

# **DAY 1**

# | By-session programme (Day 1) |

Date	Time	Activity			
28 June (Wed)		<b>Parallel session (1)</b>			
		<b>Semantics</b>	<b>Pragmatics</b>	<b>Corpus Linguistics</b>	<b>NLP / Computational Linguistics</b>
	13:30-14:00	The Semantic Analysis of the Korean Body Language 'Ear': focused on signification and semantic structure <i>Sang-Tae Kim (Cheongju University)</i>	Spurious Imperfective Puzzles in Korean <i>Minji Kang, Yaesheik Lee, &amp; Jihee Kim (Kyungpook National University)</i>	KLECC: A New Korean Learner Error Correction Corpus <i>Li Fei, Jaehyun Choi, Eunhyun Park, Youngsang Kim, Eunjung Lim, Hong Seongju, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	Is it easier to segment words in speech directed to a child than an adult? <i>Seongmin Mun (Ajou University), Jun Ho Chai (Chosun University), &amp; Eon-Suk Ko (Chosun University)</i>
	14:00-14:30	Korean preterite form -ess- in comparison with Japanese correspondent -ta: interactions with negation <i>Yoshiki Mori &amp; Chunhong Park (University of Tokyo)</i>	A Study on the Linguistic Mechanisms for the Formation of Amicable Discourse in Korean <i>Kiseong Park (Pusan National University)</i>	How language-universal and language-specific features explain learner proficiency: Analysis of written production from learners of Korean as a second/heritage language <i>Boo Kyung Jung (University of Pittsburgh) &amp; Gyu-Ho Shin (University of Illinois Chicago &amp; Palacky University Olomouc)</i>	A Study of Korean Multi Word Expression: Focused on Localization of PARSEME shared task <i>Seoyoon Park, Yeonji Jang, Yejee Kang, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>
	14:30-15:00				Naturalness for Question Answering Dataset: A case study of interrogative sentences <i>Seoyoon Park, Yeonji Jang, Yejee Kang, Jaewon Lee, Jo Eun Kang, Yujin Kim, Gyuri Choi, Gayeon Jung, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>
		<b>Parallel session (2)</b>			
		<b>Psycholinguistics</b>	<b>Historical-Comparative Linguistics</b>	<b>Sociolinguistics</b>	
	15:30-16:00	Semantic Integration and Syntactic Choice in Korean and Arabic <i>Soonhyuck Park &amp; Dhari AlOtaibi (Gulf University for Science and Technology)</i>	Analogy-driven inter-categorical grammaticalization of mankhum 'exact amount' in Korean <i>Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University)</i>	Social Meanings and Discourse Functions of Non-honorific Styles in TV Talk-show Conversations <i>Sang-Seok Yoon (University of Iowa)</i>	
	16:00-16:30	Cross-linguistic influence, usage frequency, and task effects in second language processing of Korean dative construction <i>Jeong-Eun Shin (University of Tsukuba) &amp; Gyu-Ho Shin (University of Illinois Chicago &amp; Palacky University Olomouc)</i>	Semantic extension of HEAD: A contrastive perspective <i>Kultida Khammee (University of Phayao) &amp; Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University)</i>	Quantitative dialectology in Korea and beyond: methods, data, and mutual exchange <i>Simon Barnes-Sadler (University of Oxford)</i>	
	16:30-17:00		Development of the Korean Proximal Demonstrative into a Focus Marker <i>Minju Kim &amp; Tae Yeon Kim (Claremont McKenna College)</i>		

# Semantics

## **The Semantic Analysis of the Korean Body Language ‘Ear’ -focused on signification and semantic structure-**

Kim, Sang-Tae  
(Cheongju University)

Sensory organs receive external stimuli, convert them into nerve impulses through the sensory organ's stimulus receptors, and transmit them to the central nervous system. The ear is a sensory organ that functions to hear on both sides of the head of humans and animals. It is divided into three parts: outer ear, middle ear, and inner ear. The ear is responsible for hearing and balance, and sound is transmitted through the outer ear, middle ear, eardrum, and cochlea in the inner ear. The cochlea, which is connected to the auditory nerve, consists of a spiral tubular bone.

In Korean linguistics, studies on the 'ear' have mainly considered the semantic characteristics of the 'ear' as a metaphor by similarity and a metonymy by adjacency from a cognitive linguistics point of view (Im, 2016). In addition, the composition and functional aspects of compound nouns combined with 'ear' were considered (Bae, 2002).

Humans are semiotic and symbolic animals. Humans use various symbols, but the representative symbol among them can be said to be language. Language is a sign in which the signifier and the signified are combined. Semantics is a subfield of linguistics and at the same time a subfield of semiotics. However, I think that research on the meaning of Korean vocabulary has not been lacking in consideration of the semiotic characteristics of language. In addition to the primary meaning, signs are expanded and derived into various meanings in the secondary and tertiary dimensions in various contexts and situations.

The purpose of this study is to clarify the meaning and semantic structure of the Korean body word 'ear' from a semiotic point of view. There are 11 multiple meanings of 'ear', and 38 idiomatic expressions including idioms and proverbs listed in the Standard Korean Dictionary

The research questions set to carry out this research task are as follows. First, through what signification process is the meaning of the Korean body word 'ear' extended and derived? Second, what semantic structure does the Korean body word 'ear' have?

The meaning of polysemy expanded from the primary meaning of 'ear' to synchronization with individual emotions, society, and culture. In the idiomatic expression, it was found that the multiple meanings of the constituent elements become the primary meaning, and these are combined to form the third meaning, the signified, and form a signifier corresponding to the

meaning (the signified).

The semantic structure of polysemy was a metaphor based on similarity. In the semantic structure of idiomatic expressions, metaphor and metonymy work together. Two or more components create a metonymic structure based on 'adjacency' within the net of descriptive expression, 'metaphor' appears as a concept, and shows the characteristics of metonymy indicating various characteristics according to the meaning of descriptive expression. .

Based on the semantic characteristics of signs in language, it is necessary to study not only the Korean body language 'ear', but also the semantic signification and semantic structure of Korean vocabulary.

<Main References>

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# **Korean preterite form *-ess-* in comparison with Japanese correspondent *-ta*: interactions with negation**

Yoshiki Mori & Chunhong Park  
University of Tokyo

## **1. Identification of compared items and aims of this paper**

The Korean (K) tense system is generally comparable with the Japanese (J) one; Korean preterite form *-ess-* and Japanese correspondent *-ta*. Both forms represent the past tense, as in (1) but can also sometimes fulfill the function of present perfect, as in (2). There is a fundamental discrepancy between the semantic orientation of each “filler” in the morpho-syntactic “slot” in the verbal paradigm (past tense for the preterite form in the tense system) and the actual distribution of the semantic interpretations of each tense morpheme (past and present perfect for the preterite form).

However, in K, one could (preferentially) use the preterite form *-ess-* with negation, whereas in J, one should use a morphologically explicit perfect form *-te i-* with the present tense *-ru* (the participle form with the auxiliary in the present) in negative sentences, as in (3a-b).

This phenomenon is also treated in K/J contrastive linguistics: Inoue et al. (1997) try to explain the K/J difference in (3) in terms of the language type difference in pragmatic constraints.

We will argue that the difference is located in lexical constraints at the syntax-semantics interface. More specifically, the amalgamated present perfect by means of the preterite form (*-ess-* in K and *-ta* in J) allows for the scope of negation at or below Aspect in K but above Aspect and Tense in J (cf. Han et al. 2007).

## **2. lexicalization difference of the aspect-marking periphrastic construction in K/J**

The Japanese analytic continuous construction *-te i-*, as an explicit aspect marker consisting of the participle form of the verb and the auxiliary BE, covers the progressive, the resultative, and the perfect meaning. In contrast, K has two forms for the progressive and the resultative meaning: *-ko iss-* and *-e iss-* (cf. Park 2011, Cho & Whitman 2020). Additionally, the resultative is lexically more constrained than that in J. Finally, the resultative meaning is partly subsumed under the secondary, present perfect interpretation of the preterite form in K. This lexicalization (and grammaticalization, cf. Bybee et al. 1994) difference of the aspect-marking periphrastic construction is a background for our explanation of the K/J difference in (3).

## **3. negation of the secondary, present perfect interpretation of the preterite form in K/J**

As seen in (3), we maintain that the question leading to the answer in (3a) in K and (3b) in J is built up in terms of the present perfect interpretation, even if the preterite form is used in K/J. (3) shows that the present perfect interpretation of the preterite form can be used in the negative

sentence in K but not in J. Using Extended Now intervals as cognitive substitutes for reference time, it is shown that the negation in K directly relates to the event predicate, but not in J. We will connect this possibility of taking lower scope in K with the morphosyntactic order in the verbal complex (4) and the clitic status of the negation marker. (497 words)

### Examples

- (1) a. *ece koki-lul mek-ess-ta.*                                      b. *kinō yakiniku-wo tabe-ta.*  
yesterday meat-ACC eat-PST-DECL<sup>1</sup>                                      yesterday meat-ACC eat-PST
- (2) a. *ice cali-ey anc-ass-ta.*    b. *ima seki-ni suwat-ta.*  
now seat-to sit-PERF.PRST(<PST) -DECL                                      now seat-to sit-PERF.PRST(<PST)
- (3) Q: “Have you already eaten the meal?”  
A: a. *acik pap-ul an mek-ess-ta.*  
yet meal-ACC NEG eat-PERF.PRST(<PST)-DECL  
b. *mada gohan-wo tabe-tei-na-i.*  
yet meal-ACC eat-ASPT-NEG-PRST
- (4) a. [[[tabe]<sup>P</sup>-nakat<sup>NEG</sup>]-ta]<sup>PERF.PRST (<PST)</sup>  
b. [[an<sup>NEG</sup> [[mek]<sup>P</sup>-ess]<sup>PERF.PRST (<PST)</sup>]-ta]<sup>DECL</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following glosses are used in this paper. ACC: accusative/ ASPT: aspect/ DECL: declarative/ NEG: negation/ PERF: perfect / PRST: present / PST: past

# Pragmatics



## Spurious Imperfective Puzzles in Korean

Minji Kang\*, Jihee Kim\*\*, Yae-sheik Lee\*\*\*<sup>1</sup>  
Kyungpook National University

This study inquires into two imperfective puzzles: First, cognitive and emotive verbs (i.e., stative verbs in English) appear in the progressive with an imperfective morpheme, ‘ko iss,’ in Korean as follows:

(1) Mina-nun Inho-lul al-ko / salangha-ko iss-ta. (Mina *knows/loves* Inho.)

Second, according to previous studies (Kim, 2011; Chae, 2018), the progressives of reflexive verbs are ambiguous between P(process)-reading and R(resultant)-reading, as shown below:

(2) Mina-ka moca-lul ssu-ko iss-ta.

They analyze (2) as follows: *iss-ta* is combined as an auxiliary verb with the main verb, *ssu-ko*, for the process reading of Mina’s putting on the cap. Whereas for the resultant reading of Mina’s wearing her cap on her head, *iss-ta* serves as the main verb to take two arguments, *moca-lul* (NP) and *ssu-ko* (V).

This study will show that these puzzles are spurious in that they are made up of an incorrect analysis of the event structures of verbs ‘ko iss’ combines with. First, we will prove two things: first, ‘ko iss’ can combine only with dynamic verbs (cf. Lee 2006). We will use the following tests to show that verbs ‘ko iss’ can legitimately combine with are dynamic: (i) modifiability by manner adverbs; (ii) compatibility with *ki sicakha* (starting to); (iii) acceptability in a pseudo-cleft construction; (iv) usability in sentences denoting habituality based on plural events. The rationale of this test is as follows: Since habituality denotes a succession of occurrences of events of the same property over a regular period of time, if a predicate is used to express habituality, it should be considered as an eventive or dynamic predicate. This study classifies verbs in Korean into three groups based on how many above tests they pass. Verbs that pass all four tests are “Typically Eventive (TE)”; “Marginally Eventive (ME)” are verbs that pass the fourth test only; “Nondynamics” are verbs that pass none of the four tests. We will show that cognitive and emotive verbs, as well as verbs such as *molu-ta* (do not know) and *phohamha-ta* (include), critical to the analysis of ‘ko iss,’ can be classified as Marginal Event verbs because they pass the fourth test as the following examples show.

(3) a. Mina-nun nul swuhak mwuncey-nun *molun-ta*.

(Whenever she is given math problems, Mina *does not know* how to solve them.)

b. Kenkang siktan-un nul tung phwulun sayngsen-ul *phohamhan-ta*.

(Healthy meals always *include* oily fish.)

Specifically, this study treats cognitive and emotive verbs as mental activity or process verbs and argues that the resultant state reading with this type of verbs is epiphenomenal or due to the fact that they denote processes (i.e., a continuation of homogeneous events), which are

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<sup>1</sup> Minji Kang\* is the first author; Jihee Kim\*\* is the second author; Yae-sheik Lee\*\*\* is the correspondence author: This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2021S1A5A2A01073540)

almost similar to states. In contrast, verbs like *sokha-ta* (belong to) and *ewulli-ta* (match) are analyzed as nondynamic verbs in Korean, for they do not even pass the fourth test. Thus, they cannot occur with ‘ko iss.’

Second, all the verbs that show such ambiguity, as in (2), denote events that are composed of process, culmination, and the resultant state. Interestingly, reflexive verbs in Korean contrast their corresponding ones in English in that the process, the culmination, and the resultant state are denoted by single reflexive verbs in Korean; such single reflexive verbs are split into two separate verbs (e.g., ‘put on’ and ‘wear’) in English as explained with (2). This study also categorizes dynamic verbs in Korean into two groups according to their event structures: R-dynamic verbs and Non-R-dynamic verbs. Reflexive verbs are, of course, R-dynamic verbs, whereas other types of verbs, such as achievement and accomplishment verbs, are all Non-R-dynamic verbs since they do not lexically describe resultant states within their events.

To do justice to what we have discussed so far, below is given the semantics of ‘ko iss’ within Interval Semantics:

- (4)  $[[\text{ko iss}]] =_{\text{def}} \lambda P \lambda i \lambda C \forall k [k \in R(i, P, C) \rightarrow \exists e' [P'(e') \wedge \text{overlap}(\tau(e'), k) \wedge C \vdash \text{Generate}(P', P)]]$ , where “ $C \vdash \text{Generate}(P', P)$ ” is defined as “ $_{\text{def}} \forall e', e [P'(e') \wedge P(e) \rightarrow P'=P \vee e' \in \text{Generation-chain}(e)]$ ,” ‘R’ stands for a regular partition relation in terms of Deo (2020), and ‘C’ denotes a set of facts with regard to P.

In words, (4) shows that the meaning of ‘ko iss’ can be defined as a relation between a predicate property denoted by ‘P’, the reference time *i*, and the context *C* at stake such that for all subintervals of *i*, there is an event going on over *k*, whose property is judged as a generation property of P by the facts of the context *C*. For example, if the reference time is contextually taken to fall over or overlaps the resultant state ( $\text{overlap}(\tau(e'), k)$ ), (2) will have the resultant state reading. So, this study does not need to assume the ambiguous syntactic status.

In conclusion, this study shows that the imperfective puzzles are spurious by analyzing cognitive and emotive verbs as dynamic or mental process verbs, and furthermore R-dynamic verbs like reflexive verbs as denoting events which are composed of process, culmination, and the resultant state. This proof is based on the semantics of ‘ko iss’ of (4).

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# **A Study on the Linguistic Mechanisms for the Formation of Amicable Discourse in Korean**

Kiseong Park

(Pusan National University)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the linguistic mechanisms for the formation of amicable discourses in random oral dialogue corpus in Korean. In this presentation, the random dialogues will be selected from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus. The amicable discourse is based on the complex of the type of interlocuters and that of the conversation contents. The four categories of linguistic mechanisms will be explored in this presentation: (i) interrogative mood markers and honorific *Si-* markers, (ii) adverbial and predicative modal hedges, (iii) first person pronoun markers *Ce*(I) and *Wuri*(we), and (iv) positive response markers *Ye*(yes) and *Ney*(yes). The following claims will be made in this presentation. First, the interrogative mood markers and honorific *si-* markers are used for the amicable discourse of requests and the deference to the hearers with the percentage of 0.8% and 0.9%, respectively. Second, the adverbial and predicative modal hedges are most frequently used for the formation of amicable discourse with the percentage of 5.9%. Third, the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronominal markers *Ce* and *Wuri* are used with the percentage of 1.5%. The use of the pronominal makers *Ce* and *Wuri* in noninterrogative utterances is higher than that in interrogative utterances. Fourth, the positive response markers *Ye* and *Ney* for alleviating face threatening situations are least frequently used mechanism for the amicable discourse with the percentage of 0.2%. On the whole, the linguistic mechanisms for amicable discourse will be claimed to be ranked according to the percentage of use in the dialogues as follows; adverbial and predicative modal hedges > 1<sup>st</sup> person pronominal markers *Ce* and *Wuri* > positive response markers *Ye* and *Ney*.

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# **Corpus Linguistics**

# KLECC: A New Korean Learner Error Correction Corpus

Li Fei<sup>\*</sup>, Jaehyun Choi<sup>†</sup>, Eunhyun Park<sup>†</sup>, Yongsang Kim<sup>†</sup>,  
Eunjung Lim<sup>†</sup>, Seongju Hong<sup>†</sup>, Hansaem Kim<sup>‡</sup>

Yonsei University

Currently, "Error Analysis" (Richards, 2015) in the field of "Second Language Learning(SLL)" and "Grammatical Error Correction(GEC)" (Bryant et al., 2017) in the field of "Natural Language Processing(NLP)" are two prevailing academic issues that are independent yet helpful to one another. The distinction between them is that while dealing with defective sentences, the former focuses more on categorization, while the latter concentrates more on adjustments. This paper proposes a new Sentence-level Korean Learner Error Correction Corpus(KLECC) with the writing examples of Korean learners(Based on the Yonsei Korean Learner Corpus) from an integrative perspective of these two topics in order to boost the GEC performance of Korean language models and to improve the Composition levels of Korean learners.

Collecting defective sentences from foreign learners to create datasets for the GEC task has recently gained popularity. (Wang et al., 2021) Although in the publicly accessible datasets (e.g., "ErAConD" (Yuan et al., 2021) for English, "YACLIC" (Wang et al., 2021) for Chinese), English and Chinese predominate, with Korean joining in later. The National Institute of Korean Language invested a lot of time and effort into developing the "Korean Learner Corpus," "Spelling Correction Corpus," and "Grammaticality Classification Corpus" in recent years. However, these corpora have yet to be successfully extended or merged because of precisely the following issues, limiting their creative utilization.

- The Korean Learner Corpus has excessive "other" errors, resulting in ineffective error classification.
- The "Spelling Correction Corpus" suppresses other varieties of grammatical faults in the priority of spelling mistakes.
- The "Grammaticality Classification Corpus" only offers a straightforward classifier with insufficient annotation details.

Accordingly, this paper intends to make the following contributions to SLL & NLP research by using newly created and freely accessible KLECC:

1. Construct a comprehensive, accessible, and practical Korean error correction corpus based on over 2000 essays written by hundreds of international students worldwide.
2. Advocate the new classification framework for Korean defective sentences, incorporating "acceptability(is that acceptable to natives?)" and "grammaticality(is that correct according to the 'School Grammar?)" into account (Lau et al., 2017).
3. Generate a golden test set to enhance Korean language models' performance in GEC-related tasks(e.g., error classification; automatic error correction).

**Keywords:** Korean Learner Error Correction Corpus, Korean Defective Sentence Classification, Grammatical Error Correction Task, Second Language Learning, Natural Language Processing

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\* Lead author.

† Co-authors who made the same contribution to this study.

‡ Corresponding author.

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“Grammaticality Classification Corpus”: [https://rlkujwkk7.toastcdn.net/37/NIKL\\_CoLA\\_v1.1.pdf](https://rlkujwkk7.toastcdn.net/37/NIKL_CoLA_v1.1.pdf)

original text info.		annotator info.			corrected text info.			
		name	gender	teaching experience	ungrammatical	unacceptable	correction	
1	sentence	나한테 그 모임이 너무 즐거웠으며 그 밤은 아름다운 기억을 만들었다.	김	M	1 years	0	0	
	filename	3F-2014 봄 ID-2014840451	박	F	7 years	1	1	나한테 그 모임은 너무 즐거웠으며 그날의 밤은 아름다운 기억으로 남았다.
	topic	나의 실수	최	M	9 years	0	0	
	student level	3	홍	F	3 years	1	1	나는 그 모임이 너무 즐거웠으며 그 밤은 아름다운 기억으로 남았다.
	student info.	미국-20 대-여성-영어	임	F	5 years	1	1	나에게 그 모임은 너무 즐거웠으며 그 밤은 아름다운 기억을 만들어 주었다.
2	sentence	기숙사에서 살아서 방 친구랑 살게 됐습니다.	김	M	1 years	0	0	
	filename	3M-2014 봄 ID-2014840139	박	F	7 years	0	1	기숙사에서 살아서 그 친구랑 같이 살게 되었습니다.
	topic	나의 실수	최	M	9 years	0	0	
	student level	3	홍	F	3 years	0	1	기숙사에 살아서 방 친구랑 같이 살게 됐습니다.
	student info.	한국-20 대-남성-영어	임	F	5 years	0	1	기숙사에서 살아서 방 친구가 있습니다.

Table 1 Data Samples of KLECC (original text info.: basic information about the real texts created by foreign learner s; annotator info.: background information of 5 professional Korean(as a second language) teachers performing annotations; corrected text info.: detailed information the diagnostic results of each annotator, including the judgements on "acceptability" and "grammaticality" and the correction suggestions.)

# How language-universal and language-specific features explain learner proficiency: Analysis of written production from learners of Korean as a second/heritage language

Boo Kyung Jung (University of Pittsburgh)

Gyu-Ho Shin (Palacký University Olomouc)

Previous studies have investigated what linguistic indices can explain learner proficiency by employing learner essays (Lu, 2010; Kyle & Crossley, 2018; Park & Lee, 2017). We identify two major gaps: various learning environments with which learners are surrounded, and properties of learners' target language. The present study aims to fill these gaps, by examining how traditionally/widely used, language-universal indices and Korean-specific indices can address proficiency for learners of Korean as a second or heritage language.

## Methods

**Participants.** Twenty-three L1-English L2-Korean learners (KSL, mean age: 26.8, s.d.: 4.9) and 20 heritage speakers of Korean (HSK, mean age: 22.9, s.d.: 4.8) were asked to write two argumentative essays (Topic 1: *pros and cons of early language education*, Topic 2: *whether history education is necessary*) for 20 minutes each. Their proficiency in Korean was measured through C-test (Lee-Ellis, 2009): all participants scored more than 100 out of 188 and no difference in the mean scores between two groups were observed (independent-sample t-test:  $t(41) = -0.48, p > .05$ ). Twenty-five native speakers of Korean (NSK, mean age: 23.6, s.d.: 4.1) also participated in the same writing as a control group.

**Data analysis.** Three language-universal features (# of *eojeols*, # of *eojeols* per sentence, TTR) and three language-specific features (# of particles, # of Sino-words, # of each speech level) were calculated per essay manually. Decipherable errors were included while misused postpositions were not. Statistical analysis was conducted through R.

## Results

**By-group.** Independent sample t-test showed that NSK outnumbered the other two learner groups in terms of # of *eojeols*, # of particles, and # of Sino-words for both topics; two learner groups did not show significant differences (Table 1). Regarding # of each speech level, HSK preferred the deferential ending while NSK and KSL mostly used the plain ending in both topics (Table 2).

**Within-group.** Regression analysis was conducted per index to determine which feature can predict proficiency. KSL showed the significant relationship between Sino-words and proficiency in Topic1 ( $F(1,21)=15.78, p=.00, R^2=0.43$ ) and # of *eojeols* per sentence and proficiency in Topic2 ( $F(1,21)=14.11, p=.001, R^2=0.40$ ). For HSK, both # of particles ( $F(1,18)=6.26, p=0.02, R^2=0.26$ ) and # of Sino-words ( $F(1,18)=11.29, p=0.003, R^2=0.39$ ) predicted proficiency in Topic 1, while there were no significant indices in Topic 2.

Results suggest three implications. First, KSL and HSK had similarities and differences in terms of written production: the length of essays by learner groups was generally shorter than that of NSK with less use of particles and Sino-words. HSK's preference for the deferential ending style is worth investigating with respect to their unique understanding of the formality in Korean. Second, language-specific features need to be actively considered when identifying indices that explain learner proficiency outside of L2-English contexts. Finally, essay topics seem to play a key role in the composition of essays, which invites the need to consider a more delicate approach to applying these indices to analysis of learner production.



Table 1. Independent sample t-test results

		# of <i>eojeols</i>	# of particles	# of Sino-words
Topic1	NSK/KSL	t(46) = 4.33, p =.00	t(46) = 4.51, p =.00	t(46) = 8.10, p =.00
	NSK/HSK	t(43) = 3.98, p <.001	t(43) = 4.27, p <.001	t(43) = 7.82, p =.00
	KSL/HSK	t(41) = -0.21, p =.84	t(41) = -0.27, p =.79	t(41) = 0.41, p =.69
Topic2	NSK/KSL	t(46) = 3.87, p <.001	t(46) = 5.23, p =.00	t(46) = 5.59, p =.00
	NSK/HSK	t(43) = 4.10, p <.001	t(43) = 3.99, p <.001	t(43) = 6.48, p =.00
	KSL/HSK	t(41) = 0.68, p =.50	t(41) = -0.86, p =.39	t(41) = 1.73, p =.09

Table 2. Raw frequency and percentage of sentences in different speech levels

	Topic1			Topic2		
	NSK	KSL	HSK	NSK	KSL	HSK
Plain	252 (96.18)	210 (88.98)	55 (25.82)	248 (96.12)	179 (78.17)	44 (22.68)
Polite	0	11 (4.66)	31 (14.55)	0	14 (6.11)	19 (9.79)
Deferential	10 (3.82)	14 (5.93)	124 (58.22)	10 (3.88)	35 (15.28)	131 (67.53)
Other	0	1 (0.42)	3 (1.41)	0	1 (10.44)	0
Sum	262 (100)	236 (100)	213 (100)	258 (100)	229 (100)	194 (100)

*Note.* Numbers in the parentheses are percentage. Other includes uncompleted sentences.

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# **NLP / Computational Linguistics**

## Is it easier to segment words in speech directed to a child than an adult?

Mun, Seongmin<sup>1</sup>, Chai, Jun – Ho<sup>2</sup> & Ko, Eon – Suk<sup>2</sup>

Department of Humanities Research Institute, Ajou University<sup>1</sup>

Department of English Language and Literature, Chosun University<sup>2</sup>

**Keywords:** word segmentation, child language acquisition, computational learning mechanisms, Korean

During the early stage of language acquisition, children must learn to segment words (i.e., word boundaries) from the speech of their caregiver (e.g., Jusczyk & Aslin, 1995). Furthermore, previous studies report that it is easier to segment words from child-directed speech (CDS) than adult-directed speech (ADS) (e.g., Thiessen et al., 2005). However, the mechanism behind the advantages of CDS in segmentation is not well investigated. We adopt computational approaches to advance our understanding of the role of CDS in infants' word segmentation and its mechanism. We pose the two questions: First, is CDS more advantageous than ADS in the computational segmentation of words? Second, provided that speech registers differ in their segmentability of words, which properties of the linguistic input contribute to such a difference? To answer these questions, we report a computational simulation based on the model performance by using thirteen different algorithms with the manipulation of speech types (i.e., CDS vs ADS).

