

The System of Adverbial Case Markers in Korean for Foreign Language Education

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Abstract This paper aims at presenting the classification of semantic cases, especially the system of adverbial case makers in Korean language for foreign language education. The adverbial cases in Korean are classified with semantic relations. The merit of this methods which are based on semantic relations is that it is revealed various kinds of functions and meanings of adverbial cases. The main problems of classifications of adverbial cases with semantic relations are that they assume different names and sub-categories of adverbial case for the same semantic relations. This paper, therefore, argues that adverbial cases needs to be classified morphologically, followed by the functions and meanings based on semantic relations, in order to fix the system of adverbial cases in Korean, finally. We can group the adverbial cases by morphological and semantic relations in Korean. First group, which is based on '-e', includes static locative, dative, allative, emphasis, and succession; while second group, which is based on '-eseo', includes dynamic locative, source, ablative, and emphasis; the last group, which is based on '-(eu)lo', includes translative, function, and instrumental.

Keywords Korean Language Education, Particles, Case Markers, Adverbial Case Makers, The System of Adverbial Case Makers

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1. Introduction

Grammatical cases can be classified into several groups in Korean: first, syntactic cases, which has syntactic or discourse functions of nominal, such as nominative, accusative, genitive, and vocative. Second, adverbial cases,¹ which has semantic functions of nominal such as dative, goal, locative, source, directional, instrumental, function, and so on.² Finally, conjunction particles, which can be classified as connective and disjunction particles.

The Korean is classified as a language that has 6-7 cases in the world languages.³ This classification of syntactic cases is similar to Korean grammar. The numbers of semantic cases, however, are classified smaller than Korean grammar. So this paper aims at presenting the classification of semantic cases, especially adverbial cases.

The usage of names and conceptions of adverbial cases, sometimes, may appear confusing. The adverbial cases, usually, are grouped into sub-categories based on the criteria of semantic functions. The usage of these units, sometimes, is duplicated. The duplication of usage of particles, i.e., one morpheme has several functions and usages, for examples, the simple particle ‘-e/ㄴ에’⁴ is used as having several functions, which are locative ‘at, in, on’, dative ‘to’, allative ‘to’, and source ‘from’ in sentences. So when the functions of ‘-e/ㄴ에’ is classified, the focus is on the mor-

1 There are some names of adverbial cases or oblique cases which are compatible with ‘busagyeok’ in Korean. It is difficult to find the term ‘busagyeok’, which is exactly the same as adverbial cases or oblique cases. Because the sub-categories of dative, locative, goal, source, directional, instrumental, function, ablative, connective, comparative, and so on, these names are classified with functions and meaning of languages in the world. The term ‘busagyeok’, however, in Korean is understood as ‘adverbs’ as well, which is not categorized by meanings of language. But we cannot find equivalent term other than ‘busagyeok’ until now; hence, this paper only uses adverbial cases as ‘busagyeok’ in custom of Korean linguistics. See Nam Ik Sohn (1999), Ji Yong Park (2005) and Ji Su Lee (2007) for the notion of ‘busagyeok’ in Korean linguistics.

2 See Martin Haspelmath (2009) for the names and notions of cases in the world languages.

3 See Oliver A. Iggesen (2005) for the numbers of cases in the world languages.

4 This paper is adopted the system of Romanization of Korean characters as ‘gugeoui Romaja pyogibeop’ (Romanization in Korean) that is established on 2000 in Korea. See the website of The National Institutes of Korean Language (<http://www.korean.go.kr>) for Romanization in Korean.

phological units of ‘-e’ and the particles that are related to ‘-e’ at first, and then these functions are rearranged with semantic functions(Park, Jun Seok, 2012). This paper, also, adopts this approach, to analyse the system of adverbial case markers in Korean.

2. The Classifications of Adverbial Cases

The adverbial cases in Korean are classified with semantic relations. The merit of this methods which are based on semantic relations is that it is revealed various kinds of functions and meanings of adverbial cases. There are several books on Korean grammar that define the adverbial cases as classified with semantic relations. The book titled “The Korean Language” (Ho-Min Shon, 2001: 213-217), typically, listed various kinds of semantic cases, for examples, dative, goal, static locative, dynamic locative, source, ablative, allative(directional), instrument, capacity, comitative, connective, comparative, and equative, based on semantic relations. The “The Korean Language” (Ikseop Lee and S. Robert Ramsey, 2000: 139-160), however, classified only three adverbial cases, that is, locative, instrumental, and comitative. These two books classified adverbial cases with semantic relations; hence, lack in examination of the characteristics of morphology. It is also found that there are various kinds of names and classifications for adverbial cases in Korean grammar (Gwang Jeong Lee, 1999: 22; Ji Su Lee, 2007: 32).

