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Lexicographical Treatment of the Korean Verb *mandul-* 'to make'

ABSTRACT: The Korean verb **mandul-** 'to make' is listed, apparently arbitrarily, either as one entry or two entries in Korean dictionaries. This paper provides various syntactic and semantic evidence to claim that the verb **mandul-** should be treated as two different homonyms. It also suggests that the same principle applies to many other Korean verbs. The ultimate purpose of this paper is to provide an answer to the question, "On what grounds can a verb with more than one meaning be split into homonyms?"

1.

The Korean verb *mandul-* 'to make' is treated as one entry in KWUKE TAESACEN (Dictionary of Korean Language), while it is listed as two separate words in SAE WULIMAL SACEN (New Dictionary of Our Language). These represent two major dictionaries of the Korean language. Other Korean dictionaries list the verb either as one entry or two entries without giving any criteria on which the decision is made.

The present paper claims that the verb *mandul-* needs to be listed as two homonyms, namely, *mandul-*[1] and *mandul-*[2]. To support this claim various syntactic and semantic arguments will be provided. The paper will further suggest that the same syntactic and semantic arguments may extensively apply not only to the verbs which belong to the same class as *mandul-* but also to other classes of verbs.

2.
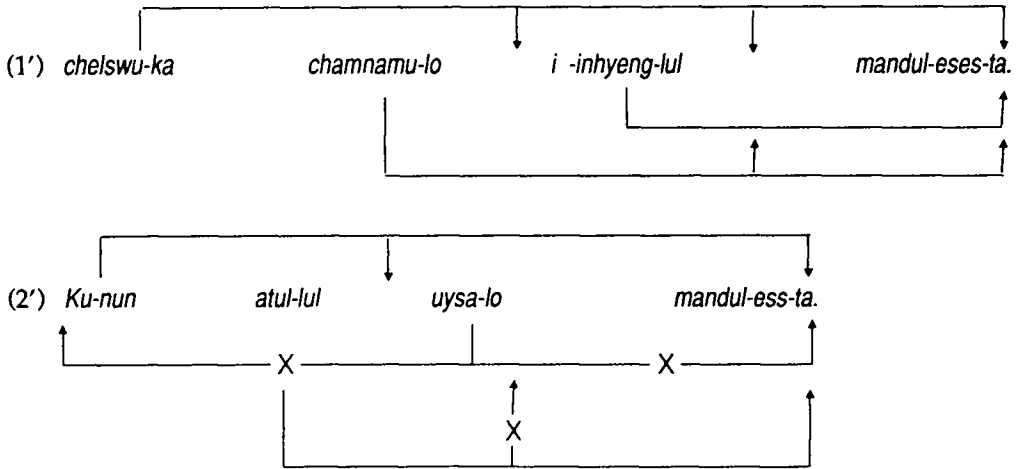
2.1.

Let us first look at the following sentences.

(1) *chelswu-ka   chamnamu-lo   i   inhyeng-lul   mandul-ess-ta.*
    Chelswu-SP   oak tree-out of   this doll-OP[1]   make-PST-DecP
    'Chelswu made this doll out of oak tree.'

(2) *ku-nun   atul-lul   uysa-lo   mandul-ess-ta.*
    he-TP   son-OP   doctor-into   make -PST-DecP[2]
    'He made (his) son a doctor.'

In (1) the verb *mandul-* is an example of *mandul-*[1], while the verb in (2) is a different verb, i.e. *mandul-*[2]. In general, the word order between a verb and its arguments or among arguments of a verb is free in Korean. However, in the *mandul-*[2] (but not *mandul-*[1]) sentences the order among arguments is not completely free. This is shown in the following examples.

(1') *chelswu-ka*   *chamnamu-lo*   *i -inhyeng-lul*   *mandul-eses-ta.*

(2') *Ku-nun*   *atul-lul*   *uysa-lo*   *mandul-ess-ta.*

That is, in (2'), which is a *mandul-*[2] sentence, the two arguments other than the subject cannot change their positions. In other words, the 'NP-*lo*' should appear nearer to the verb than the 'NP-*lul*'. Note that this restriction does not apply to the sentece in (1'), which is a *mandul-*[1] sentence.

