Modality in Adverbial Clauses and Clause Linkage in Korean[*]

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1 Introduction

■ In Korean, modal forms appear not only in main clauses but also in adverbial clauses.

  — Some of the previous studies examined which TAM markers can be combined with which adverbial clauses.

  — Others analyzed whether the types of adverbial clause have any restriction to the choice of main clauses.

■ This paper explores clause linkage in Korean by comparing two adverbial clauses containing a modal form within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005).

  — The scope of the present study is on cases where a modal form *-(u)l kes* (irrealis adnominal form + bound noun 'thing') appears in two adverbial clauses; *-(u)myen* 'if' and *-nuntey/ntey* 'although'.[1]

  — The present paper examines (i) meanings of the modal form in each adverbial clause and (ii) the actor of an adverbial clause based on examples extracted from the Sejong Corpus and drama scripts.

■ The goal of this study is to demonstrate that the meaning of a modal form *-(u)l kes* is related to junctrure-nexus types, and that the actor of an adverbial clause is interacted with illocutionary force types.

2 Preliminaries to analysis

2.1 Juncture-nexus type of the two adverbial clauses

Table1 shows the juncture-nexus types of the aforementioned two adverbial clauses.

Table1   Juncture-nexus types of the adverbial clauses

Adverbial clause	Juncture-nexus type
-(u)myen 'if'	Ad-clausal subordination (1)
-nuntey/ntey 'although'	Ad-clausal subordination (2), Clausal coordination (3), Sentential coordination (4)

■ In (1) below, conditional clause modifies the following main clause as a whole. Thus *-(u)myen* clause should be labeled as ad-clausal subordination like *if* in English.

[1] Korean characters are romanized according to the Yale system.

(1)   *tosekwan=eyse chayk=ul pilli-**myen**   2 cwu   an=ey pannaphay-ya toy-nta.*

      liberary=LOC   book=ACC borrow-ADV.COND 2 week in=DAT return-OBLG-IND.NPST

      "If you borrow books from the library, you should return them in two weeks."

■ *-nuntey/ntey* can be divided into three juncture-nexus types as shown in Table1.

   — *-nuntey/ntey* in (2) expresses an adversative meaning, modifying the following main clause. Thus its juncture-nexus type can be construed as ad-clausal subordination.

   — *-nuntey/ntey* in (3) indicates the background of the event described in the main clause. This type of *-nuntey/ntey* clause can be construed as having the same status and size as an independent clause. Hence its juncture-nexus type is a clausal coordination.

   — In (4), "ce, pwuthaki iss**nuntey**" (Excuse me, I have a favor (to ask you)) expresses a request and has illocutionary force in its own right. It therefore can be said that (4) illustrates the most loose connection between the *-nuntey/ntey* clause and the main clause. Its juncture-nexus type is thus a sentential coordination.

(2)   *kongpwu=lul yelsimhi hay-ss-**nuntey** sihem-ul   cal mos pwa-ss-ta.*

      study=ACC   hard   do-PST-ADV.AVS examination=ACC well IMPS see-PST-IND

      "Though I studied hard, I didn't do well on the exam." (Kwuklipkwukewen 2005: 239)

(3)   *cinancwu=ey khu-n   kyothongsako=ka   ilena-ss-**nuntey**   ku sako=lo*

      last.week=DAT big-ADN.NPST traffic.accident=NOM happen-PST-ADV.AVS that accident=INST

      30#ye   myeng=i   pwusanghay-ss-ta.

      30#over people=NOM get.injured-PST-IND

      "A big traffic accident occurred last week, and over 30 people got injured in the accident." (Kwuklipkwukewen 2005: 239)

(4)   *ce, pwuthak=i iss-**nuntey** com tule-cwu-si-keyss-supnikka?*

      well favor=NOM be-ADV.AVS little listen-give-HON-PROB-INTRR.POL

      "Excuse me, I'm wondering if you could do me a favor." (Kwuklipkwukewen 2005: 238)

■ The syntactic linkage relation of *-(u)myen* clause is tighter than that of *-nuntey/ntey* clause.