The main problems of classifications of adverbial cases are that they assume different names and sub-categories of adverbial case for the same semantic relations. This anomaly takes place mostly because it is difficult to find core functions and meanings of adverbial cases based on semantic relations. This problems, usually, arises from classifications of adverbial cases depend on semantic relations. The semantic relations, realized in this paper, are not prerequisites, but necessary conditions for fixing the system of adverbial cases in Korean. Because one morpheme of adverbial case may have multiple functions and meanings of semantic relations, hence, it

is difficult to fix a category with such functions and meanings. For examples, the morpheme of ‘-e’ has lots of functions and meanings, that is, it has the transferred functions and meanings of locative, dative, allative, function, and instrumental, and has also the extended functions and meanings of time, proportion, cause, age, reference, boundary, comparison and so on (Jun Seok Park, 2012). There is an example of transferred functions and meanings of ‘-e’ in (1).⁵

- (1) a. Cheolsu-ga Seoul-e sal-da.
 Cheolsu-NM Seoul-SL/in live-FE
 ‘Cheolsu lives in Seoul.’
- b. na-neun hwabun-e mul-eul ju-eoss-da.
 I-TP flower pot-DAT water-AC give-PST-FE
 ‘I watered to flower pot.’
- c. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e/lo ga-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu goes to school.’
- d. geu-ga banjang-e/eulo(seo) ppophi-eoss-da.
 keu-NM banjang-FC/as be elected-PST-FE.
 ‘He elected as a monitor at his class.’
- e. uri-neun haeppeyoeth-e/eulo(sseo) os-eul malli-eoss-da.
 We-TP sun shine-INS/in clothes-AC to dry-PST-FE
 ‘we dried the clothes in the sun.’

The functions and meanings of ‘-e’ showed static locative in (1a), dative in (1b), allative in (1c), function in (1d), instrumental in (1e). It is difficult to confirm the

5 The abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows; ABL: Ablative case marker, AC: Accusative case marker, ADM: Adverbial case marker, Adv: Adverb, ALT: Allative case marker, CO: Copula, CP: Complement case marker, DAT: Dative case marker, DL: Dynamic locative, FC: Function case marker, FE: Final ending, HS: honorific suffix, INS: Instrumental case marker, LOC: Locative case marker, NM: Nominative case marker, PP: Postposition, PST: Past tense pre-final ending, RL: Relativizer (or adnominal modifier) ending, SC: Source case marker, SFE: Sentence final ending, SH: Subject honorific pre-final ending, SL: Static locative, TP: Topic postposition.

main functions and meanings of ‘-e’ based on semantic relations as in (1). But it is can be said that main function and meaning of ‘-e’ can be established specifically as function and meaning of ‘-e’ based on checked ‘-e’ in (1). So we can fix main function and meaning of ‘-e’ as ‘static locative, the transferred functions and meanings of ‘-e’ as dative, allative, function, and instrumental, the extended functions and meanings of ‘-e’ as time, proportion, cause, age, reference, boundary, comparison and so on (Jun Seok Park, 2012). Therefore, this way of studying of ‘-e’ focusing more on morphological methods than semantic relations can be advised, and it is only then that we can fix sub-categories of adverbial cases.

The other way of fixing sub-categories of adverbial cases is by checking conditions of contributions, that is, which are combinations of case phrases followed by predicates, of adverbial cases and vice versa. This method gives accuracy towards the function and meaning of adverbial cases, but it is difficult, or, sometimes, ‘impossible’ to check the conditions of contributions of adverbial cases finally. Because we can make a data for the conditions of contributions of adverbial cases statistically, however, we can not make a confirmation of conditions of contributions of adverbial cases ultimately. This paper, therefore, argues that adverbial cases needs to be classified morphologically, followed by the functions and meanings based on semantic relations, in order to fix the system of adverbial cases in Korean, finally. At first, it is suggested the system of adverbial cases based on morphologically in (2).