As a linguistic resource, we used the Ko corpus in the CHILDES dataset (Ko et al., 2020; 144,615 syllable tokens for CDS and 24,088 syllable tokens for ADS) for CDS and ADS. In addition, to simulate a child's linguistic environment, we changed the orthographic form of the corpus to phonetic signals by using the phonological rules as implemented in *KoG2P* (Cho, 2017) which is a grapheme-to-phoneme processing package written in *Python*. For model training, as shown in Figure 1, we used two baseline algorithms, ten sub-lexical algorithms, and one lexical algorithm in *Python*, by adapting functions provided by *WordSeg* (Bernard et al., 2018). All phoneme- and syllable-level algorithms, indicated by the `_p` and the `_s` suffixes, respectively, were trained with their respective corresponding phoneme- and syllable-level corpus. Finally, model performance was measured by comparing the word boundaries in the original input sentence with the word boundaries via each model.

We note two major findings of this current study. First, as shown in Figure 2, we found that the Korean CDS demonstrated better segmentability than ADS (10% increment). This provided evidence that the caregiver's speech pattern in CDS facilitates word segmentation – a precursor towards later language development. Second, as shown in Table 1, some properties of the corpus tend to have a greater effect on word segmentation than the other properties.

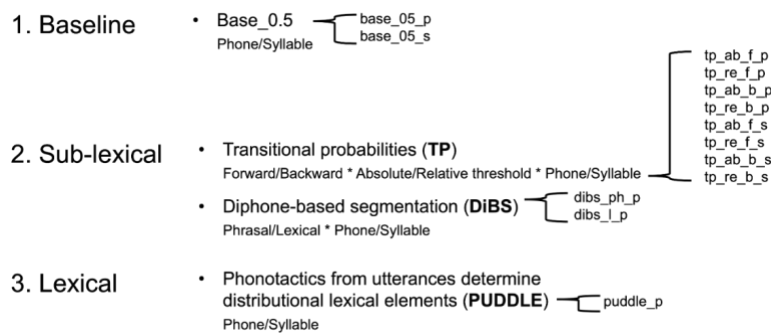
Specifically, short utterance length, more repetitions, and a large proportion of onomatopoeic words facilitate word segmentation. As a whole, the success of our computational learner adds to the cross-linguistic evidence for the effectiveness of computational approaches in modeling child language acquisition.

(word count: 421 / 500)

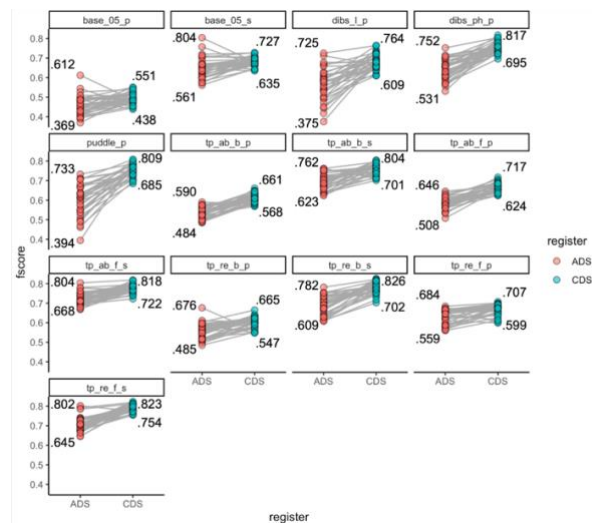
**Table 1.** Summary of a linear mixed model with corpus properties predicting the performance of segmentation algorithms.

Properties	$\beta$	SE	df	$t$	$p$
(Intercept)	.942	.068	903	13.883	.000 ***
Word length (s)	-.009	.034	903	-0.276	.782
Utterance length (s)	-.017	.002	903	-7.668	.000 ***
MATTR	-.169	.055	903	-3.099	.002 **
Mono	.038	.050	903	.750	.453
Ono	2.105	.996	903	2.114	.035 *

Note. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$



**Figure 1.** The 13-word segmentation algorithms in this study.



**Figure 2.** Comparisons in word segmentation performance across algorithms and registers (each dot-line-dot corresponds to the same mother who contributes to both registers; the number shows by-register min value and max value of f-score for each algorithm).

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**A Study of Korean Multi Word Expression  
– Focused on Localization of PARSEME shared task –**

**Seoyoon Park, Yeonji Jang, Yejee Kang, Hansaem Kim**◆

Interdisciplinary Graduate Program of Linguistics and Informatics,  
Institute of Language and Information Studies◆, Yonsei University, Republic of Korea  
{seoyoon.park, yeonji3547, yjkang5009, khss}@yonsei.ac.kr

This study deals with Korean Multi Word Expression (MWE) in the field of Natural Language Processing (NLP), where progress has been insignificant in Korea. For the study, we plan to design an annotation methodology to annotate the Korean MWE corpus after classifying the types of MWEs that are still uncertain in Korean by localizing the PARSEME shared task.

MWE is an expression that considered as continuous or discontinuous sequence of words, especially shows lexical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and statistical. In the field of NLP, there is a PARSEME shared task as a representative research activity conducted about MWE. The ‘PARSEME shared task’ is a competition which focuses on automatic identification of verbal multi word expression (VMWE). The task has annotation guidelines and annotated VMWE corpora which have 6 million tokens. Detailed VMWE categories presented in the PARSEME annotation guideline is in Table 1.

In Korean, there are no criteria for judging MWE or guidelines as same case of PARSEME. Accordingly, this study plans to classify Korean MWE candidates by considering PARSEME guideline and then localize the annotation for Korean MWE annotated corpus. We conducted our research in 4 steps: 1) POS tagging, 2) n-gram extraction, 3) removing collocation from candidate expressions, 4) MWE classification by applying PARSEME guidelines (localization). For research, we constructed the balance corpus which corpus consisted of written, spoken language and news corpora from ‘Modu corpus’.

This corpus has 60,588,439 words and 49,225,073 POS tokens (after truncation) that could be regarded to colossal corpus. In other words, the scale of corpus is immense so when conduct n-gram extraction time and cost would be high. Therefore we truncated the sentences which contain target token sequences(i.e. ‘noun+particle(josa)+verb’) accompanied with spans of about two words at both side. That means, we truncated the sentences by applying word window=2. We extracted n-grams in range of uni-gram to five-gram.

MWE lists from the PARSEME shared tasks do not contain ‘collocation’. So for establishing Korean MWE lists, it is important to remove the collocations from the extracted n-grams which are regarded to candidate MWE. In general, we can distinguish collocation using statistical analysis i.e. t-score, chi-square and loglikelihood score. For this reason, we use statistical analysis to filter candidate MWEs and to discriminate collocations and eliminate from the candidates. Filtering proceeds until there are 100 ‘meaningful’ MWEs occur and until there are no coincidentally combined tokens left.

Finally, we plan to classify Korean MWE candidate expressions according to PARSEME guidelines also localize it to Korean. It is because the MWE standard presented by PARSEME is suitable for the inflectional language family due to the nature of the research origin, the PARSEME is the research union of European countries. This research would contribute to comprehensive Korean MWE researches because we conducted the MWE annotation from scratch by involving 60M words corpus, assorting the candidate MWEs and annotating it. Also, localization of PARSEME guidelines is our contributions.

[Table 1] VMWE categories of PARSEME shared task's annotation guidelines.

<b>category</b>	<b>abbreviation</b>	<b>note</b>
light-verb constructions	LVC	
verbal idioms	VID	
inherently reflexive verbs	IRV	
verb-particle constructions	VPC	
multi-verb constructions	MVC	
inherently ad positional verbs	IAP	
Language-specific categories	LS	depends on individual languages

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## **Naturalness for Question Answering Dataset - A case study of interrogative sentences -**

**Seoyoon Park, Yeonji Jang, Yejee Kang, Jaewon Lee, Joeun Kang,**

**Yujin Kim, Gyuri Choi, Gayeon Jung and Hansaem Kim**◆

Interdisciplinary Graduate Program of Linguistics and Informatics,

Institute of Language and Information Studies◆, Yonsei University, Republic of Korea

{seoyoon.park, yeonji3547, yjkang5009, jwon.lee70, j0eun, 1s2yuvely, khss}@yonsei.ac.kr  
gyunini2714@gmail.com, wjdrkdus911@daum.net

A Question Answering(QA) task is a natural language task in which a machine gives an appropriate answer to a question in natural language. Because of this, the QA task is an important task that can examine both the machine's ability to natural language understanding, natural language generation, and represent real-life world knowledge.

Research on QA tasks and datasets is also being actively conducted in Korea either. Famous Korean QA datasets include 'KorQuAD 2.0' which is developed for machine reading comprehension only for Korean. The area of the QA dataset research is trending to expand further, so studies on open-domain QA, multi-domain, and multilingual QA are being conducted.

Beyond these trends, demand for 'natural QA dataset' is also growing. This can be seen from the fact that IT giants are trying to develop QA datasets that reflect real-life. This study also considered the 'naturalness' of the QA dataset and focused on the 'Question' of the QA dataset. As a method, we examined the error types that harm the naturalness of the questions, and then conduct experiments that quantitatively verified between the datasets the one contains errors (faulty) and the other has corrected errors(corrected). Our goal is to examine the assuring naturalness of QA dataset could contribute to the performance of QA task.

As a research method, we examined the detailed error types that harm the naturalness of the questions in Korean QA datasets. After that, we compared the 'correct' QA datasets and 'faulty' QA datasets to inspect does naturalness of sentences contributes to get more accurate performance of QA task. Before we conduct the research, we found the errors embedded in several QA datasets and classified each error type into list. For balance of datasets, we selected the datasets some domain-specific QA datasets such as patent, also a general QA dataset.

We found diverse error types in 1,000 questions from each datasets. The types are about use of question words / usage of appropriate words / sentence structures and other miscellaneous errors. Detailed error types can be found on Table 1. As-is, the error rate for each QA dataset was found to be about 8-10%.

Based on the error types, we constructed a faulty QA dataset in which has the correct questions and error questions mixed in a ratio of 50:50. As a nature of original low error rates, we used data augmentation to generate sentences which contained error questions. We used chatGPT api for generating error questions by writing prompts. The prompts which are used for error questions can be classified into 8 types of errors which already mentioned. After creating a synthetic questions, we inspected each questions and only use questions admitted to natural.

This study conducted a comprehensive reviews of the existing Korean QA datasets including checking error rates, and listing error types which have not been conducted so far. As the era of generative AI, our correct-faulty QA dataset is meaningful that it can measure the degree of the generative model's also fine-tuning model's understanding of erroneous sentences and its ability of ignore certain level of error rate.

[Table 1] Detailed error types of sampled 200 QA pairs

error types	example
question word use	2004년 직무만족 연구에서 <u>뭐가</u> (→어떤 것이) 나이가 많을수록 교육 수준이 낮을수록 높다고 나왔지
question word order	<u>무엇은</u> 주제 및 방법에 따라 (무엇은) 요금이 제한되니
particle error	검찰의 권력이 정부에게 미치는 영향이 크기에 국민들이 무엇을 무시해
awkward word use	한국 현대자동차가 <u>수립</u> (→설립)된 것은 언제야
unclear referent	<u>이들은</u> 주로 무엇으로 고용되었나?
word order (except question word)	<u>천천히</u> 신체 및 사회적으로 (천천히) 쇠퇴하는 시기가 언제지
subject-predicate relation error	(no respective subject) 삶의 만족은 느끼지만 신체적인 건강을 저해하는 걸 뭐라고 해
ambiguity due to word order	시장 군수가 예방접종을 할 수 있도록 어디에서 도와주니 1) 시장 군수(sbj) - 예방접종을 하다(predicate) 2) 시장 군수(sbj) - 도와주다(predicate)
omission of arguments	전체 청소년을 대상으로 무엇에 대해 (no object) 시도하니
excessive information	<del>국가 예산 항목들의 수요를 예측한 후</del> 상황변화 등을 반영해 최종 예산을 무엇이 예측할까
typos etc.	러시아에서 <u>시아연방</u> (→러시아 연방) 내각의 활동절차는 무엇에 의하여 규정되는가?

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# **Psycholinguistics**

## ***Semantic Integration and Syntactic Choice in Korean and Arabic***

Soonhyuck Park and Dhari AlOtaibi  
Gulf University for Science and Technology (GUST)

### **Background and Previous Analyses**

There has been research on the strategy for syntactic planning of sentence patterns based on the statistical learning, which is formed through experience and frequency in the process of language performance ([1], [2]). The findings of this research indicate that lexical items placed earlier in the utterance are usually those which are semantically primed or more frequently exposed in the previous speeches. [3] has further shown that the head noun, which is the first word in relative clauses, determines the choice between active and passive structures in English (SVO). Speakers tend to produce passive relatives almost exclusively when the head/first noun of the relative clause is animate, whereas then tend to produce both object and passive relative clauses when the head/first noun is inanimate. This observation implies that the syntactic structure of an utterance is not a deliberate decision but rather a consequence of the word order of lexical item. [4], [5], and [6] claim, however, that word order does not matter, with evidence suggesting a similar preference for passive over active constructions in Japanese (SOV), where the head noun is positioned at the end of the relative clause.

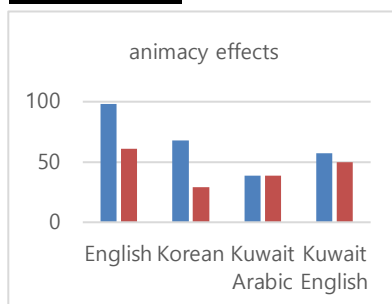
### **Goals**

This presentation investigates the cross-linguistic variations in syntactic choices between passive and active constructions in relative clauses, with a focus on the animacy of the head noun in Korean (SOV) and Kuwait Arabic (VSO), as well as Chinese, Burmese, and Mexican Spanish, beyond previous research on English and Japanese. The aim of this research is to achieve a generalization of semantic integration in syntactic choices across all three types of word order in language. This will be done by exploring the correlation between the production frequency of passive clauses with animate nouns and the flexibility of word order.

### **Methods**

The claims and proposals in this presentation are based on the statistical learning and the Production, Distribution, and Comprehension (PDC) theoretic frameworks of psychological cognitive experiments for online response time, off-line production choice of active/passive clause, off-line preference of modification in the complex NP, and corpus analyses of the various texts ([7], [8]).

### **Observations**



The impact of semantic integration on syntactic choice has crucial implications for how the language production system coordinates syntactic planning processes. Based on the available data from the pilot tests, it appears that despite cross linguistic differences in the production of passive relative clauses concerning animacy, speakers of all language types make similar structural choices with respect to the semantic factor of animacy in relative clause constructions.

### **Conclusion**

The observations presented here provide evidence that the syntactic choice between passive and active constructions can be universally determined based on the animacy of the head noun, particularly in relative clauses. These findings are significant in that they represent a different approach from the morpho-syntactic analysis of passive constructions in languages.

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Cross-linguistic influence, usage frequency, and task effects in second language processing of Korean dative construction  
Jeong-Eun Shin (Mejiro University) & Gyu-Ho Shin (Palacký University Olomouc)

L2 knowledge is characterised as its noisier representations compared to how L1 knowledge is constructed,<sup>[1,2]</sup> which is attributed to various factors such as cross-linguistic influence (CLI),<sup>[3,4,5]</sup> task effects,<sup>[6,7]</sup> increased cognitive load in performing L2 behaviour,<sup>[8,9]</sup> and learner characteristics.<sup>[10]</sup> This study investigates how CLI is manifested in L2-sentence processing in conjunction with usage frequency and task effects. For this purpose, we (i) adopt two alternating patterns of Korean dative construction (Dative–Accusative vs. Accusative–Accusative; Table1) and (ii) conduct an acceptability judgement task (AJT; 6-point Likert scale) and a self-paced reading task (SPRT; non-cumulative moving-window paradigm) targeting L2-Korean learners with three L1s which are typologically distinctive from each other (English, Czech, Japanese; Table2). The two dative patterns in Korean share the basic communicative intent—*transferability*;<sup>[11]</sup> despite the low usage frequency of Accusative–Accusative,<sup>[12]</sup> Korean speakers do employ this pattern for communication,<sup>[13]</sup> confirming its status as a grammatical pattern for this construction.

We recruited 24 L1-English (ENG;  $M_{age}=23.3$ ,  $SD=4.2$ ), 28 L1-Czech (CZH;  $M_{age}=24.1$ ,  $SD=2.8$ ), and 32 L1-Japanese (JPN;  $M_{age}=19.8$ ,  $SD=1.0$ ) learners of Korean and native speakers of Korean (NSK;  $M_{age}=23.6$ ,  $SD=4.1$ ). Learner proficiency was measured through Korean C-test;<sup>[14]</sup> there was no statistical by-group difference in the scores (one-way ANOVA:  $F(81)=0.984$ ,  $p=.378$ ). 32 test sentences were created (16 sentences \* 2 conditions; Table3), all of which respected the canonical word order (recipient-before-theme) and passed the norming test for grammaticality. All the sentences and fillers were split into two sub-lists and were randomly assigned to participants; we also randomised the sentences' presentation order in each sub-list. The pre-processed data from each task were fitted to the respective linear mixed-effects models.<sup>[15]</sup>

**Results: AJT** (Figure1). The global model ( $\alpha=.05$ ) revealed interaction\*\*\* between *Group* and *Condition*; post-hoc analyses ( $\alpha=.025$ ) revealed (i) the L2 groups' conservatism with Dative–Accusative and generosity with Accusative–Accusative than NSK, (ii) ENG–JPN difference in Accusative–Accusative, and (iii) by-group difference only for NSK and ENG. **Results: SPRT** (Figure2). The global model per region ( $\alpha=.05$ ) revealed a main effect of *Group* at all the critical(R2–R4) and spill-over (R5) regions and *Condition* at R2. Post-hoc analyses ( $\alpha=.025$ ) revealed by-condition difference at R2 only for ENG.

Our findings suggest CLI interfacing with usage frequency involving the target L2 construction and task-specific requirements. For AJT, the learners were stringent with Dative–Accusative (deemed more complex and less frequent than simple clausal constructions in L2 input) and were lenient with Accusative–Accusative (infrequent together with the atypical recipient–accusative pairing), pointing to statistical pre-emption.<sup>[16]</sup> The finding that JPN rated Accusative–Accusative more acceptable than the other L2 groups is attributable to their L1 knowledge that allows particle repetition (which is not related to dative construction). For SPRT, given L2 learners' overall challenge in real-time processing,<sup>[9,17,18]</sup> the learners' interpretation may have been garden-pathed at R2 in Accusative–Accusative: nominative-marked agent + accusative-marked theme, not accusative-marked recipient. Based on these aspects, the insignificant reading-time differences between the two conditions for CZH and JPN imply a processing benefit induced by their respective L1s: overt realisation of the dative case in Czech and Japanese, but not in English.

**Table 1.** Two grammatical patterns of Korean dative construction

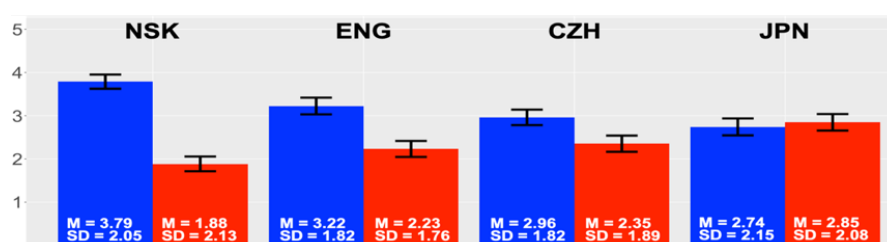
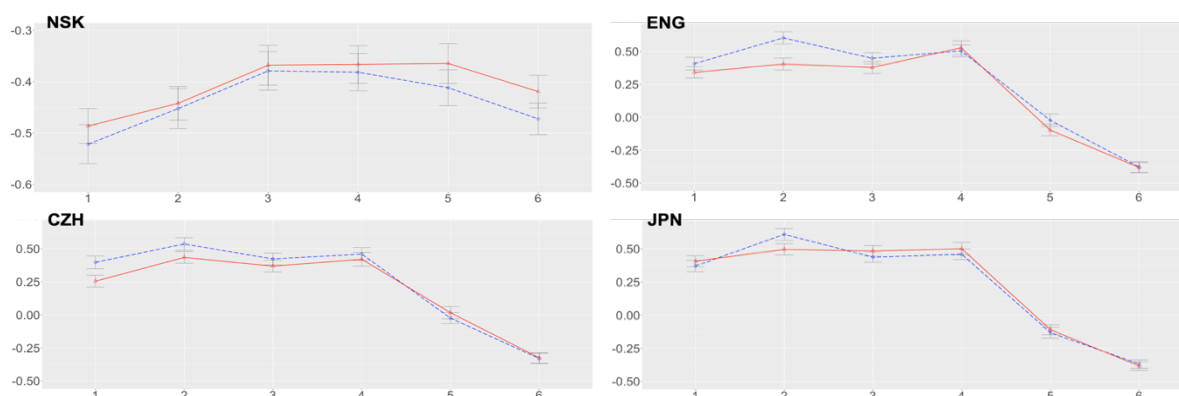
	Dative–Accusative	Accusative–Accusative
Example	Mia-NOM Jin-DAT book-ACC give-PST-SE	Mia-NOM Jin-ACC book-ACC give-PST-SE
Usage frequency	frequent	infrequent
Case-marking facts	recipient–dative pairing	recipient–accusative pairing

**Table 2.** Three L1s: English, Czech, and Japanese

	English	Czech	Japanese
Word order	SVO; rigid	SVO; flexible	SOV; somewhat flexible
Case	Inflection but minimal	Inflection	Particle use
# of dative patterns	2 (prepositional; double-object)	1 (Dative–Accusative)	1 (Dative–Accusative)

**Table 3.** Scheme of stimuli: SPRT (note: AJT sentences were generated by extracting R1–R4)

Condition	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6
Dative–Accusative	N1-NOM	N2-DAT	N3-ACC	V	<i>Yenghuy</i> -NOM	said
Accusative–Accusative		N2-ACC				

**Figure 1.** Results (AJT). X-axis: Group & Condition (Blue = Dative–Accusative; Red = Accusative–Accusative); Y-axis: acceptability (6-point Likert scale from 0 to 5). M = mean score; SD = standard deviation. Error bars indicate 95% CI. Data pre-processing: any response with RT below 1000 ms or above 10000 ms was excluded.**Figure 2.** Results (SPRT). X-axis: region; Y-axis: reading time (residualised). Blue, dotted = Dative–Accusative; Red, solid = Accusative–Accusative. Error bars indicate 95% CI. Data pre-processing: raw data were trimmed by excluding (i) data from participants who failed to pass comprehension check-up questions and (ii) outliers below or above a 3SD cut-off point, were log-transformed for data normalisation, and were further residualised to adjust for the variability in word length and individuals' reading speed.

**Abbreviation.** ACC = accusative case marker; DAT = dative marker; NOM = nominative case marker; PST = past tense marker; SE = sentence ender; V = verb

**References.** [1] Futrell & Gibson, 2017; [2] Tachihara & Goldberg, 2020; [3] Hartsuiker et al., 2004; [4] Jiang et al., 2017; [5] MacWhinney, 2008; [6] Lim & Christianson, 2015; [7] Tan & Foltz, 2020; [8] Cunnings, 2017; [9] Pozzan & Trueswell, 2016; [10] Dąbrowska & Street, 2006; [11] Haspelmath, 2015; [12] Author, xxxx; [13] Park & Yi, 2021; [14] Lee-Ellis 2009; [15] Bates et al., 2015; [16] Robenalt & Goldberg, 2016; [17] Clahsen & Felser, 2006; [18] Hopp, 2014

# **Historical-Comparative Linguistics**

# Analogy-driven inter-categorial grammaticalization of *mankhum* ‘exact amount’ in Korean

Seongha Rhee

(Faculty of Liberal Arts, Mahidol University & Hankuk Univ. of Foreign Studies)

Keywords: Grammaticalization, Subjectification, Analogy, Korean, *Mankhum*

Korean has a large number of dependent nouns, an idiosyncratic feature observed as early as in Ramstedt (‘post-participial nouns’ 1997[1939]: 109-123) and Martin (1954: 15-16). Since they often lack concrete meanings and their participation in creating grammatical constructions is extensive (thus also named ‘formal nouns’ and ‘defective nouns’), they constitute an excellent research topic for grammaticalization scholars. *Mankhum* (historically *maskom*, *kakhom*, *mankom*, etc. from Middle Korean; Lee 2009) is one such defective noun with the original meaning of a nominal ‘exact amount’, and its grammatical function has been extended across diverse grammatical categories over time. For instance, in addition to its original nominal meaning ‘exact amount’ as in (1), it came to be used as a equative postposition designating ‘comparable size or degree’ as in (2), an exclusive focus postposition ‘only’ as in (3), a scalar lower-limit postposition ‘at least’ as in (4), a connective designating extent ‘to such an extent that’ as in (5), a focusing causal connective ‘exactly because’ as in (6), and a lower-limit causal connective ‘at least because’ as in (7) (note: *mankhum* is glossed as ‘amount’ all throughout; ADN: adnominal; TOP: topic; FUT: future; NOM: nominative; CAUS: causal):

- (1) *ilha-n mankhum* [work-ADN amount] ‘the amount commensurate to work’
- (2) *cha-mankhum ppalli* [car-amount fast] ‘as fast as a car’
- (3) *ne-mankhum-un* [you-amount-TOP] ‘as for you (disregarding others)’
- (4) *mokswum-mankhum* [life-amount] ‘at least (your) life’
- (5) *mitkici.ahnu-li-mankhum* [incredible-FUT-amount] ‘to such an extent one cannot believe it’
- (6) *kil-i mikkulewun mankhum* [road-NOM be.slippery amount] ‘exactly because the road is slippery’
- (7) *mokkyekca-ka o-ni-mankhum* [witness-NOM come-CAUS-amount] ‘since the witness is coming’

Even though the fragmentary examples in (1) through (7) gloss over an enormous amount of subtleties in meaning and function, they clearly suggest the polyfunctionality of *mankhum* and its extensive semantic extension.

An investigation based on historical and contemporary corpora reveals a number of significant aspects of grammaticalization of *mankhum*. Among the notable findings is that in terms of semasiological change, *mankhum* has undergone extensive subjectification, i.e., a lexeme merely designating a particular amount developed into perspectivized meanings of upper or lower limit, as well as the subjective interpretation along the chain of causality. Further, in terms of the structural change, the meaning-based extension across diverse syntactic environments is likely to have been triggered by analogy (cf. Fischer 2007, 2008, De Smet 2009, 2012, Delbecque and Verweckken 2014, among others), thus resembling the analysis of analogy-driven inter-categorial grammaticalization, discussed in Rhee and Koo (2015).

