

Abstract, *Kwanak Ŏmunyŏn'gu*(Journal of Department of Korean Language and Literature) 7, SNU, 1982.

A Study of Relationship between Predicative Endings and Relative Participle Endings

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1. In recent years many grammarians have been studying the relative constructions in present-day Korean, especially from the viewpoint of generative-transformational grammar; however, they have not been interested in the problem of where the markers of relative clauses come from. While the tense forms of the relative clauses in most languages correspond to those of predicative forms, at least from the morphological viewpoint, the tense forms of the relative clauses in present-day Korean are in many respects different from the predicative tense forms. Identifying a special kind of declarative endings neglected so far and systematizing the paradigms of predicative endings, we can discover the common elements between relative participle endings and predicative endings; furthermore, we can find the syntactic relation between the two constructions.

2. There are other kinds of declarative endings with *nira*, side by side with the general form with *ta*. The *nira*-endings are used in two-sided communications as well as in one-sided communications. We can reconstruct **rijn* and **rijnjə* as the respective underlying forms of presumptive participle ending *r* and presumptive interrogative ending *rijə* by observing the paradigms of the verbal mood system in Middle Korean. Comparing the two underlying forms with the rest of predicative

endings and participle endings, we find that the predicative endings in Middle Korean have the common element *ni*, which resembles partially the participle ending *n*.

3. From the morphological similarity between predicative endings and participle endings the common semantic distinctiveness may be derived. The tense which the two constructions represent is identical with each other: aorist form of action verb represents past tense, indicative form of action verb, descriptive verb, and copula present tense, respectively. The retrospective form represents past event as well as speaker's experience. However, the tense is not clearly represented in the one-sided communications and in non-deictic constructions; in these cases the tense elements can be replaced by each other without causing any change of meaning.

4. The fact that the predicative constructions and the participle constructions share the common morphological element and the same tense shows that the two constructions are related to each other syntactically. If the participial constructions are transformed into declarative constructions, the characteristics of the transformed constructions are identical morphologically and semantically with the actual declarative constructions. This indicates that participial constructions can be derived from declarative constructions by the rule of relativization. One of the rules which participate in transforming declarative constructions into participial constructions is the rule of particle deletion, which is not postulated in present-day Korean. Since the declarative ending *nira* can be analyzed into participle ending *n* plus particle *ira*, we can obtain participial constructions by simply deleting the sequence *ira*, which is not commonly shared.

5. The discrepancy between participial constructions and declarative constructions in present-day Korean is due to the radical change in the system of predicative endings over 500 years. The general endings with *ta* was formed by the disappearance of *ni* in *nira* endings. The disappearance is observed in Middle Korean and the residual forms of *nira* are still found in the 17th century. However, in one-sided communications the *nira*-endings had been used until the Enlightening Period of the early 20th century.