(2) a. ‘-e’

- (a) Static locative: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’.
 - i. Emphasis: ‘-eya’.
 - ii. Succession: ‘-edaga/eda/e’.
- (b) Dative/Goal: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’, ‘-deoreo’, ‘-bogo’.
- (c) Directional/Allative: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-(eu)lo’, ‘-hante’.
 - i. Translative: ‘-(eu)lo’.
 - ii. Function: ‘-e’, ‘-(eu)loseo/(eu)lo’.
 - iii. Instrumental: ‘-e’, ‘-(eu)losseo/(eu)lo’.

- b. ‘-eseo’
- (a) Dynamic locative: ‘-eseo’
- i. Source: ‘-eseo/seo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, ‘-hanteseo/hante’.
 - ii. Emphasis: ‘-eseoya’
 - iii. Ablative: ‘-buteo’, ‘-eseobuteo/eseo’, ‘-egeseobuteo/egeseo’, ‘-kkeseobuteo/kkeseo’, ‘-hanteseobuteo/hanteseo’, ‘-(eu)lobuteo’.

Adverbial cases can be divided into two groups: the one is included in static locative, dative, and allative, based on ‘-e’ as in (2a). The other is included in dynamic locative and ablative based on ‘-eseo’ in (2b).

There are commonalities among static locative, dative, and allative in 2(a), which are originated from ‘-e’. The morphs, that is, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’ on the other hand, are related with ‘-e’ morphologically and semantically. The static locative is transformed into the function of emphasis and succession by adding ‘-e’ with another morph which has functions and meaning of ‘-ya’ of ‘emphasis’ and ‘-da(ga)’ of ‘succession’. The dative share same morphs with static locative, so different morphs of ‘-e’ has been developed into ‘-deoreo’, ‘-bogo’. Allative, also, shares some morphs with static locative and dative, therefore, the prominent morphs, that is, ‘-(eu)lo’, is developed and enforced for the functions and meanings of allative. The allative of ‘-(eu)lo’ is transformed into translative, and is developed into ‘-(eu)lo(seo)’ of function that ‘-(eu)lo’ is attached with, and is developed into ‘-(eu)lo(sseo)’ of instrumental that ‘-(eu)lo’ is attached with (i.e., ‘-sseo’).

The dynamic locative and ablative, also, share ‘-eseo’ of same morpheme in (2b). The dynamic locative is developed into source, which is compound particles that are combined ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘-hante’ of dynamic locative with ‘-eseo’. The dynamic locative of ‘-eseo’ is transformed into emphasis, that is, ‘-eseoya’, by adding a morph that has functions and meaning of ‘-ya’ of ‘emphasis’. Besides, ablative shares a meaning with source, which may appear as morphs similar to source, i.e., ‘-buteo’, and is developed into compound particles, which are ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, ‘-hanteseo/hante’, and ‘-(eu)lo’ to be attached with ‘-buteo’.

There are several cases, which are shown in at books and scholarly articles. This

paper, however, does not include the following cases as adverbial cases, in (3).

- (3) a. Conjunction Particles vs. Comitative: ‘-wa/gwa’, ‘-hago’, ‘-irang/rang’.
- b. Postpositions vs. Comparative: ‘-boda’.
- c. Postpositions vs. Equative: ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, ‘-gachi’.
- d. Endings vs. Quotations: ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, ‘-irago’.
- e. Vocative: ‘-a/ya’, ‘-i/zero’, ‘-ieo/isieo’.

It is better considering conjunction particles than comitative of ‘-wa/gwa’, ‘-hago’, ‘-irang/rang’ in (3a), postpositions⁶ than the comparative of ‘-boda’ in (3b); postpositions than equative of ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, and ‘-gachi’ in (3c); endings than quotations of ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, and ‘-irago’ in (3d); nominative than complement ‘-i/ga’ in (3d); vocative is classified as discourse case, which is based on discourse structure rather than semantic relations in (3e).

- (4) a. Cheolsu-wa/hago/rang Yeonghui-ga hakkyo-e ga-nda.
Cheolsu-CON Yeonghui-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu and Yeonghui go to school.’
- b. Cheolsu-wa/hago/rang Yeonghui-hago/rang/*wa hakkyo-e ga-nda.
Cheolsu-CON Yeonghui-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu and Yeonghui go to school.’
- c. Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-wa hakkyo-e ga-nda.
Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-CON school-ALT/to go-SFE
‘Cheolsu goes to school with Yeonghui.’
- d. Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-wa ssawu-eoss-da.
Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-CON fight-PST-SFE
‘Cheolsu fought with Yeonghui.’
- e. (Cheolsu-ga) Yeonghui-wa sijang-e ga-ass-da.
(Cheolsu-NM) Yeonghui-CON market-ALT/to go-PST-SFE

6 See Park, Jun-seok(2014) for the list of postpositions in Korean language for foreign language education.

‘(Cheolsu)went to the market with Yeonghui.’

