
yesterday    friend-AC    one    person    meet-PST-CNJ  
kulentey      **ku**    **chinkwu** ∅    mia-lul      cohaha-n-tay.  
then            that    friend    ∅    Mia-AC      like-RL-said  
*'I met an old friend after a long time and he said he likes Mia.'*
- c      이 학생 ∅ 만화를 좋아하니?  
i            **haksayng** ∅    manhwa-lul    coaha-ni?  
This    student    ∅    cartoon-AC    like-PLN?  
*'Does this student like cartoon?'*

(Hong, 2004, p. 306-307)

Hong (2004) states that the words in bold letters in (4.5) are *ithale*, and that they are all referential expressions. *Chelswu* in (4.5a) is a proper noun that refers to a particular entity, and *ku chinkwu* 'that friend' in (4.5b) refers to the entity that was introduced in the previous utterance. Lastly, *i haksayng* 'this student' in (4.5c) has to be present in the speaker's surroundings because the demonstrative was used.

Hong also claimed that *ithale* may be, but is not required to be, followed by pause as in (4.6).

- (4.6) 이 학생, 만화를 좋아하니?  
i            **haksayng,**    manhwa-lul    cohaha-ni?  
This    student      cartoon-AC    like-PLN?  
*'Does this student like cartoon?'*

Lastly, but most importantly, Hong states<sup>14</sup> that case is not licensed in *ithale*, just as in vocative, and therefore particles are not allowed.

Although Hong (2004) argued that *ithale*, like vocatives, should not receive any case assignment, he did not explain why case is not allowed. Hong seemed to base his claim on the notion of the left dislocation. Therefore, definitions and function of the left dislocation must be investigated in order to explain non-occurrence of the nominative particles on left dislocated NPs in Korean. This discussion slightly deviates from the scope of my research, considering that I mainly investigate ellipsis of the nominative case particles whereas Hong investigated non-occurrence or absence of the nominative case particles. However, I believe the left dislocation constructions must be included in this dissertation because it has high frequency in conversations. Also, a left dislocated NP is related to the ellipsis phenomenon in that bare NPs are another controversial topic.

Numerous studies (Fariña, 1995; Manetta, 2007; Prince, 1997; Yamaizumi, 2011) state that Ross (1967) first introduced the notion of the left dislocation<sup>15</sup> to describe a syntactic form in which some NPs appear in initial pre-clausal position, coreferential with a person pronoun occurring somewhere in the clause. Two exemplary sentences are provided below in (4.7) and (4.8).

(4.7) **The man my father works with in Boston**<sub>i</sub>, **he**<sub>pro</sub>'s going to tell the police that the traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too low. (= Ross 1967:6.128a cited in Prince 1997, pg. 2)

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<sup>14</sup> I interpret what he meant is that *ithale* is not a syntactic constituent of a sentence or it is an external argument. Vocatives are considered as a case.

<sup>15</sup> According to Hidalgo (2002) it is French grammar (Bally 1932) that first “described the construction and to coin the term, which was soon adopted by the generative model Ross (1967)” (Hidalgo, 2002, pg. 31).

- (4.8)   미아<sub>i</sub>   pro<sub>i</sub>   제이슨을   좋아해.  
**Mia<sub>i</sub>**,   pro<sub>i</sub>   Jason-ul    cohah-ay.  
Mia   pro<sub>i</sub>   Jason-AC    like-INT  
‘Mia likes Jason.’

In (4.7), the left-dislocated NP, henceforth LDed NP, ‘The man my father works with in Boston’ appeared in the initial pre-clausal position. Its pro-form or pronominal, ‘he’, is in its succeeding clause, and as Ross defined, these two NPs are coreferential. Therefore, it is a LD construction<sup>16</sup>. Sentence (4.8) is an example of the left dislocation (LD) construction of Korean language according to Hong (1994) and Ahn and Choi (2006). The pro-form is omitted in the sentence because Korean is a situational language in which omission of recoverable elements such as pro-form may be omitted.

Why does LDed NPs receive no case assignment? Fariña (1995) showed syntactic evidences that the LDed element is “an independent discourse unit” that does not belong inside the structure of the sentences” and defined the relationship between the LDed elements and associated sentences as merely a semantic one of co-reference (p. 17). Therefore, he argued that “no formal, structural liaison exists between them” (Fariña, 1995, p. 7).

I agree with Fariña. He enumerated numerous examples as evidence. I have included some of them here, focusing on those that seem to provide the clearest examples of his arguments. Fariña’s evidence includes the fact that a grammatical role of LDed elements cannot be clearly defined. In example (4.7-8), the LDed NP fulfills the role of subject in a sentence whereas in (4.9a), the LDed NP seems to act as an object of the sentence.

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<sup>16</sup> One may argue that (4) is a canonical sentence with an omitted nominative particle instead of the left-dislocated construction. This issue will be discussed in later section.

In (4.9b), the grammatical role of the LDed NP becomes even more puzzling. Is it an object or sentential adverb? If it is a sentential adverb, then is it modifying the clause that contains its pro-form, which is ‘I don’t want it in my house’. Or is it modifying the whole succeeding clause? It seems that it is modifying the whole clause because (4.9c), which placed the NP in immediate preceding position to the clause that contained the pro-form, became an improper sentence. In that case, it must be a sentential adverb that modifies the whole succeeding clause. However, one must explain how one syntactic form, the left dislocated construction, can serve three different grammatical roles: subject in (4.7-8), object in (4.9a), and sentential adverb in (4.9b).

- (4.9) a.     **The damn dog**, I don’t want **it** in my house.
- b.     **The damn dog**, you know I’ve told her a thousand times to let her mother know that I don’t want it in my house. (pg. 10)
- c.     \*You know, I’ve told her a thousand times to let her mother know that *the damn dog*, I don’t want it in my house. (pg. 10)

As I believe is shown in the examples above, a left-dislocated NP does not fulfill any syntactic role. Therefore, a case particle should not be allowed. Lambrecht (2001) also argued that left-dislocated elements do not have the argument-predicate relation, which explains why they do not receive any case assignment or semantic roles (p. 1065).

Considering (4.9b), one may say that LDed NP is sentential adverb. But is the LDed NP in (4.9b) really a sentential adverb? Fariña (1995) argued against it, and claimed that LDed elements and sentential adverbs are syntactically different<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Similar claims are also made by Givon (1976), Lambrecht (1981), and Prince (1997).

He showed that LDed elements are not allowed to “undergo any embedding process” whereas sentential adverbs are allowed (Fariña, 1995, p. 15). This is shown in (4.10).

- (4.10) a. *This movie*, you wouldn't like it much  
\*I told you that *this movie*, you wouldn't like *it* much.
- b. *Unfortunately*, you wouldn't like this movie much  
I told you that, *unfortunately*, you wouldn't like this movie much.

Secondly, LDed elements “do not need overt propositional case assigners”

(Fariña, 1995, p. 15) like sentential adverbs.

- (4.11) a. I spoke *to Liz* the other day  
b. *Liz*, I spoke to *her* the other day  
c. *From an economic point of view*, the reform will be disastrous  
d. \**An economic point of view*, the reform will be disastrous.

*Liz*, LDed NP in (4.11b), is placed in the pre-clausal position without the proposition ‘to’, and the sentence is still proper. However, (4.11d) became improper when the propositional case assigner ‘from’ is dropped. As shown in (4.10) and (4.11), LDed elements are not sentential adverbs.

I advocate, as do many previous researchers (Fariña, 1995; Lambrecht, 2001; Prince, 1997), that left-dislocated elements do not have any grammatical relations in a sentence. This is why it is difficult to syntactically define the role of the LD construction. I also agree that it is the pro-form that fulfills grammatical role in LD constructions. In (4.12), which is repeated below for convenience, the LDed seems to act as a subject because its pro-form appears at the beginning of the sentence whereas in (4.13), the LDed NP seems to act as an object because its pro-form appears at the position of object in a sentence. Therefore, I argue that the LDed elements do not fulfill any grammatical function. Rather, it is the pro-form that defines a grammatical relation with other constituents of a sentence.

- (4.12) **The man my father works with in Boston**<sub>i</sub>, **he**<sub>pro</sub>'s going to tell the police that the traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street

far too low. (Ross 1967:6.128a), (Prince, 1997, pg. 2)

(4.13) **The damn dog**, I don't want **it** in my house.

In order to explain non-case marked subject NPs in Korean, I have shown that LDed NP is not a syntactic constituent of a sentence. Therefore, these NPs do not allow case particles to be expressed. Example (4.14) is a LD construction sentence that is extracted from my analysis data. This finding conforms to the numerous studies that have stated that left dislocation construction is a cross-linguistic phenomenon (Fariña, 1995; Hidalgo, 2002; Lambrecht, 2001; Prince, 1997).

(4.14) 슈퍼바이저 그 사람이 괜찮은 애 있으면 인터뷰 좀 보러 오라고...  
syuphepaicye ku salam-i kwaynchanh-un ay  
Supervisor that person-NM ok-RL person  
iss-umyen inthepyu com po-le olako  
exist-if interview DM do-to come to  
'*Supervisor*, *that person* said, 'if there is an okay person, come for an interview.'

Lambrecht (2001) enumerated the following four criteria for identifying left-dislocation (p. 1050).

- (i) Extra-clausal position of a constituent
- (ii) Possible alternative intra-clausal position
- (iii) Pronominal coindexation
- (iv) Special prosody

He stated only (i) is a necessary condition while “there are many instances in which one or more of them fail to apply” (Lambrecht, 2001, p. 1050). In (4.14), ‘supervisor’ is a LDed NP and its pro-form, *ku salam* ‘the person’, is in its succeeding clause. The LDed NP ‘supervisor’ is in the extra-clausal position of a constituent, and the nominative particle ‘-ka’ is absent. Adding the nominative case particle to the LDed NP ‘supervisor’ makes the whole sentence improper. Also

pronominal coindexation, *ku saram* ‘that person’, is in the clause fulfilling an agent role. Thus, this is the instance of an LD construction and the LDed NP, ‘supervisor’, is a bare NP where the syntactic particle must be absent not omitted.

I find that despite LD being a cross-linguistic phenomenon, adopting the notion of LD to explain all instances of non-occurrence of nominative particles can be problematic. In the following paragraphs, I will show examples of the so called LD construction in Korean and describe how LD construction can be problematic if its concept is applied without modification.

A problem arises in non-anaphoric LD constructions. This is when the pro-form is omitted. Is ‘*Mia*’ in example 9a a LDed NP or is it a nominative NP with an ellipsized particle?

- (4.15) a.       미아 어제 마이크를 만났어  
**Mia**, ecey           Mike-lul           manna-ss-e.  
Mia   yesterday       Mike-AC           mee-PST-INT  
‘*Mia met Mike yesterday.*’
- b.       \*어제 마이크를 미아 만났어.  
\*ecey           Mike-lul       **Mia**   manna-ss-e.  
yesterday     Mike-AC     Mia   met-PST-INT  
‘*Mia met Mike yesterday.*’

Fortunately, LD detections are not that difficult for transitive sentences. The example illustrates that scrambling LDed NP, ‘*Mia*’, makes the sentence improper or at least awkward, although scrambling is allowed in Korean. As shown in (4.15b), the scrambled constituent, *Mia*, makes the entire sentence improper. This is because *Mia* is a so-called left-dislocated NP. If *Mia* were a subject of the sentence, the scrambling should be allowed. Ahn and Cho (2007), adopting ideas from Grohmann (2003), state that left dislocated phrase cannot be scrambled cross-linguistically. Prohibition of scrambling of LDed NPs may be due to this. LDed elements are structurally independent elements. When these independent elements are inserted,

they interfere with grammatical relations among structural constituents of the sentence and make the sentence awkward.

Detection of a LDed NP becomes difficult with intransitive sentences, because a LD in non-anaphoric structure and NP with an omitted nominative case particle in a canonical sentences have the same form.

