

Distinctions in completives: The relevance of resistance in Korean *V-ale pelita* and *V-ko malta* and Japanese *V-te shimau*[☆]

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Abstract

This study will provide an in-depth examination and analysis of the use of the Korean auxiliary constructions *V-ale pelita* and *V-ko malta* as markers of completive aspect and will point out the semantic and pragmatic overlap of both with the Japanese completive marker *V-te shimau*. The fact that all three constructions are markers of completive aspect in two seemingly related languages allows us to critically examine the similarities and differences in how these constructions are used by native speakers of each language. It will be shown that, while typologically very similar, Japanese and Korean can actually pattern quite differently from each other, particularly with respect to how the various processes and circumstances leading up to the completion of a particular event are perceived and expressed in each language. Moreover, by analyzing these three auxiliary constructions, we will be able to gain new insight into the interface between temporal aspect, event perception, emotion, and cognition and how these are encoded in language. © 2002 Elsevier Science B.V. All rights reserved.

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1. Introduction

This paper examines two Korean auxiliary constructions, *V-ale pelita* and *V-ko malta*, as markers of completive aspect and discusses their semantic and pragmatic

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overlap with the Japanese auxiliary construction *V-te shimau*. In both Korean and Japanese, these auxiliary constructions derive from main verbs (Korean *pelita* ‘to throw away’/‘to spoil’, *malta* ‘to stop’, and Japanese *shimau* ‘to put away’/‘finish’) and their usage is, for the most part, grammatically optional. As will be pointed out, in addition to expressing completive aspect, these constructions also signal the accidental/spontaneous occurrence of an event, as well as such speaker stances as regret, disappointment, surprise, relief, happiness, unexpectedness, etc. The emotive overtones expressed by these constructions will be shown to inferentially derive from the core semantic meaning of ‘FINALITY’ that underlies the use of all three. Further, it will be demonstrated that while all three constructions express the same core meaning, Korean *V-ko malta* will be shown to express the more narrow distinction of ‘finality with resistance’ or ‘attempt to avoid a particular outcome’, while Korean *V-ale pelita* does not. Additionally, it will be shown that such distinction of ‘resistance’ does not apply to the use of Japanese *V-te shimau*, since the form is used in cases where resistance is not at all relevant (similar to Korean *V-ale pelita*) and where it is indeed crucially relevant (similar to Korean *V-ko malta*).

Throughout this paper, I will demonstrate that the ways in which human beings perceive characteristics of events and the ways in which we choose to linguistically mark or not mark those characteristics are both constrained and created by the grammars of natural language. Moreover, the paper will demonstrate that a speaker’s choice of one linguistic form over other possible competing forms is actually quite revealing of the systematic and subtle yet powerful interrelationship between how that speaker perceives information and events, cognitively processes such information, and affectively reacts to it.

2. Completives in Korean and Japanese – FINALITY

Both Korean and Japanese possess a rich set of auxiliary constructions which consist of the combination of a non-finite form of the main verb with one or more auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs in each language come from a closed set of approximately 15 or more verbs, which, in most cases also function independently as lexical verbs in both languages. The auxiliary constructions serve to express relationships between an event and some temporal element relating to when and/or how that event occurs (e.g., aspectual notions of progressive, continuous, resultative, perfective, completive), relationships between an agent and the accomplishment of an action (e.g., attemptive aspect),¹ as well as relationships between participants (e.g., benefactives, causatives, permissives).

For the Korean auxiliary system, accounts seem to vary significantly in terms of functional and semantic/pragmatic descriptions of the auxiliary constructions

¹ This categorization is borrowed from Sohn (1994: 336) and pertains to the auxiliary construction *V-ale pota* (‘see’, ‘try’, ‘experience’), which derives from the lexical verb *pota* ‘see’. The same categorization could apply to the Japanese construction *V-te miru*, which derives from the lexical verb *miru* ‘see’ and expresses a generally similar concept of ‘do something and see’, ‘try’, and so forth.

themselves. For example, with respect to completives, Sohn (1994: 333) discusses *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* in addition to a third auxiliary *V-a/e nayta*, referring to all three as markers of ‘terminative aspect’. In contrast, Lee (1993) explicitly refers to only *V-a/e nayta* as a marker of completive aspect, and merely suggests this function for *V-a/e pelita* in his discussion of its core semantic meanings of ‘spoil’, ‘get rid of’, or ‘remove;’ he does not treat *V-ko malta* at all.

Following Sohn (1994), this paper will address *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* as markers of completive or terminative aspect and will attempt to explicate in detail precisely how they differ from each other, both semantically and pragmatically.² These two constructions are especially noteworthy in the sense that when native speakers of Korean are asked to explain the difference between the two forms, the overwhelming response tends to be that ‘they are almost interchangeable’, but that *V-ko malta* seems to sound somewhat stronger. In both cases, respondents indicate that when speakers of Korean use these constructions, they are expressing some type of emphasis.

Japanese *V-te shimau* operates in a way similar to both Korean *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* in the sense that it is also a marker of completive aspect (See Soga, 1983; Strauss, ms.). When queried informally, native speakers of Japanese also indicate overwhelmingly that the construction carries with it an element of emphasis.

In all three cases, i.e., the two Korean auxiliaries and the Japanese auxiliary, these constructions are generally optional; and in all three cases, in concert with native speaker intuitions, some aspect of ‘emphasis’ does indeed seem to be added when the auxiliary appears.³ Examples (1) and (2) below will illustrate using parallel invented sentences. The sentences in (1) contain just the main verb, with no added auxiliary marking. The sentences in (2) contain the main verb plus one of the optional auxiliaries under investigation; in all cases, the utterances are grammatical and well-formed.

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| (1) a. Korean: | <i>wuli kay-ka cwuk-ess-ta</i> | ‘My dog died’ |
| | our dog SM die-PST-PLN | |
| b. Japanese: | <i>uchi no inu ga shinda</i> | ‘My dog died’ |
| | house-GEN dog SM die-PST-PLN | |

The above sentences express the objective expression of the fact that the speaker’s dog died.

The addition of the auxiliary forms in question renders the utterance less objective or less neutral; that is, by virtue of the existence of the auxiliary, as in (2), some aspect of the speaker’s attitudinal stance emerges through the utterance:

² For a discussion of how the third construction, *V-a/e nayta* functions in spoken and written discourse in Korean, see Strauss (in progress).

³ See Strauss (under review) for a full discussion of the relationship between speaker stance and middle voice marking, especially in the domain of the ‘emphatic middle’.