One may find, first, the usage of conjunction particles and comitative confusing in Korean. However, this paper consider comitative of ‘-wa/gwa’, ‘-hago’, and ‘-irang/rang’ as conjunction particles, in specific, connective particles in (4a). The ‘-wa/gwa’, ‘-hago’, and ‘-irang/rang’ used as connective particles. However, there are some differences between ‘-wa/gwa’ and ‘-hago’, ‘-irang/rang’ at speech styles, because ‘-hago’ and ‘-irang/rang’ are more colloquial styles, and also ‘-hago’ and ‘-irang/rang’ can be attached with the last phrases of connective particles, but ‘-wa/gwa’ can not followed by the last phrases of connective particles in (4b).⁷ The connective particles of ‘-wa/gwa’ in (4a), which are combined as ‘*Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e ga-nda*’ and ‘*Yeonghui-ga hakkyo-e ga-nda*’, have functions of simply linking nouns together and reveal meaning of ‘and’. But this sentence does not maintain meaning of ‘with’ or ‘together’, which, usually, is called as comitative that expresses ‘two persons necessarily go to school together’, and connective particles in (4c), also, here we need reciprocal verbs ‘*ssauda*’ (‘fight’), ‘*mannada*’ (‘meet’), ‘*dalmda*’ (‘resemble’), ‘*gathda*’ (‘be same’), etc in (4d), and the subject can omitted when it is understandable from the context in (4e). These functions, sometimes, reveal the characteristics of comitative as like in (4c, d, e). The connective particles are classified as comitative, however, this paper consider these functions as extended functions of connective particles.

Second, there are some postpositions which are considered as adverbial cases, for instance, ‘-boda’ of comparative, ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, and ‘-gachi’ of equative in (5).

- (5) a. (oneul-i) (eoje) boda deo chup-da.
 (today-NM) (yesterday) than more cold-FE
 ‘(Today is) colder (than yesterday).’

7 It is ordinarily that the connective particles can be followed by the last phrases of connective particles in middle Korean. This historical facts are descendant only to ‘-hago’ and ‘-irang/rang’, not ‘-wa/gwa’ in modern Korean.

- b. oneul-i eoje-boda deo chup-da.
 today-NM yesterday-PP/than more cold-FE
 ‘Today is colder than yesterday.’
- c. oneul-i eoje-mankhemum/cheoreom/gachi deo chup-da.
 today-NM yesterday-PP/as much as that/like as that more cold-FE
 ‘Today is cold as much as/as like yesterday.’

It is found that ‘boda’ (‘more than’) used as adverbs or phrases of adverbs, in (5a). It is also used as adverbial case or postposition, in (5b). It is difficult to distinguish between adverbial cases and postpositions, in (5b). It, also, is found that ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, and ‘-gachi’ are used as postpositions that have meaning of ‘as ~ as, as like’ in (5c). The usage and meaning of ‘-boda’ of comparative are almost similar to ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, and ‘-gachi’, in (5c). This paper, therefore, considers ‘boda’ as postpositions, based on functions and meanings of ‘-mankheum’, ‘-cheoreom’, and ‘-gachi’.

Third, this paper does not acknowledge quotational cases among adverbial cases, but considers ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, and ‘-irago’ as endings that have a function to connect an embodied sentence with main sentence, in (6).

- (6) a. Cheolsu-ga jigeum jip-e ga-nda-go ha-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM now home-ALT/to go-SFE-CP say-SFE
 ‘Cheol told that (I) go back home now.’
- b. Ceolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege jigeum jib-e ga-ra-go ha-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-DAT/to now home-ALT/to go-SFE-CP say-SFE
 ‘Cheol told Yeongui go back home now.’
- c. Cheolsu-ga jigeum yeol si-i-ra-go ha-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM now ten o’clock-CO-SFE-CP say-SFE
 ‘Cheol told that it is ten o’clock now.’

