

# Anaphoric Relationship: A Functional Analysis

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Kim, Jae-Min(1995). **Anaphoric Relationship: A Functional Analysis**. *Linguistics vol. 3*. In the framework of Government and Binding theory, many linguists have tried to expound the long-distance anaphoric relationship through the revised or extended Binding Principle A, or LF raising. I, however, argue that any explanation which depends solely on syntactic principles still shows some shortcomings. I propose such pragmatic principles as the Specificness and Deictic Verb Principle to remedy the shortcomings. In other words, when we combine syntactic principles with some pragmatic principles together, we can explain the long-distance anaphoric relationship in Korean more appropriately.

## 1. Introduction

**A**naphoric relationships have been one of the most important topics in linguistic literature. Especially, since Chomsky (1981) presented Government-Binding (GB) theory, coreference phenomena have been debated frequently. Also, Chomsky (1981, 1982) uses the terms ANAPHOR and ANAPHORA differently from the traditional usage (cf. McCawley 1988). They are used by Chomsky only to indicate the reflexive/reciprocal pronouns and the coreference relationship to their antecedents, respectively. In this paper, I also use the terms narrowly.

Recently, it has been pointed out that some languages have long-distance reflexive, and reflexive and pronominal are not always in complementary

distribution (Kuno 1987, Levinson 1991, among others). Many generativists try to solve the long-distance relationship either by presenting the extended and/or modified governing category or by proposing LF-movement for the long-distance reflexives (Park 1984, Chomsky 1986, Yang 1989, 1991). On the other hand, some linguists argue that this problem can only be solved by the combined principles of syntax and pragmatics (Reinhart 1983, Kameyama 1984, Kuno 1987, Levinson 1987, 1991, J. Kim 1990, S. Kim 1992).

Following Levinson (1987, 1991), S. Kim (1992) argues that the so-called Korean reflexive pronoun caki "... requires either that it be bound by a subject, or that it be interpreted logophorically." (p.237). In this paper, I also argue that any theory based on only structural conditions is not appropriate for the account of the relationship between caki and its antecedent. However, differently from S. Kim, I propose that the caki coreference phenomena can be explained appropriately when we combine the relational principles proposed by O'Grady (1987) with some pragmatic principles. I propose some of these pragmatic principles in this paper.

## 2. Binding Domain and Long-Distance Anaphor

Based on the different Binding Domains, anaphors may be classified into two types: local and long-distance.

(1) John<sub>i</sub> thinks [that Peter<sub>j</sub> believes [Bill<sub>k</sub> likes himself<sub>k/\*i,\*j</sub>].]

(2)

a. Chulsu<sub>i</sub>-nun [Yonghee<sub>j</sub>-ka [Sun<sub>k</sub>-i caki<sub>i,j,k</sub> -lul cohahanta-ko]  
                   TM                  SM      SM self      OM like COMP  
       mitnunta-ko] saengkakhanta.  
       believe COMP think  
       `Chulsu thinks that Younghee believes Sun likes herself.'

b. Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> renwei [Lisi<sub>j</sub> zhidao [Jason<sub>k</sub> xihuan ziji<sub>i,j,k</sub>]].  
                   thinks      knows          like      self  
       `Zhangsan thinks that Lisi knows that Jason likes himself.'

In the English example (1) himself only can refer to the local subject Bill, not John or Peter. In the Korean example (2a), differently from (1), caki can refer to Sun, Younghee, or Chulsu, and in the Chinese example (2b) ziji can

refer to Jason, Lisi, or Zhangsan. Such behavior of long-distance anaphors in Korean and Chinese cannot be explained by the standard Binding Principle (cf. Chomsky 1981). In recent literatures, some linguists propose anaphor-raising in LF (Pica 1987, Cole, Hermon, and Sung 1990, Yang 1991, Katada 1991, and others), and Sells (1987) treats the long-distance anaphors as logophoric pronouns.<sup>1</sup>

Yang (1991) argues that caki has "dual" property, which means that sometimes it has the property of head (clitic, or Xo), and sometimes XP. Katada (1991) argues that caki is subject-oriented and makes an unbound Raising in LF. In other words, she argues that caki is always free from Specified Subject Condition, as in (3):

- (3) John<sub>i</sub>-i Bill<sub>j</sub>-lul [<sub>CP</sub> Tom<sub>k</sub>-i caki<sub>i,k,\*j</sub>-lul swumki-ess-ten]  
 NM AC self OM hide Pas COMP  
 pang-ey katwu-ess-ta.  
 room in keep Pas Dec  
 'John kept Bill in the room in which Tom hid himself.'