- (4.16) a. Michael, he is a really good guy.  
 b. 마이클, 진짜 좋은 사람이야.  
 Michael, cincca cohun salam-iyā.  
 Michael, really good person-INT  
 ‘Michael is a really good guy.’

Michael in example (4.16a) is the left-dislocation construction for sure. ‘Michael’ has an extra-clausal position of a constituent, and its pronominal copy is in the clause. Also ‘Michael’ will most likely be pronounced with a falling intonation, followed by a brief pause. Thus, (4.16a) is a LD construction. The left-dislocation construction in English, as shown in example (4.16a), is easy to detect. However, it is not so obvious in the Korean language because the pro-form is allowed to be dropped in Korean. For example, two interpretations are possible for (4.16b), which is a Korean equivalent sentence of (4.16a). One interpretation is to consider (4.16b) as the LD construction sentence with a dropped pro-form. Another interpretation is to consider it as a sentence with an omitted nominative particle since particles are often omitted in conversational Korean. Sentence (4.17) shows what the sentence looks like if the sentence is considered as LD construction.

- (4.17) 마이클<sub>i</sub>        pro<sub>i</sub>    진짜 좋은 사람이야.  
**Michael<sub>i</sub>**,        pro<sub>i</sub>    cincca coh-un        salam-iyā.  
 Michael        pro<sub>i</sub>    really good-RL        person-INT  
*Michael, he is really a good person.*

Adopting the notion of LD, instead of considering *Michael* as a subject, seems to appropriately capture a speaker’s cognitive state of mind in example (4.17). The

speaker probably just asserted Michael as a separate discourse unit. However, generalization of this claim on intransitive sentences can be problematic. It implies that all subject NPs do not allow the case particle ellipsis at all and that they are all LDed NPs. This sounds extreme.

According to this view, a simple sentence, such as *Mia kasse? 'Did Mia leave?'*, is a LD construction sentence, structured as shown in (4.18). Ahn and Cho (2007), although they mainly focus on transitive sentences, described this phenomenon as a bare NP that undergoes a SubMove, movement out of DP leaving resumptive *pro*.

- (4.18)  $\text{미아 } \text{pro}_i \text{ 갔어?}$   
 Mia<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>i</sub> ka-ss-e  
 Mia<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>i</sub> go-PST-INT?  
 'Did Mia leave?'

I propose that the notion of LD needs to be modified to capture the essence of the ellipsis pattern of the nominative case particles. First, I argue that so-called non-anaphoric LDed subject NPs are not dislocated NPs, but that they are referential NPs that fills the external argument position without any syntactical movement. For convenience, I name these NPs as referential markers since a speaker is making references to these NPs instead of directly addressing them. Notice that structurally independent constituents, interjections, and vocative NPs hold the same slots as referential markers, which is the beginning of the sentence, and they are also somewhat restricted from the scrambling.

- (4.19) a.  $\text{아이고 수학 때문에 진짜 미치겠어.}$   
**aiko** swuhak ttaymwuney cincca michi-keyss-e.  
 Oh~ math because of really crazy-PRS-INT  
 'Oh~ I am going to get crazy because of math.'
- b. \* $\text{수학 때문에 진짜 아이고 미치겠어.}$   
 swuhak ttaymwuney cincca **aiko** michi-keyss-e.

math because of really oh~ crazy-PRS-INT  
 \*Oh! I am going to get crazy because of math.

- (4.20) a. **미아야** 저녁 먹어라.  
**Mia-ya** cenyek mek-ela.  
 Mia-VOC meal eat-IM  
 ‘Mia, eat dinner’
- b. \*저녁 **미아야** 먹어라.  
 cenyek **Mia-ya** mek-ela.  
 Dinner Mia-VOC eat-IM  
 \*‘Mia, eat dinner.’

In addition, I believe the term the left-dislocation is somewhat misleading. It implicitly assumes transformational movement although this is not true. Even Hong (2004)’s *ithale*, which can be translated as *deviated word*, seems to contain a meaning of improperness. In my opinion, *ithale* or LDed NPs in the Korean language can be described and serve as a referential link. LDed NPs in Korean are all referential expressions, which entail usage of a personal proper noun or pronoun with a demonstrative such as *ku salam* ‘that person’.

- (4.21) 마이클<sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> 진짜 좋은 사람이야.  
**Michael<sub>i</sub>**, pro<sub>i</sub> cincca cohun salam-iya.  
 Michael pro<sub>i</sub> really good person-INT  
 Michael, (he) is really a good person.

According to the notion of left dislocation, *Michael* is moved to the external position from the subject position leaving *pro* as its trace. This type of argument is based on the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which requires a subject as a mandatory constituent. EPP also does not allow null D(eterminer), which means a determiner or case particle must be pronounced in a subject position. This requirement, P-checking in EPP, forces *Michael*, the bare NP, to undergo movement (Landau, 2007).

I argue that this principle does not accurately reflect the nature of Korean.

Unlike English, which has light subject constraints, Korean has heavy subject

constraints in which discourse old subjects are omitted. This nature frees subjects from EPP's P-checking requirement that requires a determiner to be pronounced. As stated earlier, a determiner in English is equivalent to a case particle in Korean, and a case particle cannot be pronounced when its NP is omitted just as a determiner needs its noun to be expressed in a sentence.

(4.22) 마이클 (omitted subject) 진짜 좋은 사람이야.

**Michael** (omitted subject) cincca coh-un salam-iya.  
 Michael (he) really good-RL person-INT  
*'Michael, (he) is really a good person.'*

In Korean, a referential marker, *Michael*, is expressed first for various interactional purposes. Since *Michael* is already pronounced, it is discourse old information. Therefore, it is omitted in a subject position, and the sentence in example (4.22) is produced as a final product. I have listed a few examples of referential marker NPs from the data in (4.23) and (4.24). These NPs are expressed without any particles, and are followed by a somewhat elongated last phoneme of the word.

(4.23) 아니, 동주 오빠, 불쌍해 죽겠어.

ani, **Tongcwu oppa,** pwulssanghay cwuk-keyss-e.  
 DM, Tongjoo brother~ poor death-PRS-INT  
*'Tongjoo~ I feel so bad about (him).'*

(4.24) 빛나~, 10 일 굶었는데 11 파운드 빠졌어.

Pichna~ 10 il kwulp-ess-nuntey 11phawuntu ppa-cy-ess-e.  
 Bitna~ 10 days starve-PST-CNJ 11 pounds lost-PST-INT  
*'Bitna~, she starved for 10 days and lost 11 pounds.'*

Further investigations are needed to accurately describe when these referential markers are used. Prince (1991) proposed that LD fulfills three functions. They are (a) simplifying discourse processing; (b) triggering a partially ordered set (POSET) inference or POSET LDs; and (c) amnesty of an island-violation or resumptive pronoun LDs. Givon (1993 cited in Fariña, 1995, p. 8) proposed two functions of LD. The first is to “mark important referents that are

brought back into the discourse” and the second is “to serve as a cue to in the turn taking system” (Givon 1993 as cited in Fariña, 1995, p. 8). Tizon-Couto (2008) used a corpus-based analysis to propose eight different discourse functions of LD: introduction, fore-fronting, acknowledging, attributive, contrastive, narrowing, summarizing and correction LDs. LD is also described as having topic assertion function (Gregory & Michaelis, 2001; Prince, 1991; Yamaizumi, 2011). Yamaizumi (2011) added that left-dislocation’s function is not limited to announcing topic; it can also function as for focus for languages like Japanese and Korean. One function manifested in the data seems to be the introduction of a topic shift for a discourse active referent.

Excerpt 15

- 1     B:     아트 들어야 되고 너 지금까지 몇 개 들었어?  
athu   tul-eyatoy-ko   ne    cikum-kaci   myech    kay  
art    take-must-CNJ   you   now-until   how many   CL  
tul-ess-e?  
take-PST-INT  
‘(You) must take two art courses and how many have you taken so far?’
- 2     A:     아트 두개.  
athu   twu    kay.  
art    two    item  
‘Two art classes’
- 3     B:     근데 모르겠다. 승섭이형은 그게 아트가  
kuntey molu-keyss-ta.       Sungsepihyeng-un   kukey athu-ka  
but   do not know-PNL.   Sungseop-TC       that   art-NM
- 4     인정을 못 받는다 고 그랬거든 UH 갔을 때.  
inceng-ul                   mos    patnunta-ko   kulay-ss-ketun  
acceptance-AC           cannot receive-QT   so-PST-CNJ  
UH   ka-ssul           ttay  
UH   go-PRS            when

*'But I don't know, Seungsep said art will not be accepted when you transfer to UH.'*

- 5 A: 거기 써 져 있는 걸로는 그냥.  
 keki sse cye iss-nun kel-lo-nun kunyang  
 that write PAS exist-RL thing-by-TC just  
*'By what is written on (the document)*
- 6 B: 그래 다 되잖아.  
 kulay ta toy-canh-a.  
 See, all become-you know-INT  
*'See, everything is accepted.'*
- 7 A: 소영이도 된다고 하는데  
 Soyeng-i-to toynta-ko hanuntey.  
 Soyeng-NS-also become-QT do-CNJ.  
*'Soyeng also said they will be accepted but'*
- 8 B: 승섭이 형은 안 된다고 하더라고.  
 Sungsep-i hyeng-un an toynta-ko ha-telako  
 Sungsep-NS older brother-TC not become-CNJ do-QT  
*'Sungsep said they will not be accepted.'*
- 9 → A: 승섭이 형 차 없어?  
**Sungsep-i hyeng** cha eps-e?  
 Sungsep-NS brother car don't have-INT?  
*'Sungsep, (he) does not have a car?'*
- 10 B: 승섭이 형? 없어.  
 Sungsep-i hyeng? eps-e.  
 Sungsep-NS brother? do not have-PLN  
*'Sungsep? (he) does not.'*
- 11 A: 여태까지 없었어.  
 yethay-kkaci eps-ess-e.  
 Now-until do not-PST-INT  
*'(He) doesn't have it until now'*
- 12 A: 운전면허도 없이 5년 살았는데  
 wuncenmyenhe-to epsi 5-nyen sal-ass-nuntey...  
 Driver's license-even without 5-years live-PST-but...
- 13 운전면허도 맨날 술 먹으러 가면 여권 꺼내 아직까지  
 wuncenmyenhe-to maynnal swul mek-u-le ka-myen

driver's license-even, everyday      alcohol drink-to      go-if  
 yekwen    kkenay    acik-kkaci  
 passport    take out    yet-until.  
*'He lived without even a driver's license for five year, he still takes  
 out his passport when he goes out to drink'*

14    B:    진짜?  
           cincca ?  
           really  
           *'really*

In Line (9), Sungsep is an unpredictable referent because it is not clear who does not have a car. It could be Sungsep or Soyeyng. In this vein, Seungsep should have been marked by the case particle *-ka/i*, yet it was realized as a bare NP. After this NP, the topic is shifted from transferring credits to the university to how Sungsep still uses his passport as his identification card even after living in Hawaii for five years.

In this section, I discussed the so-called left dislocated NPs and how they do not allow any case particles since they are syntactically detached and their relation is solely semantic. Thus, these NPs should be treated as bare NPs and not as NPs with ellipsed case particles. I also argued that the term left dislocated construction is misleading and proposed a new term, referential markers, that reflects its semantic and syntactic characters. The term, referential markers, does not assume any syntactic transformational movement. I claim that referential markers are used to foreground new information about a discourse active but unpredictable referent.

#### **4.2.3.5 Intransitive sentences**

One commonality that I found in the deviants of the focused, but unmarked, nominative NP groups was that most of these NPs (84%) are intransitive subject NPs as shown in (4.25)

- (4.25) a. 조명 완전 밝아.  
 comyeng wancen palk-a.  
 lights complete bright-INT  
*'lights are really bright.'*
- b. 웬만하면 다 뭐 여자 친구 나오니깐  
 weynmanha-myen ta mwe yeca-chinkwu  
 all right-if all DM girlfriend  
 nao-nikkan  
 come out-because  
*'girlfriends come out if it okay.'*
- c. 차 열라 덥잖아.  
 cha yella tep-canh-a.  
 car really hot-you see-INT  
*'you see, car is really hot.'*

On the other hand, focused transitive subject NPs are almost always marked by the nominative case particles and rarely had any deviants. Why do intransitive subject NPs have more deviants whereas transitive subject NPs have almost no deviants?