The morphs of ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, and ‘-irago’ are often not ‘accurate’ in Korean Grammar. These morphs are originated from ending phrases that are combined with ‘-da’, ‘-nya’, ‘-ra’, ‘-ja’, and ‘-ma’ with ‘-go’ as connective of the sentence final endings. It,

therefore, is found that ‘-go’ is a kind of ending, and ‘-rago’ is a combination of sentence final ending. In the example of ‘-irago’, the ending comprises the copula ‘-i’ and the ending ‘-rago’. If the morphs of ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, and ‘-irago’ are considered as quotational cases, it is better showed with ‘-dago’, ‘-nyago’, ‘-rago’, ‘-jago’, and ‘-mago’ but not as ‘-go’, ‘-rago’, and ‘-irago’.

Finally, the ‘-a/ya’, ‘-i/zero’, and ‘-ieo/isieo’ of vocative are considered as adverbial cases. The adverbial cases are named based on the functions and meanings of adverbial case phrases. This act is based on semantic relations, which is, adverbial cases are expressed as semantic functions of nominals such as dative, goal, locative, source, directional, instrument, and function (Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 327). The vocative, however, are not depended on syntax or semantic functions, but on the characteristics of discourse. This paper, therefore, considers vocative as case of discourse category in Korean.

3. The Semantic Relations of Adverbial Cases

This paper has discussed adverbial cases based on morphological forms in former sections. This section focuses on adverbial cases determined by semantic relations. Following examples of adverbial cases are based on realization of morphology and semantic relations that has been depicted above.

(7) a. ‘-e’

(a) Static locative: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’.

(b) Dative/Goal: ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’, ‘-deoreo’, ‘-bogo’.

(c) Emphasis: ‘-eya’.

(d) Succession: ‘-edaga/eda/e’.

b. ‘-eseo’

(a) Dynamic locative: ‘-eseo’

(b) Source: ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, ‘-hanteseo/hante’.

(c) Emphasis: ‘-eseoya’

c. ‘-(eu)lo’

(a) Allative/Directional: ‘-(eu)lo’, ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, ‘-hante’.

(b) Translative: ‘-(eu)lo’.

(c) Function: ‘-(eu)loseo/(eu)lo’, ‘-e’.

(d) Instrumental: ‘-(eu)losseo/(eu)lo’, ‘-e’.

d. ‘-buteo’

(a) Ablative: ‘-buteo’, ‘-eseobuteo/eseo’, ‘-egeseobuteo/egeseo’, ‘-kkeseobuteo/
kkeseo’, ‘-hanteseobuteo/hanteseo’, ‘-(eu)lobuteo’.

The static locative, dative, emphasis, and succession share same morpheme of ‘-e’ in (7a); dynamic locative, source, and emphasis share ‘-eseo’ in (7b); and allative, translative, function, and instrumental share ‘-(eu)lo’ in (7c). In the fourth set of example, ablative is developed from source of ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, and ‘-hanteseo/hante’ which are added to ‘-buteo’, in (7d).

It might be difficult to reveal the functions and meanings of adverbial cases because of the similarity of morphs. However, semantic relations can be distinguished based on compound particles and grammaticalizations. First, it is a way of making new morphs, that is, compound particles, which is to add adverbial case with other morphs in (8).

(8) a. Emphasis: ‘-eya’, ‘-eseoya’.

b. Succession: ‘-edaga/eda/e’.

c. Function: ‘-(eu)loseo/(eu)lo’.

d. Instrumental: ‘-(eu)losseo/(eu)lo’.

e. Ablative: ‘-buteo’, ‘-eseobuteo/eseo’, ‘-egeseobuteo/egeseo’.

The functions and meanings of new particles, usually, are originated from the last constituent of compound particles, so the functions and meanings of compound particles are revealed, for instance, ‘emphasis’ of ‘-ya’ in (8a), ‘succession’ of ‘-daga’ in (8b), ‘instrumental’ of ‘-sseo’ in (8d), ablative ‘from’ of ‘-buteo’ in (8e).

1) Static locative vs Dynamic locative vs Source

The basic meaning and function of ‘-e’ is compatible with static locative and dynamic locative in Korean. The static locative ‘-e’, however, has different forms with dynamic locative ‘-eseo’. The ‘-eseo’ is analyzed as ‘-e’ and the fossilized morpheme ‘-seo < si- + -eo’.

They, however, sometimes, are used under same structures of sentence, that is, the same predicate is used in (9).

- (9) a. Cheolsu-ga Seoul-e sal-da.
 Cheolsu-NM Seoul-SL/in live-FE
 ‘Cheolsu lives in Seoul.’
- b. Cheolsu-ga Seoul-eseo sal-da.
 Cheolsu-NM Seoul-DL/in live-FE
 ‘Cheolsu lives in Seoul.’

