논문제목: On resultative predicates in Korean
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On resultative predicates in Korean

In this paper I discuss the resultative predicates of the so-called resultative constructions in Korean. First, consider some canonical examples of English resultative constructions given in (1) (see resultatives e.g. in Washio 1997, Boas 2003, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004, Wechsler & Noh 2004, Beavers 2012).

(1)  
a. He hammered the metal flat.
b. He painted the window blue.

The secondary resultative predicates (flat and red) are considered to be adjective, since they have the same morphological form of predicative adjectives (e.g. The metal is flat, The door is red) and they describe a state or property induced by the event of the main verbs. Consider what is referred to as Korean resultative construction in (2) (see more about Korean resultatives in Kim & Maling 1997, Wechsler & Noh 2004, Son 2008, inter alia).

(2)  
a. Tom-i soy-lul pyengpyengha-key twutulki-ess-ta.  
   Tom-Nom metal-Acc flat-Key hammer-Pst-Dec  
   ‘Tom hammered the metal flat.’
b. Tom-i changmwun-ul phalah-key chilhay-ss-ta.  
   Tom-Nom window-Acc blue-Key paint-Pst-Dec  
   ‘Tom painted the window blue.’

It is normally assumed in the literature that the resultative predicate Adj-key is adjective just like the corresponding English resultative predicate (see Kim & Maling 1997, Wechsler & Noh 2001, among others). In this paper, however, I argue that the resultative predicate of the Korean resultative construction is in fact adverb, rather than adjective.

I present two pieces of evidence to support the claim. First, coordinated conjuncts are known to basically belong to the same syntactic category and the Adj-key can be coordinated with a typical adverb, as illustrated in (3) (cf. Wechsler and Noh 2001).

(3) Tom-i soy-lul chenchenhi/ kupha-key kuliko  
    Tom-Nom metal-Acc slowly/ urgent-Key and pyengpyengha-key twutulki-ess-ta.  
    flat-Key hammer-Pst-Dec  
    ‘Tom hammered the metal flat slowly/urgently.’

I discuss how the coordination in (3) can be used as evidence: although it is well-known that there are coordinations of unlike categories in many languages, Korean seems not to have coordinations of adverb and other categories. This supports the generalization that adverb should be coordinated with only adverb, based on which the coordination test in (3) is plausible. Second, the Adj-key is parallel to adverb in terms of adverb modification. The degree adverb acwu ‘very’ can appear either before or after the predicative adjective which it modifies, as shown in the following:

(4)  
a. soy-ka acwu mwukemp-ta.  
    metal-Nom very heavy-Dec  
    ‘The metal is very heavy.’
b. soy-ka mwukep-ta *acwu.
mmetal-Nom heavy-Dec very
‘The metal is very heavy.’

However, when *acwu ‘very’ modifies an adverb, it should appear before the adverb:

(5) a. ku-ka *acwu chenchenhi kel-ess-ta.
he-Nom very slowly walk-Dec
‘He walked very slowly.’
he-Nom slowly very walk-Dec
(int.) ‘He walked very slowly.’

The degree adverb *acwu ‘very’ can occur only before the Adj-key which it modifies:

(6) a. Tom-i soy-lul *acwu maykkunha-key twutulki-ess-ta
Tom-Nom metal-Acc very smooth-Key hammer-Pst-Dec
(lit.) ‘Tom hammered the metal very smooth.’
b. *Tom-i soy-lul maykkunha-key *acwu twutulki-ess-ta
Tom-Nom metal-Acc flat-Key very paint-Pst-Dec
(int.) ‘Tom hammered the metal very smooth.’

Then this parallel between adverb and Adj-key supports the claim that the Adj-key of the resultative construction should belong to the category of adverb. I also show that this adverbial analysis of the resultative predicate can be applied to a different type of resultatives, namely eventive resultative constructions like (7) (Son 2008).

(7) a. Tom-i Jane-ul nemeci-key mil-ess-ta.
Tom-Nom Jane-Acc fall-Key push-Pst-Dec
‘Tom pushed Jane so that she fell.’
b. Tom-i Jane-ul ilese-key tanki-ess-ta.
Tom-Nom Jane-Acc stand.up-Key pull-Pst-Dec
‘Tom pulled Jane so that she stood up.’

Summarizing, with two grammatical properties (coordination and adverbial modification) I argue that Korean resultative predicates are adverb (not adjective) whether they be Adj-key of stative resultative or V-key of eventive resultative.

Selected references