This is maybe due to the structure of intransitive-subject NPs. I showed in earlier sections that one function of the nominative case particle may be marking focused information. This is why 82% of focused nominative NPs are not only realized, but also marked by the case particle *-ka* which draws a listener's attention to a new information NP. However, marking focused NPs is not really required in intransitive sentences because they allow only one argument.

Subject NPs in transitive sentences A(gent subjects) are mostly marked by the particle, strictly reflecting the status of being a focused element. Some subject NPs were still marked even if the object is omitted. A few examples of subject NPs in transitive sentences are shown below in (4.26). There were only six tokens of focused, but unmarked, referents in my analysis.

- (4.26) a. 경찰이 사람 때린다고  
 kyengchal-I salam ttaylinta-ko.

police-NM person hit-QT  
'Police is hitting a person'

- b. 기용이가 되게 많이 먹었어.  
Kiyong-i-ka toykey manhi mekesse.  
Kiyong-NS-NM very a lot eat-PST-INT  
'Kiyong ate really a lot.'

First, the structure of a transitive sentence allows two argument NPs.

Therefore, a nominative case particle is needed to mark the focused element.

Secondly, agent subject NPs are typically discourse old information thus discourse new agent NPs are marked expressions, so they must receive more prominence from the case particles. The idea of transitive subject NPs as a discourse old NP is supported by M.-k. Kim (2001). She analyzed the drama scripts to show general patterns of information structure of a clause in Korean language. Her analysis showed that 65% of agent-subject NPs are discourse old whereas 51.5% of intransitive subjects are discourse new NPs (Kim, 2001).

Du Bois' (1987) Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) also supports this approach. The PAS is based on analysis of narrations of 18 participants who were asked to summarize the story of a silent film. Du Bois (2003) stated that the PAS "represents a hypothesis that in spontaneous, certain configurations of arguments are systematically preferred over other grammatically possible alternatives" (p. 33). He proposed four argument structure constraints based on his investigation.

1. One Lexical Argument Constraint: Avoid more than one lexical argument per clause
2. Non-Lexical A constraint: Avoid lexical A(gents)
3. One New Argument Constraint: Avoid more than one new argument per clause
4. Given A constraint: Avoid new A(gents)

Although, the PAS is not a universal linguistic phenomenon, Dubois' claim can be applied to explain why the nominative case particles tend to be ellipsed more with intransitive subject NPs. Intransitive sentences conform well to the PAS constraints whereas a subject NP in transitive sentences or A as a new information NP violates these constraints.

Lastly, Ahn, and Cho (2006) and Y-c.Hong (2004)'s claim may explain this tendency. They claim that subject NPs cannot be expressed without a case particle. Hong (2004), in particular, argued that theme or patient subject NPs can be omitted, unlike agent subject NPs. However, I must address the fact that they did not provide reasons why subject NPs must be always expressed with the case particles.

#### **4.2.3.6 Subject NP length and predicate adjacency**

Subject NP length is described to be correlated with overt expression of the case particle (Ono, Thompson, and Suzuki, 2000). In the current study, this claim could not be really confirmed because most of expressed subject NPs are focused elements. As the data analysis showed in Section 4.2.1, *-ka* overtly marks focused NPs. Thus, I could not distinguish which factor, long subject NP length or being a focused element, caused the overt expression of *ka*. As a remedy, I analyzed unfocused nominative NPs with two or more modifiers. Although there were not many NPs of this type, <sup>18</sup>these NPs were all overtly marked by *-ka*. The statistical account of these NPs were not available due to <sup>19</sup>small sample size. This result

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<sup>18</sup> The data analysis on the accusative case, *-lul* revealed that NP length is a significant factor. As mentioned, overt expression of *-lul* is not related with the notions of focus.

<sup>19</sup> The sample must meet three criteria, unfocused, unmarked and have two or modifiers.

may be attributed to NPs having heavy information load in Korean but I argue the cause is syntactic, rather than pragmatic. Grammatical function of the case particle becomes important to preserve the meaning in this kind of syntactic environment. I argue *-ka* in this type of syntactic environment functions to mark grammatical category, not focus element.

Another syntactic cause for overt expression of *-ka* may be the distance between a subject NP and its predicate. The same principle as in the subject NP length was applied to find out if the distance is a determining factor. I found 13 unfocused NPs that are at least one distance or word away from their predicates and they were all marked by *-ka*. Considering there were only 31 unfocused but marked nominative NPs, verbal adjacency seem to be a determining factor at least for unfocused but marked nominative NPs.

These findings did not produce significant result but they can still be meaningful because the fact that syntactic environments affect the ellipsis patterns of *-ka* can be evidence against the claims that *-ka* is only a semantic or pragmatic marker as S-j, Ko (2004) claimed. If *-ka* is not a syntactic case, it should not be affected by syntactic environments. However, as shown in this section, *-ka*'s grammatical function becomes active in complex sentence structures.

### **4.3 Ellipsis of *-lul***

#### **4.3.1 Focus and the ellipsis of *-lul***

I hypothesized that *-lul* mostly marks focused objects, just as the nominative case particle *-ka* overtly marks focused subjects. The analysis of *-ka* revealed that 82% of the focused subjects were marked. In contrast, as table 12 shows, the

analysis of *-lul* shows that the notion of focus does not affect the ellipsis pattern of the accusative case particle *-lul*.

Table 12 Ellipsis pattern of the accusative case particle *-lul*

	Marked	Unmarked	Total
Focused objects	70 (42.7%)	94 (57.3%)	164
Non focused objects	20 (35.7%)	36 (64.3%)	56

Although the difference was not significant ( $X^2 = 0.8386$ ,  $p = 0.36$ ), *-lul* was ellipsed more often than it was realized, regardless of whether an object was focused or not.

As mentioned, this pattern is quite different from that of the subject particle, *-ka*.

The ellipsis pattern of *-ka* is dictated by whether or not the subject is focused.

Focused subjects were overtly marked by *-ka* (84%) whereas unfocused subjects were mostly unmarked (16%). The unexpected finding regarding *-lul* implies that focus does not affect the ellipsis pattern of *-lul* as it affects the pattern of *-ka*.

In order to explain this unexpected result, more in-depth analysis was conducted to investigate differences among the types of focus that occurred in the data. C.-m. Lee (2003) and other researchers (S.-j. Ko 2000; D. Y. Lee 2002) have claimed that if focus is contrastive, the case marker cannot be dropped. If the contrastive focus construction occurs mostly with subjects rather than with objects, this tendency may explain the higher occurrences of the ellipsis of the accusative case particle *-lul*.

Halliday (1967, cited in Lambrecht 1994) defined the notion of “contrastive” as contrary to some predicted or stated alternative. Employing a similar definition, C-m. Lee (2003, p. 5) claimed that “if a concern is phrased as disjunction, and the speaker responds to a single disjunction, the answer is characterized by contrastive focus.” In B’s response in (4.27), the object *ton* ‘money’ is overtly marked by *-lul* because it receives contrastive focus.

(4.27) A:     아이가 돈을 먼저 집었니 (또는 아니면)  
 ai-ka            ton-ul            mence cip-ess-ni (ttonun/animyen)  
 baby-NOM    money-ACC   first   pick-PAST-Q (or/if.not)  
 phen-ul        mence cip-ess-ni?  
 pen-ACC        first   pick-PAST-Q  
 ‘Did the baby pick the money first, or did she pick the pen first?’

B: → (아이가) 돈을/?\*돈은 먼저 집었어.  
 (aki-ka)        tonF-**ul**/?\*ton-un            mence cip-ess-e.  
 baby-NOM    money-**ACC**/money-CT        first pick-PAST-DEC  
 ‘The baby picked the money first/?\*moneyCT first

(Lee 2003, p. 5)

Arguing that the dichotomy of focus into two types, contrastive and non-contrastive, is insufficient, H-j. Lee (2010) proposed three types of focus: selecting focus, informational focus, and replacing focus. Selecting and replacing focus are contrastive, and information focus is non-contrastive. Among these three types, she claimed that *-lul* marks its object most frequently in the replacing focus structure because it is the most unpredictable type. Following this pattern, she claimed that the contrastive selecting focus structure is most predictable because the referents are mentioned in the question. Therefore, *-lul* is more likely to be ellipsed in this structure. An example of each type of focus is shown in (?-?).

(4.28) Contrastive replacing focus

A:     진미가 컴퓨터(를) 샀어?  
 Cinmi-ka        computer(-lul) sa-ss-e.  
 Jinmi-Nom    computer(-Acc) buy-Pst-Int  
 ‘Did Jinmi buy a computer?’

B:     아니 핸드폰(을) 샀어  
 ani,    hayntuphon(-ul)        sa-ss-e.  
 no,    cell phone(-Acc)        buy-Pst-Int  
 ‘No, (she) bought a cell phone.’

(4.29) Contrastive selecting focus

A:     진미가 컴퓨터(를) 샀어, 핸드폰(을) 샀어?

Cinmi-ka computer(-lul) sa-ss-e, hayntuphon(-ul)  
 Jinmi-Nom computer(-Acc) bought, cell phone(-Acc)  
 sa-ss-e?  
 buy-Pst-Int  
 ‘Did Jinmi buy a computer or a cell phone?’

B: 컴퓨터/?컴퓨터를 샀어. 몰랐어?  
 computer/?computer-lul sa-ss-e. molla-ss-e?  
 computer(-Acc)/computer-Acc buy-Pst-Int didn't know  
 ‘(She) bought a computer. Didn't you know?’

(4.30) Non-contrastive informational focus

A: 이 컴퓨터 지금은 돼. 누가 고쳤어?  
 i computer cikum-un toy. nwu-ka kochi-ess-e?  
 this computer now-Top work. who-Nom fix-Pst-Int  
 ‘This computer is working now. Who fixed (it)?’

B: 이 친구가/??? 이 친구 고쳤어.  
 i chinkwu-ka/??? i chinkwu kochi-ess-e.  
 this guy-Nom/??? this guy(-Nom) fix-Pst-Int  
 ‘This guy fixed (it).’

(modified from H-j. Lee 2010;2011)

Unfortunately, the analysis revealed that contrastive focus constructions with the accusative case particles or the nominative case particles were rare in colloquial conversation. The contrastive focus construction occurred more with the nominative cases, but not frequently. Most of these occurrences were of the form [pronoun + *anita* ‘not’] as in *ku key aniko* ‘that is not it and...’ The sample, which consists of 8864 *ecels*, included no contrastive replacing focus construction or selecting focus construction such as those shown above in (4.28-30). Instead, most of the contrastive focus constructions occurred with the particle *-nun*, which is not within the scope of this study. Other occurrences of the contrastive replacing focus construction that were found in the data occurred as shown below in excerpt (16), in which the contrast is expressed by a replacing word without a predicate. For

example, in the context in the excerpt, A and B are talking about Amy and Mia, who did all the work of hosting a birthday party. When B says that Mia was supposed to take the role of secretary, A corrects B by saying it was treasurer, not secretary. However, B does not produce a repairing sentence with a particle, but instead simply utters the replacing word, *chongmwu* ‘treasurer’.