The static locative in (9a) and dynamic locative in (9b) are, usually, translated as ‘at, in, on’ in English. It is difficult to find differences, except for the nuance that ‘-e *salda*’ gives the feeling of ‘static’ living and ‘-eseo *salda*’ that of ‘dynamic’ living (Ho Min Sohn, 2001: 336), between the static locative and dynamic locative. There is a difference between static locative and dynamic locative, which is, the static locative and dynamic combined with different categories of verbs, for examples, static locative combined with existential, static, and passive predicates as like ‘*issda*’ (‘to be’, ‘stay’), ‘*manhta*’ (‘be much’), ‘*salda*’ (‘live’), ‘*namda*’ (‘remain’), and ‘*geolia*’ (‘get caught’) etc. and dynamic locative combined with activity verbs, for instance, ‘*nolda*’ (‘play’) and ‘*jada*’ (‘sleep’) etc. in (10).

- (10) a. Cheolsu-ga Seoul-e sal-da/*nol-da.
 Cheolsu-NM Seoul-SL/in live/play-FE
 ‘Cheolsu *lives/playsinSeoul.’
- b. Cheolsu-ga Seoul-eseo sal-da/nol-da.
 Cheolsu-NM Seoul-DL/in live/play-FE

‘Cheolsu lives/plays in Seoul.’

It is found that the static locative ‘-e’ can not co-occur with activity verbs, in (10a). The dynamic locative, however, can co-occur with existential and activity verbs in (10b).

The difficulties of differentiation of semantic relations among adverbial cases, also, are found between dynamic locative and source. The source of ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’ and ‘-hanteseo/hante’, also, can be analyzed as ‘-e, -ege, -kke, -hante’ and ‘-seo’ (‘to be’) as the analysis in dynamic locative. It is difficult, however, that we differentiate between the meaning of dynamic locative and source because they have same morpheme of ‘-eseo’. The reason of keeping the meaning of source from ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/ege’, ‘-kkeseo/kke’, ‘-hanteseo/hante’ is based on ‘-seo’. Because the scope of governing of case markers and endings is the last attached morphs are wider than preceded morphs in Korean. The difference between dynamic locative source are found of using of predicates in (11).

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| (11) a. | Cheolsu-ga | Seoul-e | o-da/*nolda/sal-da. |
| | Cheolsu-NM | Seoul-SL/in | come/*play/live-FE |
| | ‘Cheolsu comes/*lives/plays to/in Seoul.’ | | |
| b. | Cheolsu-ga | Seoul-eseo | *o-da/nol-da/sal-da. |
| | Cheolsu-NM | Seoul-DL/in | *come/play/live-FE |
| | ‘Cheolsu *comes/lives/plays in Seoul.’ | | |
| c. | Cheolsu-ga | Seoul-eseo | o-da/*nol-da/*sal-da. |
| | Cheolsu-NM | Seoul-SC/from | come/*play/*live-FE |
| | ‘Cheolsu comes/*lives/*plays from Seoul.’ | | |

This paper has discussed about the differences in using predicates between static locative and dynamic locative. The paper also, showed a difference in using predicates between dynamic locative and source, in (11). The ‘-eseo’ of source usually co-occurs with movement verbs of ‘*gada*’ (‘go’), ‘*oda*’ (‘come’), and ‘*batta*’ (‘receive’), etc. Therefore, when the movement verb of ‘*oda*’ is co-occurred with ‘-e’, the case of ‘-e’ functions static locative in (11a), but is co-occurred with ‘-eseo’, the case of

‘-eseo’ functions not dynamic locative in (11b), but source in (11c). When there is confusion among static and dynamic locative, dative, and source, the case markers cannot be contracted into shorten forms as like in (12c).

- (12) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-eseo o-ass-da.
 Cheolsu -NM school-SC/from come-PST-FE
 ‘Cheolsu came from school.’
- b. ibeon-e-neun Park seonsang-nim-egeseo/hante(seo) hangugeo-leul baeu-nda.
 this time-Time-TP Park teacher-HS-SC/from Korean-AClearn-SFE
 ‘For this time, (I) learn Korean from teacher Park.’
- c. i seonmul-i halabeoji-kkeseo o-ass-da.
 this present-NM grandfather-SC/from come-PST-FE
 ‘This present came from grandfather.’