Yang, however, presents some examples in which caki can refer to not only local/long-distance subject but also matrix object NP, as follows (Yang 1991:429);

- (4) John<sub>i</sub>-nun Bill<sub>j</sub>-lul [<sub>CP</sub> caki<sub>i,j</sub>-ka ka-ko sipheha-nun] taehak-ey  
 NM AC self NM go-to want COMP college-to  
 ponay -ess-ta.  
 send Pas Dec  
 'John sent Bill to the college where he wanted to go'

Differently from the example (3), caki in (4) can refer to John or Bill. To solve the problem, Yang suggests the dual property of anaphor; in (3) caki is a clitic (non-phrasal) and makes head- movement, and in (4) caki is an XP (phrasal) and undergoes QR or XP- movement. He argues that the XP-movement is permitted into the matrix clause out of the embedded clause, and then the subject-orientation may not be maintained in the matrix clause. He also proposes that an anaphor as an XP cannot move over an A-specifier or a subject due to the A-specifier minimality barrier posited for the A'chain of QR, as in (4), but head-movement moves and adjoins to the matrix Infl, as in (3).<sup>2</sup>

Yang's proposal shows that the long-distance relationship between caki

and its antecedent is complex and cannot be explained just by XP adjunction to VP in LF, as in Katada (1991). However, though his hypothesis explains many examples plausibly, even when it makes XP-movement, it sometimes refer only to the matrix subject or only to the matrix object, as follows;

(5)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Bill<sub>j</sub> -ul [caki<sub>i/??\*</sub>j]-ka san] cip -ulo annayhaessta  
 NM OM NM buy house to lead  
 'John led to the house that he bought.'

b. nukunka<sub>i</sub> -ka John<sub>j</sub> -ul [Tom<sub>k</sub>-i caki<sub>k/\*i/??j</sub> -lul  
 unknown person NM OM NM OM  
 swumkiessten] cip -ulo annayhaessta.  
 hide house to lead  
 'An unknown person led John to the house where Tom hid himself.'

In (5a), according to Yang's proposal, caki is a phrasal anaphor, and thus it is expected that it can refer to either the matrix subject or the matrix object. However, differently from the expectation, it only can refer for most Koreans to John, not Bill. Also, in (5b), caki is expected to refer to Tom and the matrix subject nukunka, 'unknown person,' not John, because it is a non-phrasal anaphor. For most Koreans, however, it only refers to Tom, not the other NPs. The following example also cannot be explained by Yang's movement hypothesis;

(6). nukunka<sub>i</sub> -ka Chulsu<sub>j</sub> -eykey [Gin<sub>k</sub>-i caki<sub>k/j/\*i</sub>(-uy) cip -uylo  
 unknown NM AM NM PM house to  
 person  
 kaessta ko] malhaessta  
 go COMP said  
 'An unknown person said to Chulsu that Gin went to his house.'

According to Yang's proposal, caki in the above example should refer to Gin or nukunka 'unknown person,' not Chulsu because it is a non-phrasal anaphor. However, it can refer to either Gin or Chulsu, but not to nukunka. (The coreferentiality judgment on the example (6) will be changed later in a slightly different context. I will explain the reason at that time)

In the following sections, I will show more examples which cannot be explained by standard Binding Theory or Movement Theory in LF.

### 3. Linear Order

Differently from Chomskyan linguists, O'Grady (1987) argues that the interpretation of caki is largely insensitive to the command- type relations that form a crucial part of the Binding Theory for English and similar languages. He proposes that the principles required for the interpretation of caki make reference to grammatical relations such as subject and object and are sensitive to linear order.