- The above two examples involve the use of the verb as it occurs with expressions of concrete, physical occurrences. That is, the sentence in (3) focuses on the physical act of the sentential subject, Pawi, who threw away paper that was ruined or rendered unusable by the rain. Similarly, the sentence in (4) evokes the physical consequence of the action of having eaten too much spicy food, i.e., the ultimate ruining (damaging) of the speaker's stomach. Moreover, because this verb which means

‘throw away’, ‘spoil’ or ‘ruin’ seems to naturally collocate with unusable, damaged, or worthless objects, it seems to evoke overwhelmingly negative connotations. However, as a lexical verb, *pelita* can also evoke a positive reading. Further, it can be and is often used to express a more abstract and figurative action. The sentence in (5) will illustrate:

- (5) *ku -nun nara-lul wui hay mokswum-ul peli-ess-ta*
 he-TM country-OM for the sake of life-OM throw away-PST-PLN
 ‘He gave up his life up for his country.’
 (literally: ‘He threw away his life for his country.’)

Here, in spite of the literal meaning of *pelita* as ‘throw away’ the tone of the judgment in (5) is positive. If the person’s life that was lost is considered as somehow useless or worthless, it is only because the value of that person’s life is regarded in relation to the greater value of his country. The overall value judgment expressed here is one of respect, praise, or admiration.

What is underscored in (3), (4), and (5) is the fact that the sentential object of the utterances (i.e., the paper in (3), the person’s stomach in (4), and the person’s life in (5)) has been discarded, lost, or rendered unusable.

When *pelita* is used as an auxiliary verb in conjunction with the non-finite *-a/e* ending of the main verb, it acts as a completive marker, or a maker of ‘terminative aspect’. Sohn (1994: 333) presents the following sentence as an example of this function:

- (6) [originally appearing as Sohn’s example (190a):
Yongho-nun apeci swul-ul masi-e peli-ess-ta
 Yongho-TC father wine-AC drink-INF finish-PST-DC
 ‘Yongho drank up his father’s wine’.

The event described in (6) implies that Yongho consumed the entirety of what was in his father’s wine glass (or bottle); this outcome is captured by the *V-a/e pelita* auxiliary in Korean and by the phrasal verb ‘drink up’⁴ in the English translation. Thus, what is underscored by the *V-a/e pelita* construction is the finality of the event, the totality of the liquid that was consumed by Yongho.

Interestingly, in this regard, Sohn insightfully adds that the so-called ‘terminative adverbials’ in Korean such as *ta* ‘completely’, *motwu* ‘all’, *machimnay* ‘at last’, and *tutie* ‘finally’ also serve to perform a similar function as that of the three auxiliary verbs designated as marking terminative aspect (i.e., *V-a/e pelita*, *V-a/e nayta*, *V-ko malta*), as in example (7) below:

⁴ The verb ‘drink’ in English does not inherently signal completion or ‘finality’, but merely the action of consuming a liquid. Its phrasal counterpart, on the other hand, composed of the same verb in addition to the completive particle ‘up’, does, in fact, carry the meaning of both consuming and finishing the designated liquid.

- (7) [originally appearing as Sohn's example (190d):

Yongho-nun ku chayk-ul ta ilk-ess-ta

Yongho-TC the book-AC all read-PST-DC

'Yongho finished reading the book.'

That is, by virtue of the adverb *ta* 'all', the sentence literally expresses the idea that the subject, Yongho, read the entire book. Here, the main verb *ilkta* 'read' appears as a bare verb in the past tense, with no added auxiliary. From the standpoints of interpretation and inference, the literal utterance in (7) sounds more neutral than that of (8), which, in lieu of overt adverbials of totality such as *ta* or *motwu* 'all', contains the auxiliary *V-a/e pelita* added to the main verb *ilkta* 'read'.

- (8) *Yongho-nun ku chayk-ul sey sikan-man ey ilk-e-pelie-ess-ta*

Yongho-TC the book-AC three hours only in all read-A/E PELITA PST-PLN

'Yongho finished reading the book/read the whole book in just three hours.'

In short, the auxiliary construction *V-a/e pelita* serves to express the finality or totality of the event, while at the same time, presents some indication of the speaker's stance vis à vis that event – a stance of disdain, pride, regret, happiness, respect, and so forth; without added contextual detail, it is difficult, if not impossible to more clearly identify such a stance. The same would be true for (6) ('Yongho drank up his father's wine'), in which the range of affective reactions expressed by the speaker could vary from surprise to criticism, from relief to admiration.

Also, by virtue of the added adverbial *sey sikan man ey* 'in only three hours' we see that the use of the auxiliary verb *V-a/e pelita* underscores some stance of counter-to-expectation since the task being commented on (i.e., reading an entire book) has been accomplished in such a short period of time.

In (9), again what is emphasized by the auxiliary is the totality of the action designated by the main verb. Here, even without context, the inference would be a predominantly negative one.

- (9) *kamwum-ttaymwun-ey kang-mwul-i malla-peli-ess-ta*

dry season-because of river-water SM dry-A/E PELITA-PST-PLN

'Because of the dry season, the river has dried up'.

Once again, as in (6) and (8), we find the occurrence of the main verb *maluta* 'to dry' with the optional *V-a/e pelita* auxiliary, serving to underscore the degree to which the river has become dry. Here, as in (6), the translation which best captures this phenomenon includes the use of the phrasal verb 'dry up', with the particle 'up' expressing completive aspect in English.

2.1.2. V-ko malta

As a lexical verb, *malta* most frequently appears in constructions expressing negative imperatives (i.e., 'don't') and negative propositives ('let's not'). In Korean, negative imperatives and propositives are formed through the combination of the

nominalizer *-ci*, added to the stem of the main verb plus *malta*, which is marked with a corresponding imperative or propositive ending. Example (10) below illustrates the formation and function of a negative imperative:

- (10) *sulphu-n yenghwa-lul po-ci mala-la*
 sad-ATTR movies-OM watch-NOM stop-IMPER
 ‘Don’t watch sad movies.’

In this example, the speaker knows that the addressee watches sad movies, and could be offering a suggestion to stop that type of behavior since it may make the addressee her/himself sad.⁵

Malta also occurs as a free standing lexical verb, generally meaning ‘to stop (doing something)’ or ‘to give (something) up’. Examples (11) and (12) below illustrate these usages, respectively.

- (11) MALTA as a lexical verb meaning ‘to stop (doing something)’
ku-nun ku-chek-ul ilkta-ka mal-ass-ta
 he-TM that book-OM read-INTRPT stop-PST-PLN
 ‘He stopped reading that book (i.e., didn’t finish).’
 (12) MALTA as a lexical verb meaning ‘to give up’
na-nun chek-ul ilk-u-lye-ta mal-ass-ta
 I-TM book-OM read-PURP-INTRPT stop-PST-PLN
 ‘I planned to read (that) book, but I gave up.’

What is interesting in both of these examples is that the semantics of *malta* as a main verb indicate the act of ‘not finishing something’ or ‘not doing something through completion’. In contrast, its use as an auxiliary expresses an opposite sense. That is, as an auxiliary verb expressing terminative or completive aspect, the *V-ko malta* construction has been explained by linguists as being similar to the English expression of ‘to end up doing something’, ‘to wind up doing something’ or ‘so do something once and for all’. Example (13) below is from Sohn (1994: 333).