Excerpt 16

- 1 A: 애미는 고생한 것도 아냐.  
 Aymi-nun kosayngha-n kesto anya.  
 Amy-TC suffer-RL thing-even not-PNL
- 2 미아가 진짜 고생했어.  
 Mia-ka cincca kosaynghay-ss-e.  
 Mia NM really suffer-PST-INT  
 ‘Amy did not even suffer. Mia really suffered.’
- 3 B: 아냐, 아냐 미아가 원래 서기를 원래 맡기로 했는데 원래는  
 an-ya an-ya Mia-ka wenlay seki-lul wenlay  
 No-INT No-INT Mia-NM originally sectary-AC at first  
 ‘No, no, Mia was supposed to be a sectary...’
- 4 math-ki-lo hay-ss-nuntey wenlaynun  
 take-NOM-decide do-PST-CNJ originally  
 ‘No, no, Mia was supposed to be a sectary’
- 5 → A: 총무, 총무  
**chongmwu, chongmwu**  
 manager, manager  
 ‘treasure, treasure’

One noteworthy finding was that the argument-type focus and the predicate-type focus for the accusative cases were also rare, as in fact is also true with the nominative cases. Most of the focus constructions for both nominative case and accusative case were of the sentence-type focus structure. For the readers’ convenience, examples of the argument focus structure and the sentence focus structure from Lambrecht (1994) are reproduced below. The predicate focus structure is excluded because it does not involve the case particles. The type is

determined by where a focus element is located. For the argument type, the focused element lies in arguments such as subjects and objects, whereas the entire sentence is the focused element for the sentential type.

(4.31) Argument-focus structure

A: I heard your motorcycle broke down?  
B: My CAR broke down.

Sentence-focus structure

A: What happened?  
B: My CAR BROKE DOWN.

(Lambrecht 1994, p. 223)

Because sentence-type focus seems to dominate in conversational Korean, I argue that the effect of focus type on case particle ellipsis is limited. In turn, the effects of the notion of focus on the ellipsis pattern of the accusative case particle *-lul* are quite limited overall. Occurrences of wh-questions were extremely rare in the data, appearing only in forms of self-talk. The low occurrence of the case particles is also partly because the argument is often marked by other particles. Example (4.32) and (4.33) below shows a wh-question in the conversation data. The first example shows self-talk that includes a wh-question, and the second example shows that the focus element, *il* ‘work’, is the object of the sentence and is marked by another semantic particle, *to* ‘also’.

(4.32) A: 우리 거기 어디지? 루즈벨트 거기 가가지고  
wuli keki eti-ci? lwucupeylthu keki kakaciko  
we, there where-suppose Roosevelt there go-CNJ  
*‘Where was it... We went to Roosevelt (high school)’*

(4.33) A: 오늘 뭐 해 언니?  
onul mwe hay enni?  
today what do sister  
*‘What do (you) do today?’*

B: 일도 없잖아. 와이켈레나 가자.  
 il-to eps-canh-a. Waikheyly-na ka-ca.  
 work-too not-you know-INT Waikele-just go-PR  
 '(We) do not have work either you know, let's go to Waikele'

#### 4.3.2 Differential object marking (DOM) and the ellipsis of *-lul*

As shown in the previous section, the case particle *-lul* overtly marked some objects but was sometimes ellipsed, and some objects were not marked as a result. Unlike the pattern for the subject particle, this pattern was not affected by the notion of focus, leading to the conclusion that the effect of focus in casual conversational Korean is limited.

Aissen's (2003) work may shed some light on the ellipsis pattern of *-lul*. Working within the framework of optimality theory, Aissen proposed the idea of differential object marking (DOM), which consists of two main dimensions, animacy and definiteness, that affect the overt case marking of objects. One function of DOM is disambiguation, which is distinguishing between subject and object (Comrie 1979; Silverstein 1976). Accusative case particles fulfill this role by overtly marking deviated object NPs; the deviation of the NP is determined by animacy and definiteness. Objects are often described as prototypically inanimate and indefinite (Comrie 1979, 1989); the accusative case particle should overtly mark deviations from the prototype, which are animate NPs or definite NPs, more frequently than it marks the norms, which are inanimate NPs and indefinite NPs. In other words, accusative case particles mark less common types of objects to prevent these objects from being misinterpreted as subjects. The intrinsic property of the object determines the ellipsis pattern of the accusative case particle in DOM.

This study conducted an analysis of 220 accusative NPs to check if this claim can be validated. First, the 220 accusative case NPs were grouped into two categories, animate and inanimate. The case marking of each group was then investigated. Table 13 summarizes the results.

Table 13. Animacy and the ellipsis of *-lul*

	Marked	Unmarked	Total
Animate	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	21
Inanimate	80 (40.2%)	119 (59.8%)	199

The particle *-lul* marked animate objects (47.6%) at a higher rate than it marked inanimate objects (40.2%); however, the occurrence of animate objects is too low for valid statistical analysis. Although the result was not significant, the analysis clearly confirmed the intrinsic characteristic of objects: The prototype object has an inanimate referent. Out of the 220 objects, 199 (90%) were inanimate. If only inanimate objects are considered, animacy seems to affect the ellipsis pattern of *-lul*, because the case marker was ellipsed for 60% of the inanimate objects. This pattern is aligned with the DOM in the sense that the norm goes unmarked. In the earlier analysis, it was shown that *-lul* tends to be omitted around 60% of the time in general. Considering this tendency, the animacy effect can be considered one of the major factors in the ellipsis of *-lul* with inanimate objects.

The other dimension of DOM is definiteness. This dissertation adopts Lambrecht's (1994) and Aissen's (1994) definition of the notion of definiteness/indefiniteness: Definite referents are the referents that are assumed "by the speaker to be identifiable by the addressee" (Lambrecht 1994, p.79). An example of a definite object is given in (4.34).

(4.34) 어 내가 그래도 미아 언니를 아는구나.  
 e nayka kulayto mia enni-lul a-nunkwuna

Oh, I-NM even Mia oldersister-AC know-EX  
*'Oh, I do know even Mia.'*

In the example, *Mia* is the name of a mutual friend of the interlocutors, and therefore the referent is identifiable to both the speaker and the addressee. Thus, *Mia* is a definite object. Definite objects may include proper nouns, demonstrative nouns, and pronouns.

Indefinite objects are referents that are unidentifiable to both the speaker and the addressee or that are only identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee. Referents that are unidentifiable to both the speaker and the addressee can be generic nouns or so called brand-new referents. In the excerpt below, the speaker is sharing what a fortuneteller told him. The fortuneteller said that the speaker will get married at 30 and he will meet a warm hearted woman. “A warm hearted woman” in this context does not refer to any specific woman but could be one of any number of warm hearted women; therefore, she is not identifiable by the speaker or the addressee.

Excerpt 17

- 1 서른 몇 살 때 하는 데  
 selun myech sal ttay ha-nun-tey  
 Thirty some age when do-RL-CNJ
- 2→ 굉장히 따뜻한 여자를 만나다라는  
koyngcanghi ttattushan yeca-lul manna-ta-la-nun  
 extremely warm-RL woman-AC meet-PLN-QT-RL
- 3 얘기를 내가 몇 번 들었어.  
 yayki-lul nay-ka myech pen tul-ess-e.  
 story-AC I-NM some CL hear-PST-INT  
*'I heard few times that I will get married at 30 and I will meet a warm-  
 hearted woman.'*

Definite/indefinite referents are often confused with specific/non-specific referents.

Although definite referents tend to be specific, these two concepts are not directly

correlated. Indefinite referents can be specific or non-specific, as (4.39) demonstrates.

(4.39) A: 그 날 가서 80 불 썼다며.  
 ku nal kase 80 pwul ss-ess-tamye  
 That day go-then 80 dollar use-PST-(I) heard  
 ‘I heard that you spend \$80 on that day’

B: → 그 이 거 헤어 에센스 미스트 사구  
 ku i ke heye eyseynsu misuthu sakwu-ku  
 That, this thing hair essence mist buy-and..  
 ‘I bought hair essence and mist and then...’

In the excerpt, B responds to A by beginning to list the items she bought. The hair essence and the mist that B bought are specific to B but they are not identifiable to A. Thus, these two items are indefinite specific referents.

Table 14 shows the results of the analysis. Although *-lul* overtly marked definite objects more often than indefinite objects, the difference was not significant. Also, *-lul* tends to be ellipsed whether objects are definite or indefinite. However, the analysis confirmed that the prototype of objects is indefinite.

Table 14. Definiteness and the ellipsis of *-lul*

	Marked	Unmarked
Definite	38 (47.5%)	42 (52.5%)
Indefinite	52 (37.1%)	88 (63.9%)

It seems that the ellipsis pattern of *-lul* reflects the basic premise of DOM, differential object marking, which is that deviations are marked while prototypical forms are not marked. However, this tendency seems to have a limited effect because *-lul* is ellipsed more often than it is present whether objects are definite or indefinite.

### 4.3.3 Object NP length and the ellipsis of *-lul*

Whereas focus, animacy, and definiteness/indefiniteness showed no or limited effects on the presence or ellipsis of the case marker *-lul*, the length of an object noun phrase clearly affected the particle's ellipsis pattern. Although the majority of objects consist of one word without any modifier, some objects contain one or more modifying words or even an embedded clause, as shown in (4.37). In the examples, modifying elements are underlined and the modified object is in boldface. In (4.36), *cacenke* 'bicycle' is unmodified, and *-lul* is ellipsed. In (4.37) and (4.38), the objects include modifying elements, and *-lul* overtly marks these objects.

(4.36) 너 운동하고 자전거 타고 가면 되잖아.  
 ne wuntongha-ko cacenke Ø thako kamyen  
 you exercise-then bicycle Ø ride-and go-if  
 toy-canh-a.  
 okay-you know-INT  
 'You can just ride the bicycle to go after exercise'

(4.37) 더 편한 자세를 찾게 되는 거야.  
**te phyenha-n** casey-lul chac-key toy-nun keya  
 more comfortable-RL position-AC look for-end up-RL doing  
 'I ended up looking for a more comfortable position.'

(4.38) 가방 끈 좀 이라도 더 긴 사람을 우대해 주고  
**kapang kkun com i-lato te kin** salam-ul  
 bag strap little is-even more long person-AC  
 wutayhay cwu-ko  
 prefer give-and...  
 '(They) give preference to the person who has longer bag strap (receive more education).

Previous studies on Japanese have shown a correlation between the length of arguments and overt case markings (Fry 2003; Tsutsui 1984). I hypothesized that the same correlation exists in Korean. Table 15 shows the results of the analysis.

Table 15. Number of modifiers and the ellipsis of *-lul*

# of modifiers	Marked	Unmarked	Total
0 modifier	66 (37.9%)	108 (62.1%)	174
1 modifier	32 (53.3%)	28 (46.7%)	60
2 or more	49 (81.7%)	11 (18.3%)	60 <sup>20</sup>

As the table shows, the length of the object is directly correlated to the overt case marking of *-lul* ( $X^2 = 148.177, p < 0.0001$ ). The longer the object (i.e., the more modifiers it includes), the higher the rate of being marked by *-lul*.

These results can be attributed to speakers' intention to make the deciphering process easier for the receivers of the speakers' utterances. This intention is described in Grice's maxim of manner: Be clear and avoid ambiguity (Grice, 1975). Overtly marking an object with a series of modifiers makes the sentence clear and avoids ambiguity. *-lul* helps fulfill this purpose by distinguishing the object of the sentence from other sentential constituents.

#### 4.3.4 Amplification and *-lul*

Although the ellipsis pattern of *-lul* does not correlate with focus, overt case marking of an object sometimes functions to amplify the prominence of the object. This is not a disambiguating function where an object needs to be distinguished from other sentential constituents. Rather, it is a discourse function, as it expresses the speaker's intention to emphasize the object regardless of its information status.

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<sup>20</sup> The original dataset contained only 14 occurrences of objects with two or more modifiers. Twelve were overtly marked, and two were not marked. However, this seemed too little for statistical analysis, so additional samples were extracted from recorded conversations that were produced in the same format as the other conversations in the original dataset.

Although focus is often described as a type of emphasis, this amplifying function is different from focus in that it is not associated with the predictability of the referent, as in the case of focus constructions. Excerpt (18) shows the use of *-lul* with an amplifying function. In the excerpt, A is complaining about his ex-girlfriend.