2.2.

When we consider the case frames, it becomes clear that the two verbs are different. Look at the following sentences.

(1") *chelswu-ka   chamnamu-LUL   i   inhyeng-LUL   mandul-ess-ta.*
      Chelswu-SP   oak tree-OP   this doll -OP   make-PST-DecP
      'Chelswu made this doll out of oak tree.'

(2") *ku-nun   atul-lul   uysa-lul   mandul-ess-ta.*
      he-TP   son-OP   doctor-OP   make-PST-DecP
      'He made (his) son a doctor.'

As shown in (1") the *mandul-*[1] sentence cannot take the case frame of [–*ka* –*lul* –*lul*], while the *mandul-*[2] sentences can as shown in (2").

2.3.

All the NPs in the *mandul-*[1] sentence can be relativized as the clauses in (1''') show, while the NP in the NP-lo phrase of the *mandul-*[2] sentence cannot undergo the relativization process as shown in (2''').

(1‴) a. *chamnamu-lo   i   inhyeng-lul   mandul-un   chelswu.*
         oak-treeoutof this doll-OP   make-RP   Chelswu[3]
         'Chelswu who made this doll out of oak tree'

     b. *chelswu-ka   i   inhyeng-lul   mandul-un   chamnamu.*
         Chelswu-SP   this doll-OP   make-RP   oak tree
         'Oak-tree out of which Chelswu made this doll'

     c. *chelswu-ka   chamnamu-lo   mandul-un   i   inhyeng.*
         Chelswu-SP   oak tree out-of   made-RP   this doll
         'this doll which Chelswu made out of oak-tree'

(2‴) a. *atul-lul   uysa-lo   mandul-un   chelswu.*
         son-OP   doctor-into   made-RP   Chelswu
         'Chelswu who made his son a doctor'

     b. *chelswu-ka   uysa-lo   mandul-un   atul.*
         Chelswu-SP   doctor-into   made-RP   son
         'son who Chelswu made a doctor'

     c. **chelswu-ka   atul-lo   mandul-un   uysa.*
         Chelswu-SP   son-out of   made-RP   doctor
         'doctor who Chelswu made out of (his) son'

2.4.

In the *mandul-*[2] sentence the position of the 'NP-lo' may be taken by an adverbial form of a verb with the advervializing particle *-key* or *-tolok*. This adverbialized verbs semantically function as the predicates of the NP in 'NP-*lul*'. This is shown in the sentences in (3)-(5).

(3) *ku-nun   chulswu-lul   CULKEP-KEY   mandul-ess-ta.*
     he-TP   Chelswu-OP   please-AdP   make-PST-DecP[4]
     'He made Chelswu happy.'

(4) *way   na-lul   CAMCA-TOLOK   mandul-nunya?*
     why   me-OP   sleep-AdP   make-QP[5]
     'Why do you make me sleep?'

(5) *ku-ka   nay cha-lul   mos   SSU-KE   mandul-ess-ta.*
     he-SP   my car-OP   cannot   use-AdP   make-PST-DecP
     'He made my car unusable.'

In these sentences the adverbialized verb is required for the sentences to be grammatical as shown in (3')-(5').

(3') **ku-nun   chelswu-lul   _____   mandul-ess-ta.*
      he-TP   Chelswu-OP   make-PST-DecP
      '*He made Chelswu.'

(4') **way   na-lul   _____   mandul-nunya?*
      why   me-OP   make-QP
      '*why do you make me?'

(5') *ku-ka*   *nay*   *cha-lul*   _____   *mandul-ess-ta.*
      he-SP   my   car-OP   make-PST-DecP
      'He made my car.'

Notice that the sentence in (5') is grammatical. In this case, however, the verb no longer has the function of *mandul-*[2]. Other regular adverbs cannot appear in this position, for regular adverbs cannot function as semantic predicates of the NP of the phrase 'NP-*lul*', as shown in (3")-(5").