Drawing upon historical corpus data, this paper traces the historical development of *mankhum* from Middle Korean, and based on contemporary corpus data, it analyzes various functions *mankhum* carries in Present-Day Korean. It also discusses issues of significance in grammaticalization theory with respect to principles and mechanisms. It argues, in particular, that the developmental patterns of *mankhum* lend strong support to analogy-driven grammaticalization. (466 words)

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## Semantic extension of HEAD: A contrastive perspective

<sup>1</sup>Kultida Khammee & <sup>2,3</sup>Seongha Rhee

(<sup>1</sup>University of Phayao, <sup>2</sup>Faculty of Liberal Arts, Mahidol University, <sup>3</sup>Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Keywords: semantic extension, metaphor, metonymy, Korean, Thai, HEAD

Modern linguistic traditions witnessed increased attention to embodied cognition, culture, and typology. Embodiment tends to highlight the universalities of human experience as reflected in language (Johnson 2007), by virtue of similarities of human cognitive processes, e.g., metaphor and metonymy. Indeed, many crosslinguistic studies corroborate the claims of similar cognitive mechanisms operative behind ontological divisions, conceptual networks, construal of events, semantico-functional change of lexemes, among others. A closer look, however, shows a vast range of differences in their operations (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Kövecses 2005, 2006, Yu 2008, among others), by virtue of culture-specific idiosyncrasies and/or typological differences, hence the significance of crosslinguistic investigations (Khammee and Rhee 2021, Rhee and Khammee 2022).

Based on the cognitive-linguistic theoretical background, this research focuses on the semantic extension of a conceptually prominent body-part term HEAD in Korean (*meli*, *mali*, and *taykali*) in contrast with the equivalent in Thai (*hua* and *sisá*). HEAD is arguably among the most perceptually prominent and functionally essential body parts, and thus constitutes a convenient and effective reference point. A comparative investigation reveals commonalities and differences in conceptualization of HEAD and its semantic extension scenarios.

Relevant data in the two languages has been collected from a number of dictionaries, lexica, and corpora, and their semantic designations have been rearranged for expedient comparison. Cognitive mechanisms and their reference frames enabling the semantic extension have been catalogued and accordingly individual instances have been classified and analyzed. The analysis reveals a number of intriguing aspects. The HEAD terms in Korean and Thai designate human and animal head, mental faculty, the frontal part of an object ('head of a boat, bow'), the top-end part of an object ('hammer head'), the beginning part of an object ('street head'), the beginning of time ('head of sunset'), the beginning of an event ('head of a task'), the leader of an organization ('head of department'), and the round part of music-note ('note-head'). These instances of extension involve metaphorization across the ontological domains from HUMAN to ANIMAL to INANIMATE (including OBJECT, TIME, EVENT, etc.), based on functional and configurational similarities. The configurations are based on the anthropomorphic model (Heine 1997), either linear-vertical (the relative position of the head of a standing human),

or linear-horizontal-frontal (the relative position of a person in motion), or globular (the overall circular shape of the head), among others. Korean uses the HEAD term *mali* (< LMK *mAli* ‘head’) as a numeral classifier for a non-human animal, whereas the Thai counterpart uses it for a numeral classifier for humans. Korean HEAD further designates ‘edge or corner’, ‘an occurrence of an event’, ‘a portion or unit; unitized quantity’, not attested in Thai, whereas Thai HEAD designates ‘plant bulb’, ‘prominent part of an object’, ‘imaged side of a coin’, ‘main ingredient’, ‘person with expertise’, ‘wisdom, intelligence’, etc., not attested in Korean. Thai scenarios tend to involve metonymy or metaphor to more abstract domains.

Drawing upon extensive data, this paper analyzes conceptual extension patterns of HEAD in Korean and Thai and brings forth a number of cognitive-linguistic implications. (500 words)

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## Development of the Korean Proximal Demonstrative into a Focus Marker

Across different languages, demonstratives have grammaticalized into various grammatical and discourse-pragmatic markers (Greenberg 1985, see (1)). In Korean as well, the medial demonstrative *ku* can function as a third person pronoun and participate in the coinage of sentence connectives (e.g., *kulayse*, *kulentey*), while the distal demonstrative *ce* functions as a filler and an attention getter (*ce*, *ceki*). Using a natural conversation corpus (Linguistic Data Consortium and Sejong Corpus) and a scripted drama conversation corpus, this study examines the subjectification of *i-ke ya* ‘this is’ into a focus marker that encodes the speaker’s emphasizing and boasting stance.

Traugott (1982, 2010) proposes that grammaticalization, including subjectification and intersubjectification, typically follows from “propositional” to “textual” and then to “expressive” uses. This study argues that the development of *i-ke ya* is an instance of subjectification: its function extended from propositional (“exophoric”, pointing to an object) to textual (“anaphoric” and “discourse deictic”, Diessel 1999) and then to subjectified (marking the speaker’s stance).

In its textual use, the discourse deictic use of *i-ke* ‘this’ (stage 1, (2)) points to a following sentence (e.g., “what I want to say is this: we should cooperate”). Extended from this, a new construct (stage 2, (3)) emerged. Used in the format of [quoted sentence] [*i-ke ya* ‘this is’], *i-ke ya* is used to summarize or present the gist of an earlier utterance (i.e., quoted sentence). This construct occurs frequently in negative, disaffiliated contexts where the hearer does not understand or agree with the speaker’s earlier utterance as in (3).

Presumably due to its frequent use in such negative contexts, *i-ke ya* started to function as a focus marker (stage 3, (4)) which speakers utilize to underscore their utterance. This use is distinct from stage 2 in that what speakers underscore is a new utterance rather than a recaptured earlier utterance. Furthermore, the speakers’ emotive stance is more intense. Lastly, speakers started to use *i-ke ya* in boasting or reassuring (stage 4, (5)). When speakers use the focus marker *i-ke ya*, they speak with confidence and certainty. Having abstracted only the emotive stance of confidence, speakers use *i-ke ya* to express their boasting or reassuring stance, even in soliloquy.

This study attests to the emergence of the focus marker *i-ke ya* on two grounds. First, the token frequency of *i-ke ya* used in [quoted sentence] [*x-ke + ya*] is much higher (297 tokens) than those of *ku-ke ya* (41 tokens) and *ce-ke ya* (0 tokens) in the corpus. This demonstrates that *i-ke ya* (and its variants) has been conventionalized and specialized as a focus marker. Second, the prosodic features of the focus marker *i-ke ya* in stage 4 (figure 2) tend to be distinct from those of *i-ke ya* in stages 1 and 2 (figure 1). The focus marker *i-ke ya* encodes the speaker’s emphasis and hence can receive prosodic stress such as a high pitch or fluctuating contour.

(1) Grammaticalization of Demonstratives

- Third person pronouns: Egyptian *pw* ‘this’, ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’, ‘they’ (Gardiner 1957:103)
- Definite articles: Chinese, *zhe* ‘this’, a definite article, English *that, the* (Long et al. 2012).
- Sentence connectives: German adverb *damit* ‘with that’, *das* ‘that’ (Diessel 1999: 126).
- Fillers: Japanese *ano* ‘that’, filler (Hayashi and Yoon 2006; 2010)

**Development of *i-ke ya* ‘this is’**

(2) Stage 1: Discourse Deictic Use

내가 하고 싶은 말은 이거야. 우리가 이제 힘을 합쳐야 돼.

‘What I want to say is this: we have to cooperate now.’ (솔약국집 아들들 ep. 26)

(3) Stage 2: “Saying this”, “The point is this” (to present the gist of an earlier utterance)

남: 우리 둘이 열내지 말자. 내말은, 임신한것도 말안하고 혼자 도망가 버린건 옳지않다 이거야. ‘Let’s not fight between us. It is not right for Mimi to run away alone without informing that she got pregnant. This is what I am saying’

여: 그래. 그건 미미가 잘못했어. Right. that is Mimi’s mistake.’ (소문난 칠 공주 ep. 70)

(4) Stage 3: Focus Marker (to emphasize a new utterance)

(explaining why she had a fight with her husband) (LDC 5040)

B: 우리 그것때문에 싸운 적 있어요. 자기는 피곤해 가지고 들어오면은 텔레비전 켜고. 자기는 편안하게 쉬고 싶다 이거야.

근데 우리는 공부방이 없잖아요. 우린 책상이 바깥에 나와 있잖아요.

그 아후 너무 너무 짜증 나는 거예요. 나는. 막 공부해야 되는데.

(5) Stage 4: Speaker’s Boasting Stance

도경: 그래. 나도 이제 문화의 전당 정규직 사원이다 이거야 (공주가돌아왔다 ep. 9)

‘Now I am a full-time employee of Theater of Culture-*i-ke ya*’

Figure 1 (Stage 2, e.g., 3)

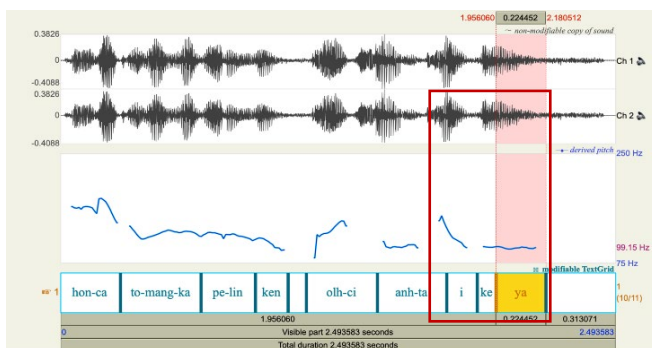
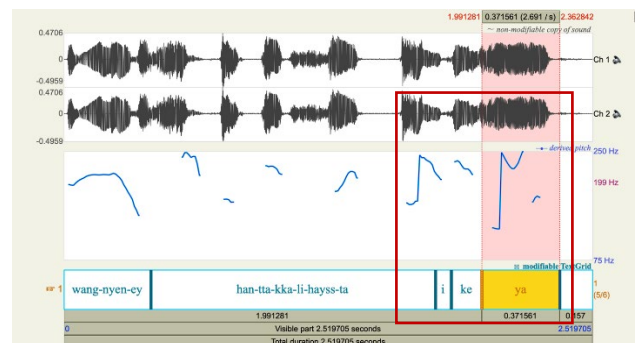


Figure 2 (Stage 4)



# **Sociolinguistics**

# Social Meanings and Discourse Functions of Non-honorific Styles in TV Talk-show Conversations

Sang-Seok Yoon  
University of Iowa

One of the most salient features of the Korean language is its highly developed honorific system, which is manifested extensively in the linguistic system. Especially, sentence endings work the best for incorporating honorifics and thus act as vehicles of the speech styles that can be categorized into honorific (i.e., deferential and polite style) and non-honorific speech styles (i.e., intimate, and plain style).

It has been generally assumed that speech-style shifting between honorific and non-honorific speech styles is not in common in normal conversations (Han, 2002). This viewpoint assumes that Korean speech styles denote different degrees of politeness and formality, and that the choice of speech style depends on the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee, which is determined by factors such as age difference, gender, and social position (e.g., Lee, 2010).

However, some studies (e.g., Yoon, 2015; Lee & Cho, 2015) have shown that speech-style shifting is commonly found in actual conversations, and Korean speakers often shift between honorific and non-honorific speech styles in the same context. These studies explored various speech-style shifting phenomena in conversations selected from different genres of television programs and discussed their situational meanings from the perspective of indexicality (Ochs, 1993; Silverstein, 1976). They also demonstrated that Korean speech styles do not simply express different degrees of politeness or formality; rather, their social meanings are constructed and negotiated by the conversation participants in the given context.

This study examines the shift from honorific to non-honorific styles and focuses on their discourse functions. The study analyzes conversations selected from ten episodes of television talk shows and specifically looks at the bracketing functions (Goffman, 1976) of the non-honorific styles when they are used in situations where honorific styles are predominantly employed. For example, the sudden use of a non-honorific style often signals that the speaker is starting to tell a joke or switching to a private conversation. Additionally, a speaker may mix non-honorific styles in a narrative to indicate that a specific remark is not the end of their turn but rather provides supplementary information to the ongoing topic. Self-talks also provide various contextual information, making the conversation more collaborative and dynamic. This creation of "context space" (McLaughlin, 1984: 271) is not only found in the narrative of one speaker but can also extend over a single turn.

This study provides a perspective that allows honorifics to be viewed beyond the frame of politeness and/or formality in social structures. It also shows that Korean speech styles are not just politeness markers but play an important role in constructing discourses. (423 words)

## Data

(1) Lee 45 yrs old, female; Ku 84 yrs old, male

- |   |      |  |
|---|------|--|
| 1 | Lee: | ce issnunken al.usy-ess-cyo?<br>I being know-Pst-POL<br>You knew that I was here, right? |
| 2 | Ku:  | molla-ss-e.<br>don't.know-Pst-Int<br>I didn't know.                                      |

- 3 Lee: mollass.e?  
don't.know-Pst-Int  
You didn't know?
- 4 Ku: ani yayki-lul an-hay-cw-ess-unikkan.  
well words-Ac not-do-give-Pst-because  
Well, because they didn't tell me.
- 5 Lee: na-n na-po-le on cwul al-ass-teni  
I-TC me-see-in.order.to come thing know-Pst-INT  
I thought you came to see me.

(2) Narrative (Lee: 61 years old, female)

- 1 Lee: wuli way e nolleka-canh.a-yo  
we why well go.out.excursion-you.know-POL  
'Well, we go out excursion.'
- 2 nolleka-myen.un samkyepsal-ey mwe swul-hancaha-ko mak kule-myen  
go.out.excursion.if pork.BBQ-with what alcohol-drink-and just do.like.that-  
when  
'When we go outing, well, when we drink alcohol with pork BBQ.'
- 3 tol.aka-myense nolay pwulu-canha-a  
take.turns-while song sing-you.know-INT  
'We take turns sing songs.'
- 4 kulem etten salam.i il.ena-se "pinaylinun honamsen" ile-myen  
then some person-NM stand.up-and (song lyrics) do.like.this-if  
'Then if someone stands up and sing a song like "pinaylinun honamsen."
- 5 a cohtako cemcem pwun.wiki-ka mwuleka-canh.a-a  
ah (everyone) cheers more.and.more atmosphere-MN heighten-you.know-  
INT  
'Everyone cheers and the atmosphere goes up, you know.'

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## **Quantitative dialectology in Korea and beyond: methods, data, and mutual exchange**

Simon Barnes-Sadler, University of Oxford

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the possibility and utility of drawing on and combining approaches to quantitative dialectology developed in Korea with those developed elsewhere. It is structured as follows.

First, we introduce various quantitative approaches to dialectology, collectively known as dialectometry, developed in East Asia and Europe, respectively. These include the Salzburg (e.g., Goebel 1982) and Groningen (e.g., Wieling and Nerbonne 2015) schools of dialectometry as well as the network methods of East Asia, here with a specific focus on those developed in South Korea by Jeong Seong-hun (e.g., Jeong 2016). We identify commonalities between these approaches in terms of their underlying motivations, namely the characterisation and measurement of aggregate linguistic (dis)similarity between survey sites, along with characteristic differences pertaining to how this (dis)similarity is calculated.

To demonstrate the possibility of fruitful mutual exchange between these different approaches, we present a case study which uses the methods of Korean quantitative dialectology to examine a key concept of Groningen dialectometry: the Fundamental Dialectological Postulate (FDP). The FDP states that “geographically proximate varieties tend to be more similar than distant ones” (Nerbonne and Kleiweg 2007). We present a novel method for testing the FDP in the specific context of Korea using a measure of dialect (dis)similarity derived from Jeong’s implementation of network methods on three province-level dialect areas of South Korea, based on data taken from the Linguistic Atlas of Korea (Lee et al. 2008). We demonstrate how using simple statistical test (Pearson’s  $r$ ) to assess the relationship between geographic distance from the centre of a given dialect area and the weighted degree centrality of each survey site within a network of survey sites provides a computationally simple and graphically intuitive indication of the extent to which the FDP is reflected in the aggregated internal linguistic variation of each dialect area. Our findings suggest that despite high levels of mobility and connectivity over the late twentieth and early twenty first century, distance remains a key determining factor in the aggregate similarity of varieties of Korean in alignment with the FDP.

We conclude with a brief discussion of the potential contribution of Korean dialect materials to the general development of dialectometry, for example in establishing cross-linguistically observed spatial patterns of linguistic (dis)similarity, as well as highlighting questions specific to the Korean context that may be addressed using a variety of dialectometric approaches.



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# **DAY 2**

# | By-session programme (Day 2) |

Date	Time	Activity		
29 June (Thur)		<b>Parallel session (3)</b>		
		<b>Language Acquisition</b>	<b>Sociolinguistics</b>	<b>Learning &amp; Teaching</b>
	09:00-09:30	Thai Learners' Perception of Korean Voiceless Aspirated Stops <i>Sunantha Wilaisilp (Mahidol University)</i>	Wobbly Honorific: Emergence of the Semi-honorific Style in Korean <i>Minju Kim (Claremont McKenna College)</i>	Korean-English translation strategies of copular adnominal clauses <i>Mee-Jeong Park, Tyler Miyashiro, &amp; Meghan Delaney (University of Hawaii at Manoa)</i>
	09:30-10:00	Learning environment and learning outcome: A case of Korean subject-predicate honorific agreement <i>Gyu-Ho Shin (University of Illinois Chicago &amp; Palacky University Olomouc) &amp; Boo Kyung Jung (University of Pittsburgh)</i>	A Critical Discourse Study on Feminist Literature: Focusing on the novel "Kim Ji-young, Born 1982" <i>Xueying Lan (Yonsei University)</i>	The distribution of the two receive type verbs in Korean <i>Han-Byul Chung &amp; Jamie Hartford (University of Hawaii at Manoa)</i>
	10:00-10:30	An empirical approach to cultural influences in the writing of L2 students of Korean <i>Dae Yeon Jin (Sunmoon University)</i>	A Critical Discourse Studies on the Generation Discourse in Korean Society <i>Junyoung Paik (KR) (Yonsei University)</i>	The distribution of ul/lul-marked locative NPs in Korean <i>Han-Byul Chung &amp; Jee Hae Yoo (University of Hawaii at Manoa)</i>
		<b>Parallel session (4)</b>		
		<b>Morphology / Syntax</b>	<b>Phonetics / Phonology</b>	<b>Pragmatics</b>
	14:00-14:30	Two varieties of Korean: through the lens of subject honorifics <i>Gyu-Hwan Lee (Seoul National University)</i>	On the Nature of the Subject Case Markers in Korean: An OT Account <i>Chang-Kook Suh (Baekseok University)</i>	How to say no in Korean: Sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic analysis of speech acts of refusal <i>Yeonhee Yoon (University of Notre Dame)</i>
	14:30-15:00	Vulgar verbal morphology in colloquial Korean and beyond <i>Colin Davis &amp; Hyewon Jang (University of Konstanz)</i>	Weakening and Extreme Weakening Phenomena in Korean Phonology <i>Chang-Kook Suh &amp; Seokmun Pak (Baekseok University)</i>	Multimodal analysis on the mixed speech levels in Korean television weather forecasts <i>Yeonseob Lee (University of California, Los Angeles)</i>
	15:00-15:30	A constructionist approach to Korean locative postposition-verb construction <i>Chanyoung Lee (Yonsei University), Gyu-Ho Shin (University of Illinois Chicago &amp; Palacky University Olomouc), &amp; Jonghyeok Lee (Yonsei University)</i>	Phonetic Comparison Analysis of Spanish Speech Production by Korean Spanish learners and Native Speakers & L2 Sound Pedagogy <i>Sungjoo Byun (Seoul National University)</i>	
	15:30-16:00		Unsupervised learning of sublexica in Korean <i>Stanley Nam (University of British Columbia)</i>	

# **Language Acquisition**

## **Thai Learners' Perception of Korean Voiceless Aspirated Stops**

*Sunantha Wilaisilp*

*Faculty of Liberal Arts, Mahidol University, Thailand*

It is well-known that the discrimination of three-way distinction among Korean stops (i.e., lenis, fortis, aspirated) can be considered difficult for a number of non-native learners; one of which is Thai. Even though there have been an increasing number of Thai learners of Korean in Thailand for a decade, only a few researches have involved the Thai learners' perception of Korean phonemes and their ability in discriminating Korean phonemes. As Thai phonemic inventory has no distinction in lenis and aspirated stops and these two phoneme types can be realized as one in Thai, it can be assumed that this non-existent difference in Thai be problematic for Thai learners in perception and production. Thai is a tonal language with five different lexical tones, which are low, mid, high, falling, and rising. According to Kang (1999), Thai has the three-way voicing distinction in stop phonemes, namely voiced, aspirated, and unaspirated, but only bilabial and alveolar stops show this distinction. Thai voiceless aspirated stops differ from voiceless unaspirated ones in VOT and F0 on following vowels, while voiced consonants concern voicing dimension (Kang, 1999). In addition, a voiced onset tends to associate with a lower tone, while a word with a voiceless consonant in an initial position tends to show a higher tone (Hombert, Ohala and Ewan 1979, Erickson 1975, qtd. in Kang 1999). Therefore, it is expected that certain phonetic characteristics such as VOT and F0 values in Thai lexical tones could have certain impact on perception of Korean voiceless stops and also be used as perceptual cues. Lee et al. (2013) also predicted that the Seoul listeners would rely primarily on F0 for making lenis responses and on VOT and F0 for aspirated responses (Lee et al., 2013). Consequently, the expected results of this ongoing study may reveal that the VOT and F0 of Korean aspirated stops could be compatible to those of Thai lexical tones. The question addressed in this study is whether Thai learners with Standard Thai background perceive the Korean three stops with the influence of Thai lexical tones. Fifty-four monosyllabic words and non-words with the structure of CV were used as experimental stimuli. Nine voiceless stops in Korean, namely lenis, fortis, and aspirated, were included in the test and were followed by a set of six Korean monophthongs [i, e, a, o, u, ʌ, i] to make a syllable such as [ki], [k<sup>hi</sup>], [ka], [k<sup>h</sup>a], and so on. However, only three voiceless aspirated stops /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, and /k<sup>h</sup>/ were taken into analysis. Forty Thai learners of Korean participated in this experiment and it is predicted that most of the participants would perceive three Korean voiceless aspirated stops /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, and /k<sup>h</sup>/ with a falling lexical tone in Thai. The results may not be surprising since the pitch contour of the

falling tone in Thai hits the peak before dropping and could lead listeners to relate it to more air production in an aspirated stop. (487 words)

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## Learning environment and learning outcome: A case of Korean subject–predicate honorific agreement

Gyu-Ho Shin (Palacký University Olomouc) & Boo Kyung Jung (University of Pittsburgh)

Usage-based accounts ascribe language development to accumulated exposure to language usage in conjunction with domain-general learning capacities.<sup>[1,2,3]</sup> Whereas L2-acquisition literature joins these accounts,<sup>[4,5]</sup> it remains unclear how (differently) L2-learning environments affect knowledge about non-dominant/L2 knowledge. The present study considers two learning environments—Foreign Language (FL) and Heritage Language (HL)—and asks whether/how they affect English-speaking learners' comprehension of Korean subject–predicate honorific agreement. It manifests cross-linguistic consistency (systematic dependency relation) and language-specific aspects (context-driven optionality; indirect honorification);<sup>[6,7]</sup> L2-Korean textbooks generally over-emphasise honorification.<sup>[8,9]</sup> Of the four conditions (Table1), we focus on the two mismatch conditions: **(b) infelicitous** (honorifiable subject + no honorific suffix); **(c) ungrammatical** (non-honorifiable subject + honorific suffix).

**Methods.** 24 L1-English L2-Korean learners (USA;  $M_{age}=23.8$ ;  $SD=4.3$ ;  $M_{LearningKorean}=4.4$  yrs,  $SD=2.0$ ;  $M_{StayinKorea}=2.1$  mths;  $SD=2.3$ ), 40 Korean heritage speakers (KHS;  $M_{age}=24.0$ ;  $SD=5.2$ ;  $M_{StayinUSA}=21.9$  yrs;  $SD=6.2$ ), and 40 native speakers of Korean (NSK;  $M_{age}=23.6$ ;  $SD=4.1$ ) participated in an acceptability judgement task. Both USA and KHS had learnt the same L2-Korean textbooks in tertiary-level US institutions. Learners' proficiency in Korean was measured separately:<sup>[10]</sup> USA ( $M=94.5$ ,  $SD=27.3$ ) vs. KHS ( $M=127.3$ ,  $SD=25.8$ ) (out of 188); by-group difference in the scores was statistically significant ( $W=204$ ,  $p<.001$ ). 32 sentences (8 instances per condition), together with fillers, were split into four sub-lists and were randomly assigned to participants. We asked participants to rate the acceptability of each sentence with a 6-point Likert scale (zero: very unacceptable; five: very acceptable) as *quickly* as possible. We also collected reaction time—the duration from the first moment when a sentence was presented to the final decision for the acceptability of that sentence—as a measure of the processing cost during acceptability judgement. After data-trimming, the data were fitted to the respective linear mixed-effects models in a pairwise (i.e., between-group) manner.

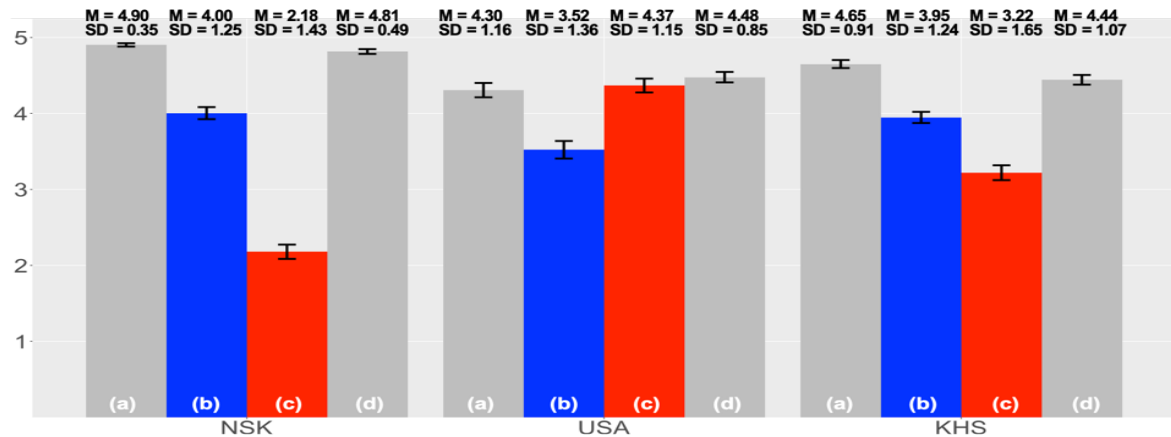
**Results: Acceptability** (Figure1). Participants rated (a) and (d) very acceptable.

