On the Syntactic Types of *As*-Parentheticals in Korean

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Summary. This paper is intended to provide the characteristics of Korean *As*-Parentheticals in syntax and semantics, focusing on the four aspects: the lexical properties of verbs in an *as*-clause, the semantic function of this clause, its distribution in a sentence, and the gap of an *as*-clause. Taking these four properties into consideration, this paper proposes two types of Korean *As*-Parentheticals Constructions: CP *as*-Clause Type and VP *as*-Clause Type.

Keywords: syntactic types, *as*-parentheticals in Korean, function word.

1   Introduction

This paper investigates the syntactic and semantic behaviors of *As*-Parentheticals in Korean and identifies their syntactic types. *As*-Parentheticals constructions in English can be seen, as in (1). This construction consists of two clauses, one of which contains an *as*-clause. These two clauses look to have a close relationship in syntax and semantics. Syntactically, the *as*-clause has to contain a gapped constituent. The gapped elements should semantically be involved in those of the main clause. To identify the shared elements as their antecedents is considered as one of the most crucial issues in this construction. Along with those, the *as*-clause show rather flexible distributional properties in a sentence. This clause can occur in both the initial and final positions of the sentence, or it can sometimes be inserted into the sentence, as shown in the examples (1): Potts (2002).

(1) a. Ames, as the FBI eventually discovered, was a spy.
    b. Ames was a spy, as the FBI eventually discovered.
    c. As the FBI eventually discovered, Ames was a spy.

As-Parentheticals in Korean also show the similar structure to that of English, as shown in examples (2); it also has a clause including at least one gapped constituent, but one different property, unlike English, is that it has three types of morphemes, *-tusi, -chelem, -taylo* corresponding to the lexical item '*as*' in English, which functions identically to '*as*' in English.

(2) a. [[ap-eyse-to   kangsa-ka   enkuphayss-tusi], [tokhay-uy picung-un kalsulok
     previously also lecturer-Nom mentioned-as, reading portion-Nom more and more
     nopacikoiss-ta.]]
     increasing.
     'As an instructor mentioned, the portion of reading is more and more increasing'
                                       (Dong-A Ilbo 2002)
   b. [Kim Jongpil chongli-nun   [imi   manhun salamtul-i   chungpunhi
     Kim Jongpil Prime Minister-Nom already many   people-Nom fairly
     yeykyenhayssten kes-chelum] naykakcey kayhen   poki-lul
     anticipated   as   parliamentary system amendment abandonment

kyelsimhaysstako cenhanta.]
decided   is said
'It is said that the Prime Minister Jongpil Kim, as many people already anticipated, decided to give up the constitutional amendment of parliamentary system.'
   (Chosun Ilbo 2002)

c. [[kunye-ka yeysanghayssten-taylo], [ku-nun sanglyucung kaceng-ey ipyangtoyess-
   She-Nom expected   as,   he-Nom wealthy   family   adopted
   ta]].
   'As she expected, he was adopted by the wealthy family.'   (Kim, Jihye 2001)

2   The Characteristics of *As*-Parentheticals in Korean

First of all, this paper is intended to provide the characteristics of Korean *As*-Parentheticals in syntax and semantics, focusing on the four aspects; the lexical properties of verbs within the *as*-clause, the semantic function of the *as*-clause, the distributional behaviors of the *as*-clause, and the gap of *as*-clause.

First, the *as*-clause contains a function word which is realized as three allomorphs, *-tusi,-chelem, -taylo* in Korean. Many verbs in *as*-clause denote the meanings of prediction, mention, insistence, etc., and they take the propositional complement, which is syntactically realized as a gapping constituent in the *as*-clause. In (2a), the function word is *–tusi,* and the verb *enkuphata* (to mention) requires as the complement the clause which was cancelled as a missing element. Potts (2002) strongly insists that the verbs in the *as*-clause do not take open proposition as the complement, because of its conventional implicature. However, the verb of *as*-clause in the Korean *as*-parentheticals construction allows this open proposition, as in (3). The verb *usimhata* (to doubt) in (3) takes this type of clause, and we can deduce this type of complement from the main clause, an interrogative clause.