- (13) [originally appearing as Sohn’s example (190c):
Minca-nun ttena-ko mal-ass-ta
 TC leave-and stop-PST-DC
 ‘Minca ended up leaving.’

⁵ If the utterance were intended simply as a suggestion to not watch sad movies, i.e., not based on the presupposition that the addressee does, in fact, watch them, it would be formed using the conditional expression as below:

(i) *sulphu-n yengwha-lul po-myen antway*
 sad-ATTR movie-OM watch-if no good
 ‘Don’t watch sad movies.’ (lit. ‘If you watch sad movies, it’s no good.’)

Here, in accordance with Sohn's suggestion, depending on the context, one could easily add the adverbials *machimnay* or *tutie* meaning 'finally' or 'at last' to further capture the meaning of 'to end up' evoked by the *V-ko malta* construction.

A similar sense of 'finality' or 'at last' is expressed in the sentence in (14), which also contains the *V-ko malta* construction.

- (14) *cakpyel-ui sikan-i o-ko mal-ass-ta.*
 departure-GEN time-SM come-ko malta-PST-PLN
 'The time to depart has come.'

In contrast with the *V-a/e pelita* construction, which could evoke either a positive or negative speaker stance, the *V-ko malta* auxiliary tends to more frequently express a negative stance. Thus, in both (13) and (14), the speaker's attitude with respect to the outcomes in each utterance tend to express feelings of sadness, regret, disappointment, and the like. With the *V-ko malta* construction, we generally sense that the speaker is expressing the fact that the outcome is somehow an undesirable one. We will return to this point in the data analysis section.

2.2. Japanese *V-te shimau*

Where Korean *V-a/e pelita* derives from a lexical verb which means 'throw away', the Japanese completive *V-te shimau* derives from a lexical verb which means 'put away' or 'finish'.⁶ In this light, for both Japanese and Korean, we can easily see how the completive auxiliary constructions relate to the semantics of the main verbs from which they derive, which essentially evoke the sense of 'removing an object from sight by placing it elsewhere' – either within some enclosure (as in the case of *shimau*) or simply discarding it (as in the case of *pelita*).

The use of *shimau* in the straightforward sense of 'to put away' is illustrated in example (15) below:

- (15) *Otto wa reizouko ni gyuunyuu o shimatta.*
 husband TM refrigerator LOC milk OM put away PST PLN
 '(My) husband put the milk into the refrigerator.'

Similarly, the verb could be used to express the notion of 'tucking in one's shirt' as in (16):

⁶ For *shimau* as a lexical verb, three academically recognized and well-consulted Japanese dictionaries, the *Kojien*, the *shin meikai kokugo jiten*, and the *Daijirin*, as well as Makino and Tsutsui (1986: 403), all list the meanings of 'to put away' and 'to finish'. Many native speakers with whom I have consulted, however, tend to accept the meaning of 'put away' much more readily than they do the general meaning of 'to finish'. Instead, they report that a more restricted interpretation for the concept of 'finish' as in the following sentence, where finishing one's work and closing one's shop are about one and the same.

(i) *Watashi wa taitei shichijini mise o shimaimasu.*

I TM usually 7 o'clock at shop OM close up-NPST POL

'I usually close my shop at seven o'clock.'

- (16) *Darashi nai kara shatsu wa zubon no naka ni shimainasai.*
 sloppy because shirt TM pants GEN inside LOC **put away IMPER**
 ‘Tuck your shirt into your pants, because (you look) sloppy.’

Both examples depict the action of placing some concrete object into the confines of some other object or container. In both cases, we find that the sentential object in question has been removed from one location and placed into some other object for a particular purpose.

Shimau as a lexical verb meaning ‘put away’ can also be used for more abstract concepts, as in (17):

- (17) *Konokoto anata dake no mune ni shmatte oitene*
 this thing you only GEN heart LOC **put away TE** put TE-PRT
 ‘Please don’t tell this to anyone.’ (lit. ‘Keep this thing inside your heart only.’)

In this example, both the sentential object (i.e., *konokoto* ‘a secret’ (lit. ‘this thing’)) and the location of where it should be stored (*mune ni* ‘in one’s heart’) are both abstract nouns.

An example given by the on-line version of the *Daijirin* to illustrate the meaning of ‘finish’ is provided in (18) below, excerpted from Mori Ougai’s novel *Seinen*.⁷

- (18) *shokuji o shimatte cha o nominagara [oshaberi shita]*
 meal OM finish TE tea OM while drinking [chat do PST PLN]
 ‘Having finished the meal, [(we/they) chatted] over tea’.

However, native speakers of Japanese generally report that the use of *shimau* sounds ‘unnatural’ to express the general notion of ‘to finish’, even in the above context.

As an auxiliary verb, the *V-te shimau* construction functions in much the same way as its two Korean counterparts (*V-ale pelita* and *V-ko malta*). That is, *V-te shimau* expresses the totality of the occurrence of some event, in addition to expressing some facet of the speaker’s affective stance in response to that occurrence.

Example (19) illustrates how *V-te shimau* is used to emphasize the completion of some action or event, and is similar in structure and meaning to Korean example (8).

- (19) *Ano shousetsu wa omoshirokatta kara, ikki ni*
 that novel TM be interesting PST because in one breath
yon-de shimatta yo.
read TE shimau PST PLN PRT
 ‘Since that novel was interesting, I read (it all) in one sitting.’

As in (8), this example also emphasizes the fact that the speaker has read the whole book; it is the entirety of the action that is underscored, while also expressing some

⁷ The actual example sentence ended with the VP *nominagara*, ‘while drinking;’ the clause *oshaberi shita* ‘we chatted’ was added to make the sentence sound complete.

aspect of the speaker's attitude, which could actually be any number of reactions, depending upon the particular context in which the sentence is uttered: '... and I was surprised', '... and I was determined to do this', '... and I am proud of myself', or even '... and I'm disappointed, because I wanted to savor it throughout the entire weekend', and so forth. And also, just as in the Korean example in (8), the adverbial *ikki ni* 'in one sitting' emphasizes a rather short period of time to have accomplished a rather large task, thus rendering the use of the *V-te shimau* auxiliary all the more natural.

In the same vein, it has been shown that in a number of languages of the world, auxiliaries expressing completive aspect derive from lexical verbs meaning 'to finish', 'to put into', and 'to bury' (Bybee et al., 1993; Heine, 1994, among others). Heine (1993) cites nearly parallel examples from Yabem (Papua Melanesian) as shown in (20a) and Ewe, in (20b).

- (20) [from Heine, 1993: 38; 'finish auxiliary' > completive]
- a. Yabem (Papua Melanesian) [originally from Bisang, 1986: 152]
 bóc seng acàcma janggon gé- gacné
 pig 3PL.eat our corn 3SG-be finished
 'The pigs have eaten up our corn.'
 - b. Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo)
 me du i vO
 1.SG eat 3.SG 0 be finished
 'I have eaten it up.'

