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Resultative Interpretation of Predicates in Korean*

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1. Introduction

The Korean periphrastic construction *VR-a/e iss¹-VS* (verbal root-connective ‘exist’-verbal suffix) is commonly considered to be a resultative marker, describing the resulting state of a previously completed event,² which pertains at the moment of utterance (1a) or at another reference time (1b). Indeed, the resultative, as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 6), is different from the stative, in expressing, besides a state, the previous event it resulted from. In (1a-b), the predicate *anc-* (‘sit’) combined with *-a iss-* expresses the state which results from the event of sitting:

- (1) a. *yepun yeca-ka peynchi-ey honca anc-a iss-ta³*
beautiful woman-Nom bench-Loc alone sit-a iss-TS (Decl)⁴
‘A beautiful woman is seated alone on the bench.’
- b. *yepun yeca-ka ecey cenyek-ey peynchi-ey honca anc-a iss-ess-ta*
beautiful woman-Nom yesterday evening-Loc bench-Loc alone sit-a iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘A beautiful woman was seated alone on the bench yesterday evening.’

The *-a/e iss-* construction is often compared with another periphrastic construction *VR-ko iss-VS* (verbal root-connective ‘exist’-verbal suffix) which expresses an ongoing action at a reference time (2a), but can also denote resultative meaning in certain cases (2b).⁵

- (2) a. *ttangpel-i cwuk-un camcali-lul mek-ko iss-ta*
digger.wasp-Nom die-AS dragonfly-ACC eat-ko iss-TS (Decl)
‘A digger wasp is eating a dead dragonfly.’

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¹ The Yale system is adopted here for the transcription of Korean.

² The terms used here for the classification of situational types are the classical ones: state and process both may persist over stretches of time, but the former differs from the latter in that it does not imply a change in time; event corresponds to Vendler’s accomplishment and achievement, which have an inherent end point (cf. Vendler 1967; Mourelatos 1978; Verkuyl 1989, among others).

³ With the exception of those taken from other studies, all examples given in this paper are attested on the Web, but are sometimes simplified for the reader’s sake.

⁴ List of abbreviations: ABL: Ablative, ACC: Accusative, ADVS: Adverbializing Suffix, AS: Adnominal Suffix, CL: Classifier, COM: Comitative, COORD: Coordinate marker, CS: Conjunctive Suffix, DAT: Dative, DECL: Declarative, DIR: Directional marker, EVID: Evidential marker, G: Genitive, HON: Honorific, IMP: Imperative, IMPFT: Imperfective suffix, INESS: Inessive, INT: Interrogative, LOC: Locative, NEG: Negation, NOM: Nominative, NS: Nominalizing Suffix, PAS: Passive, PFT: Perfect, PL: Plural, QUOT: Quotation marker, TH: Thematic marker, TS: Terminal Suffix, VN: Verbal Nominalization marker, VR: Verbal Root, VS: Verbal Suffix.

⁵ In other languages such as Japanese, Chinese and Mongolian, a single marker takes on either progressive or resultative meaning (cf. Shirai 1998; Uda 1996; Song Jae-mok 2007).

- b. *nwun-salam-i ppalkan moca-rul ssu-ko iss-ta*
 snow-man-Nom red hat-Acc put-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'A snowman is getting a red hat.'

These two periphrastic constructions share the same morpho-syntactic properties except the connectives *-a/e*⁶ and *-ko*: they are attached to a verbal root and contain the verb *iss-* ('exist') which takes verbal inflexional suffixes. The verb *iss-* is thus analyzed as an auxiliary in the two constructions because they occur with a "main" verb for describing its aspectual value, namely resultative aspect or progressive aspect (Lee Joo-Hayng 1992: 245-247; Suh Cheong-Soo 1994: 253-266, 293-300; Sohn Ho-Min 1999: 315-316, among others).⁷

Scholars have assumed that the resultative marker *-a/e iss-* can only be combined with intransitive telic verbs (1) or passive verbal forms, marked by the passive suffix *-(h)i-* (3a) but not with intransitive atelic verbs (3b), nor with descriptive verbs ('adjectives' for many scholars)⁸ (3c), or with transitive verbs (3d), whereas the resultative interpretation of the progressive marker *-ko iss-* is only possible for certain transitive verbs such as *ip-* ('put on (clothes)', 'wear'), *ssu-* ('put on (a hat, glasses)'), *tha-* ('ride', 'get on') (2b, 4a, b) (e.g. Ihm Hong-Bin 1975; Kim Yookyung 1993):

- (3) a. *pyek-ey kwangkomwun-i kel-i-e iss-ta*
 wall-Loc advertising.poster-Nom hang-Pas-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'An advertising poster hangs on the wall.'
- b. * *ku-ka wus-e iss-ta*
 he-Nom laugh-e iss-TS (Decl)
- c. * *kunye-ka yepp-e iss-ta*
 she-Nom beautiful-e iss-TS (Decl)
- d. * *ku-ka sakwa-lul mek-e iss-ta*
 he-Nom apple-Acc eat-e iss-TS (Decl)
- (4) a. *moksang tases-kay-ka pwulkun pitan os-ul ip-ko iss-ta*
 wooden.statue five-Cl-Nom red silk cloth-Acc put.on-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Five wooden statues are wearing red silk clothes.'
- b. *yen-iph-wi-ey kepwuki-ka tha-ko iss-nun moyang-uy hyang-kkoci*
 lotus-leaf-top-Loc turtle-Nom ride-ko iss-AS appearance-G incense-holder
 'An incense holder shaped as a turtle on a lotus leaf.'

However, the *-a/e iss-* construction can be used with stative verbs such as *nam-* ('remain'), *sal-* ('be alive') (5a, b), thereby weakening a resultative interpretation as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988).⁹ Moreover, it can co-occur with descriptive verbs, as illustrated in (5c, d):

- (5) a. *theng pi-n cip-ey kunye-uy hyangswu naymsay-ka nam-a iss-ess-ta*
 vacantly be.empty-AS house-Loc she-G perfume smell-Nom remain-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'The scent of her perfume lingered in the empty house.'
- b. *cayksun-un yecenhi sal-a iss-ta*
 Jackson-Th still be.alive-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'Jackson is still alive.'
- c. *yeysnal nay-ka sal-te-n cip-un manhi nalk-a iss-ess-ta*
 formerly I-Nom live-Evid-AS house-Th much be.worn a iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The house where I lived in former days was much worn'

⁶ The two forms *-a* and *-e* are phonologically conditioned allomorphs: *-a* occurs when the preceding verbal root contains the vowel *a* or *o* (*nam-a iss-ta*: 'remain'-*a iss-TS*; *nok-a iss-ta*: 'melt'-*a iss-TS*) and *-e* in all other cases (*pi-e iss-ta*: 'empty'-*e iss-TS*; *cwuk-e iss-ta*: 'die'-*e iss-TS*).

⁷ The surnames of Korean scholars are presented followed by their first name because of numerous namesakes.

⁸ I defend the analysis that the adjective class does not constitute an independent class from the verb class and that it is a subclass of the latter (cf. Choi-Jonin *et al.* 1994).

⁹ Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 7) use the term "resultative" for all forms expressing states, covering both resultant states and states proper, and call "resultative proper" the form expressing a resultant state with a previous action implied. The term "resultative" is used here in its narrow sense.

- d. *hangsang pi-e iss-nun nay yep.cali*
 always be.empty-e iss-AS my next.seat
 'The seat next to me which is still empty.'

Although she does not acknowledge the combinatory possibility of *-a/e iss-* with descriptive verbs, Lee EunHee (2008) claims that the two periphrastic constructions *-a/e iss-* and *-ko-iss-* are imperfective aspectual markers, and that *-a/e iss-* can only be combined with unaccusative and passive verbs while *-ko iss-* selects unergative and transitive verbs. In other words, the difference between the two periphrastic constructions is not in their semantic aspectual value, i.e. resultative and progressive, but lies in their argument structure: *-a/e iss-* cannot be used in an argument structure containing an external argument,¹⁰ contrary to *-ko iss-*.

Her analysis, interesting as it is, raises two problems however. The first concerns the validity of the Unaccusativity Hypothesis in Korean, and the second, the morpho-syntactic status of *iss-* contained in the two periphrastic forms. Indeed, as we will see below, the criteria put forward by scholars in defence of the unaccusativity hypothesis in Korean are very questionable. The two periphrastic constructions have not been completely grammaticalized, and, consequently, the verb *iss-* contained in these constructions cannot always be analyzed as an auxiliary verb. Its degree of grammaticalization as well as its syntactic relation with the preceding verb should thus be taken into account for a better comprehension of the two constructions in question. The issue of the morpho-syntactic status of the two periphrastic constructions has not yet, to my knowledge, been fully investigated for explaining the resultative interpretation of *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* in Korean.

The aim of this article is twofold: (i) to re-examine Lee's assumption (2008) on the distribution of *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions explained by argument structure as well as the validity of the Unaccusative Hypothesis in Korean (section 2); (ii) to elucidate syntactic and semantic factors allowing the resultative interpretation of Korean predicates when they are followed by *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions (section 3). It will be argued that, on the one hand, the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs need not be taken into account, insofar as it does not seem relevant in Korean,¹¹ and, on the other hand, the resultative interpretation of Korean predicates derives from the combination between the argument structure of the verb *iss-* ('exist'), the semantic structure of the preceding verb, and the way the connective markers *-a/e* and *-ko* link two verbs.

2. *-As/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions and argument structure

The assumption that *-as/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions are respectively a resultative marker and a progressive marker has been challenged by Lee EunHee (2008) for the following four reasons. The two first were already pointed out above, they are repeated here with the author's examples. First, the *-a/e iss-* form can be combined with certain stative predicates which do not entail a previously completed event:

¹⁰ External argument is an argument, which, at D-structure, is realized outside the maximal projection of the predicate, whereas internal argument is realized within the maximal projection of the predicate (cf. Williams 1981).

