

The Cambridge Handbook of Korean Linguistics

The "Korean Wave" in music and film and Korea's rise to become the twelfth economic power in the world have boosted the worldwide popularity of Korean language study. The linguistic study of Korean, with its rich syntactic and phonological structure, complex writing system, and unique sociohistorical context, is now a rapidly growing research area. Contributions from internationally renowned experts on the language provide a state-of-theart overview of key current research in Korean language and linguistics. Chapters are divided into five thematic areas: phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, semantics and pragmatics, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, and language pedagogy. The Handbook includes cross-linguistic data to illuminate the features of Korean, and examples in Korean script, making it suitable for advanced students and researchers with or without prior knowledge of Korean linguistics. It is an essential resource for students and researchers wishing to explore the exciting and rapidly moving field of Korean linguistics.

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Preface

As linguists both working on Korean, we have often encountered the need for a handbook on Korean linguistics for advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and instructors who teach Korean language and Korean linguistics. We bring different perspectives to the task: one as a teacher of Korean and specialist on Korean second language learning, one as a researcher in comparative linguistics. This handbook has grown out of the demand and interest among Korean specialists over the past few decades.

Korean linguistics attracts the interest of not only students, researchers, and teachers working on the language, but of students and scholars of general linguistics. Korean is well known for such features as its three-way manner distinction among obstruents without a voicing distinction, case stacking, and multiple nominative and accusative constructions. The Korean writing system has long been a topic of interest to linguists and to those interested in writing systems in general. We have edited this book with such a broad audience in mind, but in particular for students in linguistics wishing to focus on Korean as well as for Korean studies students wishing to know more about the language. We have not attempted to "dumb down" the linguistic content of the book; for students coming to the subject for the first time, an introductory course in linguistics may be beneficial. Among those working with Korean from a practical standpoint, we hope to be of use not only to Korean language teachers and specialists in different areas of Korean studies, but also to English speakers learning Korean as a foreign language.

This handbook includes detailed articles covering a broad range of topics in Korean language and linguistics, including phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, semantics and pragmatics, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, and language pedagogy. We attempt to take the student through most of the major issues in the field: phonological issues such as vowel harmony and its origins, the theoretical issue of segmental



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and positional "strength", and in general the interface between different aspects of phonology and phonetics, and syntactic issues such as nominalization, scrambling, and the syntax-morphology interface that have been the focus of much research on Korean. Our authors have attempted to engage with these issues without presupposing a background in or commitment to specific phonological or syntactic theories.

We use Yale Romanization (YR; Martin 1992: 8–12) in the body of the text for proper names, titles, and linguistic data, and the McCune-Reischauer (Mc-R) Romanization for the rest, with two important exceptions. Both follow current informal practice among many Korean linguists. First, we do not employ the graph <q> used in YR to mark reinforcement in contexts such as *kal kil* (YR *kalq kil*) [kal.kil] "the road to be taken". Second, we represent the high back rounded vowel /u/ as <wu> in all environments. Standard YR writes only <u> after labial consonants. All errors are ours.



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Abbreviations

* ungrammatical

% acceptability variable depending on speaker

= clitic boundary

verbal suffix boundarycompound boundary

AATK American Association of Teachers of Korean

ACC accusative

Acc accusative case particle

ACTFL American Counsel on the Teaching of Foreign Language

ADJ adjective marker

Adj adjective adnominal suffix

Adn adnominal marker ADV adverb suffix

Adv adverb

AFC Active Filler Strategy

AH accessibility hierarchy or addressee honorific

AL artificial language
A/M Aspect/Modality
AP accentual phrase
App appositive marker
ATR advanced tongue root

ATTR attributive Aux auxiliary

BCE before common era BLC basic-level cognition

BndN bound noun

CA conversation analysis CAUS causative suffix

CDA critical discourse analysis

CE common era



List of Abbreviations

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CED condition on extraction domain

CER case extraction rule

Chin. Chinese

CIRCUM circumstantial connective CK contemporary Korean

CL(SF) classifier

Comm comitative particle or committal connective

C(omp) complementizer
COMPL completive
Con connective
Conj conjunctive suffix
Conje conjective suffix