Both of the above examples involve the compound construction in which the main verb means 'eat' and the auxiliary derives from the verb meaning 'be finished', the whole of which means 'to eat up'. The Japanese and Korean counterparts expressing the concept of 'to eat up' are shown in (21) and (22), respectively.

- (21) Japanese *-te shimau* ['put away / [finish]' auxiliary > completive]
 zenbu tabete **shimaimashita**.
 all eat TE SHIMAU PST POL
 'I ate it all up.'
- (22) Korean *-a/e pelita* ['throw away / [spoil]' auxiliary > completive]
 ta mek-e **pel**i-ess-eyo
 all eat-E PELITA-PST POL
 'I ate it all up.'

Another interesting fact is that many instances of the middle voice construction also express completive aspect. One such case is the 'Romance reflexive' *se*, as shown in (23) from Arce-Arenales et al. (1994):

- (23) Spanish (from Arce-Arenales et al., 1994: 7)
 Y **se** **comió** lo que había en el plato [reflexive > completive]
 and 3SG RFLX ate it what there was on the plate
 'So s/he ate up what there was on the plate'

With the exception of Strauss (1994, 1996, under review), previous scholars have not explicitly linked the *V-te shimau* or the *V-a/e pelita* constructions with middle voice marking in general or with the characteristics of completive aspect associated with many uses of the Romance reflexive. However, these auxiliaries in Japanese and Korean do indeed appear to share many of the same qualities. That is, like middle voice constructions, they tend generally to express ‘emphasis’ and ‘emphatic stance’ (Kemmer, 1993), and like the Romance reflexive, they can and often do express events which occur beyond the speaker’s control or which events which are somehow colored by such emotions as surprise, counter-expectation, disappointment, frustration, and so forth (Maldonado, 1993). And what seems to underlie all of these linguistic expressions is the core notion of ‘finality’ and totality. As we have seen thus far in the case of the Korean auxiliaries *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta*, and Japanese *V-te shimau*, constructions which mark completive aspect also appear to express a variety and range of speaker attitudes.

Throughout the remainder of this paper, it will be shown that these expressions of the speaker’s attitudinal stance derive inferentially from the core semantics of ‘finality’ expressed by the auxiliaries under investigation. Further, it will be shown that the notion of ‘resistance to avoid some undesirable outcome’ also plays a crucial role in the distribution and use of these markers in event descriptions in actual discourse.

3. *V-a/e pelita*, *V-ko malta*, *V-te shimau*: Finality, resistance, and emotion

Example (24) below depicts the relationships between finality, resistance, and the expression of emotion or speaker stance for the three auxiliaries under investigation.

(24) Meanings and inferences related to the three auxiliary constructions marking completive aspect

Completive Form	Meaning	Attitudinal inferences/speaker stance
V-a/e pelita (K)	FINALITY, W/OUT RESISTANCE	{ emphasis, accidentality, irreversability beyond speaker’s control, relief, pride, disdain, surprise unexpectedness, disappointment
V-ko malta (K)	FINALITY, WITH RESISTANCE	
V-te shimau (J)	FINALITY, RESISTANCE NOT RELEVANT	

As shown above, the constructions *V-a/e pelita* (K), *V-te shimau* (J), and *V-ko malta* (K) all express the core meaning of FINALITY, from which derive a number of attitudinal inferences as noted in the right hand column of the schema. On the basis of the above, we see that what distinguishes the two Korean completive markers is the concept of ‘resistance’, such that the *V-ko malta* construction marks an event in which the sentential subject or the speaker of the utterance expresses some kind of resistance against the actual occurrence of that event, and the *V-a/e pelita* construction an event in which no such resistance occurs. In contrast, Japanese *V-te shimau* makes no distinction whatsoever with respect to the existence or non-existence of resistance toward the outcome.

4. Data analysis: Korean *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* and Japanese *V-te shimau* in narrative event descriptions

In order to illustrate the meanings, uses, and functions of the target auxiliaries, we will now turn to an analysis of their patternings in actual discourse – primarily in event descriptions within narratives. In order to explicate these usages more neatly and more clearly within the space constraints of this paper, I have restricted the discussion to written discourse. The data sources used here consist of the original and translated versions into Korean and Japanese of Richard Bach's (1970) novel *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, as well as translated versions into English, Korean, and Japanese of three fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen: 'The red shoes', 'The ugly duckling', and 'The little match girl'. In this way, the data are naturally limited to a designated set of event descriptions in narrative across the three languages, which enables us to discern with clarity and precision just how these target forms function in discourse, how they resemble each other, and how they may differ.

4.1. Korean *V-a/e pelita* and Japanese *V-te shimau* in discourse: Finality and absoluteness – resistance not relevant

Recall that the target constructions are, for the most part, grammatically optional, which in essence leaves the choice to use the forms to the discretion of the speaker or writer, depending upon the context or characteristics of the events being depicted. In the examples presented thus far, and in the schema in (24), we note that these constructions express the core semantic notion of 'finality' or 'totality', as indicated in the phrases from the earlier example sentences 'to drink up', 'to read completely through', 'to eat up', and 'to dry up'.

The following two segments are excerpted from the Japanese and Korean versions of the allegorical novel *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, which tells the uplifting story of a special gull who learned to believe in himself and ultimately to become free – both spiritually and physically. Both segments contain the target forms expressing 'finality' or 'totality' occurring in situations expressing a change of state, as in (25) from the Japanese data and (26) from the Korean data. The English that accompanies each excerpt was taken from the original work.

- (25) [from *Kamome no jyonasan* (Japanese version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
masashiku soko ni wa, kin'iro no me o hikarasenagara hitamuki ni
 certainly there LOC TM, golden GEN eye OM shine while earnestly ADV
ikite ita, ano wakaki jyonasan no sugata ga atte mottomo
 live TE be PST that young Jonathan GEN form SM be TE but
gaiken wa
 outer appearance TM
sukkari kawatte shimatte
 completely change TE SHIMAU TE
wa ita keredomo

TM be PST PLN however

‘True, the same young Jonathan Seagull was there that had always lived behind his golden eyes, but the outer form **had changed**.’

This excerpt depicts the physical change in Jonathan’s body as he learned to fly faster and higher than ever before. The original passage goes on to say that ‘[Jonathan’s body] felt like a seagull body, but already it flew far better than his old one had ever flown’. The change that took place in the bird is a complete one. Through hard training and determination, Jonathan had learned new skills and developed new techniques, and his body took on a new shape and form; he had changed completely. The finality of this change is underscored in the Japanese version by virtue of the added *V-te shimau* auxiliary, as well as by the adverbial *sukkari* ‘completely’, which does not appear at all in the original English.

Example (26) from the Korean data also depicts an event in which a change of state has taken place.