Excerpt 18

- 1     A:     개랑 나랑 너무 똑같애 그래서 이렇게 막  
           kay-lang    na-lang   nemwu    ttokkathay kulayse   ileh-key mak  
           That-and    I-and     very     same       so       this-like DM
- 2             아다리가 막 맞아가지고 이렇게 좀 이런 게  
           atali-ka       mak    macakaciko   ileh-key   com   ilen   key  
           compatible-ka DM   together-and   this-way   DM   this   thing
- 3             있어야 되는데 내가 좀 화내면  
           isseya        toy-nuntey   nay-ka        com   hwanay-myen  
           exist-must   become-but   I-NM         little   angry-if
- 4             받아 주는 것도 있구  
           pata            cwu-nun        kes-to        iss-kwu...  
           understand   give-RL        things-too   exist-CNJ...  
           *'She and I are too much alike so there must be some compatibility  
           together things such as she tries     to be more understanding if I get  
           angry'*
- 5     B:     그래  
           kulay  
           That is so  
           *'I agree.'*
- 6     A:     아냐  
           anya.  
           not  
           *'That's not the case'*
- 7     B:     절대 안 맞아?  
           celtay        an    maca?  
           Absolutely   not   compatible  
           *'You are not compatible at all?'*
- 8     A:     내가 내가 여자한테 막 으박지르고

nay-ka	nay-ka	yeca-hanthey	mak	ukpakcilu-ko
I-NM	I-NM	woman-to	DM	intimidate-and

9 → 소리~~를~~ 지르겠냐? 처음부터?  
 soli-**lul** cilu-keyss-nya? cheum-pwuthe  
 sound-AC shout-guess-PLN beginning-from  
*'Do you think I would intimidate and yell at a woman from the beginning (of a conversation) for no reason'*

A says that a couple should be compatible and try to be understanding when one gets mad at the other. In line 6, A claims that he and his ex-girlfriend were not compatible. In line 8, he begins his utterance by asking if he is the kind of person who would yell at women. In this sentence, *soli* 'sound' is marked by *-lul*. This overt case marking shows that the speaker wanted to amplify its prominence because this kind of behavior, yelling at a woman, is not his usual behavior. By overtly marking the object with *-lul*, the speaker emphasizes that he is describing unusual behavior. Even if *-lul* were omitted (i.e., *soli cilukeyssnya?* 'Do you think I will yell?'), the sentence would still be grammatical and sound fine. However, by marking *soli*, the speaker expresses his belief that it is an unusual event that requires more attention from the listener.

#### 4.3.5 Predicate proximity and *-lul*

Previous studies (Y.-c Hong 2004; Anh and Cho 2006) claimed that the accusative case particles are more prone to be ellipsed than the nominative case particle are. These studies argue that an object NP and a predicate form a structure similar to that of a complex predicate, so an ellipsis of the accusative case particle is more common. Fry (2003) also made a similar claim that the accusative case particles in Japanese tend to be omitted when an object NP is closer to a predicate.

Table 16 shows the analysis result of 220 object NPs and the distance from their corresponding predicates. The distance unit is measured by the number of words between the object NP and its predicate. The t-test results in the table 16 shows that a significant difference was observed,  $t(218) = 2.2017$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.0287$ .

Table 16. Predicate proximity and ellipsis of ‘*lul*’

	Marked (N=90)	Unmarked (N=130)
Mean of the distance	0.48	0.28

Most of object NPs in the data had zero word (72.7%) or one word (21.4%) before the predicates. Table 17 summarizes the frequency of each group by the number of words.

Table 17. Number of the words between object NPs and predicates

# of words	Marked	Unmarked	Total
0	57 (35.6%)	103 (64.4%)	160
1	27 (55.1%)	22 (44.9%)	49
2	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	7
3 or more	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4

As shown in the table, some object NPs were unmarked by *-lul* although they were two or more words apart from predicates. These unmarked object NPs are followed by words such as discourse markers or onomatopoeias as shown in (4.40). I assume that reason for ellipsis of *lul* may be because these discourse markers or onomatopoeia, which follow the object NPs, function to amplify illocutionary force just as *-lul* functions to amplify the prominence of NP. Discourse markers such as *com* is described to increase illocutionary force (H-s. Lee, 2014). In addition, discourse markers such as *com* and *ttak* are monosyllabic words just like *-ka* and *-lul*. H.-w. Yu (2015) investigated the usage of the case particles in the spoken data from 1900 to 1945 and stated that the nominative and accusative case particles were frequently ellipsed with these monosyllabic words because of prosodic compatibility.

- (4.40) a. 웨이트레스 옷 딱 이렇게 갖춰 입고...  
 weyithuleysu os **ttak** ileh-key kacchweipko...  
 waitress clothes DM this-like dress up  
 ‘*dressing up the waitress uniform*’
- b. 차들 그렇게 쌩쌩 달리는데...  
 cha-tul kuleh-key **ssayngssayng** talli-nuntey  
 car PL that-like howle move-CNJ  
 ‘*cars moving really fast*’

Another aspect that must address was instances of complex predicates as Ahn and Cho (2006) proposed. These object NPs are not complex predicates in that they are not fossilized and they can be overtly marked by *lul*. Nevertheless, they were expressed with ellipsed *lul*. Some of these expression are listed in (4.41). I listed them in the dictionary form to show that these NPs in the form of complex predicates are acceptable even without any contexts. All of these words are extracted from the data.

- (4.41) 훈련 받다 *hwunlyen patta* ‘receive training’, 신경 쓰다 *sinkyeng ssuta* ‘show concern’, 밥 사다 *pap sata* ‘buy a meal’, 사진 찍다 *sacin ccikta*, ‘take a picture’, 열 받다 *yel patta* ‘to get riled up’, 효과 보다 *hyokwa pota* ‘to experience effect’, 장난 치다 *cangnan chita* ‘to joke around’  
 똥 싸다 *ttong ssata* ‘to defecate’, 시비 걸다 *sipi kelta* ‘to pick a fight’,  
 잠 자다 *cam cata* ‘to sleep’

I believe object NPs in the structure as shown in (4.41) will be less affected by the notion of focus because a producer of message will treat them as if the particle slot between a NP and a predicate is not available with these expressions. Hawkins’s principle of Minimize Forms (2004) supports this assumption. It claims that “the human processor prefers to minimize the connected sequences of linguistic forms and their conventionally associated syntactic and semantic properties in which relations of combination and/or dependency are processed” (p. 31). The words in

(4.41) co-occurs so often that that they are almost fossilized which also benefit the receivers of the messages because it reduces their required effort to understand.

#### 4.3.6 Enumeration and *-lul*

Enumerated referents are realized without case particles. I propose that the case particles tend not to be realized in this situation to emphasize the sense of continuity of the event. In Excerpt 19, A is talking about her online chatting experience.

##### Excerpt 19

- 1 A: 나중에 진짜 할 말 없고  
nacwung-ey cincca ha-l <sup>21</sup>mal eps-ko  
Later-at really do-RL speak not-CNJ  
*'I really did not have anything to say and'*
- 2 selo <sup>22</sup>chimmwuk hulu-ko  
mutually silent flow-CNJ  
*'Silent was flowing between us and'*
- 3 B: 어  
e  
Then  
*'then'*
- 4 A: 나중에 그냥 파일 주고 받고..  
nacwung-ey kunayng **phail** cwu-ko pat ko  
Later at just file give-and receive and,  
*'Later, we just give and receive files'*

In the excerpt, A describes how she ran out of things to talk about after she repeatedly chatted for three hours a day with a person that she had a crush on. She

---

<sup>21</sup> The nominative case particles *-i/ka* also tend to be ellipsed when referents are enumerated.

<sup>22</sup> This particular excerpt is chosen to show that enumeration affects both the nominative and the accusative case particles.

enumerates three NPs, each denoting a different activity, and none of them are marked by case particles. Although these NPs, *mal* speaking, *chimmuk* silence, *phail* file, are discourse new and focal constituents, they do not seem to show informational prominence. This is because these NPs are merely examples of how her online chatting became dull; the speaker is not attempting to draw the listener's attention to what each NP represents.

#### 4.3.7 Idiomatic Expressions

I propose that ellipsis patterns in idiomatic expressions including proverbs are not affected by information status. There were only a few idiomatic expressions in the data, and they all maintained their original forms. Excerpt 20 shows the use of the idiom *maum mekko*; the literal meaning is 'eating mind', but the phrase means 'to decide' (*Standard Korean Language Dictionary* 2008). In the excerpt, B is explaining that she decided to be careful of what she said.

##### Excerpt 20

- 1     B:     저 오빠한테는 쫘 가려서 해야겠다.  
           ce   oppahan-they-nun   ccom   kal-yese            hay-ya-key-ssta  
           that older guy-to-TC   DM   selective-CNJ   do must-PRS-PLN  
           '*I must be selective of what I say to him*'
- 이케 마음 먹고...  
           ikh-ey   maum           mek-ko...  
           thislike heart           eat-and  
           '*I decided to be like this...*'

I do not mean that *maum* cannot be overtly marked by the corresponding particle *-(l)ul*, but the expression without the particle is more canonical. In the corpus, the original form, *maum mekta*, occurs eight times, and it never occurs with the particle (i.e., *maum-ul mekta*). J-w. Kim (2003) explained that the grammatical nature of case particles interferes with the production of metaphorical meanings,

which require a close relationship between nouns and predicates. For example, *meri aphuta* can be translated literally as ‘head hurts’ or metaphorically as ‘troublesome’. The noun and the predicate must occur together to express the metaphorical meaning’.

## CHAPTER 5

### ELLIPSIS OF –KA AND –LUL IN OTHER REGISTERS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between modality of information transfer and case particle ellipsis. I claim that presentational modality of information flow in both spoken and written texts affects the ellipsis pattern of case particles. Presentational modality is observed when speakers communicate in unidirectional ways. The ways that information is sent in conference presentations, public speeches and most of written languages have presentational modalities in that speakers or authors convey their messages in a unidirectional way without almost no feedback from the receivers of the messages. I argue that when information transfer is unidirectional or takes the form of presentational mode, the information is often desituated, which eliminates interaction between the producer and the receiver of the information. The lack of interaction in turn prevents the effects of the economy principle and this results in overt expressions of the case particles.

I analyzed spoken data in the deferential speech style and written data to support my claim. As previous studies (E-s. Ko 2001; Eun & Strauss 2004) have shown, the case particles *-ka* and *-lul* are almost always realized when the deferential speech style, *-(su)pnita* is used. I investigated the underlying cause of the overt expression of the case particles when the deferential speech style is used in spoken discourses.

I also investigated the case particle ellipsis patterns in written texts because written texts are similar to spoken discourses in the deferential speech style in that most of these registers are in presentational modes.

The data for this analysis comprise 6000 *ejels* from several sources including the Sejong Corpus, codes of commercials laws, newspaper articles, and mobile chat conversations. The results show that presentational modality affects the ellipsis of case particles and that the effects of the economy principle are greatly reduced when the information transfer is unidirectional, which increases the overt expression of the case particles.

## 5.2 Ellipsis in the deferential speech style

E.-s. Ko (2001) showed that degree of formality affects the ellipsis pattern of the accusative particle *-lul*. She analyzed the frequency of marked, unmarked, and omitted object NPs in contexts that require different levels of formality: informal phone conversations, informal narratives on the Web, and formal TV news broadcasts. Her results showed that the more formality a given situation requires, the fewer the unmarked object NPs that occur. For example, 74% of object NPs in formal TV news broadcasts were marked, whereas only 29% were marked in informal phone conversations (p. 197).

Eun and Strauss (2004) made a similar claim that the deferential form co-occurs with new information whereas the polite form co-occurs with shared information. This claim implies that case particles are more likely to be expressed in the deferential speech style than in the polite speech style, which further implies that degree of formality affects the ellipsis patterns of the case particles. In television shows, the deferential form is mostly used to directly address the audience, whereas the polite form is used to address the participants of the show such as panel speakers or guests. Because new information is intended for the audience, not for the participants, I assume that new information co-occurs more often with the

deferential form in television shows.

Although I agree with the claims of E-s. Ko (2001) and Eun and Strauss (2004), I further claim that the presentational modality in which the information mainly flows in unidirection, is the main factor that causes the case particles to be expressed in the deferential speech style.