¹¹ According to Uda (1996: 148), the problems of the Japanese *te-ir* construction, which takes on either progressive or resultative meanings, have traditionally been examined primarily in terms of the aspectual event structure; sentences may have a resultative interpretation only (i) when the (intransitive) verb is an unaccusative, (ii) when the (transitive) verb is in the passive voice, or (iii) when the (transitive) verb denotes a reflexive process, i.e. the resulting change is found in the subject. However, the relevance of the Unaccusative Hypotheses for Japanese is called into question (Kuno & Takami 2004), as well as for English (Takami & Kuno 2002).

- (6) a. *ku-nun acik sal-a iss-ta*
 he-Th still live-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is still alive.'
- b. *hankwuke phuroguram-un enehak kwa-ey sokha-ye iss-ta*
 Korean Program-Th linguistics department-Loc belong-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'The Korean Program belongs to the Linguistics Department.'

Second, the *-ko iss-* form, like the *-a/e iss-* form, may describe a resultant state in some cases. In the following examples, where the subject refers to an animate entity, the *-ko iss-* form may express progressiveness or resultant states:

- (7) a. *ku-ka os-ul ip-ko iss-ta*
 he-Nom clothes-Acc wear-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is getting dressed.' or 'He is wearing clothes.'
- b. *ku-ka cacenke-lul tha-ko iss-ta*
 he-Nom bike-Acc ride-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is getting on a bike.' or 'He is on a bike.'

Third, some psych-verbs, such as *cohaha-* ('like'), *mwuseweha-* ('be scary') as well as some cognitive verbs such as *al-* ('know'), *mit-* ('believe'), combined with *-ko iss-*, denote a state:

- (8) *ku-ka ku sasil-ul al-ko iss-ta*
 he-Nom the fact-Acc know-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He knows –is now aware of– the fact.'

Fourth, the *-a/e iss-* form never occurs with transitive verbs, even though the latter are telic predicates (9). If it were a resultative marker, there would be no logical reason for this restriction, nor for the use of the *-ko iss-* form, which can describe a resultant state, as illustrated in (7):

- (9) * *ku-nun os-ul ip-e iss-ta*
 he-Th clothes-Acc wear-e iss-TS (Decl)
 [Intended] 'He is wearing clothes.' (As a result of putting clothes on)

The author thus proposes an alternative solution concerning the distribution of *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions, relying on the Unaccusative Hypothesis. According to her, the *-a/e iss-* form takes only verbs which cannot assign accusative case, namely unaccusative and passive verbs, whereas the *-ko iss-* form takes unergative verbs and transitive verbs. In this frame, the subject of unaccusative verbs, corresponding to an internal argument [Theme] is not characterized by the [Agent] feature. However, the verb *ka-* ('go'), whose subject is still agentive, can be used with the *-a iss-* construction as well as with the *-ko iss-* construction:

- (10) a. *ku-nun cikum hakkyo-ey ka-a iss-ta*
 he-Th now school-Loc go-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is now at the school.' (He has gone to the school.)
- b. *ku-nun cikum hakkyo-ey ka-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th now school-Loc go-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is going to the school.'

Faced with this problem, Lee EunHee proposes analyzing the subject in (10a) as a Theme which undergoes a change of location, and the subject in (10b) as an Agent carrying out an action. Similarly, the subject of the verb *sal-* which means 'be alive' when it is combined with an *-a iss-* form, would be non-agentive, while the subject of the same verbal form, which means 'live' when it is combined with *-ko iss-* form, would be agentive:

- (11) a. *ku-nun sal-a iss-ta*
 he-Th be.alive-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is alive.'

- b. *ku-nun* *aphathu-ey* *sal-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th apartment-Loc live-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is living in an apartment.'

Concerning the *-ko iss-* construction, Lee EunHee assumes that it selects both intransitive verbs taking an agentive subject and transitive verbs, and that it expresses the middle phase of a temporary situation even when it is used with psych-verbs and cognitive verbs denoting a continuous state and not an ongoing process or event. In her (2006) article, she distinguishes two subtypes of achievements, namely “climactic” achievements and “inchoative” achievements. For climactic achievements such as *tteleci-* ‘fall down’, *ttena-* ‘leave’, *phokphalha-* ‘explode’, etc., the transition point is the culmination (part II of Figure 1), corresponding to the end point of events. For inchoative achievements, on the other hand, the transition point II would indicate the inception of the resultant state III, rather than the culmination of the preparatory stage I. The author assumes that psych-verbs as well as cognitive verbs which can combine with *-ko iss-*, such as *salangha* ‘love’, *al-* ‘know’, *nukki-* ‘feel’, belong to this category. They are thus considered to be event descriptions rather than states, and they would be inchoative eventualities, indicating the inception of a continuous state.

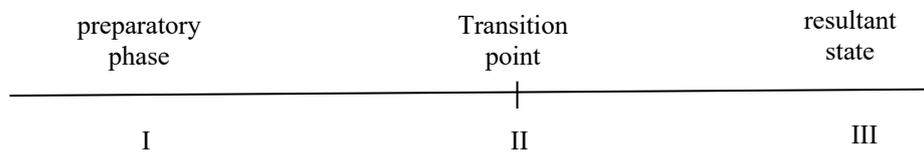


Fig 1. A schematic picture of events in Korean (Lee 2006: 699)

Lee EunHee’s claims appear problematic however for the following reasons:

i) the intransitive verbs *salaci-* (‘disappear’), *epseci-* (‘be lost’, ‘disappear’), which take a non-agentive subject, cannot combine with *-e iss-*:

- (12) a. *ku-nun* *yenki-chelem* *salaci-ess-ta*
 he-Th smoke-like disappear-Pft-TS (Decl)
 ‘He vanished like smoke.’
 b. * *kunun* *yenki-chelem* *salaci-e iss-ta*
 he-Th smoke-like disappear-e iss-TS (Decl)
- (13) a. *nay* *yelsoy-ka* *epseci-ess-ta*
 my key-Nom be.lost-Pft-TS (Decl)
 ‘My key is missing.’
 b. * *nay* *yelsoy-ka* *epseci-e iss-ta*
 my key-Nom be.lost-e iss-ta

ii) the *-a/e iss-* construction cannot follow a passive verb if the latter is atelic, whereas the *-ko iss-* construction can:

- (14) a. *totwuk-i* *kyengchal-ey* *ccoch-ki-ko iss-ta*
 thief-Nom police-by pursue-Pas-ko iss-ta
 ‘The thief is hunted by the police.’
 b. * *totwuk-i* *kyengchal-ey* *ccoch-ki-e iss-ta*
 thief-Nom police-by pursue-Pas-e iss-ta

iii) it is not impossible for the *-a/e iss-* construction to be used with descriptive verbs (‘adjectives’ for Lee EunHee 2008) (5c-d) as well as with transitive verbs (15a-b):

- (15) a. *kutul-un* *centhwu-lul* *phiha-ye iss-ta* *phokkyek-ul* *tanghay-ss-ta*
 they-Th combat-Acc avoid-e iss-CS bombardment-Acc undergo-Pft-TS (Decl)
 ‘They were bombarded while escaping from combat.’
- b. *ku-nun* *cikum* *sewul-ul* *ttena-a iss-ta*
 he-Th now Seoul-Acc leave-a iss-TS (Decl)
 ‘He is not in Seoul now.’ (He has left Seoul.)

iv) the verb *ka-* (‘go’), combined with *-a iss-*, passes the agentivity tests without any problem (it can be used in imperative constructions, for example):

- (16) a. *cip-ey* *ka-a iss-ela*
 home-Loc go-a iss-TS (Imp)
 ‘Go home (and stay).’
- b. *nampyen-un* *che-eykey* *cip-ey* *ka-a iss-tolok* *cisihay-ss-ta*
 husband-Nom wife-Dat home-Loc go-as iss-CS order-Pft-TS (Decl)
 ‘Her husband ordered her to go to home (and stay).’

v) some intransitive verbs taking a non-agentive subject can be used with *-ko iss-*, but less readily with *-a/e iss-*:

- (17) a. *choykun* *cosa-ey* *ttalumyen* *intheney-sul* *thonghay* *tv* *phuroguraym-ul*
 recent survey-Loc according.to Internet-Acc through TV program-Acc
sichengha-nun *saram-tul-i* *mikwuk* *kakwu-uy* *¼-ey* *talha-ko iss-ta*
 view-AS people-Pl-Nom America household-G ¼-Loc reach-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 ‘According to a recent survey, the number of people who watch TV programs via Internet represent ¼ of American households.’
- b. **[...]* *mikwuk* *kakwu-uy* *¼-ey* *talha-ye iss-ta*
 America household-G ¼-Loc reach-e iss-TS (Decl)

vi) the cognitive verb *molu-* (‘not know’), like its antonym *al-* (‘know’), can be followed by *-ko iss-*, but it can hardly be understood as an “inchoative” achievement, insofar as the state of the subject unaware of the fact expressed by *molu-ko iss-ta* is not the result of a previous event of its “coming to be unaware of it”:

- (18) *ku-nun* *i* *il-ul* *molu-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th this affair-Acc be unaware-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 ‘He does not know this affair.’