- (26) [from *Kalmayki ui kkwum* (Korean version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
nwun-ul kkampaki-ess-supnita.aphum-to kyelsim-to etilonka
 eyes-OM blink-PST-FML pain-also resolution-also somewhere
salaci-e peli-ess-supnita.
disappear-E PELITA-PST-DEF
 ‘(There in the night, a hundred feet in the air, Jonathan Livingston Seagull) blinked. His pain, his resolutions, **vanished**.’

Here, as in the previous excerpt, we find the depiction of a complete change that Jonathan underwent as a result of his new approach to flying. In the passage just preceding this excerpt, we learn of the source of Jonathan’s painful fear of flying in the dark, and suddenly, at the moment of this passage, we experience the utter change in him where his fear is lost – it has vanished completely.

It must be noted that in both excerpts, the auxiliary marker is optional. The sentence in (25), for example, would be perfectly grammatical if it read: *kawatte wa ita keredomo* ‘but he had changed’ and in (26), if it simply read *salacyessupnita* ‘(his pain and resolutions) vanished’.

In this light, we find that the main verbs with which *V-a/e pelita* and *V-te shimau* tend to co-occur are those whose semantic meanings already express a type of absoluteness in event type or change of state. In the case of excerpt (25), we witnessed a change from an original physical state to a completely new one; in the case of (26), we witnessed a spiritual change in which what once existed as fear for Jonathan has now vanished and ceased to exist.

In fact, an in-depth analysis of main verbs co-occurring with the *V-te shimau* and *V-a/e pelita* constructions reveals that those main verbs express some aspect of semantic ‘absoluteness’ (Strauss and Sohn, 1996). That is, the main verb itself expresses a notion which cannot be construed as partial or as relative, such as ‘die’ or ‘forget’. One cannot ‘sort of die’, or ‘be barely dead’, nor can one ‘sort of or vaguely forget something;’ dying and forgetting are absolute actions – there is little

or no latitude in the semantics which allows for a scalar or relative reading. By contrast, one can indeed be ‘barely alive’ as can one ‘vaguely remember something’. Thus, it is posited that it is precisely this ‘absoluteness’ in the verbal semantics of the main verb which tends to attract an auxiliary such as *V-te shimau* for Japanese or *V-a/e pelita* for Korean, and that the function of these auxiliaries is to further emphasize this absoluteness through their underlying meaning of ‘finality’.

The schema in (27) will illustrate, by providing a number of examples of oppositions whereby the right-hand members, marked in boldface type, contain the expressions of absoluteness.

- (27) Underlying meaning of *-a/e pelita* and *-te shimau* = FINALITY,
underscoring the absoluteness of the main verbs with which they co-occur
Examples of ‘absolute’ verbal expressions:

partiality	vs.	entirety : e.g., eat up, drink up, read entirely through, forget
visible	vs.	invisible : e.g., hide, disappear, become empty
(original) state	vs.	change of state : e.g. change, become, grow, age (v), dry up
exist	vs.	not exist : e.g., die, destroy, get rid of
integral entity	vs.	breached integrity : e.g., break, tear, shatter
stable	vs.	unstable : e.g., fall, drop, trip, collapse

Frequently the main verbs tending to co-occur with *V-te shimau* and *V-a/e pelita* express some type of absolute action, as in doing something completely, a change from visible to invisible or from an original state to a changed state, a change from existing to not existing, and states in which an integral entity undergoes a breach of that integrity, as in ‘break’, ‘tear’, ‘plunge’, ‘pierce’, ‘shatter’, ‘drop’, etc. or a stable condition suddenly becomes unstable, as in ‘fall’, ‘drop’, ‘trip’, ‘collapse’, etc. Frequently, too, as pointed out by Soga (1983) and Sohn (1994), and as noted in the current data, an intensifying adverbial such as *zenbu*, meaning ‘all’ in Japanese, or *cenpwu* or *ta* in Korean, or *sukkari* meaning ‘completely’, will accompany these auxiliaries, further underscoring the functions of these auxiliaries as expressing ‘finality’ and as emphasizing the ‘absoluteness’ in the main verbs with which they tend to co-occur.⁸

Examples (28a,b) for Japanese and (29) for Korean will further illustrate. Both (28a) and (28b) contain the main verb *naru* ‘become’ with the *V-te shimau* auxiliary. In the case of (28a), the consequence of the change of state associated with the verb *naru* is clearly a negative one; in the case of (28b), it is positive.

- (28a) [from *Kamome no jyonasan* (Japanese version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
moshi kono spiido de ryoutsubasa o hirogetara,
if this speed INSTR both wings OM spread COND

⁸ The notion of ‘absoluteness’ is somewhat like Yoon’s (1996: 228) characterization of such predicates as ‘dry’, ‘perfect’, ‘complete’, ‘thorough’, ‘empty’, etc. as total predicates as opposed to partial predicates such as ‘wet’, ‘flawed’, ‘complete’, and so forth.

tachimachi bakuhatsu shite nanman to iu kamome no
 at once explode do TE tens of thousands QT say seagull GEN
kirehashi ni natte shimau daroo.
 broken pieces GOAL become TE SHIMAU MOD
 ‘[He swallowed, knowing that] if his wings unfolded at that speed he’d be
 blown into a million tiny shreds of seagull.’

In the above excerpt, Jonathan is flying at a tremendous rate of speed – if the position of his wings were to change in the midst of his flight, he would literally become ‘broken pieces of seagull’.

In contrast, in (28b), the change of state verb *naru* ‘become’ expresses an altogether positive change.

- (28b) [from *Kamome no jyonasan* (Japanese version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
kogara de otonashii Maaten Uiriyamu wa, kyoushi kara
 small stature and quiet Martin William TM teacher from
shitta o abite gyouten shi odorokisugita amari
 scolding OM shower TE astonishment and be surprised PST PLN
teisoku hikou no meishu ni natte
 remnant such low speed flight GEN expert GOAL become TE
shimatta.
SHIMAU PST PLN
 ‘So quiet little Martin William Seagull, startled to be caught under his instructor’s fire, surprised himself and **became a wizard** of low speeds.’

Here, the change in Martin William, from a mediocre flyer to an expert in low speed flying, is marked in the Japanese version with the *V-te shimau* auxiliary. Note, too, that the description also includes the depiction of Martin William’s attitudinal stance of ‘surprising himself’, – a natural collocation of the expression of feeling with this auxiliary construction.

Example (29) from the Korean version of this novel illustrates the use of *V-a/e pelita* together with the main verb *ttelecita* ‘to fall’, and the reading here is a negative one.

- (29) [from *Kalmayki ui kkwum* (Korean version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
ku swunkan kisthel-i hengkhul-e ci-ko, conatan-un
 that moment feathers-SM entangled-become-and Jonathan-TM
cwungsim-ul ilh-ko alay-lo tteleci-e peli-ess-supnita
 balance-OM lose-and down-toward fall-E PELITA-PST-DEF
 ‘Then his [i.e., Jonathan’s] feathers ruffled, he stalled and **fell**.’

