

The Syntactic Structures of Korean

A Construction Grammar Perspective

Covering both core and peripheral phenomena, *The Syntactic Structures of Korean* is a concrete and precise grammar of the language. Based on the framework of Sign-based Construction Grammar, it provides a grammar of Korean which is computationally implementable and cognitively viable. Remarkably broad yet in-depth, it is an outstanding analysis of Korean syntax and semantics which will be welcomed by those working in linguistics and the Korean language.

PROFESSOR JONG-BOK KIM teaches at the School of English at Kyung Hee University in Seoul. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Stanford University in 1996 and works on the syntax and semantics of Korean and English. He has published numerous papers and is also co-author of *English Syntax: An Introduction* (2008), which is used worldwide as an undergraduate and graduate textbook.

The Syntactic Structures of Korean

A Construction Grammar Perspective

Jong-Bok Kim



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-10375-7 — The Syntactic Structures of Korean
Jong-Bok Kim
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107103757

© Jong-Bok Kim 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kim, Jong-Bok, 1966- author.

Title: The syntactic structures of Korean : a construction grammar perspective / Jong-Bok Kim.

Description: Cambridge University Press : Cambridge, [2016] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016014639 | ISBN 9781107103757 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Korean language--Syntax. | Korean language--Grammar, Generative. | Head-driven phrase structure grammar.

Classification: LCC PL923 .K466 2016 | DDC 495.7501/823--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016014639>

ISBN 978-1-107-10375-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
1 Theoretical foundations	1
1.1 Derivational vs. constraint-based views	1
1.2 Linguistic signs and feature structures	4
1.3 Constructions and multiple inheritance hierarchy	8
1.4 Korean Phrase Structure Grammar	10
1.5 Conclusion	25
2 Noun phrases	26
2.1 Basic properties	26
2.2 Basic ordering restrictions	28
2.3 Simple NP structures	32
2.4 NPs with phrasal determinants	42
2.5 Conclusion	45
3 Case system	47
3.1 Two basic issues	47
3.2 Forming case-marked nominal expressions	49
3.3 A construction-based case assignment system	58
3.4 Complex case phenomena and predictions	68
3.5 Case assignments in the auxiliary constructions	73
3.6 Case assignments to the non-nominal expression	78
3.7 Conclusion	83
4 Auxiliary and complex predicate constructions	84
4.1 Types of auxiliary verbs and morphosyntactic properties	84
4.2 Three possible analyses	86
4.3 Syntactic properties of complex predicates	89
4.4 A construction-based analysis	94
4.5 Conclusion	103

5	Gerund phrases and mixed categories	104
5.1	Verbal and nominal properties	104
5.2	Derivational analyses	106
5.3	Inflectional treatment of the gerund nominalizers	108
5.4	A mixed-category analysis	109
5.5	Consequences and further issues	114
5.6	Conclusion	120
6	Verbal nouns and light verb constructions	121
6.1	Basic properties	121
6.2	On the properties of the light verb	122
6.3	On the mixed properties of the verbal nouns	125
6.4	Mixed properties within a multiple inheritance system	129
6.5	Argument composition and syntactic structures	132
6.6	Dissolving variations	135
6.7	Conclusion	142
7	Serial verb constructions	144
7.1	Serial verbs and general properties	144
7.2	Grammatical properties of SVCs	146
7.3	Types of serial verb constructions	152
7.4	A construction-based view	157
7.5	Conclusion	168
8	Negation and related phenomena	169
8.1	Short form and long form negation	169
8.2	Reviews of the derivational view	172
8.3	Short form negation	175
8.4	Long form negation	181
8.5	Implications of the analysis	187
8.6	Conclusion	203
9	Coordination	204
9.1	Two main types of nominal and verbal coordination	204
9.2	Lexical properties of the coordinators	207
9.3	More on the syntactic aspects	209
9.4	Symmetric and asymmetric verbal coordination	215
9.5	Conclusion	225
10	Passive constructions	226
10.1	Lexical vs. syntactic passive	226
10.2	Auxiliary syntactic passive	228
10.3	A construction-based analysis	230
10.4	Light-verb syntactic passive	235

Contents	vii
10.5 Inchoative and stative pseudo-syntactic passive	238
10.6 Conclusion	240
11 Wh-questions	242
11.1 Dependency between <i>wh</i> -question and Q-particle	242
11.2 <i>Wh</i> -questions and indefiniteness	245
11.3 A construction-based analysis	246
11.4 Key predictions	253
11.5 Conclusion	255
12 Topic and focus constructions	256
12.1 Topic constructions	256
12.2 Encoding focus	270
12.3 Focus constructions	274
12.4 Conclusion	281
13 Relative clause constructions	283
13.1 Some key properties	283
13.2 Morphosyntax of Korean relatives	284
13.3 Standard relative clauses: Externally headed	287
13.4 Double relative clauses	299
13.5 Internally headed relative clauses	303
13.6 Pseudo-relative clauses	308
13.7 Conclusion	316
14 Honorification	318
14.1 Basic properties of honorific agreement	318
14.2 Honorification in a constraint-based grammar	320
14.3 Conclusion	331
<i>References</i>	333
<i>Index</i>	342

Acknowledgments

This book develops a construction-based grammar of Korean couched upon the framework of HPSG (Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar). In doing so, I have two agendas: to develop an empirically feasible grammar that can cover not only core but also peripheral phenomena, and to offer a concrete and simple Korean grammar that can be computationally implementable and cognitively viable.