2.2   Meanings of the modal form *-(u)l kes*

■ A periphrastic modal form *-(u)l kes* basically indicates an inference (5).

   — Note that a modal form *-(u)l kes* is glossed as MOD in the examples.

■ *-(u)l kes* expresses a volitional meaning (a) when either an actor is the speaker or the modal form is used in an interrogative sentence for the hearer, and (b) when the predicate is a volitional verb (6).

(5) *cengswuki   mwul-i-ni   thullimepsi kkaykkusha-l kes-i-ta.* **[Inference]**

water.purifier water-COP-ADV.CSL definitely   clean-MOD-COP-IND.NPST

"Water must definitely be clean, because it is from a water purifier." (Kwuklipkwukewen 2005:

772)

(6) *ipen=ey=nun   kkok tampay=lul kkunh-ul ke-ya.*   **[Volition]**

this.time=DAT=TOP surely cigarette=ACC quit-MOD-COP:IND.NPOL

"I will surely quit smoking this time." (Kwuklipkwukewen 2005: 772)

2.3   A previous study on adverbial clauses with TAM markers

Previous studies focused mostly on which TAM markers can co-occur with a given adverbial clause
through dichotomous analysis.

■ Noma (1996) reported the grammaticality of combinations of adverbial clauses and TAM markers
shown in Table2.

— Table2 shows the results of his research on nine adverbial clauses and the modal form *-(u)l kes* in
comparison to the combination of the past tense suffix and the same adverbial clauses.[2]

■ Noma (1996) questions the grammaticality of using *-(u)l kes* in *-(u)myen* clause.

Table2   Modality and tense markers which predicates in adverbial clauses can take (Noma1996: 153)

| | | Modal form | Past suffix |
		-(u)l kes	*-(a/e)ss-*
Manner	*-(u)myense* 'while' (at the same time)	-	-
Manner	*-taka* 'while' (transferentive)	-	+
Manner	*-(a/e)se* 'and then'	-	-
Conditional	*-(u)myen* 'if'	-?	+
Causal	*-(a/e)se* 'because'	-?	-
Causal	*-(u)nikka* 'because'	+	+
Conccesive	*-(a/e)to* 'even if'	+?	+
Adversative	*-ciman* 'but'	+	+
Adversative	*-nuntey/ntey* 'although'	+	+

However, as will be discussed in the next section, the results of the present research suggests that
-(u)myen clause is allowed to be co-occurred with *-(u)l kes* as well as *-nuntey/ntey* clause.

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[2] In Noma (1996), other TAM markers are analyzed in addition to the two TAM markers shown here.

3   Adverbial clauses with a modal form *-(u)l kes*

3.1   Meanings of the modal form *-(u)l kes* in adverbial clauses

■ When *-(u)l kes* co-occurs with the conditional clause *-(u)myen*, the meaning of the modal form is restricted to volition (7), despite of the fact that it has two meanings as mentioned in 2.2.[3]

— In (7), what is expressed by the *-(u)myen* clause is speech-act conditional, i.e. conditional situation is contextually given. The hearer is not working now, and the speaker refers to this situation to order him to submit a resignation.

■ On the other hand, adversative clause *-nuntey/ntey* has no constraint on meaning of the modal form, and it expresses both volition (8) and inference (9).

(7)   *il   an#ha-**lke-myen**   tangcang saphyo   sse.*   **[Volition]**
      work NEG#do-MOD-ADV.COND now   resignation write:IMPR

      "If you don't work, submit your resignation now." [2CJ00017][4]

(8)   *myechil   mwuk-**ul ke-ntey** coyongha-ko kkaykkusha-n pang=ulo cwu-sey=yo.* **[Volition]**
      several.days stay-MOD-ADV.AVS quiet-ADV.SEQ clean-ADN.NPST room=INST give-HON:IMPR=POL

      "I'm gonna stay for several days. I'd like a quiet and clean room, please." [2CE00019]