As for the Unaccusative Hypothesis, various scholars have proposed different criteria in order to prove its validity in Korean. The semantic features [±stative] and [±agentive] are taken into account by Kim Young Joo (1990), who argues finally that agentivity plays a more important role than stativity in the unaccusative/unergative distinction in Korean. Lee EunHee (2008) relies on this study, but redefines the notion of agents. While for Kim Young Joo (1990), [+agentive] requires the [+animate] and [+volitional] features, for Lee EunHee (2008), who uses the term Actor instead of Agent, agentivity in Korean does not require either volition or animacy, and the Actor role includes not only volitional and animate agents but also inanimate forces. Whatever the definition of agentivity chosen, this criterion encounters several problems. In addition to the ones mentioned above, the verb *kicelha-*, built on the Sino-Korean noun *kicel* (‘faint’) followed by the light verb *ha-* (‘do’), does not have the [+agentive] feature, because it does not involve a volitional agent nor an “internal causer” or “controller” (Lee’s Actor). Thus, it would be treated as an unaccusative verb, which has an underlying object and therefore lacks the ability to assign the accusative case. And yet, the noun *kicel* can bear the accusative suffix (*kicel-ul ha-ta*: faint-Acc do-TS), namely when the predicate is focused. Similarly, its synonym *cengsin(-ul) ilh-ta* (consciousness(-Acc) lose-TS: ‘lose consciousness’, ‘faint’) contains the noun *cengsin* which can bear the accusative suffix *-ul*. It is interesting to note that *kicel(-ul) ha-* can be used with the *-a iss-* form, while its synonym *cengsin(-ul) ilh-* cannot. The correlation between unaccusative verbs and the *-a/e iss-* construction is therefore open to challenge, given that the two verbal constructions in question, both non-agentive, behave differently with regards to the *-a/e iss-* construction.

- (19) a. *nwukwunka kichelha-ye iss-ess-ta*
 somebody faint-e iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'There is somebody who fainted.'
- b. *myech sikan-tongan thap an-eyse kichel-ul ha-ye iss-ess-ta-n mal-i-nka*
 several hour-during tour inner-Iness fainting-Acc do-e iss-Pft-TS-AS word-be-TS (Int)
 'Are you saying that he was unconscious during several hours?' (he had fainted)
- c. *Han Sekkywu chwalyeng-cwung cengsin ilh-e pyengwen-hayng*
 Han Sekkywu filming-middle consciousness lose-e CS hospital-direction
 'Han Sekkywu, moved to a hospital because he lost consciousness during filming.'
- d. * *Han Sekkywu cengsin(-ul) ilh-e iss-ta*
 Han Sekkywu consciousness(-Acc) lose-e iss-TS (Decl)
 [Intended] 'Han Sekkywu is unconscious.' (he has lost consciousness)

The [\pm active] feature has also been put forward to distinguish unaccusative and unergative verbs in Korean. For Yang Byong-Seon (1996), active predicates, i.e. predicates denoting activities, are unergatives, while non-active predicates, corresponding to those denoting accomplishments, achievements and states, are unaccusatives. This analysis is criticized by Lee Sang-Ki (2007) because predicates, such as *nemeci-* ('fall'), *cwuk-* ('die'), *wumciki-* ('move'), *tteleci-* ('fall'), exemplified in the following examples, can be used with the progressive marker *-ko iss-*, proving therefore their [$+$ active] property, while Yang Byong-Seon classifies them as unaccusatives:

- (20) a. *ku-ka nemeci-n-ta*
 he-Nom fall-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'He falls.'
- b. *ku-ka nemeci-ko iss-ta*
 he-Nom fall-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is falling.'
- (21) a. *kaykwuli-ka cwuk-nun-ta*
 frog-Nom die-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'The frog dies.'
- b. *kaykwuli-ka cwuk-ko iss-ta*
 frog-Nom die-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'The frog is dying.'
- (22) a. *cha-ka wumciki-n-ta*
 car-Nom move-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'The car moves.'
- b. *cha-ka wumciki-ko iss-ta*
 car-Nom move-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'The car is moving.'
- (23) a. *chencang-eyse mwul-i tteleci-n-ta*
 ceiling-Iness water-Nom fall-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'Water drips from the ceiling.'
- b. *chencang-eyse mwul-i tteleci-ko iss-ta*
 ceiling-Iness water-Nom fall-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Water is dripping from the ceiling.'

Lee Sang-Ki (2007: 56) argues that "[\pm agentive] and [\pm active] should be considered concurrently in order to fully capture the unaccusative-unergative distinction in Korean". He thus analyzes the predicates having [$+$ agentive] and [$+$ active] as unergatives, and the others, viz. [$+$ agentive, -active], [$-$ agentive, $+$ active] and [$-$ agentive, -active], as unaccusatives. The verbs in (20-23) could thus be classified as unaccusatives, because they are [$-$ agentive, $+$ active]. The verbs *ket-* ('walk'), *ttwi-* ('run'), *ka-* ('go'), *anc-* ('sit') and *tochakha-* ('arrive') are classified by the author as unergatives when they are used with an agentive subject, but as unaccusatives when they are used with a non-agentive subject. However, the argument he puts forward himself for rejecting the [\pm agentive] feature in the distinction between unaccusative and unergative invalidates his

very analysis. In the following example provided by Lee Sang-Ki (2007: 55), the verb *ttayli-* ('hit') does not involve a voluntary action, and thus would be treated as unaccusative, lacking accusative case assigning ability, and yet it requires an accusative object:

- (24) *mwunttuk* *pwulkilhan* *yeykam-i* *twithongswu-lul* *ttayli-ess-ta*
 suddenly ominous presentiment-Nom back.head-Acc hit-Pft-TS (Decl)
 '(I) had an ominous feeling.'

In fact, the Korean accusative marker can be attached not only to an internal argument (25a) but also to a cognate object (25b), to a nominal predicate preceding a light verb (25c), or to a temporal or spatial adjunct (25d, e). Moreover, in all these cases, its presence is optional:

- (25) a. *cip(-ul)* *ci-ess-ta*
 house(-Acc) build-Pft-TS (Decl)
 '(I) built a house.'
- b. *cam(-ul)* *ca-n-ta*
 sleep(-Acc) sleep-Impft-TS (Decl)
 Lit: '(He) sleeps a sleep.'
- c. *kosayng(-ul)* *ha-ta*
 suffering(-Acc) do-TS (Decl)
 'suffer'
- d. *sey* *sikan(-ul)* *ttyi-ess-ta*
 three hour(-Acc) run-Pft-TS (Decl)
 '(I) ran for three hours.'
- e. *mikwuk(-ul)* *ka-ss-ta*
 America(-Acc) go-Pft-TS (Decl)
 '(He) went to America.'

This is the main reason why the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is controversial in Korean. Certain scholars claim that there is no reason to distinguish the two verbal subcategories, insofar as no syntactic criterion is available for Korean (*cf.* You Hyun-Kyung & Lee Seon-Hee 1996; Jeong Hee-Jeong 1996; Seng Kwang-Soo 2001). Song Chang-Seon (2008), in turn, poses that combination with *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* establishes the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs: the *-a/e iss-* form would combine with intransitive verbs while the *-ko iss-* form would combine with transitive verbs. This criterion is not more effective than the possibility of having an accusative object, because the verbs usually classified as intransitive verbs, such as *ka-* ('go'), *nwup-* ('lie down'), *anc-* ('sit'), can indeed be associated with the two phrasal constructions:

- (26) a. *ku-ka* *hakkyo-ey* *ka-ko iss-ta* / *ka-a iss-ta*
 he-Nom school-Loc go-ko iss-TS (Decl) / go-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is going to the school.' / 'He is at the school.' (He has gone to the school.)
- b. *ku-ka* *nwup-ko iss-ta* / *nwu-we iss-ta*
 he-Nom lie.down-ko iss-TS (Decl) / lie.down-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is lying down.' (ongoing) / 'He is in bed.'
- c. *ku-ka* *anc-ko iss-ta* / *anc-a iss-ta*
 he-Nom sit-ko iss-TS (Decl) / sit-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is taking a seat.' / 'He is sitting.' (he is in his seat)

The syntactic criteria proposed by some researchers for the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs in Korean are not very convincing either. Ahn Hee-Don (1991) proposes that VP Focus Fronting in Korean can apply to unergatives but not to unaccusatives, and provides the following examples as evidence:

- (27) a. *Chelswu-ka* (*ppalli*) *ttwuy-ki-nun* *ha-yess-ciman...*
 Chelswu-Nom (fast) run-NS-Th do-Pft-CS (although)
 'Although Chelswu did run fast...'
- b. [*ppalli*] *ttwuy-ki-nun*] *Chelswu-ka t* *ha-yess-ciman...*
 (fast) run-NS-Th Chelswu-Nom do-Pft-CS (although)
 'Run fast, although Chelswu did...'

- (28) a. *pi-ka* (manhi) *o-ki-nun* *ha-yess-ciman...*
rain-Nom (a lot) come-NS-Th do-Pft-CS (although)
‘Although it dit rain (a lot)...’
- b. * [(manhi) *o-ki-nun*]_j *pi-ka t_j* *ha-yess-ciman...*
(a lot) come-NS-Th rain-Nom do-Pft-CS (although)
Lit: ‘Rain a lot although it did...’

(27b) sounds quite awkward however. Moreover, as is pointed out by Kuno and Takami (2004), the unacceptability of (28b) is due to the absence of other actions which can be compared and contrasted with the action that the referent of the subject might have taken. Indeed, the thematic marker *-nun* attached to the fronted VP in the preceding examples is “paradigmatisant”,¹² in the sense that the constituent suffixed by *-nun* refers to an entity chosen among those available in discourse context (Choi-Jonin, 2001b). The VP Focus Fronting does thus not constitute a valid criterion.

Another syntactic criterion, proposed by Cho Sungdai (1999), concerns the test using the adverb *panccum* (‘halfway’): he posits that unaccusatives are compatible with this adverb and unergatives are not. This claim is contested by Lee Sang-Ki (2007), who accepts the use of the adverb *panccum* with unergative verbs. For Cho Sungdai, (29a) is fine but not (29b), while for Lee Sang-Ki, (29b) is fine as well as (29c). As for my proper judgment, the acceptability of all these three sentences is highly questionable:

- (29) a. *Kim-i* *panccum* *nemeci-ess-ta*
Kim-Nom halfway fall-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘Kim fell halfway.’
- b. *Soo-ka* *panccum* *ttwi-ess-ta*
Soo-Nom halfway run-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘Soo ran halfway.’
- c. *Soo-ka* *panccum* *wul-ess-ta*
Soo-Nom halfway cry-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘Soo cried halfway.’

In any case, adverb *panccum* is attested with transitive verbs such as *masi-* (‘drink’), with [+agentive, +active] verbs such as *nwup-* (‘lie down’), *ilese-* (‘stand up’) and with [-agentive, -active] such as *michi-* (‘be crazy’).

- (30) a. *na-nun* *cha-lul* *panccum* *masi-ess-ta*
I-Th tea-Acc halfway drink-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘I drank half a cup of tea.’
- b. *ku-ka* *panccum* *nwu-wese* *siksa-ha-n-ta*
he-Nom halfway lie.down-CS meal-do-Impft-TS (Decl)
‘He takes a meal half lying.’
- c. *ku-nun* *panccum* *ilese-myense* *malhay-ss-ta*
he-Th halfway stand.up-CS speak-Pft-TS (Decl)
‘He spoke as he stands up halfway.’
- d. *ku-nun* *panccum* *michi-e iss-ta*
he-Th halfway be.crazy-e iss-TS (Decl)
‘He is half crazy.’

The ‘halfway’ test appears thus rather problematic for the distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives.

The final criterion we will examine is from Lee Sang-Ki (2007). According to him, accusative-nominative case alternations in long-form negation constructions would be the most reliable and valid criteria for testing Korean unaccusativity. Korean has two types of negation: short-form negation consists of the negative form *an* or *mos*, which is placed before a verbal form (31a,

¹² The *adverbes paradigmatisants* term (‘paradigmatising adverbs’) is from Nølke (1983).

b), while long-form negation consists of a verbal nominalization by *-ci* followed by the negative verb *anh-* (31c, d). The following examples are from Lee Sang-Ki (2007):

- (31) a. *Soo-ka an o-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom Neg come-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not come.'
- b. *Soo-ka umsik-ul mos mek-ess-ta*
 Soo-Nom food-Acc Neg eat-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo could not eat food.'
- c. *Soo-ka o-ci anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom come-VN Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not come.'
- d. *Soo-ka umsik-ul mek-ci anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom food-Acc eat-VN Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not eat food'

Lee Sang-Ki argues that unaccusatives would accept both nominative and accusative markers for nominalized verbs by *-ci* in long-form negative, while unergative and transitive verbs would allow only the accusative marker. The first case is exemplified by the author in (32-35a) and the second in (32-35b):

- (32) a. *yenlak-i ka-ci-lul/ka anh-ass-ta*
 news-Nom go-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The news was not delivered'
- b. *Soo-ka ka-ci-lul/*ka anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom go-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not go'
- (33) a. *menci-ka uyca-ey anc-ci-lul/ka anh-nun-ta*
 dust-Nom chair-Loc sit-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Impl-TS (Decl)
 'The dust did not lie on the chair'
- b. *Soo-ka uyca-ey anc-ci-lul/*ka anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom chair-Loc sit-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not sit on the chair'
- (34) a. *sosik-i tochakha-ci-lul/ka anh-ass-ta*
 news-Nom arrive-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The news did not arrive'
- b. *Soo-ka tochakha-ci-lul/*ka anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom arrive-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not arrive'
- (35) a. *cipkaps-i ttwi-ci-lul/ka anh-ass-ta*
 housing.price-Nom run-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Housing prices did not increase'
- b. *Soo-ka ttwi-ci-lul/*ka anh-ass-ta*
 Soo-Nom run-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'Soo did not run'

However, the non-agentive transitive verb *talm-* ('resemble') can take both nominative and accusative markers in its long-form negation, while the non-agentive transitive verb *thoha-* ('vomit') does not take the nominative marker. Furthermore, the intransitive non-agentive verb *kicelha-* ('faint') does not take the nominative marker even though it should be classified with unaccusative verbs because of its non-agentivity. On the other hand, the agentive verb *moi-* ('gather'), which should be classified as an unergative verb, can take both nominative and accusative markers:

- (36) a. *i ai-nun na-lul talm-ci-lul/ka anh-ass-ta*
 this child-Th I-Acc resemble-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'This child does not look like me'

- b. *ai-ka cal mek-ko tho-ha-ci-lul/*ka anh-uni tahayng-i-ta*
 child-Nom well eat-Coord vomit-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-CS luck-be-TS (Decl)
 'It is lucky that the baby eats well and does not throw up what he has eaten'
- d. *eccayse ce-nyesek-un kicelha-ci-lul/*ka anh-un key-ya?*
 why that-fellow-Th faint-VN-Acc/*Nom Neg-AS thing.be-TS (Int)
 'Why didn't that fellow faint?'
- e. *tanchey-ey salam-i moi-ci-lul/ka anh-nun-ta*
 association-Loc people-Nom gather-VN-Acc/Nom Neg-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'People do not gather in the association'

Given what has been examined above, it transpires that the Unaccusativity Hypothesis cannot serve to explain the resultative interpretation in Korean, nor to classify Korean verbs.

3. Resultative interpretation of *-a/e iss* and *ko-iss* constructions

As shown above, the two constructions in question can be interpreted in various ways. *-A/e iss*-constructions can have resultative and stative interpretations (37a-b), and *-ko iss*- constructions can have progressive, resultative, stative and repetitive interpretations (38a-d):

- (37) a. *ku-nun anc-a iss-ta (resultative)*
 he-Th sit-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is sitting.' (He has sat down.)
- b. *ku-nun sal-a iss-ta (stative)*
 he-Th be.alive-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is alive.'
- (38) a. *ku-ka cip-ey ka-ko iss-ta (progressive)*
 he-Nom home-Loc go-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is going home.'
- b. *ku-ka moca-lul ssu-ko iss-ta (progressive/resultative)*
 he-Nom hat-Acc put-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is putting on a hat' / 'He is getting a hat'
- c. *manhun ai-tul-i i chayk-ul cohaha-ko iss-ta (stative)*
 many child-Pl-Nom this book-Acc like-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Many children like this book.'
- d. *i chayk-i choykuney cal phal-li-ko iss-ta (repetitive)*
 this book-Nom recently well sell-Pas-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'This book is selling well at the moment.'

Ko Seok-ju (2007) assumes that the various interpretations of *-a/e iss*- and *-ko iss*- constructions derive from their combination with the preceding verb, and that the connective markers *-a/e* and *-ko* each have their proper value, as well as the verb *iss*- contained in the two periphrastic constructions. I largely share his point of view, and, in the following lines, will provide further arguments in favor of this assumption. I will begin by examining the morpho-syntactic status of the verb *iss*- contained in the two periphrastic constructions, then the value of the connective markers *-a/e* and *-ko* and the syntactic and semantic relations between the verbs bearing these suffixed markers and the verb *iss*-.

3.1. Morpho-syntactic status of the verb *iss-*

Ko Seok-ju (2007) claims that the verb *iss-* contained in *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions has the same meaning as the full verb *iss-*, namely ‘exist (in some particular place)’, and proposes representing its lexical conceptual structure as follows:

(39) [State BE ([x], [Place AT ([y]])]]

(x), the subject of the verb *iss-* used as a full verb, is localized in a given place (y). Indeed, in (40) where the verb *iss-* is used as a full verb, the subject is localized in a place (a), on the time axis (b), in the possession of someone or of something (c, d), or in a social position (e):

- (40)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>cikum</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | now | school-Loc | be-TS (Decl) | |
| | ‘He is now at the school.’ | | | | |
| b. | <i>hoyuy-ka</i> | <i>yel-si-ey</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> | | |
| | meeting-Nom | ten-hour-Loc | be-TS (Decl) | | |
| | ‘There is a meeting at ten o’clock.’ | | | | |
| c. | <i>ku-(eykey-)nun</i> | <i>hayntuphon-i</i> | <i>sey-kay</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-(Dat-)Th | handphone-Nom | three-Cl | be-TS (Decl) | |
| | ‘He has three handphones.’ | | | | |
| d. | <i>i</i> | <i>cip-(ey-)nun</i> | <i>pang-i</i> | <i>twu-kay</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> |
| | this | house-(Loc-)Th | room-Nom | two-Cl | be-TS (Decl) |
| | ‘This house has two rooms.’ | | | | |
| e. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>hoysa-uy</i> | <i>sacang-ulo</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> |
| | he-Th | this | company-G | president-as | be-TS (Decl) |
| | ‘He is president of this company.’ | | | | |

Ko Seok-ju argues that in *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions, the subject is located also in a given place. As he points out, the object of the verb *ka-* (‘go’) can be marked both by the locative case *-ey* and by the directional case *-lo* (41a). However, the directional case is not allowed if the verb *ka-* is followed by the *-a iss-* form (41b). This constraint does not apply to the *-ko iss-* construction in its progressive meaning (41c):

- (41)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|---------------------|--|
| a. | <i>Chelswu-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey/lo</i> | <i>ka-ss-ta</i> | |
| | Chelswu-Nom | school-Loc/Dir | go-Pft-TS (Decl) | |
| | ‘Chelswu went to/in the direction of the school.’ | | | |
| b. | <i>Chelswu-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey/*lo</i> | <i>ka-a iss-ta</i> | |
| | Chelswu-Nom | school-Loc/*Dir | go-a iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | ‘Chelswu is at/*in the direction of the school.’ (He has gone to the school.) | | | |
| c. | <i>Chelswu-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey/lo</i> | <i>ka-ko iss-ta</i> | |
| | Chelswu-Nom | school-Loc/Dir | go-ko iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | ‘Chelswu is going to/in the direction of the school.’ | | | |

The author also provides the following examples, where the verbs *cwuk-* (‘die’) and *camtul-* (‘fall asleep’) require an object marked by the inessive case *-eyse*, when accompanied by the *-e iss-* form, their object must be marked by the locative case *-ey*, not by *-eyse*:

- (42)
- | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>pataska-eyse/*ey</i> | <i>cwuk-ess-ta</i> | <i>/ camtul-ess-ta</i> |
| | he-Th | beach-Iness/*Loc | die-Pft | <i>/ fall.asleep-Pft-TS (Decl)</i> |
| | ‘He died / fell asleep on the beach.’ | | | |
| b. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>pataska-*eyse/ey</i> | <i>cwuk-e iss-ta</i> | <i>/ camtul-e iss-ta</i> |
| | he-Th | beach-*Iness/Loc | die-e iss-TS (Decl) | <i>/ fall.asleep-e iss-TS (Decl)</i> |
| | ‘He is dead / has fallen asleep on the beach.’ | | | |

According to Ko Seok-ju, localization of the subject must be effected by the verb *iss-* in the *-a/e iss-* construction. In other words, since the object of the verb *iss-* can only be marked by the locative case, not by the directional case nor by the inessive case, these latter case markers cannot appear in the *-a iss-* construction.