The event described in this passage occurred very early in the story while Jonathan was flying according to his original style. The passage goes on to say that ‘[s]eagulls ... never falter, never stall. To stall in the air is for them disgrace and it

is dishonor'. Clearly, the event itself of Jonathan's falling is framed as being an exceptionally negative one, with the *V-ale pelita* construction capturing at once Jonathan's lack of control over the situation, the unexpectedness of the fall, as well as the negative attitudinal stance of the event.

In sum, in excerpts (25) through (29), whether outcomes of the events are positive or negative, we examined just how the *V-te shimau* and *V-ale pelita* auxiliaries are used as completive markers in the event descriptions culled from actual discourse. In all cases, the core semantic notion of 'finality' underscores the absoluteness of the main verb with which the auxiliaries co-occur, and in all cases, we find evidence of speaker/writer/subject attitudinal stance, by virtue of the expressions of accidentality, unexpectedness, surprise, spontaneity, irreversibility, and the like, which are inferred from this core meaning. The examples presented in this section illustrate nice parallels in usage between the Japanese construction *V-te shimau* and the Korean auxiliary *V-ale pelita*.

In the next section, we will examine tokens from the data which illustrate certain parallels between Korean *V-ko malta* and Japanese *V-te shimau* as well as distinctions between the two Korean constructions *V-ale pelita* and *V-ko malta*.

4.2. Korean *V-ko malta* and Japanese *V-te shimau* in discourse – Resistance relevant

As noted in the introductory section of this paper, native speakers of Korean, both trained linguists and otherwise, report that the *V-ko malta* and *V-ale pelita* auxiliaries function in very similar ways, yet they have been unable to pinpoint precisely how they differ, with the impressionistic exception perhaps that *V-ko malta* seems to encode a stronger negative attitude.

In this section, I will illustrate that the predominant difference between the two constructions centers on whether or not the event being described contains some aspect of 'resistance' or an attempt to avoid a negative outcome. In narratives where such distinction is relevant, *V-ko malta* is used; where it is not relevant, *V-ale pelita* is used. The very fact that native speakers are not consciously aware of this distinction underscores just to what degree grammar and cognition are inextricably related.

Example (30) from the Korean version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* will illustrate.

- (30) Korean -ko malta
 from *Kalmayki ui kkwum* (Korean version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)
 yel pen-ul sitohay-se yel pen motwu sisok 112 killomite-lo
 ten times-OM attempt-and ten times all velocity 112 kilometers-DIR
 nal-ass-ciman, ku ttay-mata penpeni cwungsim-ul
 fly-PST-however that time-every time each time balance-OM
 ilh-ko kisthel-i hantey engki-n chay patassok-ey **chepakhi-ko**
 lose-and feathers-SM entangle-MOD-as it is ocean-inside -LOC **crash-KO**
mal-ass-supnita.
MALTA-PST-DEF

‘Ten times he tried, and all ten times, as he passed through seventy miles per hour, he burst into a churning mass of feathers, out of control, **crashing down into the water.**’ [*Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, p. 20 of original English version]

In this event description, we find a repetition of attempts and a repetition of failures – each and every time he tried, and each and every time, in spite of his efforts and conscious desire to avoid failure, he fails. Here, the resistance involves Jonathan’s careful attempts surpass the 70 mile per hour speed goal; he was utterly unable to do so, in spite of his concentrated efforts. The *V-ko malta* construction is clearly expressing the meaning of ‘finality’ with the unequivocal additional constraint that ‘resistance is relevant’ to the outcome.

Had the passage been written using the *V-ale pelita* completeive, as in (30’), no sense of resistance or attempt to avoid failure would be derived from the utterance.

- (30’) *yel pen-ul sitohay-se yel pen motwu sisok 112 killomite-lo*
 ten times-OM attempt-and ten times all velocity 112 kilometers-DIR
nal-ass-ciman, ku ttay-mata penpeni cwungsim-ul ilh-ko
 fly-PST-however that time-every time each time balance-OM lose-and
kisthel-i hantey engki-n chay patassok-ey chepakhi-E
 feathers-SM entangle-MOD-as it is ocean-inside -LOC crash-A/E
PELI-ESS-supnita.
PELITA-PST-DEF

Thus, by virtue of the *V-ko malta* construction in (30), the reader senses Jonathan’s intense desire to succeed underlying those attempts and ultimately underlying his failure – a reading that the *V-ale pelita* construction cannot and does not capture.

Interestingly, the Japanese version of the same passage is also marked with the *V-te shimau* completeive. The excerpt appears below in (31):

- (31) Japanese *V-te shimau*
 [from *Kamome no jyonasan* (Japanese version of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*)]
daga jisoku hyaku jyu kilo o koeta totan, kaiten
 but speed hundred ten kilometers OM go over PST the moment rotate
suru umou no katamari to nari, contorouro o ushinatte
 do NPST feathers GEN lump COM become control OM lose TE
massakasama ni suimen ni
 upsidedown ADV surface of water LOC
gekitotsu shite shimau no de aru.
crash down do-TE SHIMAU NML COP-PLN
 ‘Ten times he tried, and all ten times, as he passed through seventy miles per hour, he burst into a churning mass of feathers, out of control, **crashing down into the water.**’ [*Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, p. 20 of original English version]

Here, even with the semantic constraint of ‘finality with resistance’ that we discern through the use of the Korean *V-ko malta* auxiliary, the *V-te shimau* construction works quite well in the context. Just as *V-ko malta* does, *V-te shimau* underscores the concept of ‘finality’ as well as the added notion of resistance and attempt to avoid an undesirable outcome.

We find a similar juxtaposition of *V-ko malta* in Korean and *V-te shimau* in Japanese in examples (32) and (33), both from the Hans Christian Andersen fairy tale, ‘The red shoes’. The Korean version in (32) and the Japanese version in (33) are translated from the identical passage where we find Karen, the protagonist of the story, vacillating between wearing black shoes and red shoes to that Sunday’s Holy Communion. Example (32) below contains an instance of the *V-ko malta* construction.