When ‘-eseo’, ‘-egeseo/egese’, ‘-kkeseo/kkese’, and ‘-hanteseo/hante’ are used as source, sometimes, we can find some confusions between dative and source. If there is a confusion between dative and source, the forms of source can not be contracted as in dative, in (19c). The mechanism of blocking the duplicate meaning for the same morpheme in Korean is developed for making new compound morphemes, so if duplicate meaning of same morpheme happens by contracted forms, the contracted forms can not be made for at the same functions (Jun Seok Park, 2010).

2) Source vs Ablative

The ‘-eseo, -egeseo, -kkeseo, -hanteseo’ are used as source and ablative at the same time. So, to avoid confusion of source and ablative in sentence, the postposition ‘-buteo’, which is also used as ablative alone, is attached with source ‘-eseo, -egeseo, -kkeseo, -hanteseo’ and then made into ablative ‘-eseobuteo/eseo, -egeseobuteo/egeseo, -kkeseobuteo/kkeseo, -hanteseobuteo/hanteseo’ in (13).

- (13) a. neo-buteo meok-eora.
 you-PP/start from eat-SFE
 ‘You, eat first.’
- b. toyoil-eun ahop si-buteo han si-kkaji ilha-nda.
 Saturday-TP nine o'clock-PP/from one o'clock-PP/until work-SFE.
 ‘As for Saturday, It works from 9 a.m until 1 p.m.’
- c. Cheolsu-ga jip-e (*hakkyo-lo) o-da.
 Cheolsu-NM home-SL (school-ALT/to) come-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu come to home.’
- d. Cheolsu-ga jip-eseo (hakkyo-lo/e) o-da.
 Cheolsu-NM home-SC (school-ALT/SL/to) come-PST-FE
 ‘Cheolsu came from home (to school).’
- e. Cheolsu-ga jip-eseobuteo (hakkyo-lo/e) o-da.
 Cheolsu-NM home-ABL (school-ALT/SL/to) come-PST-FE
 ‘Cheolsu came from home (to school).’

It is found that the ‘-buteo’ is used as postposition in (13a) and (13b), which are meant as ‘start(s) from’ and ‘from,’ or ‘since’. The difference among static locative, source and ablative is found in (13c, d, and e). The static locative has been combined with predicates directly, the source and ablative, however, can be combined with predicates loosely that allative and static locative can be inserted between ablative and predicate in (13d, e).

The ‘-eseobuteo’, ‘-egeseobuteo’, ‘-hanteseobuteo’, and ‘-kkeseobuteo’ of ablative, also, cannot be contracted into shorten forms, because when the forms are shorten, confusion may arise distinguishing source from ablative, in (14).

- (14) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-eseobuteo o-ass-da.
 Cheolsu-NM school-ABL/from come-PST-FE
 ‘Cheolsu came from school by feet.’
- b. i pyeonji-ga Yeonghui-egeseobuteo/hanteseobuteo o-ass-da.
 this letter-NM Yeonghui-ABL/from come-PST-FE

‘This letter came from Yeonghui.’

c. *igeos-eun seonsaeng-nim-kkeseobuteo bat-ass-da.*

this-TP teacher-HS-ABL/from receive-PST-FE

‘(I) received this from teacher.’

3) Static locative vs Datives/Allative

The static locative and dynamic locative are differentiated with their morphological and syntactic characteristics. However, it is difficult to differentiate static locative from dative simply in morphological perspective. Because static locative and dative share same morphemes of ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘-hante’ except of ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ are used at dative only. So we have to differentiate static locative from dative by syntactic functions and semantic relations in (15).

- (15) a. *na-neun hwabun-e/*hante/*bogo/*deoreo mul-eul ju-eoss-da.*
 I-TP flower pot-DAT water-AC give-PST-FE
 ‘I watered to flower pot.’
- b. *na-neun Cheolsu-ege/hante/*bogo/*deoreo mul-eul ju-eoss-da.*
 I-TP Cheolsu-DAT water-AC give-PST-FE
 ‘I gave water to Cheolsu.’
- c. *na-neun abeonim-kke/*ege/*hante/*bogo/*deoreo don-eul deuri-eoss-da*
 I-TP father-DAT/to money-AC give-PST-FE
 ‘I gave money to father.’
- d. *Cheolsu-ege/hante/*bogo/*deoreo yeoja chingu-ga saengi-eoss-da*
 Cheolsu-DAT girl friend-CP get-PST-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu has got a girl friend.’
- e. *Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege/hante/bogo/deoreo ga-ja-go ha-yeoss-da*
 Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-DAT go-SFE-CP say-PST-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu told Yeonghui that let’s go.’
- f. *Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege/hante/bogo/deoreo geu sasil-eul malha-yeora.*

- Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-DAT that fact-AC say-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu, to say that fact to Yeonghui.’
- g. Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege/hante/*bogo/*deoreo sasil-eul malha-yeora.
 Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-DAT facts-AC say-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu, to say facts to Yeonghui.’