Another argument which reinforces Ko Seok-ju's assumption is the possibility to add the temporal adverbial phrase *for x time* to *-a/e iss-* constructions. Indeed, in (43), the telic verb *ka-* ('go to') can combine with this adverbial phrase when it is used with the *-a iss-* form, but cannot when it is used alone. The temporal adverbial phrase *for x time* relates then to the verb *-iss* rather than to its preceding verb. Furthermore, it can also co-occur with the verb *-iss* used as a full verb:

- (43) a. *caknyen-ey* ***phal-kyeywel-tongan*** *philiphin-ey* *ka-a iss-ess-ta*
last.year-Loc eight-month-during Philippines-Loc go-a iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
'I was in the Philippines for eight months last year.' (I had gone to the Philippines.)
- b. **caknyen-ey* ***phal-kyeywel-tongan*** *philiphin-ey* *ka-ss-ta*
last.year-Loc eight-month-during Philippines-Loc go-Pft-TS (Decl)
Lit: 'I went to the Philippines last year for eight months.'
- c. *caknyen-ey* ***phal-kyeywel-tongan*** *philiphin-ey* *iss-ess-ta*
last.year-Loc eight-mongh-during Philippines-Loc be-Pft-TS (Decl)
'I was in the Philippines for eight months last year.'

These arguments clearly show that the verb *iss-* maintains its argument structure in the *-a/e iss-* construction, demanding a locative object. It should be noted however that the locative object of the verb *iss-* can only be placed immediately preceding its predicate with difficulty:

- (44) a. ? *ku-nun* *cwuk-e* ***pataska-ey*** *iss-ta*
he-Th die-e beach-Loc iss-TS (Decl)
Lit: 'He is dead and on the beach.'
- b. ?? *ku-nun* *camtul-e* ***pataska-ey*** *iss-ta*
he-Th fall.asleep-e beach-Loc iss-TS (Decl)
Lit: 'He is fallen asleep and on the beach.'

The verbs suffixed by the conjunctive *-a/e* hereby show tight cohesion with the verb *iss-*, and with the latter form a *converb*, expressing adverbial meaning. Ramstedt (1939: 89) calls it "converbium perfecti" or "converbium anterioris": "it gives the action of the first verb as in time preceding that of the following verb, and it can also give the first verb as being less important in the mind of the speaker than the following verb, or referring to it descriptively". For Choi Hyun-Bae (1929: 282), the verb suffixed by *-a/e* describes the "look" of its resulting state and functions as an adverb. Actually, the verb *iss-* does not function as an auxiliary verb in the *-a/e iss-* construction.

As for the *-ko iss-* construction, it does not show the same properties in its resultative and progressive interpretations. Indeed, with resultative meaning, it is possible to insert an adverb before the verb *iss-* (45a), while it is not possible with progressive interpretation (45c):

- (45) a. *thulithumenthu-cey-lul* *meli-ey* *palu-n* *hwu*
treatment-product-Acc hair-Loc apply-AS after
pinil moca-lul ***ssu-ko*** ***o-pwun-cengto*** ***iss-taka*** *hayngkwu-n-ta*
plastic cap-Acc put-ko five-minute-about iss-CS rinse-Impft-TS (Decl)
'After applying the treatment to the hair, put the plastic cap on and keep it for about 5 minutes, then rinse.'
- b. [...] ***o-pwun-cengto*** *pinil* *moca-lul* ***ssu-ko iss-taka*** *hayngkwu-n-ta*
five-minute-about plastic cap-Acc put-ko iss-CS rinse-Impft-TS (Decl)
'put the plastic cap on and keep it for about 5 minutes, then rinse.'
- c. * ***nol-ko*** ***camkkan*** ***iss-upnita***
have.fun-ko for.a.little.while iss-Ts (Decl+Hon)
- d. ***camkkan*** ***nol-ko iss-upnita***
for.a.little.while have.fun-ko iss-TS (Decl+Hon)
'I am having fun for a little while.'

On the other hand, when the *-ko iss-* construction has resultative meaning the verb *iss-* can be preceded by its argument marked by the locative case *-ey* (46b), but not when it has progressive meaning (46d). The object marked by the inessive *-eyse* can precede *-ko iss* both in its resultative and progressive meanings (46a, c):

- (46) a. *ku-nun* *silnay-eyse* *ssenkullasu-lul* *ssu-ko* *iss-ess-ta*
 he-TH indoor-INESS sunglasses-ACC put-ko iss-PFT-TS (DECL)
 'He has sunglasses on indoors.' (He has put sunglasses on.)
- b. *ku-nun* *senkullasu-lul* *ssu-ko* *silnay-ey/*eyse* *iss-ess-ta*
 he-Th sunglasses-Acc put-ko indoor-Loc/*Iness iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'He has sunglasses on indoors.' 'He was indoors with sunglasses on.'
- c. *pang-eyse* *nol-ko iss-upnita*
 room-Iness have.fun-ko iss-TS (Decl+Hon)
 'I am having fun in the room'
- d. *nol-ko* *pang-*ey/*eyse* *iss-upnita*
 have.fun-ko room-*Loc/*Iness iss-TS (Decl+Hon)

These facts lead me to claim that in the *-ko iss-* construction, the verb *iss-* can be analyzed as an aspectual auxiliary in its progressive meaning, but not in its resultative meaning. In the latter case, it is not auxiliarized and is used as a *coverb* in a serial verb construction. Ramstedt (1939: 88) calls the verbs ending in *-ko* "converbium presentis": "With this ending the first verb is expressed when two verbs are *coordinated*, i.e. when they express two actions or qualities *accompanying each other*, either really at the same time or only in the thought of the speaker considered *equally important*". I prefer the term *coverb* for *-ko* verbal forms because these forms manifest more syntactic autonomy than *-a/e* verbal forms, allowing a locative argument as well as a temporal adverbial adjunct before the verb *iss-* (cf. ex. 45a, 46b).

In terms of grammaticalization, it can be said that the *coverb -a/e iss-* constructions are more grammaticalized than the *coverb -ko iss-* construction denoting resultative meaning, but less grammaticalized than the auxiliary *-ko iss-* denoting progressive meaning (cf. Fig. 3).

3.2. Connective markers *-a/e* and *-ko*

Concerning the two connective markers, Ko Seok-ju (2007: 14, footnote 19; 16) explains them as follows. The connective *-a/e* presents the situation represented by the preceding verb as being brought into existence, while the connective *-ko* serves to link two situations. In (47a) containing the *-a/e iss-* construction, *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-a* states the existence of Chelswu's going to the school, and the verb *iss-* localizes the subject at the school. On the other hand, in (47b) containing the *-ko iss-* construction, the connective *-ko* establishes connection between the location of the subject and the path encompassed in Chelswu's going to the school. Therefore, the subject is localized somewhere on this path, yielding a progressive interpretation:

- (47) a. *Chelswu-ka* *hakkyo-ey* *ka-a iss-ta*
 Chelswu-Nom school-Loc go-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'Chelswu is at the school.' (He has gone to the school.)
- b. *Chelswu-ka* *hakkyo-ey* *ka-ko iss-ta*
 Chelswu-Nom school-Loc go-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Chelswu is going to the school.'

These descriptions are however not very clear for me, because the connective *-a/e* serves also to link two situations as does the connective *-ko*. Moreover, the author does not provide any argument for the resultative interpretation of the *-ko iss-* construction.

I assume that the difference between the two connective markers lies in the way they link two verbs. The connective *-ko* presents its preceding verb as an independent situation with regard to the following verb, while the connective *-a/e* presents its preceding verb as a situation specifying the following verb, like an adverbial adjunct. Indeed, in (47a), the verb *ka-* ('go') suffixed by *-a* specifies the source of the localization of the subject: Chelswu is at the school, because he has gone to the school. On the other hand, in (47b), illustrating the progressive meaning of the *-ko iss-* construction, the verb suffixed by *-ko* presents an independent situation, because the verb *iss-* has lost its argument structure and does not denote any situation. In (45a-b), illustrating the resultative meaning of *-ko iss-*, the localization of the subject operated by the

verb *iss-* is not related to the fact that one has put a cap on. The two situations linked by *-ko* are thus independent. This difference between the two connectives seems to have a connection with the morphosyntactic status of the two periphrastic constructions: the *-ko iss-* construction with its resultative meaning forms a coverb, and with its progressive meaning, it functions as an auxiliary, while the *-a/e iss-* construction forms a converb¹³.

Below we will examine the temporal relations between the two situations established by the two connectives. This will help explain the different interpretations of the two periphrastic constructions as well as their lexical selectional constraints. The connective marker *-ko* will be examined first, then the connective *-a/e*.