He presents the following hierarchy and principle, and argues that the interpretation of caki is organized around the relational hierarchy of (9) and the principle proposed in (10):

(9) O'Grady's Relational Hierarchy:

- a. Subject
- b. Verbal complements (indirect object, direct object, and the NP's marked by postpositions)
- c. Other NP's

(10) The Priority Principle:

caki takes as antecedent the highest eligible NP

The following examples cannot be explained by c-command theory but can be by O'Grady's principle:

(11)

- a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Tom<sub>j</sub>-ul caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>(-uy) pang-eyse mil-ess -ta  
           SM    OM           PM room in push Past Dec  
   'Johni pushed Tomj in hisi room'
- b. John<sub>i</sub>-i Tom<sub>j</sub>-eykey caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>(-uy) chinkwu-lul sokeyhayssta  
           SM    IM                   PM friend OM introduce  
   'John introduced hisi friend to Tom'
- c. [NP [S John<sub>i</sub>-i iki-ess -ta -nun] sosik -i] caki<sub>i</sub>-uy  
           SM win Past Dec Nom new SM    PM  
   chinku-lul kippukeyhaycwu-ess - ta  
   friend OM please           Past Dec  
   'The news that John won pleased his friend'

In (11a,b), caki has two c-commanding NPs, John and Tom, but it refers only to John, not to Tom. Though the example (11c) has a different syntactic

structure from (11a,b), it shows that O'Grady's theory is better than c-command theory. In (11c) John does not c-command caki, but caki can refer to John. O'Grady's theory can explain these cases quite well: caki in (11a,b) refers to John because it is the subject and it has a higher hierarchical position than the object Tom. In (11c), caki refers to John because it is the only referential NP, even though it does not c-command caki.

#### 4. Linear Order and Pragmatic Principles

As I discussed in the previous section, there are many examples that cannot be explained by (c-)command theory. There, however, are also some cases that cannot be explained only with O'Grady's theory. Below, I argue that when we combine O'Grady's Relational Hierarchy with some pragmatic principles that I propose in this paper, the relationship of caki to its antecedent can be interpreted more adequately.

Before showing O'Grady's shortcomings, I will discuss the notion of sentential topic, which I am adding to O'Grady's relational hierarchy, because of its relevance to some of the cases such as those below which either the original hierarchy or the Priority Principle does not account for.

(12)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-i [<sub>S</sub>Bob<sub>j</sub>-i caki<sub>i/j</sub>-lul sileha-nun - kes]-ul anta  
           SM      SM      OM hate NOM NOM OM know  
 `John knows that Bob hates him/himself`

b. John<sub>i</sub>-un [<sub>S</sub>Bob<sub>j</sub>-i caki<sub>i/j</sub>-lul sileha-nun - kes]-ul anta  
           TM      SM      OM hate Nom Nom OM know  
 `John knows that Bob hates him/himself`

(13)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-i [<sub>S</sub> Bob<sub>j</sub> -i caki<sub>i/j</sub>-ul kwasinha -nun- kes]-ul  
           SM      SM      OM overestimate Nom Nom OM  
 eymleyh -an -ta  
 worry Pre Dec  
 `John is worried that Bob overestimates him/himself`

b. John<sub>i</sub>-un [<sub>S</sub> Bob<sub>j</sub>-i caki<sub>i/j</sub>-ul kwasinha -nun- kes]-ul eymleyh-  
           TM      SM      OM overestimate Nom OM worry  
 hanta.  
 do  
 `John is worried that Bob overestimates him/himself`

c. John<sub>i</sub>-un Mary<sub>j</sub>-eykey caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>(-uy) chak-ul poyecwuessta  
 TM IM PM book OM show  
 'John showed Mary his book'

Examples (12) and (13) show that sentential topic and subject have the same position in the Relational Hierarchy (9). Thus, caki in the above examples can refer to either John or Bob, even though one of them has a topic marker -(n)un. Also, in (13c), caki can refer only to the topic John, not to Mary, because topic NP is higher than indirect object in the Relational Hierarchy. The above examples show that if we add the sentential topic to O'Grady's Hierarchy, his Principle works well for the construction that has a topicalized NP. Hereby I propose the following revised Relational Hierarchy:

(14) Relational Hierarchy (revised):

- a. Subject, Sentential Topic
- b. Verbal complements
- c. Other NP's

#### 4.1. The Specificness Principle

The following examples show that there are other factors that affect the interpretation of the relation of caki to its antecedent.