The deferential speech style is often used in news broadcasting and public announcements/speech. One aspect of the deferential speech style is that it is often “unidirectional” and used as a mean of “ritualized self-presentation” (S-s. Yoon 2010 p. 97). News broadcasts and public speech are unidirectional. Interaction either does not exist or is very rare in these types of speech, as illustrated in excerpt (21).

Excerpt 21 (KBS 8/1/97).

A is the news anchor and R is the reporter.

- A: 여러분, 안녕하십니까? 9 시 뉴스 입니다.  
1 yelepwun annyenghasipnikka? KBS 9 si nyusu-i-pnita.  
Everyone, Hello? KBS 9 CL news-is-DEF.  
*'Hello everyone, it is 9 o'clock news by KBS.'*
- 우리 국민의 갈증을 오늘 박찬호 선수가 단번에  
풀어줬습니다.  
2 wuli kwukmintul-uy kalcung-**ul** onul  
Our citizens-GN thirst-AC today  
3 Pak, Chanho senswu-ka tanpen-ey phwulecw-ess-supnita.  
Park,Chanho player-NM once-at solve-PST-DEF  
*'Chanho Park quenched our thirst today.'*
- 잠시 후에 자세한 소식 전해 드립니다.  
4 camsi hwu-ey caseyha-n sosik cenhay tuli-pnita.  
moment after-at detail-RL news realy hon-DEF  
*'We will give you detailed news after moment.'*
- 오늘 첫 소식입니다.  
5 onul ches sosik-ipnita.  
Today first news-is-DEF Industry-NM civilian-GN  
*'Here is today's first news.'*

재계가 민간의 산업구조 조정을 촉진하는 특별법 제정을  
정부측에 촉구하고 나섰습니다.

- 6 caykyey-ka minkan-uy sanep kwuco coceng-ul chokcinha-nun  
industry-NM private-GN structure adjustment-AC expedite-TC  
7 thukpyel pep ceyceng-ul cengpwuchuk-ey  
special law enactment-AC government-to  
8 chokkwuha-ko nas-ess-supnita.  
urge-CNJ launch-PST-DEF  
*'The business community has urged the government to enact a special  
law to promote industrial structure adjustment of the private sector.'*

송정문 기자의 보도입니다.

- 9 Song, Cengmwun kica-uy poto-i-pnita.  
Song, Cengmwun reporter-GN report-is-DEF.  
*'Song, Jeongmun reports this news.'*

R: 우리나라 재계를 대표하는 전경련 회장단이 긴급회의를  
열고 현재의 경제상황을 위기라고 진단했습니다

- 10 wuli nala caykyey-lul tayphyoha-nun cenkyenglyen  
we nation industry-AC represent-TC FKI  
11 hoycangtan-i kinkup hoyuy-lul yelko hyencay-uy  
CEOS-NM emergency meeting-AC hold present-GN  
12 kyengcey sanghwang-ul wikila-ko cintanha-yss-supnita.  
Economic situation-AC emergency-CNJ diagnosis-PST-DEF.  
*'FKI (Federation of Korean Industry Presidency representing the  
business community in Korea hold an emergency meeting and  
diagnosed the current economic situation as crisis.'*

(data for interview clip and some reporting parts are omitted)

R: 그러나 정리해고제는 조기 실현될 경우 노동계의 반발과  
함께 논란을 빚을 것으로 보입니다. KBS 뉴스,  
송종문입니다.

- 13 kulena cenglihayko-cey-nun coki silhyen-toyl kyengwu  
But lay off-system-TC early come true-become in case  
14 notong kye-yuy panpal-kwa hamkkey nonlan-ul picul  
labor sector-GN opposition-and with dispute-AC casuse  
15 kes-ulo poi-pnita. KBS nyusu, Song, Congmwun-i-pnita.  
thing-into seen-DEF. KBS news, Song, Congmwyn-is-DEF

*'If the layoff system comes true earlier, the labor sector will oppose and the system will engender many disputes. This was Song, Congmwun from KBS'*

A:   기아그룹 대책회의가 오늘 또 결렬돼서 기아의 정상방안이  
 상당히 불투명해지고 있습니다.

16   kia   kulwup       taychayk       hoyuy-ka    onul   tto  
       Kia   Group       management meeting-NM today again

17   kyellyel twayse   Kia-uy        cengsang pangan-i  
       call off   become Kia-GN        recovery measure-NM

18   sangtanghi   pwulthwumyeng-hay-ci-ko iss-supnita.  
       extremely   clouded-become-exist-PAS GN-DEF

*'Kia's emergency management meeting broka again today that Kia's recovery measure is being clouded.'*

As shown in the excerpt, there is no interaction and the speech is unidirectional. The anchor addresses the viewers at the beginning with brief comments on the first major league pitcher of Korea and then introduces the first topic of the news. Then the reporter, without introducing himself, delivers the news interspersed with interview clips. After the reporter finishes, the anchor moves on to the second topic. Throughout, the viewers are receivers of information, and no interaction is possible.

Such presentational modality does not allow immediate feedback from the receivers of the information. The speaker must deliver all the new information in an orderly manner to avoid confusion. News anchors have no way of knowing whether their viewers completely understand the information they are delivering. Therefore, marking subjects and objects becomes crucial because it eliminates potential confusion. This is why almost all NPs are overtly marked by case particles in news programs.

Transfer of information in the presentational mode is also the norm in formal conversations. I assume that the reason in this case is that the interlocutors respect

each other's turns to speak or to "take the floor" due to the formality of the situation. This aspect is exemplified in a TV debate show. Although the discussion panelists may end up speaking at the same time as the argument escalates, they usually wait for their turns to speak or the moderator intervenes to maintain unidirectional transfer of information. In this kind of context, interactions are maintained in rather strict orderly manners. The analysis of the debate that I investigated showed that each panelist spoke about 130 *ecels* in each turn. One utterance took about 13 lines in the Word document when the utterance was transcribed.

Excerpt 22 illustrates another situation in which the delivery of information is unidirectional. However, the conversation is in the intimate speech style yet the case particles are almost always overtly expressed. I believe this excerpt shows that it is not a speech style but the unidirectional transfer of information or presentational modality that causes the case particles to be overtly expressed. In the excerpt, Person A is tutoring Person B in math. Although two-way interaction and immediate feedback are possible in this situation, the interaction is kept to a minimum because A is mainly explaining while B listens and replies only to show she understands.

Excerpt 22

A:     그럼 역원이 존재한다는 얘기는 뭐니 진아야, 항등원이  
           나오게 하는 숫자를 우리가 역원이 되게 한다고 말했잖아.  
 1       kulem yekwen-**i**     concaya-nta-nun     yayki-nun  
           then, \*<sup>23</sup>IE-NM     exist do-PLN-RL     story-TC  
 2       mwe-ni           Cina-ya,     hangtungwen-**I**     nao-key     ha-nun  
           what-PNL     Cina VOC   <sup>24</sup>AI-NM     come-ly     do-RL  
 3       swusca-**lul**     wuli-**ka**     yekwen-**i**     toy-key     hanta-ko  
           number-AC   we-NM     IE-NM     become-ly do-PLN-QT  
 4       malhay-ss-canh-a.

---

<sup>23</sup> IE: Inverse Element

<sup>24</sup> AI: Additive Identity

say-PST-you know-INT

*'Then what does it mean that the inverse element exist?' 'You know, we said that number that produce additive identity become the invers element.'*

5 B: 응  
ung.  
Yes  
'Yes'

A: 근데 진아야 봐, 여기서, 여기서 항등원 이가 영이 되거나, 또는 에이가 마이너스 일일 때 이 식이 영이 된다 그랬지. 그럼 만약에, 여기가 이 식이 에이가 마이너스 일이 되면 여기 이걸 연산 하나하나 그대로 뭐가 나오겠어?

6 kuntey Cina-ya pwa, yeki-se, yeki-se  
by the way Cina-VOC look here-from, here-from  
7 hangtungwen 2-ka 0-i toy-kena ttonun  
IE two-NM zero-NM become-either or  
8 A-ka mainasu 1-il ttay i sik-i 0-i  
A-NM minus 1-is when this formula-NM 0-NM  
9 toy-nta kulay-ss-ci kulem manyak-ey  
become-PLN so-PST-suppose then if-at  
10 yeki-ka i sik-i A-ka mainasu il-i  
here-NM this formula A-NM minus 1-NM  
11 toy myen yeki i ke-n yensan  
become if here this thing-TC calculation  
12 ha-namana kotay-lo mwe-ka nao-keyss-e?  
do-whether that-like what-NM come-PRS-INT  
*'By the way, Cina, if AI here becomes zero or when A is minus one, this formula become zero Then, if, this formula here becomes minus one, this one here, what does this calculation comes out to?'*

13 B; 영  
yeng  
zero  
'zero'

14 A: 영이 나오겠어?  
0-i nao-keyss-e?  
0-NM come-PRS-INT  
*'Do you think zero will come out?'*

As shown in the excerpt, the interlocutors use the intimate speech style, which is the most casual speech style in Korean, and the interaction is unidirectional. Although the interlocutors are not using the deferential speech style, all case particles are realized even in complex verb constructions such as noun + *toyta* ‘become’. This shows that it is not solely the speech style or formality, but also the presentational modality that affects the ellipsis pattern of the case particles.

Another determining factor is the length of the NPs in unidirectional texts such as the news program in (5.1). The lexical density in this formal, unidirectional text is high. The object NPs in particular co-occur with many modifiers, in contrast to the object NPs observed in the colloquial conversation data, in which most of the object NPs (79.1%) have no modifiers, and those that do have only one modifier. In addition, the conversation data do not include object NPs with long modifying clauses, which the news program data do, as shown in Excerpt (5.3), which is from the same news program in (5.1). As a result of these long modifying elements, the accusative case particle *-lul* is overtly marked on the object NPs in the deferential style. In the excerpt, modifying elements are underlined.

- (5.1) a. 기업 구조의 효율적 재편을...
- |  |                 |                  |                |
|--|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| <b>kiep</b>  | <b>kwuco-uy</b> | <b>hyoyulcek</b> | cayphyen-ul    |
| Company  | structure-GN    | efficient        | restructure-AC |
| <i>‘Restructuring of efficient company structure...’</i> |                 |                  |                |
- b. 이 특별법으로 현행 노동법에서 2년간 시행이 유보된  
정리해고제를
- |             |                 |                   |                  |                       |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| i           | thukpyel        | pep-ulo           | <b>hyenhayng</b> | <b>notongpep-evse</b> |
| this        | special         | law-by            | current          | labor law-at          |
| <b>2</b>    | <b>nyen-kan</b> | <b>sihayng -i</b> | <b>yupo</b>      | <b>toy-n</b>          |
| two         | years-for       | in effect-NM      | delay            | become-RL             |
| cenglihayko | cey-lul         |                   |                  |                       |
| lay-off     | enactment-AC    |                   |                  |                       |

*'By this law, the lay-off enactment that has been delayed for two years in the current labor law...'*

Lastly, as Eun and Strauss (2004) claimed, new information co-occurs with the deferential style. However, this is not an unexpected finding, because M-k. Kim (2004), based on an analysis of drama scripts, found that each clause contained about .75 new NP. In other words, each utterance, regardless of speech style, contained a new NP. The major difference is that unlike in colloquial conversations, structures such as left dislocation, repairing constructions, and discourse markers are not found in texts when information is delivered in a unidirectional manner. I assume this is because information in the deferential speech style is neatly organized for the receivers, who are not in the same physical space as the speakers when the utterances are produced. In addition, it must be noted that text styles of a genre such as lexical density is closely related to a purpose of texts. For example, the main purpose of a news program is to convey as much as information in a clear but brief manner and this results in texts with high lexical density whereas colloquial conversations show low lexical density. In this vein, genre affects the ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul*.