3.2.1. Connective marker *-ko*

A verb suffixed by *-ko* can be presented as a situation occurring at the same time as the one linked to it (48a), or as a situation occurring and ending beforehand (48b):

- (48) a. *chentwung-i chi-ko pi-ka o-n-ta*
 thunder-Nom strike-ko rain-Nom come-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'It thunders and rains.'
- b. *siksaha-ko cwumwusey-yo*
 have.a.meal-ko sleep(Hon)-TS (Decl+Hon)
 'Go to bed after having a meal.'

When the *-ko iss-* form denotes progressive or repetitive meaning, the state described by the verb *iss-* co-occurs at the same time as the situation described by the verb suffixed by *-ko*. It is thus its simultaneous value that surfaces in this case. Indeed, in (47b), the localization of the subject somewhere on the path traced by the verb *ka-* ('go') results from the concomitant state of the subject with the event *going*, which can be schematized as follows:

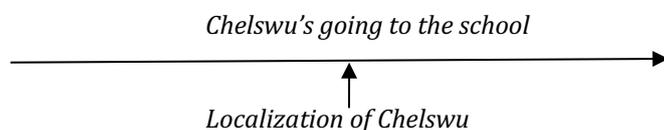


Fig. 2. Progressive meaning of *-ko iss-*

As shown before, the *-ko iss-* construction can be used not only with dynamic predicates but also with certain stative predicates. The stative predicates which can be used with the *-ko iss-* construction are the ones which imply that the situation asserted by the speaker can be changed. Hence, *-ko iss-* combines with cognitive verbs such as *al-* ('know'), *molu-* ('ignore'), *sayngkakha-* ('think'), *mit-* ('believe'), because I can forget what I know now, hear what I ignored, stop thinking or believing what I think or believe now.

- (49) a. *ku-nun i sasil-ul al-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th this fact-Acc know-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He knows this fact.'
- b. *ku-nun i sasil-ul molu-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th this fact-Acc ignore-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He does not know this fact.'

¹³ Even though rare, the *-a/e iss-* construction can be used in transitive constructions (cf. below, ex. 64-66). In this case, it forms a coverb, but the verb suffixed by *-a* presents a situation which causes the moving of the subject, localized elsewhere.

- c. *na-nun ilehke sayngkakha-ko iss-ta*
 I-Th in.this.way think-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'I think in this way.'
- d. *kutul-un cakitul-uy sungli-lul kwutkey mit-ko iss-ta*
 they-Th themselves-G victory firmly believe-ko iss- TS (Decl)
 'They firmly believe that they would win a victory.'

The subject of these verbs in the *-ko iss-* constructions is localized within the subject's cognitive state, and, in this case too, the connective *-ko* activates its simultaneous value.

As for the combinatory possibility of *-ko iss-* with some psych-verbs, this needs further explanation because these verbs show some peculiarity in Korean. The verbs which Jang Po-Woong (1994) calls "sensation verbs" are characterized by their morphology: they systematically have a periphrastic form augmented by the light verb *ha-* ('do'):

- (50) a. *uisimsulep-ta uisimsulewe-ha-ta*
 doubt-TS doubt-do-TS
- b. *pankap-ta pankawe-ha-ta*
 be.glad-TS be.glad-do-TS
- c. *hwuhoysulep-ta hwuhoysulewe-ha-ta*
 regret-TS regret-do-TS
- d. *sewunha-ta sewunhay-ha-ta*
 be.regrettable-TS be.regrettable-do-TS
- e. *mianha-ta mianhay-ha-ta*
 be.sorry-TS be.sorry-do-TS

The short form can only be used in the first person in declarative sentences, and in the second person in interrogative sentences, but hardly in the third person. The long form containing the verb *ha-* can only be used in the third person:

- (51) a. *towacwu-ese komaw-e*
 help-CS thank-TS (Decl)
 'Thanks for your help.'
- b. * *towacwu-ese komawe-hay*
 help-CS thank-do.TS (Decl)
- (52) a. *hwuhoysulew-e?*
 regret-TS (Int)
 'Are you regretting?'
- b. * *hwuhoysulewe-hay?*
 regret-do.TS (Int)
- (53) a. * *ku-nun ney-ka towacwu-ese komaw-e*
 he-Th you-Nom help-CS thank-TS (Decl)
- b. *ku-nun ney-ka towacwu-ese komawe-hay.*
 he-Th you-Nom help-CS thank-do.TS (Decl)
 'He thanks you for your help.'

It is claimed by Jang Po-Woong that Korean sensation verbs differently materialize two enunciative functions, namely the expressive function and the communicative function. The former refers to the speaker's feelings which cannot be experienced by anybody else, and this is expressed by the short forms of sensation verbs. The latter refers to the speaker's act of informing his addressee, and is expressed by the long forms. Indeed, somebody else's feelings cannot be experienced by the speaker, who can only assume what the other feels.

The *-ko iss-* construction can combine with the long forms of sensation verbs but not with their short forms. Most scholars consider the long forms as non-stative verbs and the short forms as

stative verbs (or adjectives), because of their combinatory (in)compatibility with *-ko iss-*, as well as with the imperfective verbal suffix *-(nu)n*. I claim that this combinatory (in)compatibility is in fact due to the enunciative function of each of the two forms. As pointed out above, the long form has a communicative function, and the speaker reports what he sees or hears directly or what he induces from what he perceives. Moreover, the light verb *ha-* contained in the long form can be used as a report verb, as illustrated in the following example:

- (54) *kyeycel kwail-i kenkang-ey coh-ta-ko ha-n-ta*
 season fruit-Nom health-Loc be.good-TS-Quot do-Impft-TS (Decl)
 'They say that season fruits are good for health'

I thus assume that the periphrastic form *miweha-* can be interpreted as: 'I inform you of my assertion that x hates'. Contrary to the short form *mip-* ('hate'), it refers to a situation which can be changed, but what is subject to be changed in this form is not the feeling of somebody, but rather the assertion of the speaker expressed by the verb *ha-*. Hence, it can be used with the *-ko iss-* construction, unlike the short form which does not imply a change of state.

- (55) a. *kutul-un selo-lul miwe-ha-ko iss-ta*
 they-Th each.other-Acc hate-do-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'They hate each other.'
- b. * *na-un ku-ka mip-ko iss-ta*
 I-Th he-S hate-ko iss-TS (Decl)
- c. *na-un ku-ka mip-ta*
 I-Th he-S hate-TS (Decl)
 'I hate him.'

The simultaneous value of the connective *-ko* is maintained in this case too, since the speaker is localized within his cognitive state.

The same explanation is valid for the use of the *-ko iss-* construction with report verbs, such as *malha-* ('speak'), *cwucangha-* ('assert'), *palkhi-* ('make clear'), as well as with the stative verb *talha-* ('reach'), the assertion of which is based on an external source, as in (56d):

- (56) a. *Lee paksa-nun i cem-ul tasi kemthohay-yaha-n-ta-ko malha-ko iss-ta*
 Lee doctor-Th this point-Acc again examine-must-Impft-TS-Quot speak-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Doctor Lee says that this point must be reexamined.'
- b. *hakca-tul-un i twu mwuncey-ka selo kwankyey-ka eps-ta-ko*
 scholar-Pl-Th this two problem-Nom each.other relation-Nom not.exist-TS-Quot
cwucangha-ko iss-ta
 assert-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'Scholars assert that these two problems have no relation between them.'
- c. *ku-nun i mwuncey-eytayhay cenhye mol-ass-ta-ko palkhi-ko iss-ta*
 he-Th this problem-about completely ignore-Pft-TS-Quot make.clear-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'He says publicly that he did not know anything of this problem.'
- d. *choykun cosa-ey ttalumyen intheney-ul thonghay tv phurograym-ul*
 recent survey-Loc according.to Internet-Acc through TV program-Acc
sichengha-nun saram-tul-i mikwuk kakwu-uy ¼-ey talha-ko iss-ta
 view-AS people-Pl-Nom America household-G ¼-Loc each-ko iss-TS (Decl)
 'According to a recent survey, the number of people who watch TV programs via Internet reaches ¼ of American households.'

In these examples, the report verbs are not to be interpreted as on-going events, but describe the speaker's assertion on the validity of what is being reported.

In sum, the *-ko iss-* construction is used as an imperfective marker, when the simultaneous value of the connective *-ko* prevails over its non-simultaneous value. It refers to the "implicative progressive" pointed out by Cohen (1989: 131); with this progressive type, the speaker involves himself in his affirmation. Cohen distinguishes this progressive from the "participative progressive", which renders explicit the relation between the subject and the event or the

situation expressed by the predicate. The participative progressive is marked in Korean by the verbal suffix *-(nu)n-* (cf. Choi-Jonin 2001a). As an implicative progressive marker, the *-ko iss-* form is completely grammaticalized: the verb *iss-* contained in this form has lost its argument structure, but its simultaneous meaning persists.