(15)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Bob<sub>j</sub>-ekey kewul - lo caki<sub>i/?j</sub>(-uy) mosup -ul  
 SM DM mirror with PM appearance OM  
 poyecwuessta  
 showed  
 'John showed Bob what he looked like in the mirror'

b. etten molunun salam<sub>i</sub> -i Bob<sub>j</sub>-ekey kewul - lo  
 a unspecified person SM DM mirror with  
 caki<sub>i/?j</sub>(-uy) mosup -ul poyecwuessta  
 PM appearance OM showed  
 'An unspecified person showed Bob what he looked like in the mirror'

According to O'Grady's Hierarchy and Principle, caki in (15b) should refer to etten molunun salam 'an unspecified person', because it is the subject of the sentence, just as caki in (a) should refer to the subject John. However, it only refers to Bob, even though Bob is an indirect object and has a lower

hierarchical position than the subject. This fact becomes clear when we examine the following examples.

(16)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-un [<sub>S</sub> Harry<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>i/j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul kochi  
           TM          SM          PM tool with car OM repair  
 -n - kes]-ul anta  
 Pre Nom OM know  
 'John knows that Harry repaired the car with his tool'

b. John<sub>i</sub>-un [<sub>S</sub> nukwunka<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
           TM unknown SM          PM tool with car OM  
                   person  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 'John knows that an unknown person repaired the car  
 with his tool'

c. nwukwunka<sub>j</sub>-ka [Harry<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
           unknown NM          SM          PM tool IM car OM  
           person  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 'An unknown person knows that Harry repaired the car  
 with his tool'

In example (16a), caki can refer to John or Harry, just as (14) and (10) predict. However, in (16b), caki can refer only to John, not the possible antecedent nwukwunka 'an unknown person'. Also, in (16c), it can refer only to Harry, instead of nwukwunka, even though it has the same hierarchical position.

Here I propose the "Specificfness Hierarchy" and "Specificfness Principle."

(17) Specificfness hierarchy (tentative):

Proper noun > unspecified NP

(18) The Specificfness Principle:

caki takes as antecedent the highest eligible NP in the specificfness hierarchy.

To elaborate the Specificfness Hierarchy, let us look at some more



examples:

(19)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-un [S ku<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>i/??j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul kochi  
 TM he SM PM tool with car OM repair  
 n -kes]-ul anta  
 Pre Nom OM know  
 'John knows that he repaired the car with his tool'

b. ku<sub>i</sub>-nun [S nwukwunka<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>i/\*j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
 he TM unknown SM PM tool with car OM  
 person  
 kochi- n -kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 'He knows that an unknown person repaired the car with  
 his tool'

c. nwukwunka<sub>i</sub>-ka [S ku<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>j/\*i</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cah-lul  
 unknown NM he SM PM tool with car OM  
 person  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 'An unknown person knows that he repaired the car with  
 his tool'

In (19a), although John and ku 'he' have the same hierarchical position, for most Korean speakers, caki refers to John, not ku, because the proper name John is higher than the pronoun ku in the Specificness Hierarchy. By the same token, in (b) and (c), caki can only refer to ku, not nwukwunka 'an unknown person', because ku is more specific than nwukwunka in the Specificness Hierarchy, even though they have the same relational hierarchy.

The following examples also show the necessity and the applicability of the Specificness Hierarchy:

(20)

a. han haksayng<sub>i</sub>-i [S ku<sub>j</sub>-ka caki<sub>j/??i</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
 a student SM he SM PM tool with car OM  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 'A student knows that he repaired the car with his tool'

b. ku<sub>i</sub>-nun [<sub>S</sub> han haksayng<sub>i</sub>-i caki<sub>i</sub>/??<sub>j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
 he TM a student SM PM tool with car OM  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 `He knows that a student repaired the car with his tool'

c. han haksayng<sub>i</sub>-i [<sub>S</sub> nwukwunka-ka<sub>j</sub> caki<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
 a student SM unknown SM PM tool with car OM  
 person  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 `A student knows that an unknown person repaired the car  
 with his<sub>i</sub>/j tool'