(3") **ku-nun* *chelswu-lul*   *CACU*   *mandul-ess-ta.*
                              often
      '*He often made Chelswu.'

(4") **way*   *na-lul*   *PPALLI*   *mandul-nunya?*
                        quickly
      '*Why do you make me so hastily.'

(5") *ku-ka*   *nay*   *cha-lul*   *PPALLI*   *mandul-ess-ta.*
                                  quickly
      'He manufactured my car in a short period of time.'

Here again (5") is grammatical, but the verb is not *mandul-*[2] any longer. In fact in the original sentences, the NP of the phrase 'NP-*lo*' functions as the predicate of the NP of the phrase 'NP-*lul*'.

2.5.

In general, when two sentences with the same verbs are conjoined, and if the two conjuncts have an identical NP, the NP in the second conjunct is deleted. This deletion occurs when two *mandul-*[1] sentences are conjoined as shown in (6)-(7).

(6) *ku-nun NAMU-LO inhyeng-lul mandul-ko na-nun NAMU-LO sang-lul   mandul-ess-ta.*
                                   CP[6]   table
     'He made a doll out of wood and I made a table out of wood.'
→ *ku-nun NAMU-LO inhyeng-lul mandul-ko na-nun _____ sang-lul mandul-ess-ta.*

(7) *ku-nun namu-lo INHYENG-LUL mandul-ko na-nun soy-lo INHYENG-LUL mandul-ess-ta.*
            wood   CP   iron
     'He made a doll out of wood and I made a doll out of iron.'
→ *ku-nun namu-lo INHYENG-LUL mandul-ko na-nun soy-lo ____ mandul-ess-ta.*

However, the same deletion rule does not always apply when two *mandul-*[2] sentences are conjoined, as shown in (8)-(9).

(8) *ku-nun ADUL-LUL uysa-lo   mandul-ko na-nun ADUL-LUL kunin-lo   mandul-ess-ta.*
                                                          soldier
     'He made (his) son a doctor and I made (my) son a soldier.'
→ *ku-nun ADUL-LUL uysa-lo mandul-ko na-nun ____ kunin-lo mandul-ess-ta.*

(9) *ku-nun adul-lul UYSA-LO   mandul-ko na-nun sonca-lul UYSA-LO   mandul-ess-ta.*
                                                        grandson
     'He made (his) son a doctor and I made (my) grandson a doctor.'
→ **ku-nun adul-lul UYSA-LO mandul-ko na-nun sonca-lul ____ mandul-ess-ta.*

2.6.

So far I have shown that the two verbs *mandul-*[1] and *mandul-*[2] have different kinds of arguments. The difference is also shown in the optionality of the arguments which the two verbs may take. The *mandul-*[1] sentence is grammatical without 'NP-*lo*' as shown in (10).

(10) *chelswu-ka   i inhyeng-lul   mandul-ess-ta.*
     'Chelswu made this doll.'

Notice that the sentences in (11)-(12) do not need any 'NP-*lo*' phrases at all.

(11) *kukhwoy-ka   pep-lul   mandul-un-ta.*
     parliament-SP law-OP   make-PRS-DecP[7]
     'Parliament makes laws.'

(12) *kim ssi-ka   say cengtang-lul   mandul-ess-ta.*
     Mr. Kim-SP   new political party-OP   make-PST-DecP
     'Mr. Kim organized a new political party.'

The verb *mandul-*[2], however, always requires two internal arguments as shown in (2) and (13)-(14) below.

(13) *ku-ka   hayan   kes-lul   ppalkan   kes-lo   mandul-ess-ta.*
     he-SP   white   thing-OP red   thing-into   make-PST-DecP
     'He changed white thing into red one.'

(14) *yeysu-ka   tol-lul   ppang-lo   mandul-ess-ta.*
     Jesus-SP stone-OP   bread-into   make-PST-DecP
     'Jesus turned stones into bread.'

2.7.

In Korean, when two sentences with the same verb are conjoined, the verb of the first conjunct may be deleted as shown in (15).

