

Predicate + *-tay*' in Korean: A Lexical Analysis

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The purpose of this paper is to provide a lexical analysis of 'predicate + *-tay*' that seeks to maintain the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis. The 'predicate + *-tay*' in (1) exhibits the following properties: Phonologically, 't' of '*-tay*' becomes a fortis, *-tt* as in (2) if it occurs right after the consonantal tense morpheme in the predicate consisting of a stem and tense. Following Cho & Sells (1995), this phonological process ensures that 'predicate + *tay*' is a word. Morphologically, '*-tay*' appears to be a bound morpheme so that no element can be intervened between the predicate and *-tay*. Delimiters such as \square *man* 'only' cannot occur between the predicate and '*tay*' as in (3a), while they can freely occur between syntactic complex predicates as in (3b) (cf. Sells (1998)). Syntactically and Semantically, '*-tay*' increases a valence like causative morphemes, i.e. *-i*, and 'predicate + *-tay*' conveys a bi-clausal meaning as in (4).

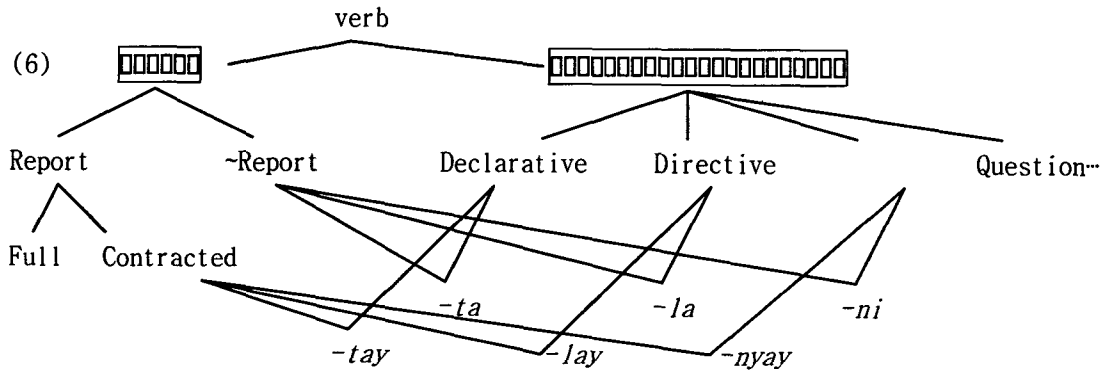
To account for this rather complex nature of 'predicate + *-tay*', the string has been analyzed as two independent words or a complex predicate at the syntax level under previous analyses including earlier transformational grammar work (cf. No (1997), Yoon (1994)). Specifically, previous analyses have proposed that *-tay* can be derived by the deletion of the parenthesis part in (5), assuming that (4b) is represented as in (5). Though there are some minor differences in representing the structure of 'predicate + *-tay*', it is evident that they posit an independent category at the syntax level for '*-tay*'. But the previous analyses still seem to be unsatisfactory in that they cannot systematically explain the phonological and the morphological properties of the 'predicate + *tay*'.

We claim here that contra the previous syntactic analyses, 'predicate + *tay*' is a word; we will show how it can be generated in the lexicon under current HPSG. Under our

lexical analysis, *-tay* as a contracted sentence-ending marker of reported speech can be generated in terms of the interaction of two dimensions, i.e. SPEECH and MODE, as in (6). Again, this morpheme can be represented as in (7). What this lexical process ensures us is that a contracted reported sentence-ending marker will select a v-tense-stem, which enables us to get a new ARG-ST in terms of the Argument Attraction (cf. Hinrichs & Nakazawa (1994)) and consequently to acquire a bi-clausal reading as seen in (7). Further, the optional subject as a reporter in (1) and (4b) just follows from (7). Given these mechanisms, the various properties of ‘predicate + *tay*’ can be predicted. Specifically, under our analysis the phonological and morphological properties showing that ‘predicate + *tay*’ is a word just follows since all processes above occur in the lexicon. The syntactic and semantic properties also can be accounted for in terms of the lexical restrictions on ‘*-tay*’. This lexical analysis provides a neat explanation for the various properties of ‘predicate + *tay*’ without recourse to positing unnecessary functional categories or clitics at the syntax. This analysis can be extended to the phenomenon where, as in (8), ‘predicate + *tay*’ can be varied like ‘predicate + *lay*’ with respect to the reported speech style by the definition of (6). Hence, this lexical analysis can sufficiently account for the properties of ‘predicate + *-tay*’ against the claim from the previous syntactic work.

- (1) Mary-ka cal twuin-tay.
 Mary-Nom well run-report
 ‘Somebody said to me that Mary ran well.’
- (2) twui-esstay → twui-ess-ttay : /t/ → /tt/ / C_ V
- (3) a. *twui-ess-man/to-tay
 b. twui-e-man poa (‘try’) ‘... only try to run’
- (4) a. Mary-ka cal twuin-ta.
 run-decl ‘Mary runs well.’
 b. Marcia-ka Mary-ka cal twuin-tay.
 Marcia-Nom Mary-Nom well run-report ‘Marcia said to me that Mary ran well.’

(5) s[Marcia-ka s[Mary-ka cal twuin-(ta-ko)] (ha-n-ta)] (tako hanta -> tay)



(7) *reported-contracted-lexeme* =>

STEM	[ARG-ST [1]
	CONT [2]
SUBJ	<[3](NP _i)>
ARG-ST	[1]⊕ [3]
CONT	[RELN say
	ARG1 i
	ARG2 [2]soa

(8) · Predicate + *tay*(declarative)/ *nyay* (question)/ *lay*(directives)/~

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