d. nwukwunka<sub>i</sub>-ka [<sub>S</sub> han haksayng<sub>i</sub>-i caki<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha  
 unknown SM a student SM PM tool with car  
 person  
 -lul kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 OM repair Pre Nom OM know  
 `An unknown person knows that a student repaired the car  
 with his tool'

e. John<sub>i</sub>-un [<sub>S</sub> han haksayng<sub>i</sub>-i caki<sub>i</sub>/??<sub>j</sub>-uy tokwu-lo cha-lul  
 TM a student SM PM tool with car OM  
 kochi- n - kes]-ul anta  
 repair Pre Nom OM know  
 `John knows that a student repaired the car with his tool'

In (20a,b), for most Koreans, caki refers to ku, while for others it refers to han haksang `a student'. In (20c,d), caki can refer only to han haksayng, not nwukwunka `an unknown person', even though they have the same hierarchical position. In (20e), for most speakers, caki refers to John, not han haksayng `a student'.

I argue that in the above examples in (19, 20), the specificity of an antecedent may override syntactic principles, and thus the anaphoric relationship may not hold strongly. In other words, the example (19a) shows that `proper noun' is more specific than definite NP, and the examples (19 b,c) show that `definite NP' is more specific than `indefinite NP'. Also `specific NP' is more specific than `non-specific NP,' as in (20). Thus, (16) can be revised as follows:

(21)

- a. Proper noun > definite NP > indefinite NP
- b. specific NP > non-specific NP

Even though it is also true that in Korean, sentential topic and subject are more specific than other NPs (cf. Thompson 1976), I do not think that O'Grady's relational hierarchy is included in this specificity hierarchy. I assume that there are two hierarchies and principles, the Relational Hierarchy and Principle on the one hand, the Specificity Hierarchy and Principle on the other hand. They work independently, but when they conflict in a specific case, the Specificity Hierarchy and Specificity Principle override the relational ones.

#### 4.2. Deictic Verb Principle

There is a pragmatic principle that shows the influence of the semantics of the verbs on the interpretation of caki. The following examples cannot be explained by the Relational and Specificity Hierarchies and Principles.

(22)

- a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Peter-ekey<sub>j</sub> caki<sub>s-i/s-j</sub>(-uy) pang-ulo ola -ko-  
           SM      DM                  PM room to come COMP  
 hay- ss -ta  
 do Past Dec  
 'John told Peter to come to his room'
- b. John<sub>i</sub>-i Peter<sub>j</sub>-ekey caki<sub>s-i/s-j</sub>(-uy) pang-ulo kala -ko-  
           SM      IM                  PM room to go COMP  
 hay- ss -ta  
 do Past Dec  
 'John told Peter to go to his room'

Here I use new stigmata s-i and s-j to indicate that in a "specific situation", the coreference device can coindex NP<sub>i</sub> and NP<sub>j</sub>, respectively. Below, I present the specific situation that determine the relationship of caki to its antecedent in a locative phrase.

The usages of the Korean deictic verbs are very different from those of English deictic verbs. First of all, as Ree (1985:226) argues, a Korean speaker chooses the deictic verb kata as long as he/she moves away from where he/she is. Ree presents the following examples to support the above argument:

(23)

- a. (As you start for the door to see who knocks at the door, you answer):

English: I'm coming

Korean : ney kapnita (\*ney opnita)

yes, go      yes come

- b. English: Can I come home with you?

Korean : cipey kathi kato toyyo?

home with you go can

(\* cipey kathi wato toyyo?)

home with you come can

In (23a), unlike in English, Koreans can use only kata 'go', not ota 'come' because the speaker moves to the door from the place where he/she is. By the same token, in (23b) Koreans use only kata 'go' because the speaker goes home from where he/she is.

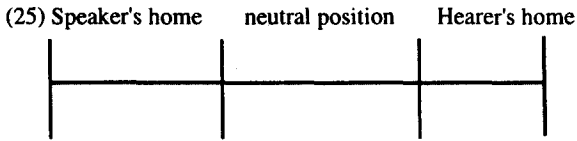
Additionally, Ree (1985:226) argues that: ... the pragmatic differences between these verbs (i.e. deictic verbs, ota 'come' and kata 'go'), ota in particular, cannot be fully explained without considering such notions as "personal involvement" or "prior knowledge."