### **5.3 Ellipsis and written texts**

As mentioned, the deferential speech style is often used in spoken interactions that have presentation modality. Most of written texts convey information in the same way. This section discusses the effects of the presentational modality of information transfer on case particle ellipsis in written texts.

The general consensus is that the case particles *-ka* and *-lul* are mostly overtly expressed in written texts. This seems to be true for genres such as newspaper articles and academic journal articles. However, there are many other types of written texts, such as computer chat, phone texting, headlines from newspapers, and so on. Case particles are often omitted in these registers. Examples from different registers of written texts are shown in the excerpts below. Overt case particles are in boldface; ellipsed particles are shown in parentheses.

Excerpt 23

**a. Internet Newspaper**

이 대통령은 이날 청와대에서 제 7 차 국민 원로 회의를 오찬을  
 겸해 개최, 이같이 강조한 뒤 "소련의 스탈린 정권이...  
 i taythonglyeng-un i-nal chengwatay-eyse cey-7-cha  
 Lee president-TC this day the Blue House at-7-th  
 kwukmin wenlo hoyuy-**lul** ochan-**ul** kyemhay kaychoy,  
 citizen senior meeting-AC lunch-AC while open  
 i kathi kangcoha-n twi solyenuy Suthallin cengkwen-**i**  
 this like emphasize-RL after USSR Stalin regime-NM  
*'The President held the seventh meeting at the Blue House luncheon for  
 senior citizens, after emphasizing so, "the Stalinist regime in the USSR...'*  
 (Choseonilbo, 2013.02.15)

**b. Mobile Chatting**

A: 안 된대.  
 an toyn-tay  
 not become-QT  
*'(He) can't'*

B: 오잉?  
 oing?  
 What  
*'what?'*

C: 아.  
 a.  
 I see  
*'I see.'*

- A: 계정 ( ) 두 개래.  
 kyeyceng ( ) twu kay-lay.  
 Account ( ) two item-QT  
 'He has two accounts.'
- C: ㅋㅋㅋ이제 돼요 ㅋㅋㅋ  
 ㅋㅋㅋ icyey toyyo ㅋㅋㅋ  
 LOL now works LOL (laughing out loud)  
 'It works now.'
- A: 왔다.  
 wa-ss-ta  
 Come-PST-PLN  
 '(I) came.'
- C: 앞에 꺼 ( ) 놓쳤는데, 12 시요?  
 aphey kke ( ) nohch-ess-nuntey, 12-si-yo  
 before things ( ) miss-PST-but 12-o'clock-POL  
 'I missed what you said earlier but is it 12?'
- B: 모 ( ) 먹고 싶어?  
 C, mo ( ) mek -kosiph-e?  
 C, what ( ) eat-want INT  
 'C, what do you want to eat?'
- A: 시간 장소( ) 알려조. 난 씻는다.  
 sikan cangso ( ) allye-co. na-n ssis-nunta.  
 time place ( ) know-please I-TC wash-PLN  
 'Let me know the time and the place.'

**c. Headline**

- i. 오세훈 "세빛 둥둥섬 ( ) 혈세 낭비( )아니다" (2013.02.15)  
 O, Seyhwun Seypich twungtwung sem ( ) hyelsey  
 O, Seyhwun, Seypich twungtwung island ( ) taxpayer's money  
 nangpi ( ) ani-ta.  
 waste ( ) is not-PLN  
 'O, Sehwun, Island of Seypich twungtwung, not a waste of tax.'
- ii. 충격! 한국 LTE 속도( ) 세계 6 위라니 (2013.02. 15)  
 chwungkyek! hankwuk LTE sokto ( ) seykyey 6wi-la-ni  
 shock! Korea LTE speed ( ) world 6<sup>th</sup>-QT-PLN

*'Shock, Korea's LET Speed ranked 6<sup>th</sup>.'*

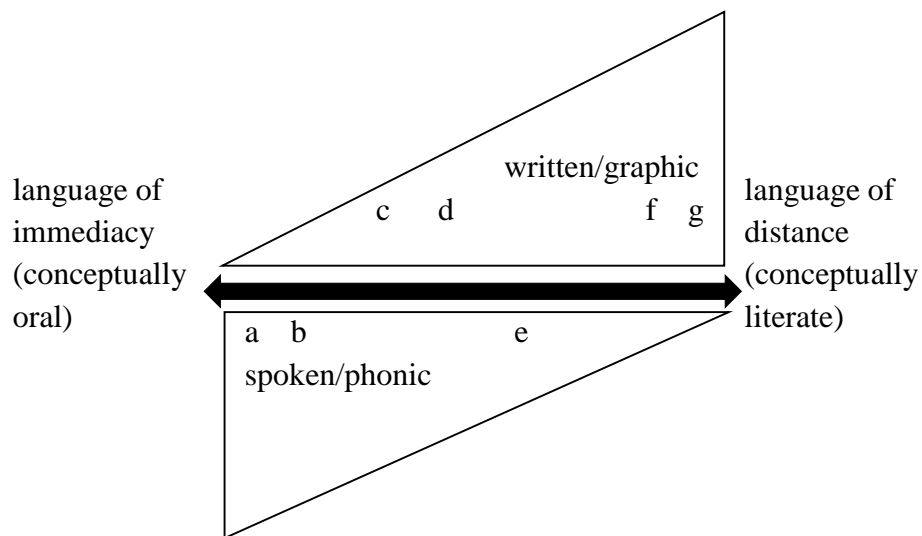
In the first excerpt, which was taken from an internet newspaper, all case particles appear. In contrast, in the chat excerpts and the headlines, all case particles are ellipsed. This contrast in ellipsis patterns shows that it is incorrect to generalize that case particles are mostly expressed in all types of written texts. Ellipsis patterns in written texts vary depending on register. These examples also show that considering written texts as simply the opposite of spoken language is an oversimplified view.

### **5.3.1 Language of immediacy vs language of distance**

Each register of a written language should be described in terms of its own characteristics. Bieber (1988) supports this approach. He conducted a corpus-based analysis of linguistic features to study differences between spoken and written forms of English and found no absolute difference. He argued that spoken and written languages should be studied in multidimensional ways instead of relying on a dichotomous categorization, because spoken and written languages sometimes share similar linguistic features.

To remedy the dichotomous view of written and spoken forms, some scholars have suggested a continuum model that positions types of written and spoken language based on features such as interpersonality or lexical density. For example, although online chat discussions are written, they are closer to spoken language due to their attributes of low lexical density and high interpersonality. According to McCarthy (2001), the continuum model “avoids the over-simplified distinction between speech and writing but still brings out key areas in which spoken and written discourse may be differentiated” (p. 94).

Koch and Oesterreicher's (1985) continuum model shown in Figure 4 is such a model that provides comprehensive distinction among types of spoken and written texts. The dichotomous view of written and spoken texts is based on the form that a language is expressed. Koch and Oesterreicher expressed this notion as written/graphic or spoken/phonic. All texts must be expressed in one of these forms so the dichotomy is remained in the distinction of language medium. However, the linguistic concept of a text "can be established only relative to prototypical texts of 'immediacy' (orality, informality, unplannedness) and prototypical texts of 'distance' (literateness, formality, plannedness). These prototypical texts – for example, an intimate conversation as a prototype of a text of 'immediacy' and a legal contract as a prototype of a text of 'distance' – constitute the two poles of the conceptual continuum" (Elspass 2012, p. 157).



Exemplary text types: a = private talk (face to face), b = private talk (telephone), c = informal chatroom talk, d = private letter, e = academic talk (monologue), f = academic paper, g = legislative text

Figure 4. Continuum model: Language of immediacy vs. language of distance

(Koch and Oesterreicher 1985, p. 18 in Elspass 2015)

On the two poles of the conceptual continuum, a text type can be located based on the values of parameters of ‘immediacy’ and ‘distance.’ Table 18 shows the parameters of ‘language of immediacy’ and ‘language of distance’.

Table 18. Prototypical parameters of ‘language immediacy’ and ‘language of distance’ Koch and Oesterreicher (1985:23 in Elspass 2015)

Prototypical communicative parameters of “language immediacy”	Prototypical communicative parameters of “language of distance”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● dialogue</li> <li>● familiarity of the partners</li> <li>● face to face interaction</li> <li>● free development of topics</li> <li>● private setting</li> <li>● spontaneity</li> <li>● involvement</li> <li>● maximum cooperation of partners</li> <li>● subjectivity</li> <li>● ...</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● monologue</li> <li>● unfamiliarity of the partners</li> <li>● space-time separation</li> <li>● fixed topics</li> <li>● public setting</li> <li>● reflection</li> <li>● detachment</li> <li>● minimum cooperation of partners</li> <li>● objectivity</li> <li>● ...</li> </ul>

I argue that directionality of information transfer is also reflected in Koch and Oesterreicher’s (1985) model. Academic talk, academic papers, and legislative texts, which are placed on the language of distance and conceptually literate side of the model, are all unidirectional thus communication mainly takes the form of the presentation mode whereas face to face private conversation and informal online/mobile chat, which are placed on the language of immediacy and conceptually oral side of the model, involve interactional mode. In the next section, ellipsis patterns of the case particles in different registers of written language will be analyzed and compared based on the directionality of the transfer of information.

### 5.3.2 Case particle ellipsis in different registers of written language

The excerpt below is from the commercial laws of Korea. This excerpt falls on the far end of the language of distance side of the continuum, conceptually

literate. Interaction does not exist in the text. In (5.2), all case particles including those in light verb constructions, in which accusative particles are almost always omitted, are realized.

- (5.2) 회사는 상행위를 하지 아니하더라도 전항과 같다
- 1 hoysa-nun sanghayngwi-lul haci anihate-lato cenhang  
 company-TC commercial activity-AC do not-even forementioned
- 2 kwa kath-ta.  
 with same-PLN  
*'Although the company does not do commercial activities, the company is the same as forementioned.'*

- 제 6 조 (무능력자의 영업과 등기)
- 3 cey 6 co (mwununglyek-ca-uy yengep-kwa tungki)  
 article 6 (incompetent-person-GN sale-and registration)  
*'Article 6 (sale and registration by the incompetence)'*

미성년자 또는 한정치산자가 법정대리인의 허락을 얻어 영업을 하는 때에는 등기를 하여야 한다.

- 4 misengnyen-ca ttonun hancengchisan-ca -ka  
 minor-person or quasi-incompetent-person-NM
- 5 pepceng tayli-in-uy helak-ul ete yengep-ul  
 legal agent-GN approval-AC receive business-AC
- 6 ha-nun ttay-ey-nun tungki-lul hayeya han-ta.  
 do-RL time-at-TC registration-AC must do-PLN.  
*'When minor or quasi incompetent person performs business by gaining permission from legal agent, they must register.'*

Online or phone chat discussions fall on the other end of the continuum, which makes these types of written texts among the closest to the language of immediacy and conceptually oral, in which two-way interaction is possible.

In order to investigate the effects of unidirectionality on case particle ellipsis in different types of written language, two types of written texts, codes of law and phone chat discussions, were selected for analysis. The data of each type comprised about 1600 *ecels*. I hypothesized that the case particles are overtly expressed more often in the more unidirectional register, that is, in the codes of law.

Tables 18 and 19 summarize the ellipsis patterns of nominative and accusative particles in these two genres of written texts. Case marking of numerals and one syllable words was not counted in this analysis, because previous literature has already shown that nominative and accusative case particles are omitted with numeral nouns but likely to appear after one syllable words. Light verb constructions were also excluded from the analysis. The results conform to what the continuum model suggests. Out of 100 possible places for nominative case particles in the commercial law texts, only eight (8%) were ellipsed, whereas 33 out of 67 (32.6%) possible ellipses occurred in the chat discussion. The difference is significant ( $df = 1, F = 20.9959, p = .0000$ ). The eight occurrences of ellipsis in the commercial law texts all involved *issta/epsta* ‘exist/does not exist’ predicates. Examples of the ellipsed nominative case particle are provided in (5.3).