(3) a. [[Lee Sangi kyosu-to   usimhayss-tusi], [kwayen Park kunhyey cuntaypwo-ka
      Lee Sangi professor also doubted as, indeed Park Kunhyey former president-Nom
      malhanun pokci   cengchayk-i cincengseng-i   issnun kekinka?]]
      say   welfare policy-Nom authenticity-Nom exist?
     'As Professor Sanghi Lee doubted, does the former president Park Kunhyey have the authenticity of the welfare policy that she says?'

   b. [[Han chongcangchuk-un]   [caytan-i   uysimhanunkuk-chulum],
      The University President Han-Nom the board-Nom doubted   as,
      [cenipkum-ey   kwanhan nayyong-ul oypu-ey yuchulhan sasil-i
      the contributions from foundation on   fact-Acc outside leaking fact-Nom
      eptako cucanghass-ta]].
      not   insisted
     'The University President Han, as the board doubted, insisted not to leak the information on the contribution budgets from foundation to the outside.

Second, let us talk about the distributional properties of the *as*-clause and its function. As in (4), the *as*-clause '*ap-eyse-to kangsa-ka enkuphayss-tusi'* (As an instructor mentioned previously) can occur in a sentence-initial position or after a subject in a sentence. Unlike English, The sentence-final position is not allowed in Korean, as in (4c). From the examples in (4d) and (4e), we can observe that the *as*-parentheticals construction also obey the island constraints. The sentence (4e) brings the interpretation different from this original sentence, because the *as*-clause appears in the main clause beyond the adverbial clause. From their positional and optional properties of *as*-clause, we can assume that the *as*-clause functions as

adverbial clause. That is, since the *as*-clause functions as an adverbial clause, the change of the position triggers the different meaning of the sentence.

(4) a. [[ap-eyse-to   kangsa-ka   enkuphayss-tusi], [tokhay-uy picung-un kalsulok
       previously also lecturer-Nom mentioned-as,   reading portion-Nom more and more
       nopacikoiss-ta.]]
       increasing.
       'As an instructor mentioned, the portion of reading is more and more increasing'
                                                                    (Dong-A Ilbo 2002)

   b. [tokhay-uy picung-un, [ap-eyse-to   kangsa-ka   enkuphayss-tusi], kalsulok
       nopacikoiss-ta.]]

   c. *[[tokhay-uy picung-un kalsulok nopacikoiss-ta, [ap-eyse-to   kangsa-ka
       enkuphayss-tusi]]

   d. [[ko-Park Jonghee tayttonglye-i]   [hangsang kangcohass-tusi], [hyemyeng-uy
       ex-Park Jonghee President-Nom always   emphasized as,   revolution-Gen
       kongkwa-ey tayhaysenun husey-uy yeksakatul-i   pyengka-lul   halkek -imulo
        results   on   next -Gen historians-Nom evaluation-Acc will do
       yekise enkuphacinun anhkeyss-ta.]]
       here   to mention   not
       'I will not mention the results of the Revolution here, because as ex-President
       Jonghee Park always emphasized, it will be evaluated by the historians from next
       generation.'

   e. *[[hyemyeng-uy kongkwa-ey tayhaysenun husey-uy   yeksakatul-i pyengka-lul
        [ko-Park Jonghee tayttonglye-i] [hangsang kangcohass-tusi], yekise enkuphacinun
         halkek –imulo, anhkeyss-ta.]]   (with the meaning of (d))

Along with this, we need to review the semantic function of this optional clause, the semantic contribution of the *as*-clause, by comparing the meaning difference between the presence and absence of this clause. Especially, the presence of the *as*-clause decides on the information type of the main clause. That is, if this clause does not occur at the sentence, the whole main clause semantically (or pragmatically) gives new information. The presence of the *as*-clause, however, brings about the changing of this meaning into old information. It means that the main clause denotes information which has been previously mentioned or repeated. Therefore, we can also assume that these syntactic and semantic properties exert on a great influence on the function of *As*-Parentheticals. More specifically, this *as*-clause functions as an indicator to signify that some of the main clause must be old or repetitive information. With this information, the *as*-parentheticals construction pragmatically has the emphasis effect.

3   The Syntactic Types of Korean *As*-Parentheticals

Korean *as*-parentheticals can be classified into two types : CP *as*-clause type and VP *as*-clause type, according to the syntactic gaps in *as*-clause: the gap elements are realized as a clause or a verb phrase, respectively, as in (5) and (6). The *as*-clauses in (5) have the CP gap and these gapped elements can also be regarded as the same to the whole main clause. The syntactic gaps of *as*-clauses in (6) are all VPs and the antecedents of these gaps are shared by the VP in the main clause. Note that unlike those of the first CP type of *as*-parentheticals, the shared elements in the VP type are not easy to be identical each other, in the sense that the antecedent of the gap can frequently be parts of the verbal expressions.