(9)   *aph=ulo   hoysa=eyse kyeysok   macwuchi-**l ke-ntey**   ile-n*
      forward=ALL company=LOC continuously happen.to.meet-MOD-ADV.AVS like.this-ADN.NPST

      il=lo   selo   kkelkkulep-ci anh-ass-um   coh-keyss-ney=yo.   **[Inference]**
      matter=INST each.other awkward-NMLZ NEG-PST-ADV.COND good-PROB-ADM=POL

      "From now on, we might see each other now and then in our office, so I hope we don't feel awkward because of this matter." [pomuy walchu10]

3.2   An actor of an adverbial clause

In addition to meaning of a modal form, an actor of an adverbial clause differs according to clausal types.

■ The actor of *-(u)myen* clause tends to be the hearer (60 examples out of 70; about 86%), whereas the actor of *-nuntey/ntey* clause is the speaker except for one example out of 73.[5]

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[3] Modal auxiliary *will* in English shows the same phenomenon with Korean *-(u)l kes*. Future *will* does not occur in conditional clauses, but volitional *will* does occur as in (i).

(i)   If Joe will (= "agrees to, is willing to") help you, you can finish today. (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: 84)

[4] Examples cited from the Sejong Corpus are given with the file numbers in square brackets. Examples from drama scripts are given with the title of the drama and the episode number.

[5] Details are given in section 4.2.

— Example (7) illustrates that the actor of *-(u)myen* clause should be interpreted as the hearer ("if **you** don't work").

— On the other hand, the actor of *-nuntey/ntey* clause is the speaker regardless of meaning of the modal form *-(u)l kes* (volition (8), inference (9)).

— Note that in the case of examples expressing an inference, the actor is the one who makes the inference.

■ Table3 summarizes this section.

Table3   Modal meaning and actor of adverbial clauses with a modal form *-(u)l kes*

	Meaning of *-(u)l kes*	**Actor of adverbial clause**
-(u)myen 'if'	Volition	Hearer (almost)
-nuntey/ntey 'although'	Volition/Inference	Speaker

4   Discussion

As shown in the previous section (cf. Table3), each clause differs in terms of the meaning of the modal form and the actor of an adverbial clause.

4.1   Modal meaning and juncture-nexus type

■ *-(u)myen* clause has a constraint on the meaning of a modal form, i.e. volition.

— An *-(u)myen* clause expresses a conditional meaning. The type of the juncture-nexus should therefore be construed as ad-clausal subordination as shown in Table1 (Van Valin 2005: 194-5).

— In RRG, root modality is categorized as a core operator and epistemic modality as a clausal operator (Van Valin 2005: 9).

— RRG predicts that both root and epistemic modalities should be allowed in the *-(u)myen* clause. However, the results of the analysis suggested that the meaning of *-(u)l kes* in *-(u)myen* clause is restricted to volition (root modality). This observation leads to the hypothesis that *-(u)myen* is at the ad-core level, rather than at the ad-clause level.

■ The above hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the actor of the *-(u)myen* clause is the same with that of the main clause, i.e. two units share one argument (7). Sharing argument is one of the characteristics of a core juncture in RRG.

■ Having said that, it should be noted here that the actors of an *-(u)myen* clause and a main clause may differ. However, the meaning of *-(u)myen* itself is different: in this case, unlike *-(u)myen* clause discussed above (7), it expresses a predictive meaning (10).

— (10) indicates the hearer's volition in the future. In this example, the speaker presumes that the hearer intends to go somewhere in the future. This interpretation is further supported by the

fact that it is possible to add the sentence adverb *manyakey* 'if' to the adverbial clause without changing the meaning.

(10)   *(manyakey) neyka keki ka-l ke-myen*   *na=n an ka-llay.*

      if   2:NOM there go-MOD-ADV.COND 1=TOP NEG go-VOL.NPOL

      "If you're going there, I won't go (there)."

■ To summarize, *-(u)myen* indicates the hearer's present volition when the adverbial and the main clause share an argument (actor) as illustrated in (7); *-(u)myen* indicates the hearer's future volition when the adverbial and the main clause do not share an argument (actor) as illustrated in (10).