[(b)↔(c)/NSK–USA] We found main effects of *Group*<sup>\*\*</sup> and *Condition*<sup>\*\*\*</sup> and interaction<sup>\*\*\*</sup> between the two. Post-hoc analyses ( $\alpha=.025$ ) revealed USA's significantly lower acceptance of (b)<sup>\*\*\*</sup> and higher acceptance of (c)<sup>\*\*\*</sup> than NSK. [(b)↔(c)/NSK–KHS] We found main effects of *Group*<sup>\*\*</sup> and *Condition*<sup>\*\*\*</sup>, and interaction<sup>\*\*\*</sup> between the two. Post-hoc analyses ( $\alpha=.025$ ) revealed KHS's significantly higher acceptance of (c)<sup>\*\*\*</sup> than NSK. [(b)↔(c)/USA–KHS] We found interaction<sup>\*\*\*</sup> between the two. Post-hoc analyses ( $\alpha=.025$ ) revealed KHS's significantly higher acceptance of (b)<sup>\*\*</sup> and lower acceptance of (c)<sup>\*\*\*</sup> than USA. **Results: Reaction time** (Figure2). Learners spent more time than NSK for all conditions. [(b)↔(c)/USA–KHS] KHS spent significantly less time evaluating both conditions than USA<sup>\*\*\*</sup>.

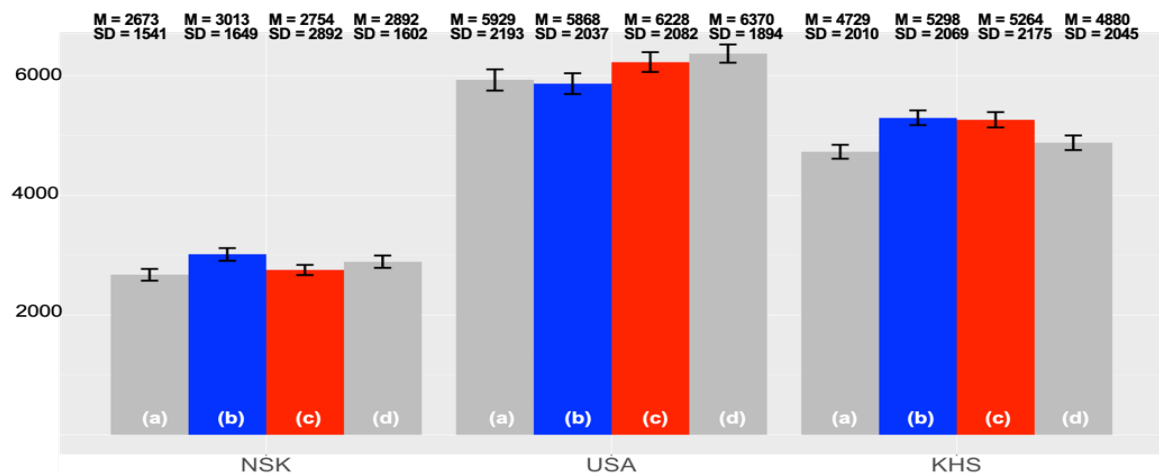
Our results suggest that, compared to L2-Korean learners, heritage language speakers may demonstrate a better capacity to (i) control for L2-textbook input regarding honorification and approximate native speakers' sentence-evaluation tendency (as shown in KHS's acceptability ratings) and (ii) relax the computation cost involving the agreement relation during the sentence-evaluation process (as shown in KHS's reaction times). This points to heritage language speakers' enhanced (albeit imperfect/partial) knowledge about, and language-usage experience of, home language (also as indicated by KHS's proficiency scores). Therefore, this study's findings lend support to the promising contribution of L2-learning environments to non-dominant-language/L2 activities.

**Table 1.** Four conditions: Korean subject–predicate honorific agreement

		Predicate	
		–	+
Subject	–	(a): <i>grammatical</i> Mina-ka pang-ulo tuleka-ss-ta. Mina-NOM room-DIR go.into-PST-SE ‘Mina went into the room.’	(c): <i>ungrammatical</i> Mina-ka pang-ulo tuleka-si-ess-ta. Mina-NOM room-DIR go.into-HON-PST-SE ‘Mina went into the room.’
	+	(b): <i>infelicitous</i> halmeni-kkeyse pang-ulo tuleka-ss-ta. grandma-NOM.HON room-DIR go.into-PST-SE ‘The grandmother went into the room.’	(d): <i>grammatical</i> halmeni-kkeyse pang-ulo tuleka-si-ess-ta. grandma-NOM.HON room-DIR go.into-HON-PST-SE ‘The grandmother went into the room.’



**Figure 1.** Results (acceptability judgement: trimmed raw score). M = mean; SD = standard deviation; Error bar = 95% CI. Data trimming: any response with RT below 1000 ms or above 10000 ms was excluded.



**Figure 2.** Results (reaction time; trimmed raw score in millisecond). M = mean; SD = standard deviation; Error bar = 95% CI. Data trimming: RTs below or above the 3SD were excluded.

**Note.** Of various conceptualisations of heritage language speakers, we base our work on this definition: child and adult members of a linguistic minority who grew up with normal exposure to the parental language in the first few years of life and experienced an abrupt shift to the majority language around when formal schooling begins (e.g., Montrul, 2010; O’Grady et al., 2011).

**Abbreviation.** DIR = directional marker; HON = honorific marker; NOM = nominative case marker; PST = past tense marker; SE = sentence ender.

**References.** [1] Ambridge et al., 2015; [2] Goldberg, 2019; [3] Tomasello, 2003; [4] Ellis, 2002; [5] Madlener, 2015; [6] Choo & Kwak, 2008; [7] Sohn, 1999; [8] Authors, xxxx; [9] Brown, 2010; [10] Lee-Ellis, 2009.



# **An empirical approach to cultural influences in the writing of L2 students of Korean**

**Dr. Dae Yeon JIN (Sunmoon University, South Korea)**

## **1. Research questions**

A writer's culture has a tremendous influence on their development as a second language writer. And while many foreign students find it difficult to write in Korean, it is not just a matter of grammar and vocabulary. Culture can affect students' ability to write in Korean, and this applies especially to academic writing.

Writing is more than stringing words together into sentences. Writing, especially academic writing, reflects the author's mindset formed by his or her cultural background. And their cultural background has a great influence on their second or foreign language writing. The rhetorical mode, the ways of composing, and the reader's expectations (different from the writer's first language) all affect the way L2 writers approach their writing tasks.

Different cultures have different traditions of writing, and in fact, studies such as Kaplan (1966) have found different writing patterns for different cultures. These discussions have been developed and accumulated in the studies of contrastive rhetoric. However, over the past 50-60 years, Western scholars have tended to overgeneralize their research results (mostly derived from EFL learners).

For example, the claim "Oriental writing is not as straightforward. Arguments may follow a more circular pattern, be vague or lack supporting evidence and it is up to the reader to make sense of the argument." is still cited in second language writing studies, but it is necessary to empirically clarify whether this claim is true or not at the moment. In fact, the way of writing, especially academic writing, has changed a lot in Korea compared to the past 50-60 years, and many differences are found in the types of 'oriental' [shown in Figure 1], which has been cited for a long time since Kaplan (1966).

## **2. Approaches, Methods, and Data**

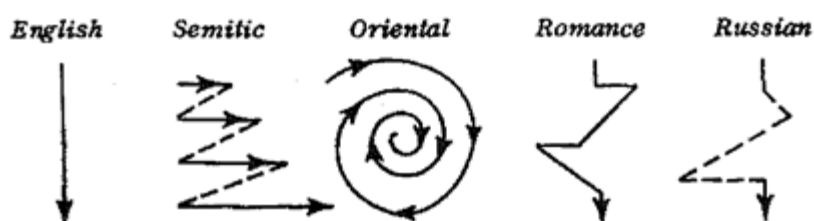
In this study, written texts of college students from 5 Asian countries, including Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam, and Thailand will be analyzed. The learners' corpus collected by researcher before 2022 and *the Korean language learners' corpus of the National Institute of Korean Language* will be used as control groups, and new data will be added in the first semester (March to June) of 2023.

The categories of vocabulary, grammar, and text will be analyzed, and research focus will be set on the text level to find cultural differences reflected in text patterns. Analysis method will be both quantitative and qualitative. - Quantitative analysis will show differences between groups using the SPSS program, and to support the result, the characteristics of L2 writer groups will be described qualitatively.

### 3. Expected results

First, it will be possible to find out how the cultural backgrounds of the L2 students specifically affect their writing. For example, in the case of some Chinese learners' writings are suspected of plagiarism, the result of this research can explain the reason whether it is influenced by the tradition of Chinese writing that values citation, or by simply copying from the Internet.

Second, we will be able to examine how academic writing has changed in Korea over the past 50-60 years. Just as culture changes with the times, the ways of writing have also changed with the westernization of Korea, and this study can show the changes of Korean style writing to some extent.



[Figure 1] Cultural thought patterns in inter-cultural education (Kaplan, 1966: 15)

Key words: L2 writing, learners of Korean, contrastive rhetoric, cultural difference, Korean language education

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# **Sociolinguistics**

## **Wobbly Honorific: Emergence of the Semi-honorific Style in Korean**

Korean is well-known for possessing an intricate honorific system. Korean speakers cannot utter a sentence without choosing a speech style that indicates the hearer honorific level. Korean has six styles but currently only four—two at the honorific level and two at the non-honorific level—are in daily use, while the two remaining styles, located between the two tiers, have mostly disappeared, due to society's shift into a less hierarchical and less formal direction (see (1), Sohn 1999). In this study, using both historical novel and contemporary conversation (natural, drama, and unscripted reality show) corpora, I demonstrate that a new speech style which I name "semi-honorific style" has emerged, partially filling the void created by the two disappearing ones, and propose that it has to be recognized as a new grammatical construct and speech style. The semi-honorific style (see (2)) is constructed through the wobbly coexistence of honorific and non-honorific markers: when the subject and the hearer of the sentence are the same, the subject honorific is present but the hearer honorific is absent. This style, which is placed between the **honorific** and the **non-honorific** level, is used to index a moderate level of respect. In my data, the semi-honorific style emerged in the 1930s-40s. Once the "intimate" style emerged in 19th century, it was easy to construct the semi-honorific style. At that time, however, the two disappearing styles were popularly used; the frequency of the semi-honorific style has increased more recently. In my analysis of a contemporary reality show, for example, its frequency reaches 13%.

Traditional studies considered that the Korean honorifics are a rather static system whose use is largely determined by external factors such as speakers' age and social status (e.g., Sung 1984). However, recent researches have found that speakers often shift between different speech levels within one conversation. They propose that these shifts index momentary shifts in speakers' stances or manipulation for intended actions. For instance, momentarily shifting to lower-level of honorifics was interpreted as diverting into a private, off-stage, and soliloquizing stance. While fully agreeing with these analyses, I also propose that speakers mix honorific and non-honorific languages consistently (not temporarily) because their relationships with the hearer are in flux and hence require or allow that. For instance, when two adults first meet, they use honorific language to each other but as they become closer, they use it less, mixing it with non-honorific language. Once they become truly intimate, they switch completely to non-honorific language, but while they are becoming close, they mix the two levels. In this context of mixing, the semi-honorific style emerged and spread. The semi-honorific style is used between adults typically when talking to non-intimate friends or acquaintances of younger or similar age, when talking to strangers of younger or similar age, when talking to older spouses, and when talking to parents or grandparents. In this study, I also demonstrate the underlying mechanisms of the grammaticalization of the semi-honorific style.

(1) Korean Six Speech Styles

Speech Style	Korean Label	Declarative form	Honorific Degree	Note
Deferential	<i>hapsyo-chey</i>	<i>-supnita</i>	Honorific	
Polite	<i>hayyo-chey</i>	<i>-eyo</i>	Honorific	
Semi-formal	<i>hao-chey</i>	<i>-so</i>	Moderate	Disappearing
Familiar	<i>hakey-chey</i>	<i>-ney</i>	Moderate	Disappearing
Intimate	<i>hay-chey</i>	<i>-e</i>	Non-honorific	
Plain	<i>hayla-chey</i>	<i>-ta</i>	Non-honorific	

(2) (From an unscripted reality TV show, I Live Alone, Oct. 20, 2022, ep 468)

-Lee, an actor in 30s, visits a date farm to experience harvesting them and met a date farm owner in his 50s. The two strangers work together for half a day. The farm owner mixes honorific, non-honorific, and semi-honorific speeches.

- Semi-Honorific Style: Presence of Subject Honorific *si* + Absence of Hearer Honorific *-eyo*

- 1 Lee: a, kulem hoksi saycham-to kekise mek-na-yo?  
'Oh, by any chance, will we eat snacks there as well?'
- 2=> OW: achim-ul kkopak kkopak **tusi-napw-a.** [semi-honorific]  
breakfast-acc surely surely eat:hon-seem-ie  
'You seem to eat breakfast without fail (everyday).'
- 3 Lee: eyu achim mos mek-umyen amwukesto mos ha-yyo  
'Gosh, if I don't eat breakfast, I cannot do anything all day.'
- 4 OW: a, cham cohun ku-ke cohun supkwan-iey-yo [honorific]  
a very good that-thing good habit-cop-pol  
'Ah, that is a very good habit.'
- 5=> ike-y pithamin sengpwun-i manh-unikka manhi **tusy-e** [semi-honorific]  
this-nom vitamin component-nom much-because much eat:hon-ie  
'These (dates) contain many vitamins, please eat a lot.'
- 6 Lee: e kuntey an cilli-ney-yo ike-y  
'Oh, by the way, you don't get sick of these (dates, no matter how much I eat).'
- 7 OW: an cilli-y [non-honorific]  
neg sick-ie  
'You don't get sick of them.'

## ABSTRACT

### **A Critical Discourse Study on Feminist Literature: Focusing on the novel “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982”**

Xueying Lan  
Yonsei University

The novel “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” by Cho Nam-joo has been recognized as a seminal feminist literary work in Korea, providing a public forum for feminist discourse. However, existing gender linguistics studies on “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” often rely on researchers’ intuitive perceptions and overlook its role as feminist discourse, reproducing sexist stereotypes and disregarding the complexity of gender identity. To reconstruct an understanding of gender identity, this study analyzes the novel “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” as a site of feminist discourse, with a particular focus on the ways in which gender identity is constructed, challenged, and transformed through language use. This study employs a Critical Discourse Analysis based on Feminist Post-structuralism Discourse Analysis and dialectical-relational approach.

Through conversation analysis based on Feminist Post-structuralism Discourse Analysis, this study reveals the inherent social injustices in “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982”, and how it can be read as a feminist critique of these injustices. The findings indicate that “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” not only rejects the common assumption that all feminist discourse is “misandrist”, but also exposes the fallacy that men and women are already equal in an institutionally sexist context. However, “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” fails to fully reflect the complexity of gender identity and the variability of gender ideology emphasized by feminist post-structuralism, despite challenging the dominant ideology of binary gender identity. Furthermore, the study employs a dialectical-relational approach to demonstrate how “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” contributes to the transformation of the reality of women in Korea, with a focus on the linguistic analysis of feminist literature and novel genres, as well as mutual discourse analysis. “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” limits its potential to achieve the real reform of sexism and the disintegration of fixed gender consciousness for its three flaws. These includes a failure to understand sexism argumentatively as a feminist discourse, a lack of objective distance with readers as a novel, and the unconsciously reinforcement of the solidification of gender ideology as a piece of feminist literature. Therefore, this study proposes that to contribute to the transformation of the reality of women’s oppression, a new feminist literary world centered on objective and gender-sensitive feminist literature should be established. Rather than simply reviewing gender conflicts or recreating distorted gender identity, feminist literature, and indeed feminist discourse should provide a public forum for cultivating gender sensitivity and arguing gender-related social structural issues. In conclusion, this study offers a nuanced analysis of how “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982” can serve as a catalyst for social change, providing insights into the complex interplay between language, gender identity and social justice in contemporary Korean literature, as well as proposing a new feminist literature style as anti-hegemonic discourse.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Feminist Post-structuralism Discourse Analysis, Dialectical-relational Approach, Feminist Literature, Gender Identity, “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982”.

**Word Count:** 484 words

abstract

There is constant conflict in our society. Korea has experienced many painful historical events, and after a difficult period in which everyone struggled to survive, it underwent rapid social development. As a result of this unique social background, various forms of conflict have emerged. This study considers the generation conflict as a key conflict in modern Korean society and aims to illuminate the ideologies assigned to each generation in this context.

In Korean society, relationships and language use are perceived according to age. Therefore, there are specific groups defined by age in social relationships, and there is discourse about those groups. The approach of classifying generations by age can be seen as an attempt to distinguish between the dominant generation leading society during a specific period and the excluded generations. As the times change, there are different dominant generations leading society. However, these generations are not permanent and pass their leadership to the next generation. It is important to understand that the social power gained by leading society is not entirely separate from this leadership. Therefore, an attitude that goes beyond viewing the generation conflict in modern Korean society as a simple conflict between generations is necessary to understand it as a conflict for power. Bourdieu called the underlying social power that exists and operates symbolically as symbolic power. This study analyzes generation discourse by developing discussions about Bourdieu's symbolic power.

There are significant previous research achievements regarding discourse about specific generations. However, in this study, we examine generational discourse over time to see the ongoing conflict between the new generation leading society and the excluded generation. We macroscopically examined generational discourse by centering on the youth generation, the young generation, and the elderly generation, who were involved in the main conflicts of their time, including the established generation. When examining discourse, we used Fairclough's critical-discursive approach as a theoretical framework. We analyzed generational discourse through the practical steps of textual, discursive, and social practices. Through this analytical process, we were able to identify the ideologies assigned to specific generations. The ideology explains why the particular generation leads society and why other generations are excluded.

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1) Yonsei Univeristy, Department of Korean Language and Literature, Ph.D

Therefore, this study proposes to take a macroscopic view of the discourse generated and transmitted by generations with similar structures and the conflicts between generations, and to feel a sense of problem awareness. This approach provides an opportunity to understand the true meaning of social conflict beyond superficial understanding and to discover clues to resolving conflict based on that understanding.



# **Learning & Teaching**

## Korean-English translation strategies of copular adnominal clauses

Mee-Jeong Park, Tyler Miyashiro, Meghan Delaney  
*University of Hawaii at Manoa*

While copular adnominal clauses are frequently used in Korean, it is difficult to find an exact counterpart when translating them into English. And although translators strive to create as similar a text as possible, there are times when maintaining the same grammatical structure results in a convoluted meaning. Therefore, translators must negotiate between preserving the original structure of the source text and conveying essential information in the most effective way (Park, 2015). This study explores how translators approach this challenge when working with Korean copular adnominal clauses. To do this, a small bilingual corpus was created using entries from a cultural dictionary targeting adult readers. The entries were originally written in Korean and then translated into English by seven bilingual speakers. For this study, 100 Korean sentences that included a copular adnominal clause were selected and their corresponding English sentences were analyzed at the general and individual level (see Table 1). Analysis focused on the following three tiers of translation strategies: a) sentence structure (restrictive vs non-restrictive)<sup>1</sup>, b) text modification (modified vs non-modified; Example 1b & 2b), and c) clausal/phrasal structure (relative clause, appositive, etc; Examples 3b~6b).

In terms of sentence structure, the majority (64%) of the translated English sentences were restrictive and 36% were non-restrictive in nature. This is contrasted with Korean, where all adnominal clauses are restrictive. Next, text modification was determined based on whether N1 of the copular adnominal structure ([N1-<sup>o</sup>] + <sup>ㄴ</sup>] N2) was retained in the English translation. Overall, 72% of the sentences remained structurally unmodified, while the structure in 28% of sentences was modified. Of the modified structures, 89.3% were modified by omitting N1 and 10.7% were modified by providing supplementary information. Finally, at the clausal/phrasal level, distribution of structural patterns was as follows: appositives (38%), relative clauses (21%), noun phrases (12%), genitive noun phrases (11%), adjective phrases (11%), and other patterns (includes verb and prepositional phrases; 7%). Analysis of individual translators also yielded interesting results. For example, Translator 2 was the only one to prefer non-restrictive constructions (52.6%) over restrictive ones (47.4%). Meanwhile, Translator 4 exclusively preferred restricted constructions (100%). Although all translators retained the adnominal structure, Translator 5 demonstrated a particularly strong preference for adhering to the original Korean structure (92.9%). Furthermore, while appositives were used by everyone, other structures such as genitive NPs and relative clauses were selectively used by certain translators.

Ultimately, there is no one method for translating copular adnominal clauses from Korean into English. This study shows the various strategies translators use to navigate the challenges of translating these structures. Analysis of general and individual patterns found that, although some translation outcomes could be attributed to structural restrictions, the overall distribution of translation strategies reflected the larger influence of individual preferences.

[Word count: 492]

<sup>1</sup> Restrictive clauses limit or identify such nouns and cannot be removed from a sentence without changing the sentence's meaning. A nonrestrictive clause, on the other hand, describes a noun in a nonessential way.

## Reference

Park, O. (2015). The Korean-English Translation Strategies of Prenominal Clauses. *Dongainmunhak* [Humanities Studies In East Asia] 33, (pp. 285-307). South Korea

## Examples

### Modified (omission)

1. [1a] 황순원은 [지금의 북한 지역인] 평안남도에서 태어났다.
2. [1b] Hwang Sun-won was born in **Pyeongannam-do**, [present-day North Korea @ ].

### Unmodified

1. [2a] 또 다른 한국 무예인 태권도와 영감을 주고받는 관계에 있다.
2. [2b] it has been in .... influence with **taekwondo**, **another Korean martial art form**.

### Relative Clause

1. [3a] [부인들의 거처인] 안채로 이어지는 안마당은 보조 부엌 역할을 하는 경우가 많았다.
2. [3b] The an madang was attached to the **anchae where the wife resided** and was often used as...

### Appositive phrase

1. [4a] [주제가인] 「아리랑」 역시 영화의 흥행 이후 한국을 대표하는 민요로 ...
2. [4b] The **theme song ‘Arirang’** began to be recognized as the representative folk song of...

### Adjective Phrase

1. [5a] 같은 해에 [특급 열차인] ‘새마을’의 운행이 시작되었으며...
2. [5b] in the same year, the **limited express train ‘Saemaoul’** began operation...

### Genitive Noun Phrase

- [6a] [북한의 도시인] 개성시에 남북이 공동으로 조성한 산업단지.
- [6b] An industrial complex that was jointly built by... in **the North Korean city of Kaesong**

Table 1. Summary of Text modification and Clause/phrase structure

	Modified	Non-Modified	Total
Appositives	3 (7.9%)	35 (92.1%)	38 (100%)
Relative Clauses	9 (42.9%)	12 (57.1%)	21 (100%)
Adjective Phrases	0 (0.0%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)
Noun Phrases	12 (100%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
Genitive Noun Phrases	3 (27.3%)	8 (72.7%)	11 (100%)
Other (Verb Phrase, Prepositional Phrase, etc.)	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)	7 (100%)
	<b>28</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100</b>

## The distribution of the two receive type verbs in Korean

Han-byul Chung & Jamie Hartford (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa)

In Korean, there are two verbs that can be roughly translated as 'receive' or 'get,' *et* and *pat*. However, the distribution of the two verbs is not identical, as shown in (1).

According to Yoon (2008), the distribution of *pat* and *et* depends on the subject's "Agentivity"; the subject of *et* is an active recipient, someone who actively sought to gain something, while the subject of *pat* is merely a passive recipient. According to her, *et* is not allowed in (1a) as Chelswu was not actively seeking punishment, while *pat* is not allowed in (1b) as Chelswu was actively seeking a girlfriend. However, *et* and *pat* does not always distribute like Yoon's claim; In (1c), *et* is not allowed with an active subject, while, in (1d), *et* is available with a passive subject.

At first glance, what seems to be consistent in (1) is that the subject of the sentences that prefer *pat* is affected negatively, while the subject of the sentences that prefer *et* is affected positively ((1a, c) vs. (1b, d)). This study examined whether the subject's agentivity (Agentivity) or the negativity/positivity of the effect (Negativity) affects the distribution of *pat* and *et*. If Agentivity affects the distribution, *pat* will be grammatical with passive subjects, while *et* will be grammatical with active subjects. On the other hand, if Negativity affects the distribution, *pat* will be grammatical when the effect is negative, while *et* will be grammatical when the effect is positive.

Eight types of sentences were created with differences in Agentivity, Negativity, and verb (*et* and *pat*) (2\*2\*2), as in (2). Agentivity was controlled by adverbials. Sentences with adverbials such as *kouylo* 'intentionally' were considered agentive, while sentences with adverbials such as *silswulo* 'by mistake' were considered passive. Negativity was controlled by the change in the theme argument. 4 tokens were created for each sentence type. The sentences were distributed into four sets, such that related lexicalization never appeared in the same set. Each participant had to judge the grammaticality of 8 target stimuli + 12 filler sentences. A 6-point likert scale was used (1: totally unacceptable, 6: totally acceptable).

Average scores show that *pat* is acceptable only with passive subjects (3), while, for *et*, neither factor seem directly related to the acceptability (4). Statistical analysis (ANOVA) also suggests that Agentivity has a strong effect on *pat* ( $p = .000$ ), while Negativity shows no effect ( $p = .829$ ). For *et*, neither Agentivity ( $p = .355$ ) nor Negativity ( $p = .423$ ) showed a significant effect. Based on (3) and (4), we expect *et* and *pat* to distribute like (5). And the distribution in (1) shows that our expectations are mostly met: (1a) is P-N and allows only *pat*, (1b) is A-P and allows only *et*, (1d) is P-P and allows both *et* and *pat*. However, (1c) is A-N but only *pat* is allowed. We believe this is because *pel patta* is a frozen expression.

**Word count: 497 words**

- (1) a. Chelswu-ka pel-ul pat/\*et-ess-ta (Passive-Negative:P-N)  
 Chelswu-Nom punishment receive-Past-Decl  
 ‘Cheslweu received punishment.’
- b. Chelswu-ka yecachinkwu-lul \*pat/et-ess-ta (Active-Positive:A-P)  
 Chelswu-Nom girlfriend-Acc receive-Past-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu got a girlfriend.’
- c. Chelswu-ka ilpwule pel-ul pat/\*et-ess-ta (Active-Negative:A-N)  
 Chelswu-Nom intentionally punishment receive-Past-Decl  
 ‘Cheslweu intentionally received punishment.’
- d. Namwu-nun ttang-ulopwute yengyangpwun-ul pat/et-nun-ta (Passive-Positive:P-P)  
 Tree-Top soil-from nutrient-Acc receive-Prs-Decl  
 ‘Tree receives nutrients from soil.’
- (2) a. A-P: John-i kouylo chingchan-ul pat/et-ess-ta.  
 John-Nom intentionally compliment-Acc receive-Past-Decl
- b. A-N: John-i kouylo kotong-ul pat/et-ess-ta.  
 John-Nom intentionally pain-Acc receive-Past-Decl
- c. P-P: John-i silswulo chingchan-ul pat/et-ess-ta.  
 John-Nom by mistake compliment-Acc receive-Past-Decl
- d. P-N: John-i silswulo kontong-ul pat/et-ess-ta.  
 John-Nom by mistake pain-Acc receive-Past-Decl  
 ‘John received a compliment/pain intentionally/by mistake.’

(3) The average score for *pat*

<i>pat</i>	Positive	Negative
Active	2.4	1.9
Passive	4.5	5.3

(4) The average score for *et*

<i>et</i>	Positive	Negative
Active	3.3	4.3
Passive	5.0	3.3

(5) The distribution of *et* and *pat*

	Positive	Negative
Active	? <i>et</i>	<i>et</i>
Passive	<i>pat/et</i>	<i>pat</i>

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## The distribution of *ul/lul*-marked locative NPs in Korean

Han-byul Chung & Jeehae Yoo (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

In Korean locomotive verb constructions, locative particle ‘*ey*’ on the locative NP can often be replaced with the Accusative particle ‘*ul/lul*,’ as in (1a). However, such a case alternation is not always acceptable, as shown in (1b, c). The goal of this study is to identify in what environment ‘*ul/lul*’ can occur with a locative NP.