The book starts with an overview of its theoretical foundations, offering a brief comparison between constraint-based and derivational views of Korean grammar. Chapter 1 reviews the key grammatical architecture of the constraint-based view of Korean grammar. It further explains why grammatical constructions play a fundamental role in the theory of Korean syntax. The rest of the chapters in the book discuss major syntactic constructions in Korean whose intriguing properties have challenged Korean linguistics. Most of the discussion in these chapters is based on my previous work published in various domestic as well as international journals for the last twenty years, but each part is thoroughly revised and more fully developed. The constructions discussed in the book include NP structures, the case assignment system, complex predicate constructions (auxiliary, light verb, negative auxiliary, serial verb), verbal and nominal coordination, long distance dependency constructions (passive, topic and focus, *wh*-question, relative clause), and honorification. In each chapter, I try to show that a construction-based perspective can offer a streamlined analysis of the phenomena in question, while allowing tight interactions between lexicon and constructional constraints.

In writing this book, numerous people have helped me and nurtured me with intellectual ideas. My foremost thanks go to the late Ivan Sag, who taught me how to do linguistics in a serious way. My deep thanks also go to Suk-Jin Chang, Jae-Woong Choe, Hee-Rhak Chae, Ki-yong Choi, Yong-Kun Ko, Kiyong Lee, William O'Grady, Byung-Soo Park, Chongwoon Park, Peter Sells, Sanghoun Song, and James Yoon for detailed feedback and constructive suggestions at various stages. Anonymous reviewers of this book also deserve my thanks for their helpful comments and suggestions. Their feedback has improved the quality of this book a lot. My thanks also go to Heedon

x Acknowledgments

Ahn, Emily Bender, Francis Bond, Rui Chaves, Sae-Youn Cho, Incheol Choi, Hye-won Choi, Chan Chung, Daeho Chung, Kazu Fukushima, Adele Goldberg, Chung-Hey Han, Yasunari Harada, Chu-Ren Huang, Young-Jun Jang, Alan Kim, Jungsoo Kim, Mija Kim, Taeho Kim, Chungmin Lee, Jwuwon Lee, Nam-Guen Lee, Kyungsup Lim, Myungkwan Park, Yuki Takubo, Frank Van Eynde, and others. My graduate students (including Okgi Kim) at Kyung Hee University also helped me a lot in clarifying the ideas and proofreading the manuscripts. I also owe deep thanks to Kyung Hee University at Seoul, where I have been teaching and doing research for more than a decade, for its full support in many respects. I also thank Andrew Winnard of Cambridge University Press for his constant support in writing this book, and Malcolm Todd for editorial help in many respects. This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-2014S1A6A4A02025259).

Lastly, but not least, I wholeheartedly thank my family members, who have given me unconditional love and support in every possible regard. Without their love, this book would not have come out to the world.

Abbreviations

AC	auxiliary construction
ACC	accusative
AGT	agentive
AGR	agreement
ARC	Argument Realization Constraint
ARG	argument
ARG-ST	argument-structure
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
AVM	attribute-value matrix
BAKGR	background
CAUS	causative
C-CONT	constructional content
CL	classifier
CNPC	Complex Noun Phrase Constraint
CONTRA	contrastive
COMIT	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPS	complements
CONJ	conjunctive
CONN	connective
COORD	coordination
COP	copula
CSC	Coordination Structure Constraint
CxG	Construction Grammar
CXT	context
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEL	delimiter
DPC	Direct perception construction
EHRC	externally headed relative clause

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-10375-7 — The Syntactic Structures of Korean
 Jong-Bok Kim
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xii Abbreviations

FIN	finitive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GCASE	grammatical case
GEN	genitive
GP	gerundive phrase
HFP	Head Feature Principle
HON	honorific
HPSG	Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar
IHRC	internally headed relative clause
IMP	imperative
IND	index
INST	instrument
KPSG	Korean Phrase Structure Grammar
LEX	lexical
LFG	Lexical Functional Grammar
LFN	long form negation
LOC	locative
LVC	Light Verb construction
MNC	Multiple Nominative construction
MOD	modified
NCC	noun complement clause
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NONFIN	nonfinite
NPI	negative polarity item
PASS	passive
PF	phonetic form
PHON	phonology
PL	plural
PNE	prenominal ending
POS	parts of speech
PRES	present
PRED	predicate
PROP	propositive
PST	past
QUE	question
RC	relative clause
RELS	relations
SBCG	Sign-Based Construction Grammar
SCASE	semantic case
SEM	semantics

Abbreviations xiii

SFN	short form negation
SG	singular
SIT	situation
SPR	specifier
SRC	source
SUBJ	subject
SUG	suggestive
SYN	syntax
TOP	topic
VAL	valence
VALP	Valence Principle
VGP	verbal gerundive phrases
VN	verbal noun
XARG	external argument