(5) a. [[ap-eyse-to   kangsa-ka   enkuphayss-tusi], [tokhay-uy picung-un kalsulok

previously also lecturer-Nom mentioned-as,   reading portion-Nom more and more
nopacikoiss-ta.]]
increasing.
'As an instructor mentioned, the portion of reading is more and more increasing'
(Dong-A Ilbo 2002)

b. [[kunye-ka yeysanghayssten-taylo], [ku-nun sanglyucung kaceng-ey ipyangtoyess-
She-Nom expected   as,   he-Nom wealthy   family   adopted
ta]].
'As she expected, he was adopted by the wealthy family.'   (Kim, Jihye 2001)

(6) a. [[nukulato kuleha-tus], [tu salam-un ches tanchu-lul   cal   kkiuko sipul kes-ita.
Anyone   did   as,   two persons first button-Acc well fasten want-tense
'As anyone does, two persons will want to fasten their first button well.'

b. [[choykun han putay-lul   pangmunhay apeci Kim Jongil wiwencang-i kwakeey
recently a military unit-ACC to visit   Kim Jongil president-Nom   the past-in
kulaysstun kes-chelum], [ssangankye-kwa sochong-ul senmulhaysstako hapnita.]]
did   as,   pistol-with   rifle-Acc   presented   is said
'It is said that as the President Jongil Kim did, his son recently visited a military unit
and presented a pistol and a rifle.'

c. [[kutongan   haywassten-taylo], [kincang-uy   kkun-ul nohci anhko mokpyo-lul
during the time have done as, (he)tension-Acc loose   not   goal-Acc
talsengha-keysstako kangcohayss-ta.]]
achieve-future tense emphasized
'(He) emphasized that as he has been doing, he would achieve his original goal
without loosening up.'

It is noticeable that the syntactic gaps in *as*-clauses are quite a lot determined by the
context as well as the knowledge on the world in the community. These behaviors can easily be
found in the scope of the negation, as in (7a) and the example (7b). The verb in *as*-clause of (7a)
'*sangkak-hata* (to think)' has the CP gap as the complement, and unlike the CP *as*-clause type,
we can calculate the antecedent of this gap from parts of the main clause. That is, only the
meaning of negation is not contained in this antecedent. This kind of antecedent cannot be
predicted by the syntactic factors as well as the semantics. Generally in our society, the fund
manager is regarded as one of the highest payers. From our knowledge on this, we can judge
that the antecedent of this gap is the parts of the main clause except only the negative meaning
of 'not'. The sentence in (7b) has the VP gap and its antecedent would be the VP of the main
clause.

Interestingly, the verb in the main clause '*cu-ta*' (to give) take as the complement two NPs,
and the referring individual who are realized as the genitive NP appeared as a different
syntactic element: the person in *as*-clause will be her grandson and that of the antecedent will
be 'me', the grandson of our grandmother, even though it should be realized as her grandson,
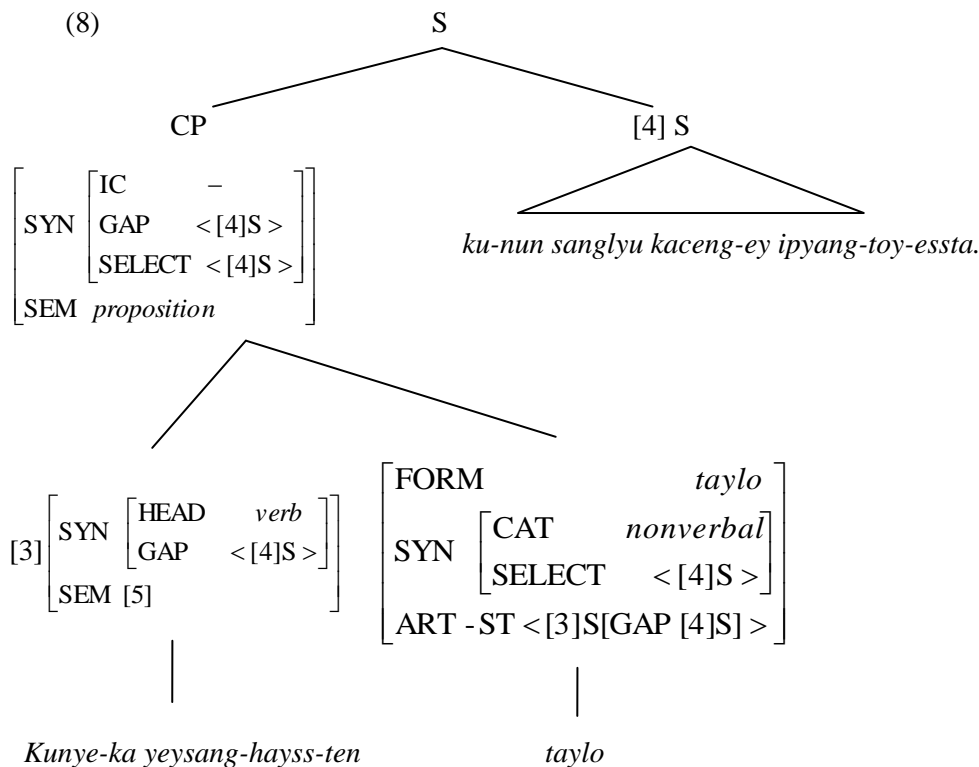separately.