Yin (2020) argued that specificity is the deciding factor; ‘*ul/lul*’ is available to locative NPs that denote specific locations. According to Yin, ‘*ul/lul*’ is not allowed in (1c) because the location denoted by a common noun is not specific enough, while it is allowed in (1a) because the location denoted by a proper noun in (1a) is specific. Kim (2004), on the other hand, argued that ‘*ul/lul*’ is available to locative NPs that can be interpreted as ‘thematized’ locations. According to Kim, goal arguments of locomotive predicates that provide additional interpretation other than movement, such as in (2a), are ‘thematized’ locations. (2a) can be interpreted as ‘going’ to a school but also as ‘attending’ school, as such, *hakkyo* ‘school’ is not only where the subject is headed (destination) but what the subject is attending (theme). According to Kim, locative NPs that appear with a postposition cannot be marked by ‘*ul/lul*’ as they may only function as destinations and cannot function as a theme argument ((1b) and (2b)).

4 types of sentences were created with their goal NPs differing in specificity ([+specific] vs. [-specific]) and thematization ([+theme] vs. [-theme]). *ku* ‘that’ + common nouns were considered to be [+specific], while *han* ‘some’ + common nouns were considered to be [-specific]. Goal NPs that can also be interpreted as a theme of the predicate, as in (2a), were considered to be [+theme]. When NPs appear with a postposition, they were considered to be [-theme], as the theme interpretation is no longer available, as in (2b) (Kim 2004). A 6-point likert scale was used to judge the grammaticality of the sentences (1: totally unacceptable, 6: totally acceptable). We hypothesized that if specificity is a factor, TYPE 1 and 2 will be judged grammatical. On the other hand, if thematization is a factor, TYPE 1 and 3 will be judged grammatical.

(4) shows the average score of 30 participants. (4) shows that TYPE 1, 2, and 3 all are judged grammatical, suggesting that both specificity and thematization affects the grammaticality. A score higher than 3.5, the median score, was considered to be grammatical. T-test also suggests that both specificity ( $p=.000$ ) and thematization ( $p=.000$ ) affect the grammaticality. Two-way ANOVA showed that the effect of the combination of specificity and thematization is not significant ( $p=.108$ ), but showed that the difference between [-S,-T] and [+S,+T] was significant ( $p=.000$ ), as was the difference between [-S,+T] vs. [+S,+T] ( $p=.000$ ), and [+S,-T] vs. [+S,+T] ( $p=.000$ ). This suggests that *ul/lul*-marked locative NPs in locomotive verb constructions are most natural when the location is both specific and thematized.

- (1) a. chelswu-ka losteyweltu-ey/lul kassta.  
 C-Nom Lotte World-Loc/Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to the Lotte World (to play in the theme park).’  
 b. chelswu-ka losteyweltu aph-ey/\*lul kassta.  
 C-Nom Lotte World front-Loc/Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to the front of the Lotte World (#to play in front of the theme park).’  
 c. chelswu-ka san-ey/\*lul kassta.  
 C-Nom mountain-Loc/Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to a park (#to walk in the park).’
- (2) a. chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey/lul ka-ss-ta.  
 C-Nom school-Loc/Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to a/the school (to attend the school).’  
 b. chelswu-ka hakkyo aph-ey/\*lul kassta.  
 C-Nom school front-Loc/Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to the front of the school ground (#to attend the school).’
- (3)a. TYPE 1 [+specific, +theme] : chelswu-ka ku hakkyo-lul ka-ss-ta  
 C-Nom that school-Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 b. TPYE 2 [+specific, -theme] : chelswu-ka ku hakkyo aph-ul ka-ss-ta  
 C-Nom that school front-Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 c. TYPE 3 [-specific, +theme] : chelswu-ka han hakkyo-lul ka-ss-ta  
 C-Nom some school-Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 d. TYPE 4 [-specific, -theme] : chelswu-ka han hakkyo aph-ul ka-ss-ta  
 C-Nom some school front-Acc go-Pst-Decl  
 ‘Chelswu went to (the front of) that/some school.’

(4) Average score of each type

	[+T]	[-T]	Tot
[+S]	5.18	3.92	4.55
[-S]	3.75	3.22	3.49
Tot	4.47	3.57	4.01

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# **Morphology / Syntax**



## Two varieties of Korean: through the lens of subject honorifics

Gyu-Hwan Lee (Seoul National University)

In this study I present an acceptability judgement experiment on Korean native speakers on the use of subject honorific marker *-si-*. Based on a previous study on the population-internal variation between Korean speakers on the possibility of verb-raising, I test the native judgements on a number of constructions involving the honorific marker. I expect to see an analogous variation when the occurrence of verb-raising differentiates how the honorific marker is interpreted.

Honorific marker *-si-* attaches to the verb to signify the speaker's deference towards the subject. Previous accounts have focused on its agreement-like character (Pak 2015). Choi & Harley (2019) took a distributed morphology approach and proposed that *-si-* is inserted via node-sprouting. Condition for the node-sprouting of *-si-* is proposed as in (1). The node-sprouting for *-si-* is constrained by the cyclical spell-out: the honorific NP and the target  $v^0$  must be in the same spell-out domain. Here I adopt their account for the licensing of *-si-*.

Meanwhile, Han et al. (2007) has shown that the acceptability of wide-scope reading of negation with respect to a quantified object shows a bimodal pattern among Korean participants. The authors construed that there exist two versions of grammar among speakers, where one allows V-to-T raising and one doesn't. I assume that such diversity exist among Korean speakers and test out whether the same diversity can be captured through the lens of another phenomenon: subject honorifics. I hypothesize that similar dichotomy of judgements will arise when availability of V-raising is crucial in determining whether a certain interpretation of *-si-* is possible.

I concentrate on constructions in (2). (2a) is an existential construction with dative-marked possessor and nominative-marked possessee. (2b) is identical to the first sentence, but with *-si-* added. In contrast, (2c) involves nominative on both nominals. Kim (2016) reported that a psych-construction, analyzed to have the same structure as existential construction, is acceptable when dative-marked experiencer is honorable (example 3a) but not when nominative-marked stimulus is (example 3b). However, other Korean speakers report the opposite: (3a) is not acceptable while (3b) is.

I suppose this disagreement in acceptability judgment arises from different grammars individuals have, especially the height of verb when *-si-* is licensed. First I assume that sentences like (2b) involves a high applicative (Kim 2016), while (2c) involves a lower possession structure. Then I adopt the idea that high applicative head defines a phase (McGinnis 2001). Based on the licensing condition in (1), I expect that sentences like (2b) will show opposite judgments depending on the person's grammar. If one's grammar doesn't allow verb raising, *-si-* is bound to be interpreted in the domain of the lower phase by the applicative head, where only possessee noun resides. If the verb is free to raise, *-si-* can be licensed by the honorable possessor in the upper spell-out domain. On the other hand, sentences like (2c) are expected to be acceptable to both. Furthermore, I verify participants' grammar by replicating the task tested in Han et al. (2007). This study provides evidence that an individual-level variation in syntax operates homogeneously across grammar. It also tests if the variation in Korean is really about V-raising, regarding recent proposal of an alternative (Zeijlstra 2022)

(550 words)

**Data:**

- (1) Hon<sup>0</sup>-sprouting rule (subject honorific *-si-*):  
 $v^0 \rightarrow [v^0 \text{ Hon}^0]/[\text{NP}_{[+\text{Hon}]} \dots [\dots \text{---} \dots]]$
- (2) a. Sensayngnim-kkey cha-ka iss-ta.  
 Teacher-DAT.HON car-NOM exist-DECL  
 ‘Teacher has a car’  
 b. Sensayngnim-kkey cha-ka iss(u)-si-ta.  
 Teacher-DAT.HON car-NOM exist-HON-DECL  
 c. Sensayngnim-kkeyse cha-ka iss(u)-si-ta.  
 Teacher-NOM.HON car-NOM exist-HON-DECL
- (3) a. Sensayngnim-eykey Inho-ka miw(u)-si-ess-ta. (Kim 2016 (35a))  
 Teacher-DAT Inho-NOM hate-HON-PST-DECL  
 ‘The teacher hated Inho’  
 b. \* Swuni-eykey sensayngnim-i miw(u)-si-ess-ta. (Kim 2016 (35b))  
 Suni-DAT teacher-NOM hate-HON-PST-DECL

**Glosses:**

DAT: nominative case marker; DAT.HON: honorific form of nominative case marker; DECL: declarative marker; HON: honorific marker (*-si-*); NOM: nominative case marker; NOM.HON: honorific form of nominative case marker; PST: past.

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## Vulgar verbal morphology in colloquial Korean and beyond

Colin Davis and Hyewon Jang, University of Konstanz

**1 INTRODUCTION:** We describe and analyze two affixes in Korean, the prefix *che-* (AUX<sub>1</sub>) and suffix *-essa* (AUX<sub>2</sub>), using judgments elicited from native speakers. As far as we know, these are undocumented by previous research. Both of these morphemes attach to verbs, and encode condescension towards the subject of the sentence. We analyze the semantics, morphology and syntax of these morphemes, compare them with a similar morpheme in Japanese, and discuss the morpho-syntax of (im)politeness in these languages more generally.

**2 MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC FACTS:** Korean almost universally uses suffixal morphology (like other ‘Altaic’ languages), but it has a few prefixes. Previous literature has observed that Korean has a prefix negator *an(i)-* and a negative modal *mos-* (see Chung (2007) and references therein). We observe a third prefix, *che-*, exemplified in (1) below, which indicates that the speaker has a disparaging attitude towards the subject:

- (1) Cyay **che-**nemecy-essta!  
3SG AUX<sub>1</sub>-fall-PST  
‘(S)he fell!’

This morpheme is considered vulgar, and is thus highly inappropriate in formal contexts. Its meaning is similar to some uses of the English vulgar adverb *fucking*, as in ‘*I fucking hate it!*’. Thus we should ask whether *che-* is an adverb rather than a prefix, since prefixes are rare in Korean. Fortunately, we can see that *che-* is indeed a prefix, since it can appear between the verb and the aforementioned prefixes *an(i)-* and *mos-*:

- (2) Kyay kuke [mos/an]-**che-**mek-tela!  
3SG it NEG.MOD/NEG-AUX<sub>1</sub>-eat-PST  
‘(S)he didn’t/couldn’t eat it!’

Essentially the same meaning is contributed by another morpheme, the suffix *-essa*, as in (3). Both *che-* and *-essa* can co-occur on the same verb, as in (4):

- (3) Kyay emcheng mek-**essa**-tela!                      (4) Kyay emcheng **che-**mek-**essa**-tela!  
3SG much eat-AUX<sub>2</sub>-PST                                      3SG much AUX<sub>1</sub>-eat-AUX<sub>2</sub>-PST  
‘(S)he ate a lot!’    ‘(S)he ate a lot!!’

**3 THE MORPHO-SYNTAX OF (IM)POLITENESS:** These Korean morphemes appear similar to a vulgar intensification suffix in Japanese, *-yagaru* (Stefan et al. 2001), which has also received little notice in linguistic research:

- (5) Koboshi-**yagat**-ta  
spill-AUX-PST  
‘I/(s)he/etc. spilled it!’ (Japanese)

Both Korean and Japanese have politeness-sensitive verbal morphology. Miyagawa (2017) argues that such morphology in Japanese, among other languages, has systematic structural properties suggesting that politeness is encoded in these languages’ syntax. Building from Miyagawa’s proposals, we hypothesize that the syntactic pieces responsible for the expression of politeness in these languages should also be capable of facilitating grammatical expressions of impoliteness, like those we’ve shown above. Specifically, extending Miyagawa’s analysis of the Japanese polite auxiliary *-mas*, we argue that the impolite morphemes we’ve seen above are manifestations of an auxiliary phrase that sits between the VP and TP/IP:

- (6) [CP [TP/IP [AuxP [VP V<sup>0</sup> ] Aux<sup>0</sup> ] T<sup>0</sup>/I<sup>0</sup> ] C<sup>0</sup> ]

We argue that this analysis makes correct predictions about the syntax and morphology of these morphemes, and show that Chung’s (2007) head-movement analysis of the Korean prefixes *an(i)-* and *mos-* straightforwardly captures the prefix-hood of *che-* as well.

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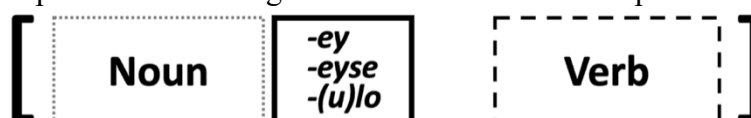
## A constructionist approach to Korean locative postposition–verb construction

Chanyoung Lee<sup>1</sup>, Gyu-Ho Shin<sup>2</sup>, & Jonghyeok Lee<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Yonsei University; <sup>2</sup>Palacký University Olomouc

A constructionist approach assumes that language comprises units of conventionalized form–meaning/function pairings at varying levels of abstraction, dubbed constructions (Ellis, 2002; Goldberg, 1995). These units exist in a speaker’s hyperdimensional space as a form of clusters (Goldberg, 2019) with diverse links between (sub-)constructions representing their internal networks (Goldberg, 1995).

Based on these ideas, the current study aims to reveal the properties of Locative Postposition–Verb Construction (LPVC) in Korean, an agglutinative and SOV language with overt case-marking via particles. This construction corresponds to one type of English intransitive construction and is a basic clause-level construction type in Korean. LPVC consists of three major components: a fixed slot for postposition allowing only one of the three particular options (*-ey*, *-eyse*, *-(u)lo*); a moderately restricted slot for verb such that its selection is contingent upon the semantics of the postposition and the intended event; a rather open slot for noun unless its meaning is incompatible with the frame semantics—a location-related event: existence, action/deed, destination, arrival, contact, and source (Nam, 1993). The grammatical subject can occur between the postposition-marked noun and verb and be omitted, as Korean permits scrambling/omission of sentential components.



**“(X) acts at/on/in/to/from a place”**

The postposition serves as a pivot of LPVC such that each postposition introduces its frame semantics and restricts verb-in-construction use. While previous studies have mostly focused on the semantics and use of these postpositions in an isolated manner, little research touches upon how LPVC (and its sub-constructions) is explained by way of its major components and the relations between these components in an interactive manner.

By employing a large-scale corpus (the semantic-role-tagged corpus by National Institute of Korean Language, 2020), this study scrutinizes the internal network regarding LPVC, with a focus on the three representative (i.e., most frequently used) verbs identified in Jung (2020). We visualize the network per verb by (i) posing three sub-constructions of LPVC (N-*ey* V; N-*eyse* V; N-*(u)lo* V), (ii) specifying the thematic roles of N and subject, and (iii) connecting each node.

Figures 1 to 3 present the constructional network of LPVC for the three verbs. We find three notable aspects regarding the network. First, it is verb-specific in that each verb demonstrates distinct relations between the components. While the three sub-constructions involving *ka-* ‘to go’ show multiple thematic-role nodes on nouns (and on subjects if present), the sub-constructions involving the other two verbs are rather simple in this respect. Second, within each verb, the sub-constructions share the same properties to *some* degree. For the verb *sal-* ‘to live’, for example, N-*ey* V and N-*eyse* V manifest an overlap regarding a thematic role of nominals. This overlap may be the source of the alternating nature (and possibly acquisitional challenges) of these sub-constructions. Third, the strength of association between these sub-constructions and the noun’s thematic roles per verb seems to be asymmetric in terms of usage frequency (investigation ongoing). Together, these findings illuminate (and are expected to reveal) the interactive nature of LPVC in terms of frame semantics, verb, postposition, and thematic roles of noun.

Keywords: Constructionist approach, Locative Postposition–Verb Construction, Korean

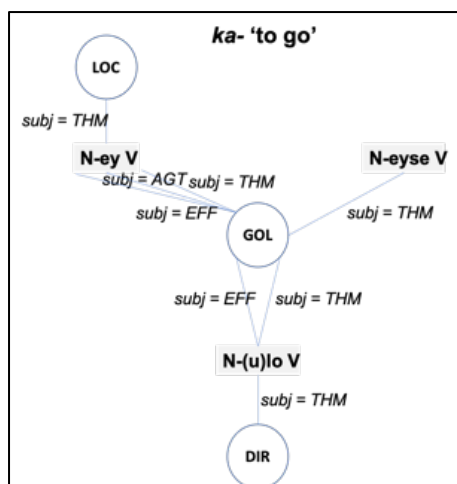


Figure 1. Constructional network: *ka-* 'to go'. The abbreviation in a circle (e.g. GOL) = thematic role of noun.

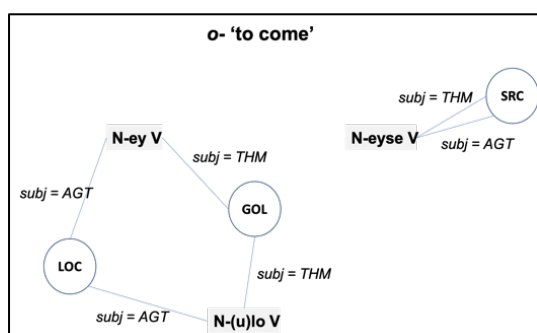


Figure 2. Constructional network: *o-* 'to come'. The abbreviation in a circle (e.g. GOL) = thematic role of noun.

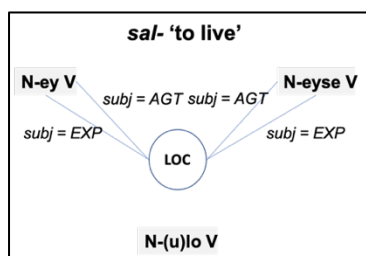


Figure 3. Constructional network: *sal-* 'to live'. The abbreviation in a circle (e.g. LOC) = thematic role of noun.

Abbreviations. AGT = agent; DIR = direction; EFF = effect; EXP = experiencer; GOL = goal; LOC = location; N = noun; subj = subject; THM = theme; V = verb

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# **Phonetics / Phonology**

# On the Nature of the Subject Case Markers in Korean: An OT Account

Chang-Kook Suh  
(Baekseok University)

In Korean, five different forms of the subject case markers are identified: '-i', '-ka', '-ika', '-i-ka' and '-∅'. In addition, regardless of phonological environments, '-ika' is found in language acquisition process of young children ([*saram-ika*], [*pata-ika*]). Nevertheless, no formal analysis has been made to account for the nature of their distribution. Korean subject case markers /-i/ and /-ka/ has been conventionally regarded as regular and predictive phenomena under phonological conditions. That is, '-ka' is realized when subject words end in a vowel, and '-i' is realized after consonant-final subject words. However, this is nothing more than a stipulation (Lee, 1988:60). Previous theories cannot explain the alternations among '-i', '-ka', '-ika', '-i-ka' and '-∅' through the phonological derivation from the same underlying form. Thus, we have to assume that the speaker stores each form separately as different underlying forms and then matches the phonological environments to each underlying form to derive the correct surface forms. This suggests that we memorize each form separately as the base forms of the subject case markers (Choi et al., 2010:67).

Facing this problem, I suggest ways to explain those variations in a comprehensive and unified way. Unlike previous claims, I argue the underlying form for Korean subject case markers is set to '-ika', and the appropriate subject markers are produced through the interaction of the ranked constraints of Optimality Theory.

For an Optimality Theoretic analysis of the variations of the Korean subject case markers, I propose the following constraints and their rankings.<sup>1</sup> Different rankings can correctly analyze dialectal variations in Korean.<sup>2</sup> First, '-ka' is selected as an optimal output in Standard Korean when subject words end in a vowel (*/pata-ika/* → [*pata-ka*] 'sea-subject case'). On the other hand, in Yanbian dialect, [*pata*] is selected as the optimal output form without any subject case marker. When subject words end in a consonant, '-i' will be selected as the optimal output (e.g. */saram-ika/* → [*saram-i*] 'human-subject case') in both Standard Korean and Yanbian dialect. When the subject is a person's name, '-i-ka' is selected as an optimal form in Korean (e.g. [*Kain-i-ka*] 'Kain (personal name)-diminutive suffix-subject case'). Even though the subject word is a person's name, '-i-ka' is not produced as the optimal form when the subject word ends in a vowel due to the top-ranked constraint \*VV. Instead, '-ka' becomes the optimal output ([*Mija-ka*] 'Mija(personal name)-subject case) in Standard Korean. By contrast, [*Mija*] becomes the optimal output form in Yanbian dialect. From this, I argue that both '-i' and '-ka' are present in Yanbian dialect contrary to the traditional view that Yanbian dialect does not have the subject case marker '-ka'. Finally, in such dialects as Hamkyung, the subject case marker '-ika' is produced as the optimal output form. This suggests that MAX-IO cannot be violated in this dialect.

To sum up, this research is more advanced than the existing theories in that it overcomes a formalism problem and explains all the variations of the Korean subject case markers in a unified and predictable way.



## Appendix

### 1-a. Proposed constraints for Korean subject markers

MAX-IO: Input segments must have output correspondents. ('No deletion')

\*VV: Vowels must not come in succession.

CONTIGUITY: No medial epenthesis or deletion of segments (Kager, 1999)

ECONOMY: Delete elements to the extent that information recovery is possible.

### 1-b. Ranking of the constraints

a. Standard Korean: \*VV >> ECONOMY >> MAX-IO, CONTIGUITY

b. Yanbian dialect: \*VV >> CONTIGUITY, MAX-IO >> ECONOMY

c. Hamkyung dialect: MAX-IO >> ECONOMY >> \*VV, CONTIGUITY

### 2-a. Standard Korean: /pata-ika/ → [pataka] 'sea-subject case'

/pata-ika/	*VV	ECONOMY	MAX-IO	CONTIGUITY
a. pata		*!	***	
b. patai	*!		**	
☞ c. pataka			*	*
d. pataika	*!	*		

### 2-b. Yanbian dialect: /pata-ika/ → [pata-ø] 'sea-subject case'

/pata-ika/	*VV	CONTIGUITY	MAX-IO	ECONOMY
☞ a. pata			***	*
b. patai	*!		**	
c. pataka		*!	*	
d. pataika	*!			*

### 2-c. Hamkyung dialect: /saram-ika/ → [saram-ika] 'people-subject case'

/saram-ika/	MAX-IO	ECONOMY	*VV	CONTIGUITY
a. saram	*!***	*		
b. sarami	*!*			
c. saramka	*!			*
☞ d. saramika		*		

## Weakening and Extreme Weakening Phenomena in Korean Phonology

Chang-Kook Suh & Seokmun Pak  
(Baekseok University)

Consonantal weakening in the intervocalic position is cross-linguistically very common (Kirchner 1998). A typical case would be voicing of the obstruents in the intervocalic position. Thus, we have [kubə] and [kupk'o] from /kup-ta/ 'be bent' in Korean. Obstruents behave differently in normal intervocalic position and enforced intervocalic position which contains a long vowel. We will dub the consonantal weakening in the enforced intervocalic environment 'extreme weakening' to distinguish it from the normal intervocalic weakening process (Kim-Renaud 1973). On the basis of Korean intervocalic weakening analysis, it will be claimed that vowel length can play a crucial role in the process of consonantal weakening showing different behavior between V\_\_V and V:\_\_V.

Korean has both regular and irregular verbal conjugations, and both regular and irregular alternations relate to consonantal weakening in the intervocalic position, but in different ways.<sup>1</sup> Unlike regular *-p*, *-t*, *-s* final predicates, some *-p*, *-t*, *-s* stem-final irregular predicates manifest different shapes before a vowel-initial affix. To be more specific, those stem-final consonants are extremely weakened or deleted in the so-called irregular predicates. To account for the different behavior of regular and irregular Korean predicates of the stem-final consonants of *-p*, *-t* and *-s*, several suggestions have been made (Kim-Renaud 1973, 1974; Ahn 1997; C.-W. Kim 1971; Ahn 1987; Lee 1976; Kim 1971). Of these accounts, following the observations made by Lee (1973), Cook (1973) and Kim-Renaud (1973, 1974), and Kim (2022), we claim that vowel length is the triggering element for the alternations between regular and irregular predicates. Recently, Kim (2022) claims that vowel length is underlyingly present, and that the irregular /p/ is underlyingly /w/, and that the lax /s/ is underlyingly aspirated /s/ and the so-called irregular /s/ is the new lax /s/ underlyingly. Further, he claims that well-established phonological rules may play a regressive role and reconstruct underlying forms. This claim, however, is too abstract and complicated in that it posits different vowel length and abstract underlying consonant forms for the same basic predicate forms. It also lacks uniformity in explaining fundamentally the same consonant weakening phenomena. By contrast, we claim that the underlying forms of these consonants are the same both in regular and irregular predicates, and the alternation results not from different underlying consonants, but from different underlying vowel lengths. According to the different vowel length, intervocalic consonant weakening in Korean is realized in two ways: weakening: V\_\_V (regular predicate conjugation) vs. extreme weakening: V:\_\_V (irregular predicate conjugation).<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the syllable with long vowels constitutes a stronger prosodic unit than the syllable with short vowels in terms of sonority or voicing. Thus, all things being equal, consonant weakening will be more activated in V:CV or VCV: sequence than in VCV sequence. As a result, the same underlying stem-final consonants are realized in two different ways in Korean systematically without reconstructing abstract underlying forms for each consonants. This suggests that we need to recognize different effects of vowel length in Korean and long vowels are stronger than short vowels in the consonantal weakening processes.

This analysis could be simpler than before, but it still needs to be supported by another piece of evidence for the length contrast in Korean vowels. Also this hypothetical process could apply to other types of irregular conjugations in Korean.

## Appendix

1. /kup-ta/ 'be bent': [kubə] – [kupk'o] vs. /ku:p-ta/ 'roast, bake': [kuwə] – [ku:pk'o]  
/kət-ta/ 'roll up': [kədə] – [kətk'o] vs. /kə:t-ta/ 'walk': [kərə] – [kə:tk'o]  
/pis-ta/ 'comb': [pisə] – [pitk'o] vs. /pu:s-ta/ 'pour': [puə] – [pu:tk'o].
2. Two types of weakening processes in Korean
  - a. Weakening: V\_\_V (voiceless → voiced)
  - b. Extreme weakening: V:\_\_V (stop → approximant; fricative → zero)

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**Phonetic Comparison Analysis of Spanish Speech Production  
by Korean Spanish learners and Native Speakers  
&  
L2 Sound Pedagogy**

Byun SungJoo  
Seoul National University

**Abstract**

According to the research conducted by Ministry of Education in South Korea in 2022, there are about 15,000 Spanish learners in South Korea (*La República*, July 28, 2022). However, we predicted that it would be difficult for foreign learners to master the accent and prosody of Spanish. The initial assumption is that Koreans do not produce stress in Spanish in a phonetically correct way. The purpose of this paper is to analyze how prosodic features appear in the pronunciation of Korean Spanish learners, and to suggest the method for L2 acquisition.