(15) *ku-nun   sakwa-lul MEK-ko na-nun   pay-lul MEK-ess-ta.*
     he-TP   apple-OP eat-CP I-TP   pear-OP eat-PST-DecP
     'He ate an apple and I ate a pear.'
     ⟶ *ku-nun sakwa-lul, na-nun pay-lul MEK-ess-ta.*

In the same way, when two sentences with the verb *mandul-*[1] are conjoined, the verb of the first conjunct is deleted. The same holds for the verb *mandul-*[2]. The examples in (16)-(17) show this phenomenon.

(16) *ku-nu nnamu-lo inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ko na-nun soy-lo   inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ess-ta.*
     he-TP wood-out of doll-OP   make-CP I-TP   iron-out of doll-OP   make-PST-DecP
     'He made a doll out of wood and I made one out of iron.'
     ⟶ *ku-nun namu-lo inhyeng-lul, na-nun soy-lo inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ess-ta.*

(17) *ku-nun adul-lul uysa-lo   MANDUL-ko na-nun sonca-lul   uysa-lo   MANDUL-ess-ta.*
     he-TP son-OP doctor-into make-CP   I-TP   grandson-OP doctor-into make-PST-Decp
     'He made (his) son a doctor and I made (my) grandson a doctor.'
     ⟶ *ku-nun adul-lul uysa-lo, na-nun sonca-lul uysa-lo MANDUL-ess-ta.*

However, when a sentence with the verb *mandul-*[1] and a sentence with the verb *mandul-*[2] are conjoined, such a deletion does not occur as shown in (18)-(19).

(18) *ku-nun adul-lul   uysa-lo   MANDUL-ko na-nun namu-lo   i   inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ess-ta.*
    he-TP son-OP doctor-into make-CP   I-TP wood-out of this doll-OP   make-PST-DecP
    'He made (his) son a doctor and I made this doll out of wood.'
    ⟶ **ku-nun adul-lul uysa-lo, na-nun namu-lo i inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ess-ta.*

(19) *ku-nun namu-lo   i   inhyeng-lul MANDUL-ko na-nun adul-lul uysa-lo   MANDUL-ess-ta.*
    he-TP wood-out of this doll-OP   make-CP   I-TP   son-OP doctor-into make-PST-DecP
    'He made this doll out of wood and I made (my) son a   doctor.'
    ⟶ **ku-nun namu-lo i inhyeng-lul, na-nun adul-lul uysa-lo MANDUL-ess-ta.*

This shows the difference of the two verbs.

2.8.

In addition to the difference in their argument structure, the two verbs show a significant difference in meaning. As shown in the examples in (10)-(12), the verb *mandul-*[1] implies the effected meaning, while the verb *mandul-*[2] has the affected meaning. That is, the verb *mandul-*[1] means creating something, while the verb *mandul-*[2] means changing the state or status of an existing object.

The two meanings have developed from the same verb. From the synchronic point of view, however, considering the above syntactic and semantic differences, it is appropriate to regard them as two separate words. Accordingly, it is recommended that they be listed as two separate entries in any dictionary of the Korean language.

3.

3.1.

There are a number of verbs such as *po-*, *nukki-*, *al-*, *tut-*, *pulu-*, etc. whose syntax and semantics are the same as the verb *mandul-*. In other words, they have two argument structures which are in the same form as the argument structures of the verb *mandul-* and the interpretation of the verbs in one argument structure is different from the meaning in the other argument structure. The two argument structures are as follows.

(a) NP-*ka* NP-*lul* V
(b) NP-*ka* NP-*lul* NP-*lo* V

The syntactic characteristics of (b) are exactly the same as those of the second argument structure of *mandul-*. That is, in (b) the argument NP-*lo* phrase cannot be deleted, nor can the NP of the NP-*lo* phrase be relativized; and a *key*-adverbial form of a verb or a *lako*-quotative form of a noun can replace the NP-*lo* phrase. The other characteristics of *mandul-* discussed earlier also apply to (b). In addition, the meanings of the verbs in this class differ according to which argument structure they take, as do the meanings of *mandul-*. The verb *po-*, for instance, means 'to see or to look at' in structure (a) and 'to regard (something as)' in structure (b).