- (32) [*V-ko malta* in Korean, from ‘The red shoes’ (*ppalkan kwutwu-*)]
ku taum cwuil-ey-n sengchanshik-i iss-ess-supnita.
 that next Sunday-on-TM Holy Communion-SM exist-PST-DEF
cip-eyse nase-ki cen-ey khareyn-un kem-un kwutwu-lul
 house-from go-out before-GOAL karen-TM black-MOD shoes-OM
neyryetapo-ko, tashi ppalka-n kwutwu-ey nwunkil-ul cwu-ess-eyo.
 look at-and again red-MOD shoes-GOAL eye gaze-OM give-PST-POL
khareyn-un ppalka-n kwutwu-eyse nwun-ul ttey-l swu-ka
 Karen-TM red-MOD shoes-from eyes-OM take away-MOD way-SM
eps-e hancham-ul mangseli-taka kiei ppalka-n
 not exist-RSN for a while-OM hesitate-INTRPT finally/by all means red-MOD
kwutwu-lul sin-ko mal-ass-supnita.
 shoes-OM wear-KO MALTA-PST-DEF
 ‘Next Sunday was communion, and Karen looked at the black shoes and she looked at the red ones – and then she looked at the red ones again and **put the red ones on.**’

In the segment just preceding this passage, Karen had been told by her caretaker, in no uncertain terms, that she was heretofore always to wear the black shoes to church; for her to wear red shoes would be a disgrace. And, in the target passage, we see her hesitate, feel her vacillate between the black shoes and the red shoes. She knows that the black shoes are the ones that she should be wearing to Holy Communion, but is tempted ever so strongly by the bright red ones; she ultimately yields to the temptation. In this version, the translator has even included the verb *mangselita* ‘to hesitate’ which underscores this primary distinction of the *V-ko malta* construction from its *V-ale pelita* counterpart. As in example (30), where Jonathan had been trying desperately to succeed and in spite of his efforts he wound up failing in the end, we sense a similar type of struggle just preceding the outcome of the event depicted in (32). And once again, if we replaced the *V-ko malta* expression with *V-ale pelita*, as in (32’), we find that no sense of struggle is expressed whatsoever.

- (32’) ?*kiei ppalka-n kwutwu-lul sin-e-peli-ess-supnita*
 finally/by all means red-MOD shoes-OM wear-E PELITA-PST-DEF

In fact, the altered utterance is ungrammatical or unnatural at best, most likely because of the adverbial *kiei* meaning ‘in the end’ or ‘finally’, itself underscoring the previous hesitation that Karen had been experiencing.

Thus, in this context of extreme hesitation where only *V-ko malta* fits as a complete while *V-ale pelita* does not, the Japanese *V-te shimau* construction fits fine, as noted in (33).

- (33) [*V-te shimau* in Japanese, from ‘The red shoes’ (*akai kutsu*-)]
tsugi no nichiyoubi wa, seianshiki ... no hi deshita.
 next GEN Sunday TM Holy Communion GEN day COP PST.
karen wa, kuroi kutsu o nagametari, akaikutsu o nagametari shimashita
 Karen TM black shoes OM look at REP red shoes OM look at REP do PAST
ga, mou ichi do akai kutso o nagameruto, toutou, sore o
 but, more one time red shoes OM look at-when at last that OM
haite shimaimashita.
put on TE SHIMAU PST POL
 ‘Next Sunday was communion, and Karen looked at the black shoe; and she looked at the red ones – and then she looked at the red ones again and **put the red ones on.**’

As in the Korean version, the Japanese translation also includes an adverbial of ‘finality’ or the feeling of ‘at last’ *toutou*, which is the precise element from the Korean version which rendered the alternate utterance in (32’) unnatural with *V-ale pelita*, yet quite natural with *V-ko malta*.

We have seen how all three constructions mark the ‘finality’ of an event and also how the speaker’s/subject’s/writer’s attitudinal stance derives from this very reading of ‘finality’. When end points of events are depicted as ‘totally final’ or ‘totally complete’, we generally sense a stance that what led to that end point was somehow beyond the speaker’s control, accidental, irreversible, regrettable, surprising, amazing, and so forth. And crucially, with the *V-ko malta* construction, we noted that physical and/or spiritual resistance, hesitation, or struggle comprises an additional constraint behind the action leading to that endpoint, and this hesitation, too, colors how speakers/subjects/writers are affected by that outcome.

In fact, if we return to example (14), repeated below as (34), we can see just why the reading with of the utterance with *V-ko malta* sounds so strong:

- (34) *cakpyel-ui sikan-i o-ko mal-ass-ta.*
 departure-GEN time-SM **come-ko malta-PST-PLN**
 ‘The time to depart has come.’

The utterance is an invented one, but clearly and unequivocally evokes the sense that the speaker is sad that this hour has come. The utterance conveys the sense that the speaker had been hoping or praying that this time would not come, and now it has.

Example (35) below depicts a simplified schema of the event depictions expressed by the three auxiliaries under investigation.

- (35) Schematic representation of event depictions marked with *V-a/e pelita*, *V-ko malta*, and *V-te shimau*

Korean

V-a/e pelita → Action_____ >X (FINAL end point)