Here I present the following Deictic Verb Principle which governs the interpretation of caki in a sentence where a deictic verb is used:

(24) Deictic Verb Principle:

Given caki and a deictic verb in a clause, the interpretation of the caki depends on the position of the speaker. When the speaker and the hearer are either in neutral position, or in a place that belongs to the speaker, or in a goal position, caki used with kata 'go' can refer only to the hearer, and caki used with ota 'come' can refer only to the speaker. When the speaker is in a place that belongs to the hearer or is not in a goal position, caki used with kata can refer only to the speaker, and caki used with ota can refer only to the hearer.

The following diagram should illustrate Principle (24):



The speaker's home is an example of the place that belongs to the speaker, and the hearer's home is an example of the place that belongs to the hearer. Also, if the speaker and the hearer are not in the speaker's and the hearer's home, I will say that they are in the neutral position.

With the above principle, the examples in (22) can be interpreted adequately. In (22a), caki refers to the subject, not the hearer, when the speaker and the hearer are in the neutral position, because the hearer moves to the speaker's position. However, caki (22a) can refer to the hearer Peter when the speaker is in the hearer's room. In (22b), caki refers to the hearer when John and Peter are in neutral position, but it can refer to the speaker John when the speaker and hearer are in the Peter's room.

Moreover, in (22b), even though the speaker and the hearer are in the neutral position, caki can refer to the speaker John if the speaker and the hearer have "prior knowledge" that, for example, there will be a meeting in John's room. Thus, the case of (22b), as Ree argues, shows that a pragmatic factor such as "prior knowledge" influences the interpretation of caki used with a deictic verb. Also, it can be said that the prior knowledge contributes to setting up where the "goal place" is, that is noted in the Deictic Principle (24). The examples in (22) also show that the Deictic Verb Principle overrides the Relational Principle when there is a conflict between them.

The following examples support the above analysis:

(26)

a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Peter<sub>j</sub>-lul caki<sub>s-i/s-j</sub>(-uy) cip -ulo okeyhayssta  
       SM       OM                   PM house to let come  
 'John let Peter come to his house'

b. John<sub>i</sub>-i Peter<sub>j</sub>-lul caki<sub>s-i/s-j</sub>(-uy) cip -ulo kakeyhayssta  
       SM       OM                   PM house to let go  
 'John let Peter go to his house'

In (26a), caki refers to John when John and Peter are in neutral position or in the John's house, but it can also refer to Peter when John is in Peter's

house. In (26b), caki refers to Peter when John and Peter are in the neutral position or in the speaker's house, but it can also refer to John when the speaker and the hearer are in Peter's house, or they have the prior knowledge that, for example, there will be a meeting in John's house.

### 5. Conclusion and Further Studies

In this paper I have argued that any "command" and/or "raising" type principles may explain narrow range of the anaphoric relationship of caki. I have asserted that the coreference phenomena of caki can be explained appropriately, when we combine the Priority (Relational) Principle (10), repeated as (27), with the Specificness Principle and the Deictic Verb Principle, here repeated as (28) and (29), respectively.

(27) The Priority Principle:

caki takes as antecedent the highest eligible NP.

(28) The Specificness Principle:

caki takes as antecedent the highest eligible NP in the specificness hierarchy.

(29) Deictic Verb Principle:

Given caki and a deictic verb in a clause, the interpretation of the caki depends on the position of the speaker. When the speaker and the hearer are either in neutral position, or in a place that belongs to the speaker, or in a goal position, caki used with *kata* 'go' can refer only to the hearer, and caki use with *ota* 'come' can refer only to the speaker. When the speaker is in a place that belongs to the hearer or is not in a goal position, caki used with *kata* can refer only to the speaker, and caki used with *ota* can refer only to the hearer.