In this paper, we compared the speech production of Korean Spanish learners and Native Speakers, especially in the prospect of prosody. The experiment was conducted on six Korean learners who learned Spanish for 3-4 years and three native speakers. The test sentences used in the experiment were sentences that comprehensively contain the unique characteristics of Spanish (stress, pronunciation of consonants and vowels).

<i>Sentences</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>stressed syllable</i>
<b>Estoy</b> aburrida.	I am bored.	-toy, -rri-
<b>Tengo</b> que estudiar.	I have to study.	Ten-, -iar
No te preocupes.	Don't worry.	-cu-
¿ <b>Cómo</b> te llamas?	What is your name?	Có, lla-
No <b>quiero</b> estudiar.	I don't want to study.	qui, -tu-

It is difficult to capture the stressed syllable of syllable-timed languages in Praat. However, we can capture how well the prosody is realized by the repetition of the stressed and unstressed syllables. For instance, the term 'significativo' exhibits the rhythmic characteristics of the strongest-weak-strong-weak-strong-weak (Lee Soo Yeol, 2015).

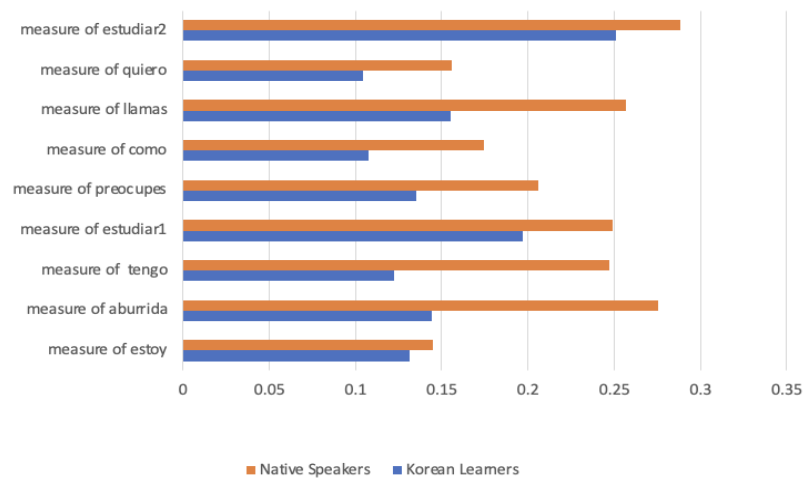
To analyze the prosody, we measured the duration of the stressed syllables using Praat(6.3.02). Since each person has a different speech rate, the duration of the stressed syllable was divided by the total duration.

$$\text{measure} = \frac{\text{duration of stressed syllable}}{\text{utterance length}}$$

The ratio of the stressed syllable duration to the total duration of the two groups was averaged and compared as below.

	Korean Learners	Native Speakers
<b>average measure of estoy</b>	0.13165327 (13.1653%)	<b>0.14508479 (14.5084%)</b>

<b>average measure of aburrida</b>	0.14446836 (14.4468%)	<b>0.27544495 (27.5449%)</b>
<b>average measure of tengo</b>	0.12259883 (12.2598%)	<b>0.24697864 (24.6978%)</b>
<b>average measure of estudiar1</b>	0.19672229 (19.6722%)	<b>0.24904028 (24.9040%)</b>
<b>average measure of preocupes</b>	0.13500115 (13.5001%)	<b>0.20610511 (20.6105%)</b>
<b>average measure of como</b>	0.10778913 (10.7789%)	<b>0.17483892 (17.4838%)</b>
<b>average measure of llamas</b>	0.15533656 (15.5336%)	<b>0.25705441 (25.7054%)</b>
<b>average measure of quiero</b>	0.10467917 (10.4679%)	<b>0.15611249 (15.6112%)</b>
<b>average measure of estudiar2</b>	0.25131835 (25.1318%)	<b>0.28821102 (28.8211%)</b>



All stress syllables were pronounced longer by native speakers, consistent with the initial hypothesis. The results show that Korean learners pronounce syllables without putting enough stress on it. We can assume that Koreans are unfamiliar with putting stress on particular syllables since there is no lexical stress in Korean (Kim et al., 2007; Lee & Song, 2019).

For L2 learners to realize native-like prosody, we suggest that evidence-based education is necessary. It was confirmed that native-like prosody was realized when visual stimulation was received rather than reproducing prosody only by listening (Lee Jungwon, 2003a: 67~70). For native-like prosody, L2 learners should be trained by correcting their prosody by comparing their visualized pronunciation (spectrogram or pitch curve) with that of native speakers. In addition, applying High Variability Phonetic Training (HVPT) can be an efficient L2 prosody learning method. It is better to learn the sound through the utterances of several speakers than to learn the sound with the utterances of one person. Also, it is possible to capture the characteristics of sound that change depending on the position where a word appears. It is important to develop the ability to perceive important prosodic feature by listening to different variances of L2 pronunciation.

In conclusion, we found out that even Koreans who learned Spanish for 3-4 years failed to learn prosodic feature of Spanish. To solve this problem, we suggest that we apply evidence-based teaching method to help learners realize native-like prosody.

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## Unsupervised learning of sub-lexica in Korean

Stanley Nam

(University of British Columbia)

Not all words in a language are equal when applying a phonological process. Some processes only apply to a subset of all lexical items in specific phonological environments. An example of such processes can be found in Korean: /l/ tensifies a following lenis coronal obstruent /t, s, tɛ/, only if the word is etymologically Sino-Korean (Bae, 2013, pp. 315-319; Kim-Renaud, 1974, p. 171; Shin, Kiaer, & Cha, 2012, p. 203). This phonological process is commonly referred to as L-Tensification. Examples in (1a-b) compare the applicability of L-Tensification by etymology.

The etymologically selective nature of L-Tensification was first observed in Kim-Renaud (1974, p. 171), where she claims that it unexceptionally applies to Sino-Korean words only. The implication of the etymological condition, together with the observation of different phonotactics by etymological groups (Chae, 1999; Y. Kang, 1998; Nam, 2018; Park, 2014, 2020), seems to justify a model of the lexicon that consists of etymological sublexica.

However, etymology as a linguistic factor is problematic. First, etymology *per se* is not learnable since a synchronic learner cannot be expected to have access to diachrony. Additionally, an anecdotal observation is that Korean speakers misclassify a form into the Sino-Korean group. Y. Kang (1998, p. 61) reports that adult speakers judged *ba* as a probable Sino-Korean syllable, notwithstanding the non-existence of a Sino-Korean word with *ba*. Besides, some historical Sino-Korean words are falsely classified as native words (Chae, 1999; Jin, 1992)

In the same vein, there are cases where L-Tensification and etymology do not align. (2a) presents Sino words where L-tensification is expected, but the process does not apply. (2b) presents non-Sino words that undergo L-Tensification. Especially, the borrowed proper name [tɛ̃nɔpaltɛ\*ɑŋ] ‘Jean Valjean’ has no reason to have a tensified [tɛ\*] except for the preceding /l/.

Therefore, a decision to apply this selective process may be relatively independent of etymology. I hypothesize that explicit information, namely phonotactics, may play a role in partitioning the lexicon into sublexica, one of which is subject to the target of L-application.

To test this hypothesis, phonetic word forms from a lexicon (B.-M. Kang & Kim, 2009) was classified using an unsupervised machine learning method. I selected high-frequency words (N=6,826) and clustered them into subgroups of phonotactically less-diverse words, using non-parametric Hierarchical Dirichlet Process models (Morita, 2018; Morita & O’Donnell, 2020). It is non-parametric in that it does not require the number of clusters as a parameter. Human learners are not expected to know the number of subclasses *a priori*, so HDP models the linguistic mind better than other common parametric clustering methods like *k*-means.

The system clustered the Korean lexicon into two sublexica: Sublexicon\_A and Sublexicon\_B. Table 1 compares the clustering results to gold standards of etymological classes from a dictionary (*Standard Korean Language Dictionary*, 1999) as digitized by Park (2020). It shows that Sublexicon\_A roughly corresponds to the etymological group of Sino-Korean. Table 2 shows that this is the group to which most words that undergo L-Tensification were assigned. The results implicate the possibility that etymology is learnable via phonotactics, at least. For conceptual grounds, one may also argue that etymology is replaceable with phonotactics.

**(1) Etymologically aligned patterns of L-Tensification**

- a. Sino-Korean: /l/ tensifies a following [coronal] lenis (Bae, 2013, p. 315)
- |                         |                          |                           |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| /paltal/                | [palt*al]                | ‘development’             |
| /te <sup>h</sup> ulsin/ | [te <sup>h</sup> uls*in] | ‘affiliation’             |
| /jAltεΛŋ/               | [jAltε*Λŋ]               | ‘enthusiasm’              |
| /kiltŋ/                 | [kilt*ŋ]                 | ‘Gildong (a proper name)’ |
- b. Native or foreign words: /l/ does not tensify a following [coronal] lenis
- |                             |   |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| /piltiŋ/                    | [pildiŋ]                                  | ‘building, loan’                                   |
| /nosut <sup>h</sup> elteiΛ/ | [nosut <sup>h</sup> el <sup>h</sup> dziΛ] | ‘nostalgia, loan’                                  |
| /nalseki/                   | [nalsegi]                                 | ‘cobia (fish), native’                             |
| /toltam/                    | [toldam]                                  | ‘stone wall, native’ (Kim-Renaud, 1974, p. 174)    |
| /multeaŋsu/                 | [mul <sup>h</sup> dzaŋsu]                 | ‘water peddler, native’ (Kim-Renaud, 1974, p. 174) |

**(2) Unexpected patterns in L-Tensification (Bae, 2013, pp. 315-319)**

- a. Unexpected patterns I: tensification expected but not tensified
- |                           |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| /holte/                   | [holdε]                   | ‘neglect, Sino, 忽待’<br>(cf. /holteΛ/ [holte*Λ] ‘hurried and careless, Sino, 忽諸’)        |
| /suŋsiltε/                | [suŋsildε]                | ‘Soongsil University, 崇實大’<br>(cf. /teinjAltε/ [teinjAlt*ε] ‘display shelf, Sino, 陳列臺’) |
| /molteikak/               | [moldzigak]               | ‘thoughtless, Sino, 沒知覺’<br>(cf. /molsaŋsik/ [mols*saŋsik] ‘senseless, Sino, 沒常識’)      |
| /pulsite <sup>h</sup> ak/ | [pulsite <sup>h</sup> ak] | ‘emergency landing, Sino, 不時着’  |
- b. Unexpected patterns II: tensification not expected but tensified
- |               |                |  |
|---------------|----------------|--|
| /teaŋpalteaŋ/ | [teaŋbalte*aŋ] | ‘Jean Valjean, loanword’   |
| /nopel + saŋ/ | [nobels*aŋ]    | ‘Nobel Prize, loanword’<br>(cf. /teteŋ + saŋ/ [tedzoŋsaŋ] ‘Grand Bell Awards’)<br>(cf. /t <sup>h</sup> emp <sup>h</sup> ult <sup>h</sup> Λn + saŋ/ [t <sup>h</sup> emp <sup>h</sup> ult <sup>h</sup> Λnsaŋ] ‘Templeton Prize’) |

**Table 1. Comparison to etymology**

Learned sublexica	Etymology				
	Sino	Native	Loan	Mix	LS Total
sublexicon_A	5392 (90.02%)	524 (8.75%)	56 (0.93%)	18 (0.30%)	5990 (100%)
sublexicon_B	196 (23.44%)	256 (30.62%)	384 (45.93%)	0 (0.00%)	836 (100%)
<b>Etymology total</b>	<b>5588 (81.86%)</b>	<b>780 (11.43%)</b>	<b>440 (6.45%)</b>	<b>18 (0.26%)</b>	<b>6826 (100%)</b>

**Table 2. Predicting L-Tensification**

Learned sublexica	L-tensification applied?			
	NA	Applied	Not applied	Learned sublexica Total
sublexicon_A	5864	125	1	5990
sublexicon_B	833	2	1	836
<b>Process Total</b>	<b>6697</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6826</b>

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# Pragmatics

## **How to say no in Korean:**

### **Sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic analysis of speech acts of refusal**

Yeonhee Yoon (University of Notre Dame)

Speech acts, such as requests, refusals, apologies, and complaints, require knowledge of a given language as well as appropriate application of that language within its cultural context. Refusals in particular can be interpreted by listeners as face-threatening acts due to their contradictions of listener expectations. Investigating the nature of semantic formulae strategies in the Korean speech act of refusal, this study conducts empirical analysis using sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics. The research questions for the present study are: (1) In terms of pragmalinguistics, which semantic formulae are most frequently used in the speech act of refusal?; (2) In terms of sociopragmatics, are there any gender differences in the use of refusal strategies?; (3) Which illocution-mitigating devices are used in Korean refusals?; and (4) Are there any patterns or routines that arise in the tracking of refusal strategies?

The present study administered written discourse-completion tests (DCTs) to a total of 70 subjects (35 female, 35 male). At the time of testing, all subjects were 20–26-year-old undergraduate students residing in the Seoul metropolitan area. Each subject responded to a total of six scenarios: four requests, one invitation, and one offer. All scenarios were designed to consider power (P) and social distance (D), two variables that are essential to the Korean language and Korean society. These considerations resulted in six possible combinations of the two social variables: [P+, D+], [P+, D-], [P=, D+], [P=, D-], [P-, D+], and [P-, D-], where P+ represents situations in which the initiator is of higher status and the refuser is of lower status); P= where both interlocutors are of equal status; P- where the initiator is of lower status and the refuser is of higher status; D+ where the interlocutors are distant in relation; and D- where the interlocutors are close in relation.

The results of this data analysis are provided here in six parts. First, among all refusal head act (HA) semantic formulae, nearly half are an expression of excuse/reason. These are followed by set conditions for future acceptance, non-performative, suggestion, criticism, alternative, hesitation, principle, implicature, wish, and regret. Second, this study observed implicature, a new semantic formula in Korean refusal strategy not examined in previous studies. Third, the most common combination of refusal HA strategies consists of an expression of excuse/reason + set condition for future acceptance and an expression of excuse/reason + non-performative with mitigating devices in terms of routine. Fourth, apology is the most dominant strategy (followed by gratitude) among Korean refusal supportive move (SM) semantic formulae. Fifth, in the realization of the refusal speech act, both female and male interlocutors tend to utilize more mitigating devices to soften the illocutionary force toward the higher status person as a politeness strategy. Sixth, the differences between female and male interlocutors in using refusal semantic formulae are relatively minimal. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of refusal strategies in Korean interactions, further studies including naturally occurring discourse should be conducted to compare how the results of written DCTs differ from those of naturally occurring spoken data. (500 words)

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## Multimodal analysis on the mixed speech levels in Korean television weather forecasts

Yeonseob Lee  
(University of California, Los Angeles)

Keywords: *Speech levels, Formality, Politeness, Style-shift, Multimodality*

This study examines the mixed use of two speech levels, formal deferential level and informal polite level, in Korean television weather forecasts. Previous studies on this kind of the mixed use of different speech levels, often called style-mixing or style-shift, mainly focused on two-way communication where interlocutors are physically together (Brown, 2015; Choi, 2019; Kiaer et al, 2019; Kim, 2016; Koo and Rhee, 2023; Sohn, 1999; Park, 2017; Yoon, 2014, *inter alia*). However, for one-way communication including pre-scripted narrations, relatively little has been studied so far. This study will fill this research gap in existing literature by analyzing Korean television weather forecasts.

Because weather forecasts are a subsection of the most formal television programs, i.e. news, the formal deferential sentence-ender *-pnita* is expected to be used to index the formality of the program and weather forecasters' awareness of politeness toward audiences. However, weather forecasters sometimes adopt the informal polite ender *-yo*, thereby changing their speech levels in formality from formal to informal, and downgrading politeness level from more polite to relatively less polite. I found that the ender *-yo* is usually combined with various sentence-final particles such as *-ntey*, *ko[kwu]*, or *-nikka*, and occurs in three certain contextual circumstances. First, *-nteyyo* signals that weather forecasters are about to elaborate on the topic; general information is first mentioned with the ender *-nteyyo*, and subsequently more detailed information is provided with the formal deferential sentence-ender *-pnita*. Secondly, *-ko[kwu]yo* implies that juxtaposed information is following. For example, when weather forecasters use *-ko[kwu]yo* while delivering the weather information in a certain region, they continuously mention the corresponding information in other regions. Thirdly, *-nikkayo* signals that weather forecasters' subjective opinions are following, encoding causal relationships — for example, “Air quality is poor today, so people with compromised health should be careful.”

These language uses imply that substituting the formal deferential ender *-pnita* with the informal polite ender *-yo* manages the structure of their utterances, thereby building an interpersonal relationship with audiences. That is, with the ender *-yo*, weather forecasters signal ‘more weather information and/or advice is coming, so please listen carefully.’ Such intention to draw audiences' attention is conveyed not only by the linguistic cue (i.e. adopting the ender *-yo* rather than *-pnita*) but also by paralinguistic means and non-verbal behaviors. Unlike the ender *-pnita* which is used in a gradually falling boundary tone, a rising tone occurs near the ender *-yo* (i.e. HL% and H%). In addition, weather forecasters tend to lean slightly forward (orienting their body towards a camera) and/or look at the camera, as if communicating with audiences directly, when they construct interpersonal connection with audiences by employing the ender *-yo*.

Thus, this study argues that the mixed use of speech levels which occurs with different tones and nonverbal behaviors is employed in television weather forecasts as an interactional resource not only for delivering weather information efficiently but also for building interpersonal relationships between weather forecasters and audiences. (485 words)

# **DAY 3**

# | By-session programme (Day 3) |

Date	Time	Activity			
30 June (Fri)		<b>Panel session Grammaticalization and Lexicalization: A New Perspective</b>	<b>Parallel session (5)</b>		
			<b>NLP / Computational Linguistics (KR)</b>	<b>Learning &amp; Teaching (KR)</b>	<b>Virtual session</b>
	09:00- 09:30	Grammaticalization and lexicalization effects on the development of Discourse Grammar in Korean <i>Kyou-Dong Ahn (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies &amp; Palacky University Olomouc)</i>	Analyzing the Linguistic Mechanisms for Implicit Hate Speech Detection: Based on Human Cognitive Judgment <i>Jimin Seong (Spirink Inc.), Hyerin Kang, Joeun Kang, Yujin Kim, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	A Study on the Realization Aspect of the Discourse Marker “Ice(이제)” in Korean Learners’ Presentation <i>Yang Wu (Yonsei University)</i>	<i>Pragmatics</i>  Pragmastic effects of Korean honorifics in film subtitling <i>Kamilla Pak (University of Suwon)</i>
	09:30- 10:00	From Negatives to Apprehensions in Korean: A Grammaticalization Perspective <i>Sunhee Yae &amp; Sujin Eom (Chung-Ang University)</i>	Korean Legal Cases Summarization: Using Abstractive and Extractive Summarization Algorithms <i>Yejee Kang, Yeonji Jang, Seoyoon Park, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	Genre Analysis of Korean Request Email in the Academic Field: Focusing on the Analysis of Move <i>Yan Li (Sungkyunkwan University) &amp; Kyoyeon Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	<i>Pragmatics</i> Jungsun Kim & Huai-Rhin Kim (Purdue University)
	10:00- 10:30	Grammaticalization of the Korean Discourse Marker cham <i>Yeonseob Lee (University of California, Los Angeles)</i>	Which emotion is more impressive for Korean : A comparative analysis between Korean and English Emotion Corpora <i>Yeonji Jang, Li Fei, Yejee Kang, Seoyoon Park, &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	Implementing the KFL Speaking Ability Test: Types and Methods <i>Young Shik Lee (Hannam University)</i>	<i>Learning &amp; Teaching</i>  Exploring Korean learning enjoyment : Where it comes from <i>Xinfan Wang &amp; Liqun Chi (Yonsei University)</i>
	10:30- 11:00	Grammaticalization of proximal demonstrative-based discourse markers: A contrastive analysis of Korean and Thai <i>Aphiwit Liang-Itsara (Mahidol University), Kultida Khammee (University of Phayao), &amp; Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University)</i>	Research on customized empathy response patterns for Chatbots: focusing on MBTI psychological functions <i>Jimin Seong (Spirink Inc.) &amp; Hansaem Kim (Yonsei University)</i>	A Study on Reading Comprehension Based on the Simple View of Reading Model <i>Euiju Yeo (Yonsei University)</i>	<i>Learning &amp; Teaching</i>  A Study of Academic Text Stance Marker Education Status: Focusing on the case of University of Bristol, UK <i>Renbo Liu (Yonsei University) (KR)</i>
	11:00-11:30	Heart metaphors: A lexicalization perspective <i>Wichaya Bovonwivat &amp; Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University)</i>		A study on educational tasks for Koreans in Japan <i>Heekyong Kim (Fukuoka Women's University)</i>	<i>Learning &amp; Teaching</i>  Meta of Meta: A Study on Research subtopics in the History of Academic Research in Korean Language Pedagogy: As part of establishing disciplinary identity <i>Renbo Liu &amp; Fengwei Sun (Yonsei University) (KR)</i>
11:30- 12:00	On intensifiers: Grammaticalization and contrastive perspectives <i>Suthathip Thirakunkovit &amp; Seongha Rhee (Mahidol University)</i>				

# **Panel session**



# Grammaticalization and lexicalization effects on the development of Discourse Grammar in Korean

Kyou-Dong Ahn

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Keywords (3-5): Grammaticalization, Lexicalization, Discourse grammar, Cooptation, Discourse markers

The purpose of this presentation is to describe the grammaticalization and lexicalization effects on the development of discourse grammar in Korean. Grammaticalization is usually defined as the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms (Hopper and Traugott 2003[1993]). On the other hand, lexicalization is broadly defined as “adaption into the lexicon” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 89) or more precisely “the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96).

However, both processes were often perceived as opposite and differentiated. This presentation claims that the developmental phenomena of these grammatical units into discourse markers exhibit features of grammaticalization and lexicalization and that grammaticalization and lexicalization are not entirely discrete processes but are intertwined with each other.

In explicating the grammaticalization of discourse markers, we draw on an important mechanism, cooptation. Heine et al. (2017: 813) define cooptation as a cognitive-communicative operation whereby some fragment of linguistic discourse is transferred from the domain of Sentence Grammar to Discourse Grammar. The following example, taken from a private dialogue, illustrates this operation (Abbreviations; END: ending; INTERR: interrogative; PST: past; REP: reportative).

(1) *na onul com yeypp-epoy-e? na mwe-lay-ni/mew-lay/michy-ess-e (cengmal)*  
I today a.little pretty-look-END I what-REP-INTERR/what-REP/crazy-PST-END really  
‘Do I look pretty today? (DM: what did I say?/what did I say?/I am really out of my mind)

In example (1), the utterance is obviously composed of two pieces. On the one hand, there is the syntactically and semantically well-formed and self-contained sentence, i.e., Sentence Grammar. On the other hand, there are somehow odd elements that are neither semantically nor prosodically integrated with the preceding well-formed and self-contained sentence.

This type of DMs shows intriguing aspects of the use of discourse markers: (a) it does not affect the propositional content of a sentence or an utterance; (b) provides “instructions from the speaker to the hearer

on how to integrate the host unit into a coherent mental representation of the discourse” (Hansen 1997: 161); (c) is prosodically set off from the host utterance; and (d) exhibits an increase in semantic-pragmatic scope from a sentence to discourse beyond the sentence. As a result, it functions as a mitigator and self-pejorative marker signaling that the manner and attitude of the speaker who just said the foregoing utterance are blatant or brash. Thus, the addressee may not take it too seriously. Heine et al. (2017) call the element such as *na mwelayni/mewlay/michyesse (cengmal)* theticals in the framework of Discourse Grammar.

This presentation reveals that the grammaticalization of this type of DMs is no longer restricted to the requirements of its erstwhile syntactic function. It is also responsive to components relating to discourse environments such as text organization, speaker-hearer interaction, i.e., intersubjectification, and the conversion of the speaker's attitude and perspective.

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# From Negatives to Apprehensionals in Korean: A Grammaticalization Perspective

Sunhee Yae and Sujin Eom  
(Chung-Ang University, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Keywords (3-5): *apprehensional, negative, grammaticalization, insubordination*

This paper addresses four constructs of apprehensionals (APPRs) in Korean that derived from NEGs *mos-* and *anh-*, e.g., *-ci.moshakey*, *-ci.moshatolok*, *-ci.anhkey*, *-ci.anhtolok* from a perspective of grammaticalization. APPRs (Austin 1981, Dixon 1980; Evans 1995; Lichtenberk 1995; Epps 2008; Vuillermet 2018, among others) are grammatical markers to describe undesirable events that can happen in the future and thus arouse the fear. Rhee & Kuteva (forthc.) and Yae et al. (forthc.) propose a number of APPRs from various lexical and grammatical sources in Korean. NEG is one of the sources of APPRs in Korean. The NEG-construct APPRs are grammaticalized from purpose markers *-key* and *-tolok* by adding NEGs *-mos* and *-ani*. The forms of the NEG-construct APPRs *-ci-mos-ha-key*, *-ci-mos-ha-tolok*, *-ci-ani-ha-key*, *-ci-ani-ha-tolok* are broken into [NOMZ-NEG-do-PURP].

Rhee & Kuteva (forthc.) and Yae et al. (forthc.) classify APPRs into (a) the apprehensive, (b-1) the precaution (avoidive), (b-2) the precaution (in case), (c) the timitive and (d) the fear function based on Lichtenberk (1995), Vuillermet (2017), and Dąbkowski and Anderbois (forthc.). Among those the four NEG-construct APPRs are included in (b-1) the precaution (avoidive (AVD)) to designate precautions to evade undesirable events. The sentences in (1) and (2) exemplify the NEG-derived AVDs in Korean.

(1) *mosha-*: *-ci.moshakey*, *-ci.moshatolok*  
*han nom-do      nao-ci.moshatolok      chelcehi      kamsi-hayla*  
one person-also    come.out-APPR      tightly      keep.an.eye.on-IMP  
'Keep a tight watch so that no one can get out.'

(2) *anh-*: *-ci.anhkey*, *-ci.anhtolok*  
*son      tachi-ci.anhkey      cosim-hay*  
hand    hurt-APPR      be.careful-IMP  
'Be careful in order not to hurt your hand.'

APPRs are bi-clausal while apprehensives are mono-clausal. At discourse-pragmatics AVDs evolve into apprehensives, going through the parataxis plus the right-dislocation as in (3) or insubordination (Evans 2007) as in (4). The apprehensives in (3c) and (4b) can denote an admonitive or warning/threatening depending on the context.

(3) a. *son tachici anhkey cosimhay.* (= 2)  
b. *son tachici anhkey. cosimhay.* (parataxis)  
c. *cosimhay. son tachici anhkey.* (right-dislocation)

(4) a. *son tachici anhkey cosimhay.* (= 2)  
b. *son tachici anhkey.* (insubordination)

Drawing upon the corpus data (the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Project & The Drama and Cinema Corpus (compiled by Min Li)) this paper will analyze the motivations that induce the similarities and differences in the degree of grammaticalization among the four NEG-construct

APPRs based on (a) the distributions in the main clauses and the subordinate clauses, (b) the characteristics of the verbs that precede the APPRs, and (c) the persons of their subjects, etc.