(1) *chelswu-nun*   *uli-lul*   *po-ass-ta.*
Chelswu-TP   us-OP   see-PST-DecP
'Chelswu saw us.'

(2) *kutul-nun*   *thaeyang-lul*   *sin-lo*   *po-ass-ta.*
they-TP   sun-OP   god-as   regard-PST-DecP
'They regarded the sun as God.'

The syntactic and semantic evidence given above suggest that these verbs must be treated in the same way as the verb *mandul-*.

3.2.

There are a lot of verbs which take more than one argument structure. In general, these verbs show a significant difference in meaning when the argument structure which they take changes. As a consequence of the above discussion, I suggest that we split such a verb into homonyms and they be listed as separate entries in a dictionary. Some such homonyms are shown in (20)-(23).

(20) a. *ku-ka*   *SAL-ess-na?*
he-SP   live-PST-QP
'Is he alive?'

b. *ku-ka*   *seul-ey*   *SAL-ess-na?*
he-SP   Seoul-in   live-PST-QP
'Did he live in Seoul?'

(21) a. *i*   *pang-ka*   *PALK-ta.*
this room-SP bright-DecP
'This room is bright.'

b. *ku-ka*   *hankwuk*   *yeksa-ey*   *PALK-ta.*
he-Sp   Korea   history-in   bright-DecP
'He has a good understanding in Korean history.'

(22) a. *sin-ka*   *ISS-nunya?*
God-SP   exist-QP
'Does God exist?'

b. *ku-ekey*   *cha-ka*   *ISS-nunya?*
he-to   car-SP   exist-Qp
'Does he have a car?'

4.

One problem with this theory is that it does not apply to all polysemic verbs. The verb *ppop-*, for example, takes two argument structures, (a) NP-*ka* NP-*lul* V and (b) NP-*ka* NP-*lul* NP-*lo* V. They are the same in form as the two argument structures of *mandul-*[1] and *mandul-*[2] each. And this verb *ppop-* has different meanings in the two different structures, as shown in the following sentences.

(1) *kutul-ka*   *namu-lul*   *ppop-ass-ta.*
     they-SP   tree-OP   pull-PST-DecP
     'They pulled out a tree.'

(2) *kutul-ka*   *chelswu-lul*   *hwejang-lo*   *ppop-ass-ta.*
     they-SP   Chelswu-OP   chairman-as   elect-PST DecP
     'They elected Chelswu chairman.'

However, the syntactic behavior of sentence (2) above is not the same as that of the *mandul-*[2] sentence. The argument NP-*lo* in sentence (2) can be moved out of its position and it can be deleted in a certain context as shown in the following.

(2')   *kudul-ka*   *chelswu-lul*   *hwejang-lo*   *ppop-ass ta*

(2") a.   *kudul-ka*   *nuku-lul*   *hwejang-lo*   *ppop-ass-na?*
            who-OP   elect-PST-QP
            'whom did they elect chairman?'

      b.   *chelswu-lul* _____ *ppop-ass-ta.*
            'They elected Chelswu (chairman)'

This kind of movement or deletion of the NP-*lo* phrase is not allowed in *mandul-*[2] sentences. Furthermore, there are type (1) sentences in which the verb *ppop-* has the same meaning as that in the type (2) sentence.

(3) *kudul-nun*   *hwejang-lul*   *ppop-ass-ta.*
     they-TP   chairman-OP   elect-PST-DecP
     'They elected a chairman'

As illustrated above, the syntax and semantics of the verb *ppop-* is different from the verb *mandul-*. The theory developed above, therefore, cannot split the verbs in the *ppop-* class into homonyms. How to treat the verbs in this class remains an open question.

Endnotes

1   SP = Subject particle, OP = Object particle, PST = Past tense particle, DecP = Declarative sentence concluding particle
2   TP = Topic particle
3   RP = Sentence relativizer
4   AdP = Adverbializing particle
5   QP = Interrogative sentence concluding particle
6   CP = Conjunctive particle meaning 'and'
7   PRS = Present tense particle