(7) a. [pendu maynice-nun potong salam-tuli sayngkakhanun-kes-chelum, koayk-uy posu-
fund manager-Nom people-pl   think   as,   higher salary
lul paknun-kes-un anita.
is paied   not
'The fund manager, as the people think, is not highly paid.

b. [seysang-uy motun halmeni-ka   uleha-tus, uli halmeni-to   na-yekye
world-Gen every grandmother-Nom   do   as, our grandmother also me-Gen
hana te   chayngkyecusilye hasyessta.
one more to give   tried.

'As every grandmother in this world does, my grandmother tried to give me more.'

Therefore, we can conclude that the essential factors for tracing back the antecedents of the gap are the syntactic sisterhood and more crucially the contextual factors including the knowledge on the world.

4 The Structure of the *As*-Parentheticals

Taking the syntactic and semantic behaviors mentioned up to now into consideration, we can propose the structure of the *as*-parentheticals in Korean and its constructional constraint(s) in the framework of a constraint-based analysis. In order to clarify the syntactic structure of *as*-clauses, it needs to examine the syntactic status of an '*as*' expression. Previous researchers take two different approaches: one is as a relative pronoun (more exactly, a nonrestrictive relativizer) and the other as a proposition. Potts (2002) treats the category of the morpheme '*as*' as a preposition and suggests that the structural relationship between the *as*-clause and its main clause should be mainly explained by the restriction of sisterhood. That is, the gap of the *as*-clause should be determined by the meaning interpretation of its sister. Kay and Fillmore (1999) and Kay (2002) regard this '*as*' as one type of relativizer, in particular, in nonrestrictive relative clauses. This paper assumes the structure of the *as*-parentheticals with the following constructional constraints.

(8)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
CP \qquad\qquad [4]\,S
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{IC} & - \\ \text{GAP} & <[4]S> \\ \text{SELECT} & <[4]S> \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM} & \textit{proposition}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

ku-nun sanglyu kaceng-ey ipyang-toy-essta.

$$
[3]\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{GAP} & <[4]S> \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM} & [5]
\end{bmatrix}
\qquad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & & \textit{taylo} \\
\text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \textit{nonverbal} \\ \text{SELECT} & <[4]S> \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{ART-ST} & <[3]S[\text{GAP }[4]S]>
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Kunye-ka yeysang-hayss-ten   *taylo*

In this sentence, the *taylo* is an constituent with the constraints that take the clause including the gapped element [4] and that modify the gapped element as here. The *taylo* takes the [3] to form the CP that has still the gap. This gap is filled by the following S.

5 Conclusion

The main goal of this paper is to provide the characteristics of Korean *As*-Parentheticals in syntax and semantics, focusing on the four aspects: the lexical properties of verbs in an *as*-clause, the semantic function of this clause, its distribution in a sentence, and the gap of an *as*-clause. In the process of doing this, this paper examined the meanings of verbs in an *as*-clause and made an attempt to clarify the semantic function of *as*-clause in a whole sentence. In addition, this paper investigated the characteristics of the gapped constituent. Taking these main properties of the *as*-clause into consideration, this paper proposed two types of Korean *As*-Parentheticals Constructions: CP *as*-Clause Type and VP *as*-Clause Type, according to the syntactic gaps in the *as*-clause.

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