## Abbreviations

ACC: accusative, APPR: apprehensional, AVD: avoidive, BEN: benefactive, CONN: connective, END: sentence-ender, HON: honorific, IMP: imperative, MOD: mode, NEG: negative, NOM: nominative, NOMZ: nominalizer, PURP: purposive,

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# Grammaticalization of the Korean Discourse Marker *cham*

Yeonseob Lee  
(University of California, Los Angeles)

Keywords: Discourse Marker, Grammaticalization, Korean *cham*

This research investigates the Korean discourse marker (hereafter, DM) *cham*. The DM *cham* can occur in any positions of an utterance with various discourse-pragmatic functions (Kang, 2000; Kim, 2007; Koo, 2015; Rhee, 2018, 2019). Among them, in this study, we will focus on its two functions of conveying (epistemic) stance and indicating sudden remembrance, from a grammaticalization perspective.

First, the DM *cham* signals speakers' high degree of truthfulness of their utterance. Speakers imply the truth of a proposition by employing the DM *cham*, e.g. "I am not sure whether you believe me or not, but I am telling you what I am thinking seriously. Trust me." Secondly, the DM *cham* indicates that the source of the following utterances is speakers' sudden remembrance. For example, speakers start their utterance with the DM *cham* to talk about what comes to their mind in conversation. In this use, the DM *cham* usually occurs after a slight pause and/or a change-of-state token *a* 'oh' (cf. *Oh*-preface, Heritage, 1998). By employing the DM *cham* at the beginning of an utterance, speakers show that they just realized what to say, e.g. "Oh, I should say this now. It is a little bit late, but I believe that it is right to say this at least now."

This DM *cham* underwent semantic and functional extension. The use of *cham* can be traced back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century literature where it is used as a noun with the lexical meaning of 'truth'. The noun *cham* 'truth' started to be used as an adjective ('true') and an adverb ('truly' and 'really') in Early Modern Korean, which eventually developed into the DM *cham*. Within the development, the adverb *cham* acquired the function of emphasizing speakers' truthfulness of their utterances in the level of discourse, via (inter)subjectification (Traugott, 1995; Traugott and Dasher, 2001).

Thus, this study suggests that the DM *cham* is employed as a rhetorical device for indexing speakers' high degree of commitment to their utterance, and argues that the DM *cham* is a result of grammaticalization. (337 words)

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## Grammaticalization of proximal demonstrative-based discourse markers: A contrastive analysis of Korean and Thai

<sup>1</sup>Aphiwit Liang-Itsara, & <sup>2</sup>Kultida Khammee, <sup>1,3</sup>Seongha Rhee

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Liberal Arts, Mahidol University, <sup>2</sup>University of Phayao, <sup>3</sup>Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

([aphiwit.lia@mahidol.edu](mailto:aphiwit.lia@mahidol.edu), [annenfans@gmail.com](mailto:annenfans@gmail.com), [srhee@hufs.ac.kr](mailto:srhee@hufs.ac.kr))

Keywords: *demonstrative, discourse marker, contrastive analysis, stance-marking, interpersonal pragmatics, Korean, Thai*

Demonstratives are a language universal (Diesel 1999) and are known to be among the sources of discourse markers (DMs) (Kuteva et al. 2019). A tripartite system of proximal-medial-distal (*i-ku-ce*) distinction, Korean demonstratives developed into a number of DMs, including *ilen* ‘this kind of’, *ku* ‘that’, *ce* ‘that’, among numerous others. Among these, the proximative-based DMs have not received much attention to date vis-à-vis others, and this study intends to fill the research gap and further view the states of affairs from a contrastive perspective by comparing them with its counterparts Thai.

The DM *ilen* ‘this kind of’, marked with the adnominalizer *-n*, is an unambiguous nominal modifier but has grammaticalized into stand-alone DMs via ellipsis, occurring at left-periphery (LP), but not at right-periphery (RP). From the perspective of stance-taking, this DM, comparing with its distal counterpart, exhibits intriguing differences amid seemingly similar functions. It carries the subjective function of marking surprise (mirative), a function closely related to ellipsis, i.e., the speaker’s inability to complete the utterance due to surprise. This DM further developed into an intersubjective function of marking feigned surprise, a strategy of dramatizing the narrative or inviting the interlocutor into the evaluative common ground. It further marks the speaker’s stance of discontent, reproach, or sarcasm, all in emotional contexts. The DM *ilen* is used in contexts where the referred object/proposition is close to the speaker in the mental space, thus signaling engagement or commitment. An exploration of diachronic development and contemporary discourse-pragmatic functions of the DM shows how the physical distance encoded in the demonstrative is iconically reflected in stance-marking functions of the DM derived from it.

This state of affairs can be compared with Thai DMs, *nii* ‘this’ and *nii*a ‘this-PRT’. Unlike Korean counterparts, these DMs carry different functions depending on their LP and RP positionality. The DM *nii* at LP (and stand-alone) carries interactional functions, e.g., interruption, discourse initiation or topic shift/introduction as well as discontent, whereas at RP it signals counter-expectation, disappointment, or emphasis (subjective), and mild discontent (intersubjective). The other DM *nii*a is similar to *nii* at LP, whereas at RP it marks uncertainty, incredulity, non-committal attitudes, emphasis (subjective), and disparagement, clarification request or mild challenge (intersubjective). An in-depth investigation of corpus-based discourse-pragmatic functions reveals diverse speaker’s (inter)subjective stances. The oft-cited hypothesis

of peripheral asymmetry (Beeching and Detges 2014), however, is not supported, i.e., the subjective/intersubjective stance functions do not correlate with LP/RP.

A comparative analysis of the two typologically distinct languages shows that demonstrative is closely related to stance-taking, e.g., evaluating, positioning and aligning, in which (inter)subjectivity plays an essential role (Du Bois 2007, Iwasaki & Yap 2015; Iwasaki 2022). Further, Korean and Thai exhibit differential sensitivity and attitude to discourse entities, be they interlocutors, situations, or propositions. Though small in scale, this crosslinguistic investigation shows commonalities and differences in grammaticalization of demonstratives into DMs.

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## Heart metaphors: A lexicalization perspective

<sup>1</sup>Wichaya Bovonwiwat and <sup>1,2</sup>Seongha Rhee

<sup>1</sup>Liberal Arts, Mahidol University, <sup>2</sup>Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Keywords: heart metaphor, lexicalization, expressivity, cohesion, univerbation

Since the human body provides a ready reference for conceptualizing world events (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Johnson 2007) and the heart has the life-sustaining function, the heart often serves as the vehicle of diverse metaphors (Kövecses 2000, Yu 2003, Stefanowitsch 2006, inter alia). Metaphorization is an excellent lexicalization strategy for novelty and expressivity as well as the benefit of avoiding overcrowding of the lexicon with neologisms (Khammee & Rhee 2022). This paper intends to explore the heart metaphors in Korean based on corpus data in order to identify the conceptualization patterns of the heart in the mind of Korean speakers and how such metaphorization enriches the lexicon without overburdening it.

Korean has four lexemes referring to the human heart, i.e., the native Korean *maum* and its reduced yet lexically diverged *mam*, and the Sino-Korean *simcang* and its related yet lexically diverged *sim*. They occur in diverse syntactic constructions with a number of variable meanings, across anatomical ('cardiological organ'), physiological ('chest'), physical ('center'), mental ('mind'), and spiritual ('psychic') domains. A data search from a corpus turns up an impressive inventory of 583 metaphors involving the heart that are well-entrenched in the form of fully lexicalized units or idioms (i.e., excluding idiosyncratic, poetic uses). Of these, there are 215 types of [*ma(u)m-ul* V], in which the heart is described as the object (as indicated by the ACC(usative) marker *-ul*) of the action denoted by the (V)erb. The 215 instances of metaphors involve a total of 161 verbs, as partially exemplified in (1):

- (1) a. *mam-ul katatum-* [heart-ACC groom] 'become calm'  
b. *mam-ul kkaywu-* [heart-ACC wake] 'enlighten'  
c. *mam-ul kwuthi-* [heart-ACC harden] 'be determined'  
d. *mam-ul nwulu-* [heart-ACC suppress] 'suppress instinctive desires'  
e. *mam-ul ppayas-* [heart-ACC steal] 'make someone enthralled'  
f. *mam-ul mek-* [heart-ACC eat] 'determine'

A number of intriguing aspects are observed in our analysis. There are seven primary, overarching conceptual metaphors (see Figure 1, overleaf), which are extended with differential foci on particular semantic features. Among such conceptual metaphors are HEART IS PERSON/ SOLID OBJECT/ UNSTABLE OBJECT/ CONTAINER/ BOOK/ FOOD/ COMMODITY.

There are some notable generalizations obtained from the metaphor analysis. The metaphors are not mutually exclusive but intricately intertwined. Thus, some conceptualizations are not clear as to their categories and may well be cross-classified. This means that metaphorical mappings may not involve clear ontological division but more importantly be based on salient semantic features with conceptual prominence. I.e., the famous 'systematicity' of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) does not lie in the compartmentalized ontological categorization but in the conceptual feature organization. Also important is the fact that these metaphors are of variable strengths, as indicated by the productivity in actual usage, from highly entrenched metaphors to those that border on creative poetic uses. Further, individual metaphorical instances exhibit variable degrees of construction-internal cohesion (cf. 'coalescence' and

‘fusion’; Lehmann 2015[1982], Haspelmath 2011).

Drawing upon the corpus attestations, this paper analyzes the diverse and variable conceptualization involving the heart and discusses select issues that bear significance in the theory of lexicalization.

Fig. 1. Metaphorical conceptualization of the heart in Korean

HEART IS PERSON	HEART IS SOLID OBJECT	HEART IS UNSTABLE OBJECT	HEART IS CONTAINER	HEART IS BOOK	HEART IS FOOD	HEART IS COMMODITY
<b>CHILD</b> raise, caress, discipline..	<b>SOLID</b> break, scratch, pierce..	<b>UNSTABLE</b> balance, calm, catch..	<b>ENCLOSED</b> enter, open, lock..	<b>PAPER</b> fold, tear..	<b>EDIBLE</b> eat, eat again, swallow..	<b>TRANSACTION</b> buy, sell, steal..
<b>LOCOMOTION</b> follow, stop, turn around..	<b>MOVABLE</b> assemble, replace, scatter..	<b>LIQUID</b> pour, boil, stir..	<b>DEPTH</b> measure, look into..	<b>INFORMATION</b> read, understand..	<b>COOK</b> ferment, boil down..	<b>TRANSFER</b> give, receive, steal..
<b>SENSITIVE</b> arouse, calm, trouble..	<b>MOVING</b> catch, follow, stop..	<b>GASEOUS</b> suppress, put down..	<b>MAINTENANCE</b> wash, clean, empty..			<b>CONSUMPTION</b> use, steal..
<b>ADVERSARY</b> endure, arrest, defeat..	<b>WEIGHTY</b> load, lighten..		<b>CLOTHES</b> take off, wash..			<b>VALUABLE</b> gather, keep, hide..

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## On intensifiers: Grammaticalization and contrastive perspectives

<sup>1</sup>Suthathip Thirakunkovit and <sup>1,2</sup>Seongha Rhee

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Liberal Arts, Mahidol University, <sup>2</sup>Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Keywords: *intensifier, grammaticalization, contrastive analysis, monosemy strategy, polysemy strategy*

Stance-taking is nearly ubiquitous and possibly inevitable in most instances of language use. One of the prominent functions of adverbs is their stance-marking function, especially in the domain of illocutionary modification, i.e., intensification (Rhee 2016). Intensifiers constitute an interesting group by virtue of being at the border of lexical and grammatical categories. Thus, their development is often equivocal between lexicalization (i.e., creation of a relatively open class item) and grammaticalization (i.e., creation of a discourse-organizing exponent carrying metatextual functions). This paper addresses select intensifiers in Korean and compares their evolutionary patterns with those in Thai, a genealogically unrelated, geographically distant, and typologically distinct language, from grammaticalization and contrastive perspectives.

Contemporary Korean has about 55 intensifiers, the use of some of which is sharply distinguished by the colloquial and literary genres. As many as 18 of them occur at the token frequency of 100 pmw or higher in a 24-million word corpus of dramas and movies. They originated from diverse sources such as adjectives (e.g., ‘correct’, ‘be much/many’, ‘be correct’, ‘be different’, etc.), nouns (e.g., ‘truth’, ‘the first’, ‘completeness’, ‘edge’, ‘origin’, etc.) and verbs (e.g., ‘go over’, ‘add’, etc.). The highest frequency item is *cengmal* (< *ceng mal* ‘correct word(s)’), which occurs at the frequency of 2,228 pmw, followed by *nemwu* (< v. *nem-* ‘go over’) at 1,998 pmw and *manhi* (< v. *manh-* ‘be much/many’) at 1,244 pmw.

On the other hand, contemporary Thai has about 20 terms that may arguably be classified as intensifiers. There are only 5 intensifiers that occur at the token frequency of 100 pmw or higher in a 33-million word contemporary Thai corpus, Thai National Corpus (TNC). The highest frequency is recorded by *maak* (a./ad. *maak* ‘much, many’) occurring at the frequency of 111,327 pmw, followed by *maak-mai* (a.ad. *maak* ‘much, many’ + euphonic suffix *mai*) at 8,758 pmw and *khən-khaən* (< ad. *khən* ‘almost, nearly’ + n. *khaən* ‘side, flank’) at 5,752 pmw.

This state of affairs shows that Thai has a fewer items with a much higher level of specialization as compared to Korean, echoing the claim that Korean uses poly-lexemic, monosemy strategy whereas Thai uses the mono-lexemic, polysemy strategy (Khammee & Rhee 2022). Furthermore, unlike Korean, in which diverse source lexemes are involved, Thai has intensifiers that are built on a more restrictive number of lexemes, utilizing the primary marker (notably *maak* ‘a lot, much, very’) complemented with suffixes, lexical items, or even reduplication. Korean intensifiers sometimes involve partial reduplication (e.g., *tewuk*, *tetewuk*, *tetewuk*) but univerbation of reduplicated forms is rather rare.

A contrastive analysis reveals a number of intriguing aspects of grammaticalization and lexicalization that may be attributed to typological differences between the two languages. This paper traces the source meanings and target functions of the intensifiers in Korean and Thai and cognitive mechanisms involved therein from diverse theoretical perspectives.

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**NLP / Computational  
Linguistics**

# Analyzing the Linguistic Mechanisms for Implicit Hate Speech Detection: Based on Human Cognitive Judgment

Jimin Seong<sup>1\*</sup>, Hyerin Kang<sup>2\*</sup>, Joeun Kang<sup>3\*</sup>, Yujin Kim<sup>4\*</sup>, Hansaem Kim<sup>†</sup>

Spirink inc<sup>1</sup>, Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies<sup>2,3,4†</sup>

As a linguistic methodology for detecting implicit hate speech that requires high context, this study aims to imitate the way humans perceive hate speech through linguistic context and classify it as a combination of linguistic cues. Despite the efforts in each field to detect and refine online hate speech, various hate expressions that can evade detection technology continue to be reproduced and spread. Therefore, it is time to require a solution that can effectively detect implicit hate speech.

Previous studies can be divided into two main methodologies, dictionary-based learning methodology through word matching and deep learning methodology that classifies hate speech using techniques such as Bi-LSTM or BERT. Among them, the deep learning methodology better detected the newly created word or the nuances of hate speech, but not enough for detecting implicit hate speech that requires high context. Therefore, this study aims to improve implicit hate speech detection by studying human recognition and judgment of hate speech.

To accomplish this, we constructed a survey-based experimental model by defining arbitrary hate speech contexts and linguistic elements. The selection of hate speech contexts was based on the five functional classifications of discriminatory speech (boundary marking, distancing, emphasizing, disparaging, and confirmation) in Graumann, C. & Wintermantal, M. (2007)[1]. We defined five linguistic elements that generate hate speech by referencing online communities and the K-MHas dataset, classified based on their phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic features. We constructed two models: one is a multi-turn dialogue model with contextual situations, and the other is a non-dialogue model that reflects online contextual situations, such as those found in social media and online communities. The Discourse Completion Test (DCT) method was used as a speech act collection tool. We conducted two experiments, the first one is the 'single linguistic element judgment experiment', where participants choose one hate speech among four candidate texts presented in a multiple-choice format. This experiment proves the effect of linguistic elements in detecting hate speech. The second experiment, called the 'multi-linguistic element judgment experiment,' presents participants with various comments containing implicit hate speech. Participants are asked to mark all parts they believe contain hate speech, rate the intensity of hate expression as high, medium, or low, and identify the most helpful comment for their judgment. This experiment demonstrates how linguistic elements are combined synergistically when generating implicit hate speech.

The significance of this study lies in providing experimental evidence that humans utilize linguistic elements as judgmental cues for detecting implicit hate speech. The study,

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\* Equally contributed.

† Corresponding author

specifically, identifies key linguistic elements that significantly impact hate speech detection, aiding in detecting and reducing implicit hate speech online. Through a preliminary pilot study, we identified certain linguistic elements, such as syntactic structures and the use of objects and affixes, as particularly effective in detecting hate speech.

This research aims to improve online communication culture by detecting implicit hateful expressions containing subtle nuances that are otherwise undetectable due to technical limitations, using a linguistic approach.

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# **Korean Legal Cases Summarization: Using Abstractive and Extractive Summarization Algorithms**

Yejee Kang<sup>○</sup>, Yeonji Jang, Seoyoon Park, Hansaem Kim<sup>†</sup>

Yonsei University<sup>○†</sup>

{yjkang5009<sup>○</sup>, yeonji3547, seoyoon.park, khss<sup>†</sup> }@yonsei.ac.kr

Legal documents and legal document summaries are much longer than other types of documents and contain a variety of complex facts. In addition, the task of summarizing legal documents is challenging in that the size of the datasets built is small due to the cost of writing summaries by legal experts, and there are problems that are difficult to use for supervised models (Abhay Shukla et al., 2022). On the other hand, in countries that follow common law, legal practitioners must refer to existing cases to determine judgments. However, since it is expensive and time-consuming to read and retrieve all the vast amounts of sentencing text, it is important to accurately extract the necessary and useful information in order to obtain a large amount of information efficiently. Research on summary of legal cases has already been actively conducted in many overseas countries, and with the advent of the deep learning era, research on automatic summarization has become more active. Among the studies that attempted Korean legal case abstract summarization, J. Yoon et al. (2022) put the decision of the judgment as input and the issue of the judgment as output and viewed it as a summary. However, the judgment, which was regarded as a summary in the study, was limited in that it only showed the topic of the judgment and did not summarize the specific facts of the entire text.

Meanwhile, although research on document summarization has grown rapidly in recent years, no discussion has been made on how well domain-specific legal documents perform on domain-agnostic summarization models. Therefore, in this study, various domain-agnostic summarization models are used to attempt extractive and abstractive summarization of long Korean legal documents, and evaluate their performance. For the summarization, 60,000 pairs of the text of the judgment and the summary of the judgment will be established. Several different pre-trained Korean models are used for extractive and abstractive summarization. For extractive summarization, BERTSum which is based on a pre-trained Korean model is used as the supervised learning method and pre-trained Korean BART model is used for abstractive summarization. Quantitative evaluation of the summarization model uses the ROUGE score, which evaluates informativeness for generated sentences based on N-gram. In addition, some summaries are sampled for qualitative evaluation by legal expert and linguist. At this time, a legal expert evaluates the quality of the summary and evaluates whether the performance of the model is consistent with human intuition. In this study, linguist and a legal expert evaluate the generated summary and the evaluation results are compared to discuss the evaluation criteria of general linguistics majors and legal expert.

This study will provide insights into the summary of Korean Legal documents by attempting an abstractive and extractive summarization of Korean legal cases using a summarization model of various unsupervised and supervised learning techniques and comparing and analyzing their performance.



**Table 1 Example of a judgment-summary of judgment pair**

<p><b>reference (input)</b></p>	<p>1. 도로교통법 위반(음주측정거부) 부분에 대하여 직권으로 판단한다. 이 부분 공소사실의 요지는, 도로교통법 위반(음주운전)죄로 1 회 이상 형사처벌을 받은 전력이 있는 피고인이 2021. 1. 13. 술에 취한 상태로 자동차를 운전하였다고 인정할 만한 상당한 이유가 있어 음주측정을 요구받고도 정당한 사유 없이 이에 응하지 않았다는 것이다. 원심은 이에 대하여 <a href="#">도로교통법 제 148 조의 2 제 1 항, 제 44 조 제 2 항</a>을 적용하여 유죄를 선고하였다. ... 위헌결정으로 형벌에 관한 법률 또는 법률조항이 소급하여 효력을 상실한 경우 해당 법조를 적용하여 기소한 피고사건은 죄가 되지 않는 경우에 해당하므로(<a href="#">대법원 1992. 5. 8. 선고 91 도 2825 판결</a>, <a href="#">대법원 2007. 6. 28. 선고 2005 도 8317 판결</a> 등 참조), 위 공소사실을 유죄로 인정한 원심판결은 더 이상 유지될 수 없다. 2. 이 사건 공소사실 중 도로교통법 위반(음주측정거부) 부분은 파기되어야 한다. 원심은 이 부분과 나머지 유죄 부분이 <a href="#">형법 제 37 조</a> 전단의 경합범 관계에 있다는 이유로 피고인에 대하여 하나의 형을 선고하였으므로 원심판결은 전부 파기되어야 한다. 3. 상고이유에 관한 판단을 생략한 채 원심판결을 파기하고 사건을 다시 심리·판단하도록 원심법원에 환송하기로 하여, 대법관의 일치된 의견으로 주문과 같이 판결한다.</p>
<p><b>summary (output)</b></p>	<p>도로교통법 위반(음주운전)죄로 1 회 이상 형사처벌을 받은 전력이 있는 피고인이 술에 취한 상태로 자동차를 운전하였다고 인정할 만한 상당한 이유가 있어 음주측정을 요구받고도 이에 응하지 않았다는 도로교통법 위반(음주측정거부)의 공소사실에 대하여, 원심이 <a href="#">도로교통법 제 148 조의 2 제 1 항, 제 44 조 제 2 항</a>을 적용하여 유죄를 선고하였는데, 원심판결 선고 후 헌법재판소가 <a href="#">구 도로교통법(2018. 12. 24. 법률 제 16037 호로 개정되고, 2020. 6. 9. 법률 제 17371 호로 개정되기 전의 것) 제 148 조의 2 제 1 항과 도로교통법(2020. 6. 9. 법률 제 17371 호로 개정된 것) 제 148 조의 2 제 1 항</a> 중 각 ‘<a href="#">제 44 조 제 1 항</a>을 1 회 이상 위반한 사람으로서 다시 <a href="#">같은 조 제 2 항</a>을 위반한 사람’에 관한 부분에 대하여 위헌결정을 선고한 사안에서, 위 각 법률조항 부분은 <a href="#">헌법재판소법 제 47 조 제 3 항</a> 본문에 따라 소급하여 그 효력을 상실하였으므로, 해당 법조를 적용하여 기소한 피고사건은 죄가 되지 않는 경우에 해당한다고 한 사례.</p>

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## **Which emotion is more impressive for Korean : A comparative analysis between Korean and English Emotion Corpora**

Yeonji Jang<sup>○</sup>, Fei Li, Yejee Kang, Seoyoon Park, Hansaem Kim<sup>†</sup>  
Yonsei University<sup>○†</sup>

{yeonji3547<sup>○</sup>, yjkang5009, seoyoon.park, khss<sup>†</sup>}@yonsei.ac.kr, feili0820@naver.com

Emotion analysis in NLP aims to enable machines to understand emotions like humans and communicate with humans by exchanging emotions. In this study, we analyze all the various emotions of people expressed in writing, merge the overlapping emotion types, and add the more characteristically revealed emotion types in Korean to categorize emotions to include maximum emotional expressions.

There are Plutchik and Ekman as representative emotion types widely used in emotion analysis research. Plutchik suggested the psycho-evolutionary classification of emotions and categorized eight emotions as anger, fear, sadness, disgust, surprise, anticipation, trust, and joy as basic emotions. Ekman classified universal basic emotions as joy, fear, disgust, anger, surprise, and sadness revealed through human facial expressions. In many studies, these two emotion types were applied without any modifications. Otherwise, some emotion analysis studies were conducted by adding several emotion types depending on each situations.

The study of GoEmotion realized the need for a large-scale corpus of emotion types with a broader range than the basic emotion types, so it constructed an emotion corpus subdivided into 27 emotion types. GoEmotion consists of 58,000 comments sourced from Reddit during 2005 to 2019, and the emotion classification system was designed with all the applicability of psychological data in mind. Within the 27 emotion types, there are 12 positive emotions, 11 negative emotions, 11 ambiguous emotions, and neutral. By analyzing the types of emotions in GoEmotion, positive emotions presented a high-frequency rate than other emotions.

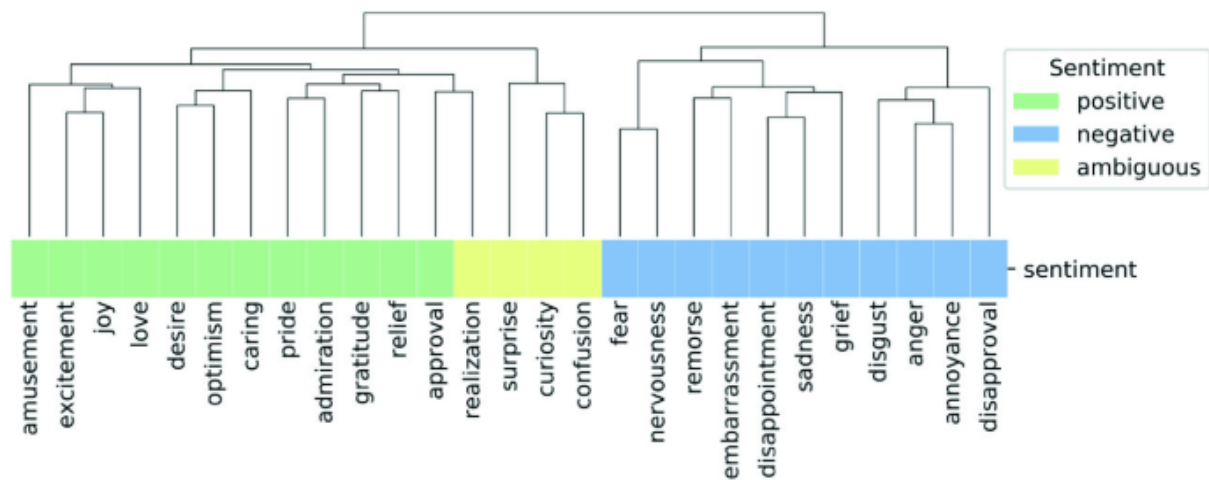
This study is a large-scale multilingual study and intends to use deep learning-based automatic classification techniques and corpus-based statistical techniques focusing on quantitative rather than qualitative methods for more objective and comprehensive analysis.

First, to classify emotions, a Korean emotion classification model was used to construct an emotion corpus and clustered by emotion type. The Korean emotion classification model used in this study is a model pre-trained with KoELECTRA after translating the GoEmotion dataset into Korean. In order to construct the emotion corpus, Korean movie review data was put into the Korean emotion classification model to first classify emotions into 28 emotion types, and then the experts reviewed results and made corrections. Next, we compare the emotion types of the Korean emotion corpus and GoEmotion data by clustering the emotion types of the constructed Korean emotion corpus.