Table 19. Ellipsis of *-ka* in written texts

	Ellipsed	Marked	Total
Codes of Law	8 (8%)	92 (92%)	100
Mobile Chatting	33 (33%)	67 (67%)	100

(5.3) 영업주의 허락  $\emptyset$  없이 자기 또는 제삼자의 계산으로  
 yengep-cwu-uy helak  $\emptyset$  epsi caki ttonun ceysamca-uy  
 business-owner-GN permission  $\emptyset$  without self or 3<sup>rd</sup> party-GN  
 kyeysan-ulo  
 calculation-into  
 ‘without a business owner’s permission, by the calculation of the owner  
 himself or the third party’

Table 20 summarizes the results of the analysis of the accusative case particles. All of the accusative case particles were overtly expressed in the commercial law data, whereas more than half were ellipsed in the mobile phone chat data. However, the accusative case particle had extremely low occurrence in the chat data. I assume this is because simplicity is preferred in mobile chatting,

because typing texts requires effort by the producer, and deciphering sentences with complex structures requires more effort from the receiver as well. Commonly used acronyms in electronic communication such as *LOL* (laughing out loud), *bf* (boy friend), *btw* (by the way), and so forth, are evidence that simple texts are preferred in the chatting environment. The most important factor in the simplicity of the texts in the chatting environment, however, is that the participants are in the same space, although it is a virtual space, and thus two way interactions are possible. Therefore, the economy principle is in effect.

Table 20 Ellipsis of *-lul* in written texts

	Ellipsed	Marked	Total
Codes of Law	0 (0%)	100 (100%)	100
Mobile Chatting	21 (65.6%)	11 (34.4%)	32

As shown above, the ellipsis patterns of written texts vary depending on the characteristics of the genres. The following discussion considers the attributes of written texts and their influence on case particle ellipsis in order to investigate the underlying principles of the diverse patterns.

As previous literature has pointed out, written language is traditionally described as the opposite of spoken language (Chafe 1994; Bieber 2002; J-h. Lee 2003). What does it mean to be the opposite of the so called spoken language? In addition to the parameters that Koch and Oesterreicher proposed, I believe that conceptually written language is generally desituated: It is deliberately planned and worked on over time to produce informationally dense prose, complex grammar structures, and elaborate references, because written language, unlike most spoken language, is preserved through time and space. Chafe (1994) suggested that “co-presence and interaction together define a property that can be called *situatedness*—the closeness language has to the immediate physical and social situation in which it

is produced and received” (p. 44). Thus, the so called written language is generally desituated. The producers and the receivers of written texts generally do not share a space and time, which prevents interaction between them. I believe that this attribute of written texts such as commercial laws or newspapers requires the written texts’ language to be more structured and grammatically proper. The writing needs to be clear enough to retain its meaning through time and space because the readers cannot directly question the producer of the language if the readers do not comprehend the text. There is no or minimum cooperation of the participants. Written language is also deliberately planned and probably worked over many times for the same reasons. For example, the commercial laws were created for specific purposes and finalized after a series of inspections and revisions by lawmakers, which resulted in their complex sentence structures with high lexical density.

On the other hand, the excerpt from the chat discussion shows characteristics that are the opposite of the characteristics of typical written languages. Chat discussions are situated in time—as in the excerpt, which was about what was happening at that time—and they involve spontaneous interactions rather than being planned. Phone or online chat discussions are rarely prepared and, just like colloquial face to face conversation, are definitely not deliberately worked over. In addition, texts from chat discussions fade rapidly, as they continuously disappear from the screen as new texts are added to the screen. Moreover, the commonly used language in the codes of commercial laws and in the chat discussions is vastly different. Codes of law deal with much more serious matters, which require precise and grammatically structured expressions, whereas chat discussions deal with trivial matters such as deciding where to eat lunch, as shown in the excerpt. Onomatopoeia and exclamation words such as *o* ‘oh’ and *a* ‘ah’ are frequently used in chatting.

Language in chat discussions is also less concerned about grammaticality. As shown in Excerpt (23 b), the text contains some misspelled words that mirror the words' pronunciation such as *kke* instead of *ke* 'things' and *mo* instead of *mwe* 'what'.

Chafe (1994) described these kinds of phenomena in the use of different registers of written language as follows:

*The best way to conceptualize this situation is undoubtedly to view language as adapting itself to the ways it is used (Pawley and Syder 1983a). To borrow a maxim from what was once called modern architecture: form follows function. If "grammars code best what speakers do most" (DuBois 1987, p. 851), it is also the case that each mode of language use produces a kind of language that codes best what the consumers of that kind of language find most adaptive. (p. 45)*

Chafe's words capture why some written texts are concerned with proper grammar structure while some written texts are not. Some writing is used to communicate with people in different times and spaces, so grammatically sound written texts are chosen over grammatically impoverished written texts because receivers find the former more useful despite its lexical density and informationally dense prose.

Online chat discussions are unique in that the language medium is written and graphic but it is conceptually oral and it is a language of immediacy. Online chat occur in shared space and time for the texts' producers and receivers. Most of all, this situatedness or co-presence allows the participants of a discourse to be influenced by the economy principle because they can interact with each other if communication breaks down. Therefore, in this register, case particles are mostly used for focus constructions rather than to fulfill grammatical requirements, which

results in a higher instance of case particle ellipsis than is found in other genres of written text.

This chapter discussed the relationship between the directionality of information transfer and case particle ellipsis. The investigation showed that unidirectional information flow, presentation modality in both spoken and written texts results in the overt expression of the case particles.

The chapter first investigated case particle ellipsis in the deferential speech style because the information flow in the deferential speech style is unidirectional. The analysis of TV news broadcasts in the deferential style, and transcribed data from a tutoring session, in which the participants spoke in the intimate speech style, revealed that unidirectionality of information flow, rather than speech style, is the main factor in the overt realization of the case particles.

Commercial law texts and chat discussion texts were also investigated. Although these text types are both written, they are conceptually different in that commercial law is a language of distance and chat discussion is a language of immediacy (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985). As I hypothesized, case particles were overtly expressed significantly more frequently in the commercial law data than they were in the chat discussion data.

The chapter next discussed the concept of *situatedness*, proposed by Chafe (1994) as a way of describing co-presence and interaction. Face to face colloquial conversation and chat discussions are situated, as they involve interaction between the interlocutors. On the other hand, broadcast news and the commercial law codes are desituated, as the producers and receivers do not share a space and time; therefore, the information transfer must be unidirectional. When information is delivered in a unidirectional manner, the structure of the texts is dictated by grammar

in order to preserve meaning through time and space. In this context, the economy principle loses its priority. This is why the case particles *-ka* and *-lul* are overtly expressed significantly more frequently when the information transfer is unidirectional.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Summary of main findings

Adopting theories of information structure and the multidimensional nature of case as well as discourse analysis, the current study investigates the ellipsis phenomena of the case particles, *-ka* and *-lul* in spoken and written texts. The investigation shows that my initial hypothesis that information status of NPs dictates the ellipsis pattern is inaccurate. Although information status of NP was one of the determining factors, other factors including length of NPs, verbal adjacency, and directionality of information transfer crucially affect the ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul*.

Chapter 3 discussed controversial issues regarding the case particle ellipsis phenomena. I argued that recoverability of an exact ellipsed particle is not a requirement of ellipsis; thus, I claimed that case particle ellipsis exist in Korean. I also claimed that the so-called topic particle *-nun* cannot be ellipsed in colloquial conversations because topical referents are not expressed. A particle cannot be ellipsed when a referent is not expressed. This is because Korean language has heavy subject/object constraints that recoverable referents are omitted. In addition, the data analysis of the colloquial conversations showed that recoverability is not the determining cause of the case particle ellipsis. I argued as such, because *-ka* and *-lul* should be mostly ellipsed if the recoverability is the main cause. The analysis showed that *-ka* was overtly expressed at 69% whereas *-lul* was overtly expressed at 41%.

Chapter 4 described the ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul* in colloquial

conversations. *-Ka* and *-lul* showed different ellipsis patterns. The ellipsis of *-ka* was dictated by the notion of focus. The analysis showed that focused nominative NPs were marked by *-ka* (86%). Deviants that were not affected by the notion of focus included idioms, expressions of spontaneous reactions, *-canh-* construction which shows discourse new but known referents, and the left dislocation constructions. I also describe that *-ka* can amplify the prominence of the nominative NP to increase the illocutionary force and this function is not affected by the notion of focus. I argued that amplification of nominative NPs serves interactional goals such as self-praising, attribution of fault to other people, and repairing.

The analysis of the accusative case particle, *-lul* shows that the notion of focus did not affect its ellipsis pattern. *-Lul* was generally ellipsed regardless of its information status. However, the syntactic structures such as object NPs with long modifying elements or an object that does not immediately precede its predicate seemed to require object NPs to be overtly marked by *-lul* for disambiguation function.

Chapter 5 investigated the relationship between the directionality of information transfer and case particle ellipsis. The analysis of spoken data in the deferential speech style and different registers of written data confirmed that unidirectional information flow result in the overt expression of the case particles. I also adopted the Koch and Oesterreicher (1985) continuum model to distinguish texts between conceptually oral and literate instead of dichotomous distinction based on the language medium. Lastly, I described the concept of *situatedness* by Chafe (1994) to claim situated languages, such as informal face to face conversation and chat discussion, tend to allow case particle ellipsis whereas desituated languages, such as broadcast news and commercial law codes in which information flows is

unidirectional, tend to overtly express the case particles to preserve meaning time and space.

## 6.2 Implication and future research

Ellipsis is a complicated phenomenon. The current study shows that the case particle ellipsis phenomena involve syntax, pragmatics, and text genres. In addition, the nominative case particle and the accusative case particle have different ellipsis patterns. Contrastively, traditional explanations on the case particle ellipsis remained primitive in that the explanations reflect only the effects of the economy principle. This results in indiscreet omission of the case particles by L2 Korean learners.

Multifarious functions of *-ka* and *-lul* must be properly introduced. Forms follow functions. The present study showed that overt case marking of *-ka* and *-lul* is affected by their functions as a syntactic particle to fulfill grammatical function and as a pragmatic particle to express the speaker's intended meaning. This is why these particles are overtly expressed when a referent has complex modifying elements or when a referent is an unpredictable element. Secondly, the current study showed that text genres affect the ellipsis pattern of the case particles. "Languages of immediacy" accommodate ellipsis of the case particles whereas 'languages of distance' preferred overt expression of the case particles. Lastly, L2 learners must be aware of the fact that *-ka* and *-lul* have different case marking systems. The nominative case particle *-ka* was affected by syntactic and pragmatic functions whereas the accusative case particle *-lul* was mostly affected by syntactic functions. Effects of verbal adjacency may facilitate understanding of this concept.

A future study may incorporate effects of prosodic feature in overt case

marking of *-ka* and *-lul*. Amplifying function of the case particles increase prominence of a referent. This function can also be shown in prosodic feature (Chafe, 1994; Fernald & Mazzie, 1991; Y-c. Hong, 2004; Lambrecht, 1994). The current study mentioned referential markers or the left dislocation construction may be accompanied by an elongated last phoneme. I mentioned the monosyllabic discourse markers such as *com* and *ttak* replaces the case particle because of their prosodic compatibility. In this vein, I can assume that prosodic accentuation of referents in sentences may cause ellipsis of *-ka* and *-lul*.

In similar vein, ellipsis patterns of *-ka* and *-lul* can be affected by types of sentence-enders. For examples, *-ka* and *-lul* may tend to be ellipsed more often in sentences that contain the sentence-enders that denote presuppositions or evidentiality such as *-ci* or *-ney*. These sentence-enders seem to imply that a referent in the sentence is not really new information so correlation between the case particle ellipsis and these types of sentence-enders may be plausible.

A future study may extend the investigation of interactional effects of syntactic and pragmatic factors. The current study made an initial attempt in that the notion of focus was accounted in first when the animacy effect was investigated, but did not yield statistical result. Interactional effect of the determining factors will provide a more comprehensive explanation.

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<sup>25</sup> Korean authors' names were romanized in Yale system and two initials were given.

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