V-ko malta → Action_____ ^{physical and/or spiritual}
~~~~~ resistance/hesitation ~~~~~ >X (FINAL end point)

Japanese

Action\_\_\_\_\_ >X (FINAL end point)

*V-te shimau*

Action~~~~~ resistance/hesitation ~~~~~ >X (FINAL end point)

Where these constructions once seemed to overlap significantly with each other, we now find that *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* are actually quite different in terms of their functions and meanings. By examining actual discourse, we discovered precisely how they might appear to be similar to each other and precisely how they differ. In addition, we noted how the Japanese construction *V-te shimau* seems to resemble *V-a/e pelita* in some cases and *V-ko malta* in others.

Note too, in the invented examples in (36) that both *V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* are possible in the same sentence in Korean, and the juxtaposition of examples (a), (b) and (c) illustrate how these three completives are used in both Japanese and Korean, with the (c) version underscoring both the finality of the event as well as John's hesitation and struggle to avoid the undesirable outcome which ended up occurring in spite of his efforts.

- (36) a. John wa sono keiki o zenbu tabete **shimaimashita**  
John TM that cake OM all **eat TE SHIMAU PST POL**  
'John ate the entire cake.'
- b. John-un ku kheikh-ul ta mek-e peli-ess-eyo  
John-TM that cake-OM all **eat-E PELITA-PST-POL**  
'John ate the entire cake.'
- c. John-un ku kheikh-ul ta meke peli-ko mal-ass-eyo  
John-TM that cake-OM all **eat-E PELITA-KO MALTA-PST POL**  
'John ate the entire cake.'  
(though he had hesitated and perhaps even made attempts not to, i.e., eating the cake was precisely the thing he was trying NOT to do, but he ate it all up anyway.)

In all three sentences, we find a description of John having eaten an entire cake or piece of cake – the entirety of the action being underscored by the *V-te shimau* and *V-a/e pelita* constructions; in the (c) version, marked also with the *V-ko malta* auxiliary, however, it is absolutely clear that John had attempted very hard not to do so. In fact, the interpretations hold, not only from the perspective of John as the

sentential subject but also from the perspective of the viewer of the event and/or the speaker of the utterance.

The final examples in (37) and (38) from the Japanese and Korean translations of Hans Christian Andersen's 'The ugly duckling' depict once again the notions of irreversible change of state as well as struggle and resistance preceding an undesirable and irreversible outcome. Once again, we have an identical passage translated into Japanese, in (37) and Korean in (38), providing a nice parallel of event descriptions with completive aspect markings.

In (37), we find three tokens of the *V-te shimau* construction, all of which relate to the duckling's efforts to survive and not freeze in the cold, wintry water. He had just been watching a flock of beautiful birds fly overhead as they migrated to warmer lands, and wished that he were beautiful, too.

- (37) [ *V-te shimau* in Japanese from 'The ugly duckling' (*minikui ahiru no ko*)]  
*yo iyo, samui samui fuyu ni narimashita. ahiru no ko wa,*  
 at last cold cold winter GOAL become PST-POL duckling TM  
*mizu no omote ga sukkari kootte shimawanai you ni,*  
 water GEN surface SM completely freeze TE SHIMAU-not in order to  
*taezu oyogi mawatte inakute wa narimasen deshita. keredomo,*  
 always swim around had to MODAL but  
*hitoban hitoban oyogimawaru basho wa dandan semaku nari,*  
 night after night swim around place TM gradually narrow-ADV  
*chiisaku natte ikimashita. soremo mamonaku,*  
 become small ADV become TE go PST POL also before long  
*mishi mishi oto o tatete, kooritsuite kimashita. ahiru no ko wa,*  
 creaking sound OM make freeze TE come PST POL duckling TM  
*koori ga haritsumete shimawanai you ni,*  
 ice SM be covered with ice TE SHIMAU not in order to  
*hottchuu ashi o ugokashite inakereba narimasen deshita.*  
 always leg-OM move had to MODAL PST POL  
*toutou shimai ni wa, tsukarekitte ugoku koto ga dekinaku nari,*  
 at last in the end ADV TM tired out move NML TM unable-ADV become  
*jitto mizu no naka ni tojikomerarete shimaimashita.*  
 till water GEN inside LOC be closed in-TE SHIMAU-PST POL  
 'And the winter was so cold, so cold. The duckling had to swim about in the  
 water to keep from freezing. But each night the hole in which he swam  
 became smaller and smaller; it froze so the crust of the ice creaked. The duck-  
 ling had to keep his legs moving so the hole wouldn't close, but at last he grew  
 tired, lay quite still, and froze fast in the ice.'

The three main verbs marked with *V-te shimau* in this passage, are *koou* 'to freeze (become frozen)', *haritsumeru* 'to be covered with ice', and *tojikomerareru* 'to be frozen in', all of which express a strong sense change of state, with overtones of irreversibility and sadness conveyed through the auxiliary marking.

In the Korean version in (38), we find two tokens of *V-a/e pelita* and one of *V-ko malta*. In the case of those main verbs marked with *V-a/e pelita*, we find overlap with two of the three Japanese verbs marked with *V-te shimau*. That is, both of the *V-a/e pelita* tokens co-occur with the main verb *el-ta* ‘to freeze’.

- (38) [*V-a/e pelita* and *V-ko malta* in Korean from ‘The ugly duckling’ (*mos sengkin aki ori*)]

*kyewul-un cemcem kiph-eka-ko nalssi-nun ka-lswulok*  
 winter-TM gradually deep-go-and weather-TM go-more  
*ssanulhay-ci-ess-supnita twullay-ey iss-nun mwul-i kkongkkong*  
 cold-come-PST-DEF surroundings-LOC exist-TM water-SM completely  
***el-epeli-ci anh-key*** *ha-lye ko aki oli-nun camsi-to*  
**freeze-A PELITA-not-CAUS-** in order to duckling-TM for a moment-also  
*swui-ci anh-ko heyem-ul chi-ess-supnita pamsay mwul-i el e pwuth-umyen*  
 rest-not-and swim-OM do-PST-DEF all night water-SM freeze-if  
*oli-nun twu tali-lo petwungkeli-e elum-ul kkay-ss-ko mwul-i tasi*  
 duckling-TM two legs-INST ice-OM break-PST-and water SM again  
*el-ci anh-key ha-lyeko swuiimepsi tali-lul wumcik i-eya*  
 freeze-not-CAUS in order to without rest leg-OM move-have to  
*hay-ss-supnita. haciman machimnay aki oli-to cichi-ese*  
 PST-DEF but finally duckling-also exhausted RSN  
***kkomccak mos ha-key toy ko mal-asseyo.***  
**not at all couldn’t move an inch-KO MALTA-PST POL**  
*kulayse mwul sok-eyse kkongkkong el-epeli-ess-ci-yo*  
 and so water inside-LOC completely freeze-E PELITA-PST-SUSP-POL  
 ‘And the winter was so cold, so cold. The duckling had to swim about in the water to keep from **freezing** (*V-a/e pelita*). But each night the hole in which he swam became smaller and smaller; it froze so the crust of the ice creaked. The duckling had to keep his legs moving so the hole wouldn’t close, but at last he grew tired, **lay quite still**, (lit. ‘his legs reached the point where they could not move another inch’ *V-ko malta*) and **froze fast in the ice**. (*V-a/e pelita*)’

The single token of the *V-ko malta* construction co-occurs with the expression that the duckling grew tired of trying to move his legs about to stay warm, and ultimately reaching the point where his legs could not move another inch. Now, while a *V-a/e pelita* auxiliary would work perfectly well here to express the totality of his exhaustion, it would fail to capture the utter struggle involved in his fight against the freezing cold.

## 5. Conclusion

In summary, I hope to have shown in general that markers of completive aspect tend to express far more than the simple notion of completion. When something is described as vanishing completely, as completely changing, when cake or corn is

described as having been completely eaten up, it is not simply the endpoint of that action which is relevant. The issue seems to be far more complex than simple grammatical marking *per se*.

What is noteworthy is that by analyzing similar grammatical forms both within and across languages, we begin to discern certain crucial distinctions in event descriptions that otherwise would remain unnoticed.

And thus we find that distinctions in one language are not necessarily relevant distinctions in another, even though the outcome may still be the same. When we analyze language, it is important to search beyond the syntax of a simple sentence and discover those subtle, less obvious clues lurking behind the grammar which may help explain the speaker's motivations for using certain forms, especially those which are syntactically optional.

### Appendix A: List of abbreviations

|        |               |      |                   |
|--------|---------------|------|-------------------|
| ADV    | adverb        | OM   | object marker     |
| ATTR   | attributive   | PLN  | plain form        |
| COM    | comitative    | POL  | polite            |
| COP    | copula        | PRT  | particle          |
| DAT    | dative        | PST  | past              |
| DEF    | deferential   | PURP | purposive         |
| DIR    | directional   | RSN  | reason            |
| FML    | formal        | QT   | quotative         |
| GEN    | genitive      | SE   | sentence ender    |
| GOAL   | goal          | SG   | singular          |
| IMPER  | imperative    | SM   | subject marker    |
| INSTR  | instrumental  | SUSP | suspective marker |
| INTERR | interrogative | TM   | topic marker      |
| INTRPT | interruptive  |      |                   |
| LOC    | locative      |      |                   |
| MOD    | modal         |      |                   |
| NPST   | non past      |      |                   |

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