Emotions appearing in the Korean emotion corpus were analyzed as a whole, and through the process of categorizing emotions, the characteristics revealed in English and Korean emotion types were identified, and how they matched with the 8 representative emotion types were confirmed.

In conclusion, this study identifies the characteristics of emotion types in English and Korean through the process of analyzing and categorizing various emotions in the Korean corpus into 28 types, and proposes detailed emotion types beyond the basic emotion types. Classification of Korean emotion types will contribute to the development of emotion analysis tasks in the future, helping machines understand human emotions more elaborately.

**Figure 1 Grouping of feeling (Rahat, F.R. et al., 2022)**



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# Research on customized empathy response patterns for Chatbots: focusing on MBTI psychological functions

Jimin Seong<sup>1</sup>, Hansaem Kim<sup>†</sup>

Spirink inc<sup>1</sup>, Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies<sup>†</sup>

The purpose of this study is to establish a framework for creating personalized chatbot responses based on users' preferences and empathetic responses in everyday conversations, taking into account the user's personality type according to the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)[2]. The study analyzes empathetic response patterns based on personality type and identifies the correlation between preferred empathetic responses and user satisfaction through Wizard of Oz (WOZ) experiments.

The first chatbot Eliza[1], introduced in 1966, was created through a rule-based generation model and provided a satisfactory user conversation experience by offering appropriate "empathetic response scenarios" despite its low fluency in speech compared to the modern large-scale generation models like 'GPT-4.0'. Considering that the purpose of everyday conversation is emotional exchange between participants, it can be said that an appropriate empathetic response attitude from the chatbot is necessary to enhance users' conversation experience positively. At this point, appropriate empathetic responses in a conversation context may vary depending on the personality of the conversation partner. Therefore, this study divided users into four personality types (ST, SF, NT, NF) based on MBTI psychological function indicators, and analyzed the patterns of empathetic response styles of listeners according to personality type.

This study consists of four main processes: collection, analysis, evaluation, and verification. In the collection phase, participants were recruited by personality type, and their conversations were recorded and transcribed to label the empathetic responses of the listener.

In the analysis phase, we quantitatively analyzed the occurrence patterns of labeled empathetic responses according to personality types and conducted a qualitative analysis to compare the results of quantitative analysis with actual conversation patterns to identify personality type-specific features. Differences were found between the T/F and S/N types, and it was found that different styles of conversation develop depending on personality types, even in conversations with the same response pattern. In particular, all four types showed significant differences in the way they agreed with the other person's words.

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<sup>†</sup> Corresponding author

During the evaluation and verification phase, we applied the analysis results to the chatbot conversation scenario and conducted a Wizard of Oz (WOZ) experiment. Participants were informed about the experiment as an "AI chatbot experience evaluation" and actually engaged in conversations with researchers according to the pre-designed conversation scenarios for each personality type, instead of the chatbot system. Participants were presented with six types of conversations that contained the characteristics of each personality type. After the conversation experiment, a satisfaction survey was conducted, and more than 88% of the participants chose the conversation scenario that matched their personality type. Based on these results, we can infer that there is a significant correlation between the preferred empathetic responses based on personality type and user satisfaction with the conversation.

The results of this study can be used as evidence to improve the chatbot user experience positively when designing chatbot training data. Furthermore, if these study results are expanded and developed, they can be utilized as a conversational prompt-tuning method for large-scale generative language models.

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# **Learning & Teaching**

# A Study on the Realization Aspect of the Discourse Marker “Ice(이제)” in Korean Learners’ Presentation Discourse

WU YANG  
(Yonsei University)

One of the essential tasks required in the academic performance of Korean learners for academic purposes is “presenting.” Learners intentionally, unintentionally, or strategically use various Korean discourse markers in presentation discourse, and this study especially focused on the phenomenon that learners frequently use the vocabulary discourse marker “Ice” in presentation.

Especially for spoken language in public situations such as presentation discourse, it is important for the presenter to fluently convey to the listener what he or she is trying to express through speech. But if learners use a lot of discourse markers, there is also a concern that their fluency of speech may be impaired. Therefore, for Korean-speaking education, it can be said that it is important to understand the aspect of using the discourse marker “Ice” in Korean learners' presentation discourse and whether the function of “Ice” is properly realized. Furthermore, it is also meaningful to compare and examine the patterns of use with Korean native speakers. There are two main research problems in this paper, and the first is to examine how Korean learners and Korean native speakers use “Ice” in their presentation discourse. The second is to look at the intention and characteristics of using “Ice” in presentation from a cognitive perspective.

To achieve this, first, this study analyzes the discourse function of “Ice” using the presentation corpus of “Sejong Spoken Corpus”. Then proceeded to record a presentation discourse for 15 minutes for each speaker, for 10 Korean learners and 10 Korean native speakers, regardless of the presentation topic. Finally using the learner presentation corpus obtained through transcription as research data. Furthermore, the cognitive aspect of the use of “Ice” was considered by conducting interviews with learners and Korean native speakers who use “Ice” with high frequency. As a result of examining the frequency of occurrence of “Ice” in the learner’s corpus as well as the function realized by “Ice” through the learners’ speech, learners use the discourse mark “Ice” very naturally when giving presentations. There was also the phenomenon of overproduction, which is used as a habit. In addition, according to the learners' presentation discourse, the 'buying time' function was the most common among the functions of the discourse covering “Ice”. In addition, the use of “Ice” by learners and Korean native speakers showed different patterns for each individual, and it can be seen that some specific speakers use it frequently, while some speakers selectively or rarely use “Ice”.

This study will be meaningful in examining the realization of the high-frequency discourse marker “Ice” by using the learner presentation corpus, which has not been actively conducted in Korean learner corpus research. Through this study, it will be helpful for Korean learners to better utilize the pragmatic role of the discourse marker “Ice” in presentation when performing the “presentation” task.

## **Genre Analysis of Korean Request Email in the Academic Field - Focusing on the Analysis of Move -**

Li, Yan·Kim, Kyoyeon  
(Sungkyunkwan University·Yonsei University)

The purpose of this study is to examine the genre characteristics of the request emails sent by Korean graduate students to their professors by building a corpus of the request emails and analyzing the moves of the corpus.

The format and content of emails may be varied according to the relationship between the sender and the recipient. Especially in the relationship between student and professor, as the difference in social status between the sender and the recipient is big, it is more necessary to write a suitable e-mail with etiquette. Besides, among kinds of emails, request emails are more likely to generate face threatening act (FTA) against the recipient who is required to do something for the sender. So when the recipient is a professor, the effect of FTA is thought to be considerable, even Korean native speakers have difficulty writing such emails. Korean learners who do not have Korean as their native language may feel more difficult to write this kind of emails. Therefore, this study will analyze the genre characteristics of request emails that are sent to professors to provide a basic material for email education based on genre-based approach.

In this study, We collected 115 emails from 28 Korean graduate students to analyze the moves of these emails. The move, a notion which came from genre analysis, refers to a mass or segment of text that has a specific communicative function. The research questions in this study are as follows. Firstly, how much do the move types presented by Robbins, J. (2011) apply to the request email sent by Korean graduate students to professors? Robbins, J. (2011) divided moves of the students' request emails into 14 types, namely, Addressing, Acknowledging, Referencing Early Communication, Provisioning Background Info, Request, Elaborating, Justifying, Provisioning Progress Info, Phatic Relation, Personal Offering, and Closing. Secondly, which type of the moves is essential or optional in the request email sent by Korean graduate students to professors? Thirdly, what is the generalized move model of such emails? We will investigate how many times does each move occur in the email corpus and present a generalized move model of request email sent by Korean graduate students to professors according to the results. So that students who want to send a request email to their professors in Korean can refer to the move model presented by this study.

### **Key Words:**

Genre-Based Approach, Genre Analysis, Move Analysis, Request Email, Email Corpus



# **Implementing the KFL Speaking Ability Test: Types and Methods**

Young Shik LEE  
Hannam University, Korea

At present the various speaking ability tests of Korean as a foreign language (KFL) are being developed and implemented as part of the standardized Korean proficiency test. It is high time to consider the appropriate model of KFL speaking ability test by reviewing the existing world-wide speaking ability tests. This presentation aims to discuss the basic principles for developing and implementing the speaking ability tests. In terms of test conduct and scoring, it reviews three types of English-speaking ability tests: 1) human conduct and human scoring, 2) machine conduct and human scoring, and 3) machine conduct and machine scoring. While reviewing these three types of speaking ability test, it discusses the basic principles of language assessment such as reliability, validity, authenticity, and practicality (advantages and disadvantages). Based on this discussion, a suggestion can be made for the appropriate model of KFL speaking ability test to be implemented with regard to the current situation of KFL assessment.

Types of speaking tests

- 1) Human conduct – Human scoring
- 2) Machine conduct – Human scoring
- 3) Machine conduct – Machine scoring

Reliability, Validity, Authenticity, Practicality

Points to consider for each type of speaking ability tests

Key Words: Korean as a foreign language (KFL), speaking test, test type, test method, reliability, validity, practicality, authenticity

# A Study on Reading Comprehension Based on the Simple View of Reading Model

Yeo Eui ju (Yonsei University)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which the ability of intermediate Korean learners is influenced by the relationship between linguistic comprehension and decoding. To achieve this, we aim to determine whether the Simple View of Reading (SVR)<sup>1</sup>, model, widely used in English education, can also be used to explain Korean reading comprehension.

According to the SVR theory, reading ability is a straightforward combination of word recognition and language comprehension. Gough and Tunmer (1986) found that language comprehension and word recognition play crucial roles in reading ability, and Hoover and Gough (1990) confirmed the importance of word recognition and language comprehension in improving reading ability through the Simple View of Reading. Reading ability is defined as the ability to extract and organize literal and inferred meanings from verbal discourse expressed in text. To improve this reading ability, both word recognition and language comprehension skills are required.

Reading ability = Word cognitive X Language comprehension (SVR)

- 1) Reading ability: Reading comprehension (10 questions)
- 2) Language comprehension ability: vocabulary (10 questions), grammar (10 questions)
- 3) Word Cognitive: Read Fluency (Speed and Accuracy)

In this study, we measured vocabulary and grammar skills to confirm language comprehension and reading fluency (speed<sup>2</sup> and accuracy<sup>3</sup>) was measured to confirm word recognition. The learners were asked to read aloud and answer 10 comprehension questions based on the text "성공적인 외국어 학습자의 특징" in Seoul National University Korean 1B. After reading aloud, their comprehension of the text, vocabulary, and grammar were evaluated through 10 questions each. The correlation between reading comprehension and other variables was determined through correlation analysis. Additionally, multiple regression analysis was performed by setting word recognition and language comprehension as independent variables and reading comprehension as the dependent variable. The results of the analysis showed that the SVR reading model, which has been widely validated in the English language, can also be applied to explain the reading comprehension ability of Korean learners.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Simple View of Reading model, reading comprehension is a product of word recognition and language comprehension, and the formula can be expressed as 'R= D x L'.

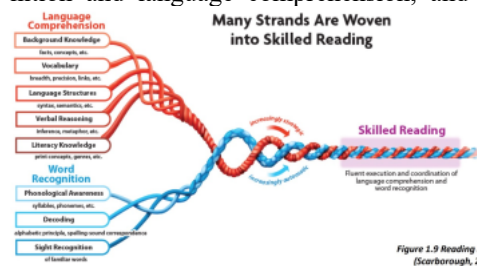


Figure 1.9 Reading Rope (Scarborough, 2001)

<sup>2</sup> To measure reading fluency speed, the total number of syllables read within 1 minute was calculated.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of solely evaluating the number of accurately read syllables, the percentage of accurately read syllables out of the total number of syllables read within one minute was calculated.

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# **A study on educational tasks for Koreans in Japan**

: based on survey research and analysis on textbooks

KIMheekyong  
Fukuoka Women's University,

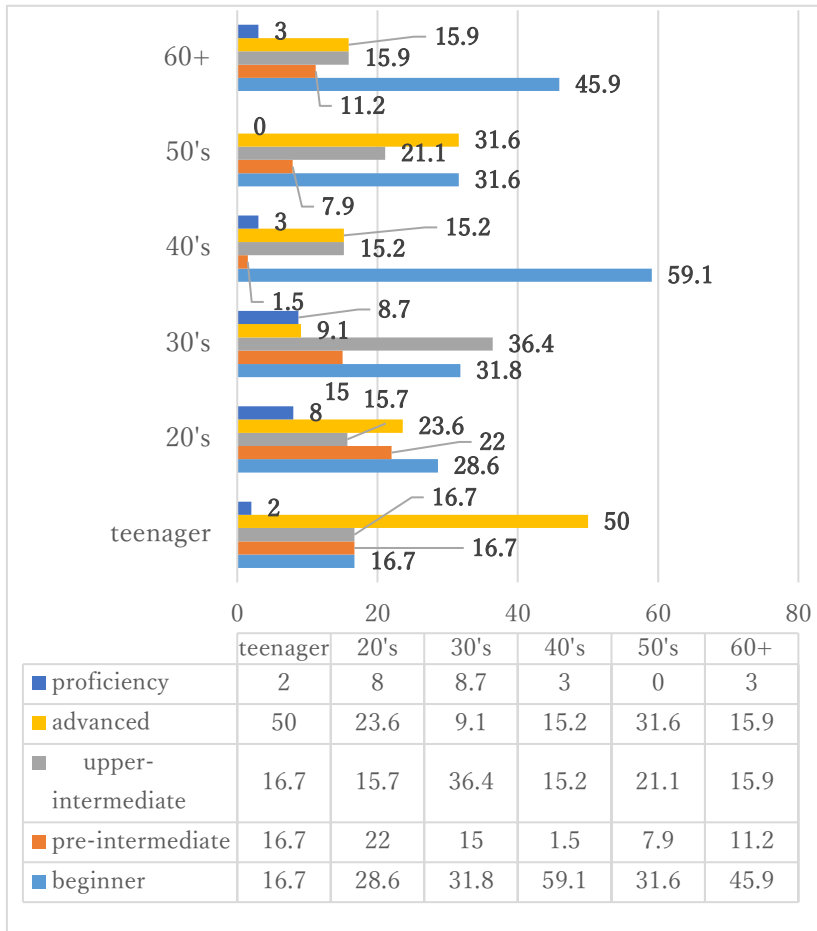
The purpose of this paper is to study on the direction of the education for Korean in Japan Society. This study focuses on Korean textbooks for an effective education for culture and history of Korean and Japan. It also aims to discuss about the development of teaching materials for Korean education, especially the textbook problems. First of all, we will analyze the current status of the use of Korean textbooks used in Japan and then discuss the limitations and directions of Korean education in Japan based on the survey research.

The educational goal of Korean in Japan society, so called Zainichi in Japanese, is not just to get grammatical information, but to enjoy free communication in a broad and general context based on understanding of Korea's social and cultural background. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the understanding of detailed areas such as history, geography, art, philosophy, religion, economy, and politics through the textbook. In addition, it is necessary to develop the social and cultural abilities which is necessary for relatively formal and professional activities such as a business, an international projects, and a research etc.

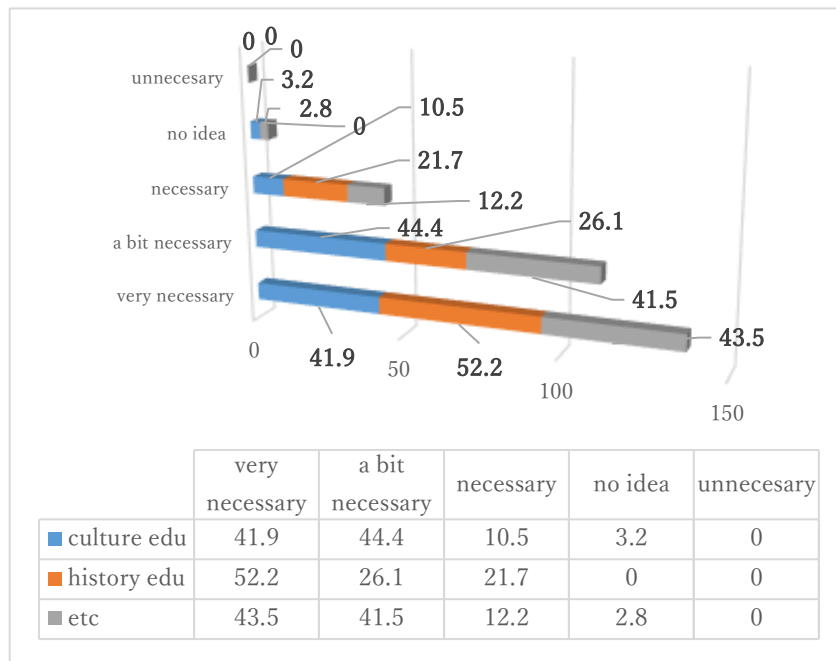
In order to understand multicultural background of Korea and Japan, it is needed to develop specialized educational materials, it might be better way to be considered a priority on Korean textbooks first. So this study would like to focus on specialized textbooks for the education of Koreans living in Japan. First, an overview of the current use of textbooks in Kansai area. Second, the analysis of questionnaires by Korean learner.

It is checked the result of the demand research and analyzed those grasping Demands and then considered a request for a proposal of more effective textbooks. The main idea of this survey is to clarify the problems of Korean textbooks for Koreans living in Japan and to discuss of the directions for Korean education of traditional culture and history in the future.

Keywords: textbooks, Korean Education in Japan, Oversea Korean Education, traditional culture education, history education, educational task



<graph 1>



<graph 2>

# **Virtual Session**

## Pragmastylistic effects of Korean honorifics in film subtitling

Kamilla Pak

University of Suwon, Republic of Korea

E-mail: pak.kamilla@suwon.ac.kr

This presentation focuses on the use of Korean honorifics as pragmastylistic means in rendering interpersonal meanings and representing communicative practices when subtitling fiction films from English. The object of interlingual transfer in film translation represents a multimodal text with a complex participation structure where the subtitles constitute an additional mode of communication built into the original audiovisual system. Because of this nature of translated film discourse, subtitlers face various difficulties that stem both from the pronounced remoteness between the source and target linguacultures and the need to minimise the discord between the verbal component recreated in a different language and the original visual and aural elements that are co-present on the screen. In the case of translation from Korean into languages like English, the major challenge lies in conveying the social relations and power dynamics between interlocutors nuanced through the use of honorifics that do not have a direct equivalent in the target language. Failure to do so can result in a loss of meaning and changes in the interpersonal effects of the original dialogue. On the other hand, the task of translating film dialogue into the Korean language can be no less challenging because its complex system of honorifics requires articulation of some of the interpersonal meanings that in the source language are not always explicitly rendered in linguistic forms. As a result, Korean subtitlers often have to recreate certain aspects of the diegetic world and its social context and represent fictional interactions in a way that is appropriate for the target language and culture. At the same time, the translation must maintain consistency with the visual-aural backdrop to avoid compromising verisimilitude of the dialogue. The discussion here represents a case study of selected sequences and storylines from contemporary fiction films translated from English into Korean which demonstrate how these tasks are addressed in various situations and how certain choices in the use of Korean honorifics can contribute to representation. The researcher's initial observations, informed by the textual data, are corroborated by the responses from members of the target audience obtained through focused post-viewing interviews. Situational use of honorifics is a complex and nuanced aspect of the Korean language, and the pragmalinguistic and stylistic choices made by the translator can impact the overall meaning and the way in which the characters and their interactions are perceived by the audience. (390 words)

*Keywords:* Korean honorifics, subtitling, interpersonal pragmatics, film discourse

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This project aims to comprehend direct and indirect effects among cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of multicultural personality between undergraduate students from Korea and the United States. Throughout the COVID-19 crisis, interdependence of the different cultures and economies has been rapidly increasing. Consequently, enhancing students' multicultural effectiveness has become a pivotal competency in post-secondary education. There remains a concern among educators and researchers that there is a lack of comprehensive understanding about the complexity of multicultural effectiveness and its applications to student life. Korean culture represents the high-context culture which relies heavily on network, non-verbal cues, and shared experiences; whereas the United States culture is in the low-context culture which is explicit and communicated through direct language (Hall, 1973; Merkin, 2009). Beyond the simple comparisons, this study dissects of the multicultural competence into cognitive (open-mindedness and cultural empathy), affective dimensions (emotional stability and flexibility) and behavioral dimension (social initiatives) using the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire by Van der Zee and Van Ouedenhoven (2000). Findings from the structural equation modeling (SEM) described direct and indirect effects among variables and compared the results between Korean (n = 517) and United States (n = 431) student groups. To test for weak factorial invariance across groups, the chi-square from a model with all parameters allowed to be unequal across groups was compared to the chi-square from a model with only the loadings constrained to be equal across groups. The model with all parameters freely estimated in the two groups indicated acceptable fit for the data, CFI = .770, TLI = .742, and RMSEA = .051, although the overall chi-square fit was significant,  $\chi^2(1460) = 5072.675$  ( $p < .001$ ). The weak invariance model with loadings constrained to be equal across groups had fit that showed slightly lower fit, CFI = .754, TLI = .730, and RMSEA = .052 with significant chi-square result,  $\chi^2(1495) = 5119.084$  ( $p < .001$ ). The difference of these models was small and insignificant,  $\Delta\chi^2(35, N = 948) = 46.409$ . Thus, further analyses were allowed to determine which loadings may differ across the groups. In the Korean student group, direct paths from two cognitive factors 'open-mindedness' and 'cultural empathy' to behavioral dimension, 'social initiative' were significant. Only emotional stability of two affective factors showed significant factor loadings to 'social initiative'. In the United States student group, 'emotional stability' showed a significant effect on 'social initiative'. However, flexibility was a critical factor to predict significant relationship between 'open-mindedness' and 'emotional stability'. Between these two groups, the only path from 'open-mindedness' to 'emotional stability' was significant. In the presentation, in-depth analyses of these differences will be discussed with the previous research findings about how and why multicultural competence is interpreted differently among different cultures.

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# Exploring Korean learning enjoyment

## : Where it comes from

Xinfan Wang & Liqun Chi (Yonsei University)

The process and outcomes of learning a second language (L2) have long been documented to be affected by the learner's emotions, and the area of Teaching Korean as a Second Language has investigated this topic for decades. However, the literature has exclusively focused on negative emotions (e.g., anxiety), leaving the impact of positive emotions untested. Based on Positive Psychology (PP), the current study focuses on one of the positive emotions linked with L2 learning, Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE), and intends to analyze the antecedents of Korean learning enjoyment, or the variables that cause Korean language learners to enjoy the learning process. According to Dewaele's (2022) meta-analysis on the sources of FLE, the elements under examination can be categorized into two broad categories. 'Learner-internal variables' include age, gender, Emotional Intelligence (EI) (i.e., the cognitive capacity to use reason to comprehend and deal effectively with emotions), cultural empathy (i.e., the ability to empathize with the feelings and thoughts of individuals from a different cultural background) and relative standing in the learner group; 'Learner-external variables', or 'classroom/teacher variables', encapsulate Korean learners' attitude towards the target language, their attitude towards Korean teachers, and Korean teachers' frequency of Korean use.

565 Korean learners with various L1 backgrounds responded to a self-report questionnaire that was used to obtain data. According to the result of regression analysis, high levels of Korean learning enjoyment were positively connected with higher scores on the EI and relative position in the group, but these effects were outweighed by the three classroom/teacher variables, with 'attitude towards Korean teachers' demonstrating the strongest predictive power. The findings confirmed the context-dependency of FLE by revealing that Korean teachers' methods have a bigger impact on students' Korean learning enjoyment than learners' characteristics. This suggests that rather than focusing on reducing anxiety, an emotion that previous study proved to be more trait-like and influenced by the learners themselves, Korean teachers should strive to boost learners' enjoyment of learning Korean by cultivating their positive attitude and enhancing their Korean learning experiences. On the basis of this, classroom interventions can be implemented to boost learners' Korean learning enjoyment and therefore make them enjoy learning Korean more.

**Keywords:** emotion, Positive Psychology (PP), Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE), Korean learning enjoyment, L2 Korean learners

## **A Study of Academic Text Stance Marker Education Status**

**-Focusing on the case of University of Bristol, UK-**

**LIU RENBO(Yonsei University)**

The smooth use of stance markers, such as hedges and boosters, is a very important factor and strategy that determines the success or failure of academic texts. Nevertheless, there have been few studies investigating the class of the stance markers education in KFL, and there were few opportunities to examine the actual aspects of education related to overseas. This study, as part of the task to be addressed before discussing the plan of academic text stance markers education materials for KAP(Korean for Academic Purposes) learners, is the actual aspect of academic text stance markers education in overseas EAP education.

Aimed at taking a closer look at specifically, the education materials used and the online class activities conducted in the pre-class, during class, and post-class stages of 'hedging' in the online Pre-sessional Course at the University of Bristol, UK, which is a representative case. The implications of academic text stance markers education were discussed. Therefore, this study can find significance in that it can lead to providing an effective online academic text writing education plan for KAP in the new normal era.

**Key Words:** academic text, stance marker, hedge, booster, KAP

**Meta of Meta: A Study on Research subtopics in the History of Academic Research in  
Korean Language Pedagogy  
-As part of establishing disciplinary identity-**

**LIU RENBO(Yonsei University)**

**SUN FENGWEI(Yonsei University)**

The task of determining the academic identity of Korean Language Pedagogy (Teaching Korean as a Foreign/Second Language) from the perspective of academic research history is extremely important, but there has been no related research so far. Therefore, this study aims to identify the subfields of the academic research history of Korean Language Pedagogy by analyzing academic articles on the history of academic research such as "research trend analysis papers" in Korean Language Pedagogy using "umbrella review".

For this purpose, firstly, representative previous research relevant to the search for disciplinary identity is reviewed. Along with that, the procedure for selecting the analysis target and the research process will be thoroughly explained, and the study result (a subtopic of the history of Korean Language Pedagogy academic research) and implications (the view of the history of Korean Language Pedagogy academic research) will then be thoroughly discussed.

The first category is the history of academic research related to 'general Korean Language Pedagogy', the second category is the history of academic research related to 'contents of Korean Language Pedagogy', and the third category is the history of academic research related to 'teaching and learning' in Korean Language Pedagogy, the fourth major category is the independent area of the history of academic research in Korean Language Pedagogy.

The independent area of the academic research history of Korean Language Pedagogy can be categorized into the following five categories: 'the history of academic research in the research methods in Korean Language Pedagogy', 'the history of academic research in the Korean Language Pedagogy research tools and data', 'the history of academic research in the Korean Language Pedagogy research theory', 'the history of academic research in the Korean Language Pedagogy academia researcher group', 'the history of academic research in the Korean Language Pedagogy related institutions'. The development of the viewpoint of academic research history has been developing from an independent viewpoint to a comparative viewpoint, from a positivist viewpoint to an interpretive viewpoint.

This study not only helps to identify the disciplinary identity of Korean Language Pedagogy but also has significant implications for revealing the collective wisdom of Korean Language Pedagogy academia.

Key words: Korean Language Pedagogy, history of academic and research, historical view of academic and research, disciplinary identity