The resultative interpretation of the *-ko iss-* construction is related to the non-simultaneous value of the connective *-ko*, since the verb suffixed by *-ko* describes, in this case, an event already ended before the state of the subject expressed by the verb *iss-*. The following examples illustrate the resultative meaning of the *-ko iss-* form:

- (57)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>nwun-ul</i> | <i>kam-ko iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | eye-Acc | close-ko iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | 'He has his eyes closed.' | | | |
| b. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>kokay-lul</i> | <i>swuki-ko iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | nape-Acc | bow-ko iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | 'He has his head bowed.' | | | |
| c. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>hanpok-ul</i> | <i>ip-ko iss-ess-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | traditional.Korean.clothes-Acc | put-ko iss-Pft-TS (Decl) | |
| | 'He attired himself in Korean traditional clothes.' | | | |
| d. | <i>kunye-nun</i> | <i>ppalkan</i> | <i>lwuzu-lul</i> | <i>palu-ko iss-ta</i> |
| | she-Th | red | lipstick-Acc | apply-ko iss-TS (Decl) |
| | 'She has applied red lipstick to her lips.' | | | |
| e. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>cim-ul</i> | <i>ci-ko iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | burden-Acc | have.on.one's.back-ko iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | 'He has a burden on his back.' | | | |
| f. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>heyntuphon-ul</i> | <i>sey-kay</i> | <i>kaci-ko iss-ta</i> |
| | he-Th | handphone-Acc | three-Cl | have-ko iss-TS (Decl) |
| | 'He has three handphones.' | | | |
| g. | <i>ku-nun</i> | <i>othopai-lul</i> | <i>tha-ko iss-ta</i> | |
| | he-Th | motorbike-Acc | get.on-ko iss-TS (Decl) | |
| | 'He is on the motorbike.' | | | |

The resultative expressed in these examples is what Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988) call the "possessive resultative". This type of resultative is only used in Korean with certain transitive verbs. Indeed, the object of these verbs refers to e.g. one of the subject's body parts, something in immediate contact with the subject (clothes, accessories, make-up, burden, etc.) or in his possession, or for open means of transportation (cart, bicycle, etc.).

It is noteworthy that according to Lee Ki-Kap (1982), in the 15th-16th centuries the possessive resultatives were expressed either by the *-ko iss-* or the *-a/e iss-* constructions. The use of the latter, as we will see below, then became restricted to subjective and objective resultatives and to intransitive constructions, with possessive resultatives in transitive constructions being expressed by the *-ko iss-* form. The verb *iss-*, as shown above, is not grammaticalized in the resultative interpretation of the *-ko iss-* construction.

3.2.2. Connective marker *-a/e*

A verb bearing the connective suffix *-a/e* can describe a situation having occurred before the following verb. In this case, the verbs linked by this connective refer to two situations in succession, and not to two simultaneous ones. In the following examples, the verbal phrases which follow those suffixed by *-a* can be preceded by their adverbial adjunct, and thus manifest their syntactic autonomy:

- (58)
- | | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>Chelswu-nun</i> | <i>tosekwan-ey</i> | <i>ka-a</i> | <i>(halucongil)</i> | <i>kongpwuha-n-ta</i> |
| | Chelswu-Th | library-Loc | go-a | (all day) | study-Impft-TS (Decl) |
| | 'Chelswu studies in the library (all day).' (He has gone to the library.) | | | | |
| b. | <i>ilena-a</i> | <i>(ppali)</i> | <i>pap mek-e</i> | | |
| | get.up-a | (quick) | rice eat-TS (Imp) | | |
| | 'Get up and have a meal (quickly).' | | | | |

A verb suffixed by *-a/e* can also describe the manner of the following verb, and, in this case, the two verbs refer to two simultaneous situations. The second verb in this construction can be syntactically autonomous or form a compound verb with the preceding verb. In (59), the accusative object of the verb *mantul-* ('make') can be placed before the *-a* verbal phrase functioning as a manner adjunct, or before its predicate. In (60), however, the ablative object of the verb *naka-* ('go out') cannot be inserted between the two verbal forms linked by *-e*, since the *-e* verbal form, expressing the manner component of the motion verb *naka-*, makes up a compound verb with the latter:

- (59) a. *na-nun pangsek-ul cengseng tely-e mantul-ess-ta*
 I-Th cushion-Acc sincerity enter-e make-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'I made a cushion with all my heart.'
- b. *na-nun cengseng tely-e pangsek-ul mantul-ess-ta*
 I-Th sincerity enter-e cushion-Acc make-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'I made a cushion with all my heart.'
- (60) a. *paym-i kwumeng-eyse ki-e nao-ass-ta*
 snake-Nom hole-Abl crawl-e come.out-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'A snake crawled out of the hole.'
- b. * *paym-i ki-e kwumeng-eyse nao-ass-ta*
 snake-Nom crawl-e hole-Abl come.out-Pft-TS (Decl)

-A/e iss- constructions manifest hybrid characteristics of the two types of *-a/e* that we saw above, when the verbs suffixed by *-a/e* are telic verbs. Indeed, they present an event having occurred before the localization of the subject operated by the verb *iss-*. The two verbs in these constructions are thus not simultaneous. Yet, as shown above, they form a converb, and cannot be separated by any constituent, like the *-a/e* verbal form which appears as a manner component in compound motion verbs. I assume thus that the resultative interpretation of *-a/e iss-* construction derives from the non-simultaneous relation established by this connective between two verbs. The verb *iss-* in this construction keeps its argument structure, and the verb suffixed by *-a/e* refers to a situation descriptively, as a manner adjunct. For example, in the verbal phrase *anc-a iss-ta* ('sit down'-a 'be'-TS), the verb suffixed by *-a* describes not only the event 'sit down' ended before the situation expressed by the verb *iss-* but also the manner of the subject's being.

According to diachronic research (Lee Ki-Kap 1982; Heo Ung 1987), the *-a/e iss-* periphrastic construction could combine with any type of verb in the 15th century, before the appearance of the perfect form *-ass-/-ess*, derived from the *-a/e iss* form by phonological contraction.¹⁴ Scholars have claimed that today it is only used with intransitive telic verbs, such as *anc-* ('sit down'), *se-* ('stand up'), *nwup-* ('lie down'), *cwuk-* ('die'), *ka-* ('go'), *o-* ('come'), but not with intransitive atelic verbs, such as *ttwi-* ('run'), *ket-* ('walk'), *ca-* ('sleep'), *wus-* ('laugh'). When it is used with transitive verbs, the latter must be in the passive forms, marked by the passive suffix *-(h)i-* (cf. Ihm Hong-Bin 1975). *-A/e iss-* constructions are thus used for subjective and objective resultatives:

- (61) a. *ku-ka se-e iss-ta*
 he-Nom stand.up-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is in a standing up position.'
- b. *ku-ka nwu-we iss-ta*
 he-Nom lie.down-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is in a lying down position.'
- c. *twu salam aph-ey chascan-i noh-i-e iss-ta*
 two person front-Loc tea.cup-Nom put-Pas-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'There are tea cups (put) in front of the two people.'
- d. *pyek-ey kwangkomwun-i kel-i-e iss-ta*
 wall-Loc advertising.poster-Nom hang-Pas-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'An advertising poster hangs on the wall.'

¹⁴ Korean perfect forms thus manifest some resultative properties. On this question see Choi-Jonin (2006).

These descriptions need to be more precisely specified however. Indeed, as shown in Choi-Jonin (2006), all telic intransitive verbs cannot be used with the *-a/e iss-* construction, but only those describing observable states¹⁵. Intransitive telic verbs, such as *salaci-* ('disappear') or *epseci-* ('get lost, disappear'), cannot combine with *-e iss-*:

- (62) a. * *kunun* *yenki-chelem* *salaci-e iss-ta*
 he-Th smoke-like disappear-*e iss*-TS (Decl)
- b. * *yelsoy-ka* *epseci-e iss-ta*
 key-Nom be.lost-*e iss*-TS (Decl)

The verb *tha-* ('burn') can be used with this periphrastic form, provided that the subject is not completely burned or is still recognizable:

- (63) a. *chayk-i* *panccum* *tha-a iss-ess-ta*
 book-Nom halfway burn-*a iss*-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The book was half burned.'
- b. ?? *phyenci-ka* *wancenhi* *tha-a iss-ess-ta*
 letter-Nom totally burn-*a iss*-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The letter is totally burned.'

-A/e iss- constructions can also be used with certain transitive verbs, as illustrated in (15), repeated in the following examples:

- (64) a. *kutul-un* *centhwu-lul* *phiha-ye iss-ta* *phokkyek-ul* *tanghay-ss-ta*
 they-Th combat-Acc avoid-*e iss*-CS bombardment-Acc undergo-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'They were bombarded while getting away from combat.'
- b. *ku-nun* *cikum* *sewul-ul* *ttena-a iss-ta*
 he-Th now Seoul-Acc leave-*a iss*-TS (Decl)
 'He is not in Seoul now.' (He has left Seoul.)

In these cases, the verb suffixed by the connective *-a/e* does not form a converb with the following verb *-iss*, insofar as the verb *-iss* can be preceded by its locative argument or by a temporal adverb:

- (65) a. *kutul-un* *centhwu-lul* *phiha-ye* *tongkwul-ey* *iss-ta* *phokkyek-ul* *tanghay-ss-ta*
 they-Th combat-Acc avoid-*e* cave-Loc *iss*-CS bombardment-Acc undergo-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'They were bombarded while being in a cave in order to get away from combat.'
- b. *sewul-ul* *ttena-a* *camsi* *iss-taka* *tolao-ala*
 Seoul-Th leave-*a* for.a.while *iss*-CS come.back-TS (Imp)
 'You should leave Seoul and be (somewhere else) for a while before coming back.'

The constituents governed by the verb *-iss* can also appear before the *-a/e iss-* constructions, as in the *-ko iss-* coverb construction yielding resultative meaning (*cf.* ex. 45a-b, 46a-b):

- (66) a. *kutul-un* *tongkwul-ey* *centhwu-lul* *phiha-ye iss-ta* *phokkyek-ul* *tanghay-ss-ta*
 they-Th cave-Loc combat-Acc avoid-*e iss*-CS bombardment-Acc undergo-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'They were bombarded while being in a cave in order to get away from combat.'
- b. *camsi* *sewul-ul* *ttena-a iss-taka* *tolao-ala*
 for.a.while Seoul-Th leave-*a iss*-CS come.back-TS (Imp)
 'You should leave Seoul and be (somewhere else) for a while before coming back.'