Conje conjective su
CONT continuative
CONV converb

CONV.CONT contemporary converb CONV.INTER interruptive converb

CORREL correlative

CSAT College Scholastic Ability Test
CTRP complex transition relevance place

DA discourse analysis
Dat dative case particle

DC declarative

DCT: RE deductive reasoning

Dec/DECL declarative sentence-type suffix

Def deferential speech level suffix or particle

DefDec deferential declarative suffix

DET determiner

DIR directional particle

DIS discourse marker or domain-initial strengthening

Disj disjunctive suffix DM discourse marker

DPRK Democratic People's Republic of Korea

DVR deep voice resonance
EM Early Mandarin
EMC Early Middle Chinese
EMK Early Middle Korean
EMOK Early Modern Korean

EMPH emphatic

EN expletive negation EOJ Eastern Old Japanese EPG electropalatography

EVI evidential

EVinf inferential evidential EVins instantaneous evidential

EVqt quoted evidential



xxiv List of Abbreviations

EVrt

FutAdn

EwEwenEwkEwenkiExclamexclamatoryFMLfamiliar levelFPfocus particleFutfuture tense suffix

retrospective evidential

future adnominal suffix

GD genitive drop

Gen genitive case particle
Ger gerundive suffix
GH glottal height

GJT grammatical judgment test

GL generative lexicon
GM genitive-marked
GW glottal width
H high tone

HL heritage language HLC high-level cognition HON honorific suffix or particle

HT honorific title

IE informal sentence-ender
ILN individual-level nominals
IM interpersonal modal
Imp imperative suffix
IMP imperative
IMPFV imperfective
IN indicative mood

IND indefinite
INDC indicative mood
Inf infinitive suffix
Inst instrumental suffix

Int intimate speech level suffix or particle

Inten intentional suffix INTERR interrogative

INTRP interruptive connective IP intonational phrase

IPA International Phonetic Alphabet; Integrated Performance

Assessment

ISO International Standardization Organization

Jpn. Japanese Jur Jurchen

KFL Korean as a foreign language KHL Korean heritage language

L low tone



List of Abbreviations

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LAR laryngeal category **LHC** Late Han Chinese Late Middle Chinese **LMC LMK** Late Middle Korean locative particle Loc LOK Late Old Korean LV linking vowel Ma Manchu

MascSg masculine singular
MD grammatical mood
MdK Modern Korean
MJ Middle Japanese
MK Middle Korean
MM Middle Mongolian

Mod modulator
NOM nominative
Nan Nanai
Neg negative
Neg. Neghidal

NIKL National Institute for Korean Language

NOM nominalizing suffix Nom nominative case particle

NMLZ nominalizer

NPI negative polarity item

NPST non-past OBGT obligative OC Old Chinese

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OIR other-initiation of repair

OJ Old Japanese OJur Old Jurchen OH object honorific OK Old Korean

OPI Oral Proficiency Interview

Or. Oroch

PAM Perception Assimilation Model

PART participle
PASS passive suffix
Past past tense suffix

PCT patent cooperation treaty

Perf perfective suffix PFV perfective

PISA programme for international student assessment

PK proto-Korean PL plural marker



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Pln plain speech level suffix or particle

PM propositional modal POK Paekche Old Korean

POL politeness

Pol polite speech level suffix or particle

Poss possessive particle
Pred predicate suffix
PreN prenominal

Pres present tense suffix
PresAdn present adnominal suffix

PRF performative
Proc processive
Prog progressive suffix
PROM promissory

Prop propositive suffix
PROSP prospective
PRP propositive
PRS prospective
Prt particle
PST past tense

PstAdn past adnominal suffix
PT proto-Tungusic
Purp purposive suffix
PVC postverbal consituent

Q question marker or interrogative

QT quotative particle

QUOT quotative

QYN *yes-no* question marker QWH *wh*-question marker

RDC right-dislocation construction

REAL realis REP reportative

Ret retrospective suffix

RL relativizer

ROK Republic of Korea RT retrospective

RTR retracted tongue root SA speaker's attitude SE sentence ender

SG singular

SH subject honorific SK Sino-Korean

SLM Speech Learning Model SLN stage-level nominals SOK Silla Old Korean



List of Abbreviations

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Sol. Solon SS sai sios

SSHRC Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Susp suspective suffix TA tense, aspect

TAM tense/aspect/modality

TC topic, contrast

TCU turn-constructional units

TM topic marker Top topic particle TRANS transferentive

TVJT Truth Value Judgment Task

Ud Udihe Uil Uilta (Orok) Ul. Ulcha

UNASSIM unassimilated

UNGEGN United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names

VOT voice onset time

WALS World Atlas of Language Structures

WM Written Mongolian WOJ Western Old Japanese WPT Writing Proficiency Test

YOB year of birth YR Yale Romanization