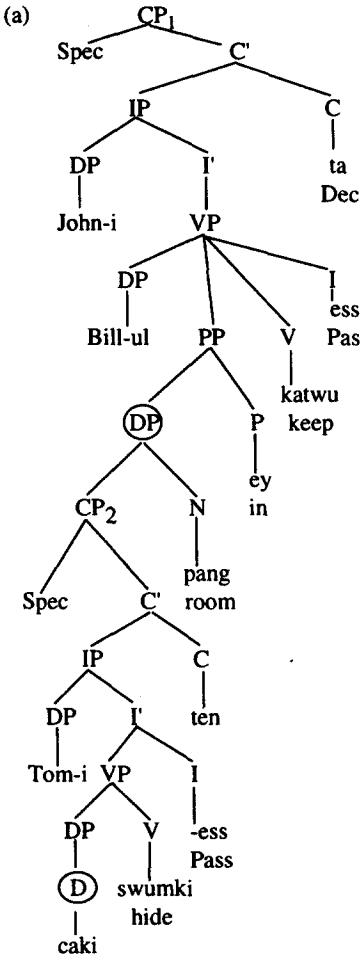
Even though I have presented two functional principles, I do not claim that I have presented all the pragmatic principles that determine the interpretation of the anaphoric relationship of caki. That will be the topic of future studies. I have also argued that under the non-monolithic account of the usage of caki, two systems, formal and functional, work independently. Whenever they conflict, functional principles override syntactic principles.

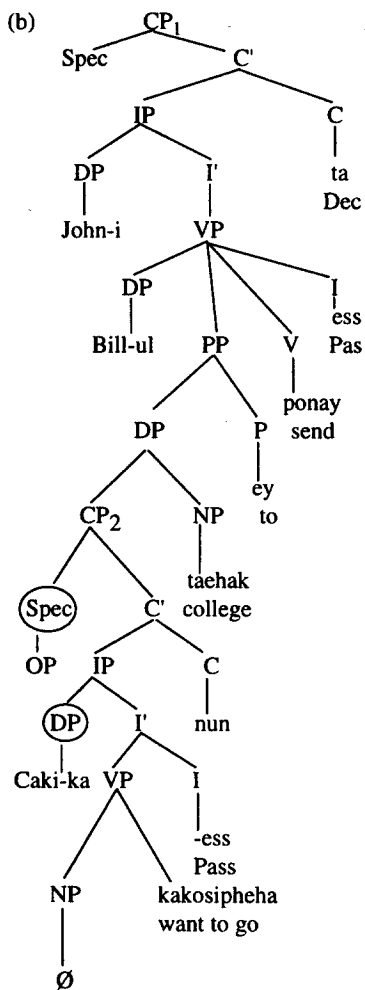
#### Notes.

\* This Paper is a revised version of a part of my dissertation. I would like to thank Prof. Lee, Jeong-sik for his various comments on this paper.

1. As I mentioned in Section 1, some generativists have tried to extend or modify 'binding domain' to explain the long-distance phenomena. I, however, do not mention their shortcomings any more in this paper because many linguists have already discussed them thoroughly. (cf. Kuno 1987, J.Kim 1990) Also, Yang (1991) presents some good examples to reject the idea that caki may be a logophoric pronoun.

2. According to Yang's proposal, the exmple (3) and (4) may have roughly the following (a) and (b) structures, respectively:





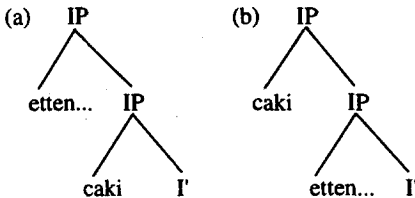
In the above analysis, Yang may assume the following several arguments; the DP analysis of caki (a functional category, not a lexical category), adjacent government, Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), and Adjunction Condition (Chomsky 1986).

In (a) DP is a barrier, and in (b), the Spec of CP<sub>2</sub> is an A'-specifier, a minimal governor of A'-movement. Thus, unnecessary modification of the structure of the embedded clause may be



unavoidable in the above analysis. As mentioned before, there are some theory-internal problems in LF Raising, but in this paper I do not try to deal with them.

3. If we apply LF movement to example (14b), *caki* must refer to *etten molunun salam* 'an unknown person' because it has the following (a) or (b) LF structure roughly;



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