4.2   Actor of an adverbial clause and illocutionary force

■ With respect to an actor of an adverbial clause, an actor of the conditional clause *-(u)myen* is the hearer, whereas an actor of the adversative clause *-nuntey/ntey* is mostly the speaker. A possible explanation for this is that illocutionary force in a main clause interacts with an actor of the *-(u)myen* clause.

■ All examples of conditional clause *-(u)myen* are related to speech-acts, but not all are in the examples of adversative clause *-nuntey/ntey*.

— The main clause of *-(u)myen* tends to be imperative (7) or interrogative (11), or tends to contain a deontic modal form (12).

(11)   *yenay=ha-lke-myen*   *sen=ul*   *way po-ni?*

      love=do-MOD-ADV.COND marriage.meeting=ACC why see-INTRR

      "If you still want casual relationship, why do you go to a marriage meeting?" [weyting11]

(12)   *eti*   *naka-l ke-myen*   *kkok*   *cenhwahay-ya tway*

      anywhere go.out-MOD-ADV.COND certainly call-OBLG:IND.NPST.NPOL

      "If you are going to somewhere, you should certainly give me a call." [CJ000273]

■ It can be said that illocutionary force of a main clause have scope over an *-(u)myen* clause, but it does not have a scope over a *-nuntey/ntey* clause.

■ As mentioned above, an actor of *-nuntey/ntey* clause is the speaker in most cases. However, only one example (13) shows the case where the actor of the *-nuntey/ntey* clause is the hearer. In this example, the main clause is interrogative. This example suggests that illocutionary force of a main clause affects interpretation of an actor of an adverbial clause.

(13)   *mwe mantu-si-l ke-ntey*   *ileh-key*   *manh-i*   *sa-sey=yo?*

      what make-HON-MOD-ADV.AVS like.this-ADVLZ many-ADVLZ buy-HON:INTRR-POL

      "What are you going to make? Do you buy things so much?" [2CJ00015]

■ (13) further suggests that illocutionary force is different from other clausal operators, such as status (epistemic modals, external negation), tense, and evidentials (Van Valin 2005: 9).

— Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41): "Illocutionary force is an extremely important and universal operator; it refers to whether an utterance is an assertion, a question, a command or an expression of a wish."

— Van Valin (2005: 9): "... illocutionary force specifies the type of speech act. Hence evidentials and illocutionary force are modifiers of the sentence or utterance as a whole, rather than one of its constituent clauses; they are thus 'sentential' in nature."

5   Summary

■ Meaning of a modal form *-(u)l kes* and an actor of an adverbial clause differ according to its syntactic properties.

   — Meaning of a modal form *-(u)l kes* expresses volitional meaning only when it co-occurs with conditional clause *-(u)myen* because *-(u)myen* is at ad-core level.

   — An actor of conditional clause *-(u)myen* is the hearer because it is interacted with illocutionary force of the main clause.

■ Further investigations about other combinations of adverbial clauses and modal forms and comparative studies with other languages (e.g. *will* in *if* clause in English) are needed.

Abbreviations

[A] ACC: Accusative, ADM: Admirative, ADN: Adnominal clause, ADV: Adverbial clause, ADVLZ: Adverbializer, ALL: Allative, AVS: Adversative

[C] COND: Conditional, COP: copula, CSL: causal

[D] DAT: Dative(-locative)

[H] HON: Honorific

[I] IMPR: Imperative, IMPS: Impossible, IND: Indicative, INST: Instrumental, INTRR: Interrogative

[L] LOC: Locative

[M] MOD: Modal form

[N] NEG: Negative, NOM: Nominative, NMLZ: Nominalization, NPOL: Nonpolite, NPST: Nonpast

[O] OBLG: Obligation

[P] POL: Polite, PROB: Probability, PST: Past

[S] SEQ: Sequential

[T] TOP: Topic

[V] VOL: Volition

1: First person, 2: Second person, -: Affix boundary, =: Clitic boundary, #: Word boundary

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Corpus

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Drama scripts

pomuy walchu, weyting