Here, *-a/e* verbs refer to a previously ended event, which causes the moving of the subject, localized elsewhere. Hence, the place where the previous event has ended does not correspond to the place where the subject is localized by the verb *iss-*. That is why it is difficult to have a resultative interpretation, which needs the subject to be localized at the same place where the

¹⁵ According to Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 29), resultatives describing visually perceivable states are attested in a variety of languages.

previous event has ended. Indeed, in (67a), *uyca* ('chair') is the place where the event *sitting* ended and where the subject is localized; in (67b), *hakkyo* ('school') is the place where the event *going* ended and where the subject is localized:

- (67) a. *ku-ka* *uyca-ey* *anc-a iss-ta*
 he-Nom chair-Loc sit-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is in his seat.' (He has sat down.)
- b. *ku-nun* *hakkyo-ey* *ka-a iss-ta*
 he-Th school-Loc go-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is at the school.' (He has gone to the school.)

-A/e iss- constructions can also co-occur with certain stative verbs. Here, too, the verb *iss-* keeps its argument structure and hence needs a locative argument. The verbs suffixed by *-a/e* therefore describe a particular state wherein the subject is localized. Accordingly, the stative verbs referring to a permanent quality or to an invariable distinctive characteristic of a thing or a person cannot co-occur with the *-a/e iss-* form, since they do not denote a particular state which the subject could be localized in. On the other hand, verbs referring to a property which has a beginning and/or an end can. Indeed, stative predicates such as *yeppu-* ('to be beautiful'), *cak-* ('to be small'), which describe a permanent quality of the subject, cannot be used with *-a/e iss-* (68a-b). The same is true for stative predicates, such as *kophu-* ('to be hungry'), *ecilep-* ('to be dizzy') which refer to a non-permanent property, but can be felt only by the subject and not by a third person (68c-d). On the other hand, it can combine with the stative predicates such as *sal-* ('to be alive'), *sokha-* ('to belong'), *nam-* ('to remain'), which do not denote a permanent quality of the subject and are compatible with a locative (68e-g):

- (68) a. *Yelli-nun* *yeppu-ta* / **yepp-e iss-ta*
 Yelli-Th be.beautiful-TS (Decl) / *be.beautiful-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'Yelli is beautiful.'
- b. *Chelswu-nun* *khi-ka* *cak-ta* / **cak-a iss-ta*
 Chelswu-Th height-Nom be.small-TS (Decl) / *be.small-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'Chelswu is small.'
- c. *pay-ka* *kophu-ta* / **koph-a iss-ta*
 stomach-Nom be.hungry-TS (Decl) / *be.hungry-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'I am hungry.'
- d. *meli-ka* *ecilep-ta* / **ecile-we iss-ta*
 head-Nom e.dizzy-TS (Decl) / *be.dizzy-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'My brain reels.'
- e. *ku-nun* *acik* *pwukhan-ey* *sal-a iss-ta*
 he-Th still North Korea be.alive-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is still alive in North Korea.'
- f. *ku-nun* *konghwa-tang-ey* *sokha-ye iss-ta*
 he-Th Republican-party-Loc belong-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is affiliated with the Republican Party.'
- g. *sewul-ey* *cipkaps* *phoklak* *kanungseng-un* *yecenhi* *nam-a iss-ta*
 Seoul-Loc housing.price slump possibility-Th still remain-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'The possibility of a housing prices slump still remains in Seoul.'

Descriptive verbs such as *nalk-* ('to be worn') and *pi-* ('to be empty') are also attested with *-a/e iss-* constructions, as illustrated in (5c-d), repeated in (69a-b). Interestingly, these examples describe the narrator's observation on states which have already taken place, and the thematic constituent in (69a), as well as the nominal head of the relative in (69b) represent a locative entity:

- (69) a. *yeysnal* *nay-ka* *sal-te-n* *cip-un* *manhi* *nalk-a iss-ess-ta*
 formerly I-Nom live-Evid-AS house-Th much be.worn a iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The house where I lived in former days was much worn.'
- b. *hangsang* *pi-e iss-nun* *nayyep.cali*
 always be.empty-e iss-AS my next.seat
 'the seat next to me which is still empty.'

The stative or descriptive verbs which can combine with the *-a/e iss-* construction thus denote the states' being subject to change. This possibility of a change of state can be made explicit by the adverb *acikto* ('still'), reinforced by an antonymous coordinating phrase, and/or by the adverb *imi* ('already'):

- (70) a. *ku-nun acikto cwuk-ci anh-ko sal-a iss-ta*
 he-Th still die-VN Neg-Coord be.alive-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'He has not died and is still alive.'
- b. *kunye-uy hyangki-ka acikto epseci-ci anh-ko nam-a iss-ta*
 she-G perfume-Nom still disappear-VN Neg-Coord remain-a iss-TS (Decl)
 'Her perfume has not disappeared and still remains.'
- c. *ku tosi-uy kenmwul-tul-un acikto manhi nalk-a iss-ess-ta*
 that city-G building-Pl-Th still much be.worn a iss-Pft-TS (Decl)
 'The buildings of that city were still much worn.'
- d. *acikto pi-e iss-nun nay yep.cali*
 still be.empty-e iss-AS my next.seat
 'the seat next to me which is still empty'
- (71) a. *ku-nun imi konghwa-tang-ey sokha-ye iss-ta*
 he-Th already Republican-party-Loc belong-e iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is already affiliated with the Republican Party'
- b. *imi pi-e iss-nun khephi.can*
 already be.empty-e iss-AS coffee.cup
 'the cup of coffee which is already empty'

In *-a/e iss-* constructions, the verb *iss-* maintains its locative argument, even when the verb suffixed by *-a/e* is represented by stative or descriptive verbs, and the selectional constraints for stative verbs are due to their argument structure. However, the locative argument of the verb *iss-* cannot appear before its predicate but can before the verb suffixed by *-a/e*. The two verbs linked by *-a/e* thus form converbs:

- (72) a. ? *ku-nun acik sal-a pwukhan-ey iss-ta*
 he-Th still be.alive-a North KoreaLoc iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is still alive in North Korea.'
- b. * *ku-nun sokhai-e konghwa-tang-ey iss-ta*
 he-Th belong-e Republican-party-Loc iss-TS (Decl)
 'He is affiliated with the Republican Party.'
- c. * *cipkaps phoklak kanungseng-un yecenhi nam-a sewul-ey iss-ta*
 housing.price slump possibility-Th still remain-a Seoul-Loc iss-TS (Decl)
 'The possibility of a housing prices slump still remains in Seoul.'

It thus appears that the stative verbs suffixed by *-a/e* manifest the same properties as verbs functioning as manner adjuncts in compound verbs (*cf. ex. 60*). Indeed, the two verbs linked by *-a/e* form converbs, and the states denoted by them represent two simultaneous states. Therefore, the resultative interpretation is not available, since the subject is localized within the state described by the verb suffixed by *-a/e*, and not at the place where an event has ended.

In sum, the resultative interpretation of *-a/e iss-* constructions is possible in Korean only for intransitive converb constructions in which the two situations linked by the connective *-a/e* are not simultaneous, and only provided that the resulting state is observable. Moreover, as the verb *iss-* in these constructions keeps its locative argument, the subject is localized at the place where the preceding event ended¹⁶.

¹⁶ As noted in footnote (11), the Japanese *te-ir* construction can express both progressive meaning and resultative meaning, and the localization of an entity seems to play an important role for the resultative interpretation (*cf. Uda 1996*).

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I argued first that the Unaccusative Hypothesis does not help for the description of Korean *-a/e iss-* and *-ko iss-* constructions. Nor does it help for the classification of Korean verbs, insofar as none of the criteria proposed in the literature appear to be valid. Second, I demonstrated that the two periphrastic constructions in question can represent both simultaneous and non-simultaneous situations, and that the resultative interpretation derives from the temporal relations of the latter.

The *-ko iss-* construction triggers progressive meaning when the two situations linked by the connective *-ko* are simultaneous. In this case, it is used as an imperfective marker and refers to implicative progressive. The verbs suffixed by *-ko* are dynamic predicates or stative predicates, denoting the cognitive state of the speaker, and the verb *iss-* does not maintain its argument structure. *-Ko iss-* forms are completely grammaticalized in their progressive meaning.

When the two situations linked by the connective *-ko* are not simultaneous, the verb *iss-* keeps its locative argument, which can be placed before it as well as before the verb suffixed by *-ko*. It thus makes up a coverb with the latter. The possessive resultative interpretation is available in this case, provided that the verb suffixed by *-ko* is a telic transitive predicates accompanied by an object referring to one of the subject's body parts, to something in immediate contact with the subject or in his possession, or to an open means of transportation.

As for the *-a/e iss-* construction, the verb *iss-* contained in this construction keeps its locative argument whether the two situations linked by the connective *-a/e* are simultaneous or not. When the two situations linked by the connective *-a/e* are simultaneous, the verbs used in the construction are stative predicates which do not denote a permanent quality and are compatible with a locative. In this case, the verb *iss-* forms a coverb with the preceding verb, and does not allow its locative argument before it but does before the verb suffixed by *-a/e*.

When the two situations linked by the connective *-a/e* are not simultaneous, they appear mostly in intransitive constructions and rarely in transitive ones. In transitive constructions, the verb *iss-* forms a coverb with the preceding verb and accepts its locative before it, as well as before the verb suffixed by *-a/e*. The two situations linked by *-a/e* are independent, and the place where the subject is localized does not correspond to the place where the preceding event ended. In intransitive constructions, the verb *iss-* forms a coverb with the preceding verb, and does not allow its locative argument before it but does allow it before the verb suffixed by *-a/e*. Subjective and objective resultative interpretations are available in this case, provided that the subject is an observable entity.

It would appear that, in the resultative interpretation of the two periphrastic constructions in question, the verb *iss-* is not completely grammaticalized and thus keeps its locative argument. The constraint that the subject must be observable appears to be connected to the subject's localization operated by the verb *iss-*.

The results obtained in this study are summarized in Table 1, and Figure 3 shows the degree of grammaticalization of the five types of the two periphrastic constructions.

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