The above sections discussed the differences among ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘-hante’ with the characteristics of honorifics and speech styles in Korean. The difference between ‘-e’ vs. ‘-ege’, ‘-kke’, and ‘-hante’ are divided by [\pm ANIMATE] in (15a, b), ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-hante’, and ‘-kke’ vs. ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ are divided by [\pm COLLOQUIAL] in (15b), ‘-ege’, ‘-hante’, ‘-deoreo’, ‘-bogo’. vs. ‘-kke’ are divided by [\pm HONORIFIC] in (15c). Also has been discussed the differences among ‘-e’, ‘-ege’, ‘-hante’, and ‘-kke’ vs. ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’. The ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ can not be used with the verb of ‘saengida’, which means ‘come into being, be happened’ and functions that are not related with what is spoken, so when ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ are related with what is spoken, those can be replace with ‘-ege’ and ‘-hante’ in (15e). The ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’, usually, are used with quotational sentence, which is indicated with ‘geu sasil’, that has actual meanings for delivering of what is said by speaker in (15f), when the ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ are not connected with quotational sentences, the usage of ‘-deoreo’ and ‘-bogo’ is strange or incorrect in (15g) (Gungnipgugeowon(2005)).

The functions and meaning of ‘-e’ are shown for various types of cases including allative. The differences among static locative, dative, and allative are found in (16).

- (16) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e/lo ga-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu goes to school.’
- b. Hwajangsil-eun oreunjok-*e/eulo ga-seyo
 toilets-TP rightside-ALT go-SFE
 ‘As for toilets, turn right.’
- c. i gil-*e/lo ga-myeon jireumgil-i-pnida
 this road-ALT go-FE shortcut-CO-SFE

‘When you use this road, it is a shortcut.’

- d. Cheolsu-ga Yeonghui-ege/hante/*e/*lo ga-nda.
 Cheolsu-NM Yeonghui-ALT/to go-SFE
 ‘Cheolsu goes to Yeonghui.’

The static locative and allative share same function of ‘destinations’ or ‘goals’ in (16a), the static locative, however, does not have the function of ‘directions’ in (16b) and ‘paths’ in (16c) but allative has, in (16b, c). on the other hand, static locative and allative can not be combined with nouns, which do not have or do have characteristics of [+ANIMATE] or [+PLACE], in (16d).

4) Static Locative vs Function vs Instrumental

The ‘-(eu)lo’, is generally used for allative, but sometimes it is also used for function or instrumental. There may arise confusions in relation to establish the meaning for function, instrumental, and allative, as well as other forms that are developed with ‘-(eu)loseo’ which can be used for function and is analyzed as ‘-(eu)lo’ and ‘-seo’, and ‘-(eu)losseo’ which is used for instrumental and is analyzed ‘-(eu)lo’ and ‘-sseo’ in (17).

- (17) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e/lo ga-ass-da.
 Cheolsu-NM school-ALT/to go-PST-FE
 ‘Cheolsu went to school.’
- b. geu-ga banjang-eulo(seo)/e ppophi-eoss-da.
 He-NM monitor-FC/e be elected-PST-FE.
 ‘He elected as a monitor at his class.’
- c. geu-ga hangugeo gyosu-lo(seo)/*e ilha-yeoss-da.
 He-NM Korean language professor-FC work-PST-FE
 ‘He worked as korean language professor.’

The ‘-e’ and ‘-(eu)lo’ are combined with movement verbs shown in (17a). The usage of ‘-e’ and ‘-(eu)lo’ is destination or goal. However, we can find the meaning of

‘-e’ and ‘-(eu)lo’ as functions in (17b). The function of ‘-(eu)loseo’ can be reduced to ‘-(eu)lo’ or can be replaced by ‘-e’ in (17a), but there is an exception, which is, ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ cannot be replaced by ‘-e’ in (17c). However if ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ is followed by NP, which represents the meaning of ‘official responsibility’ or ‘position’ that are close to static locative, the ‘-e’ can be replaced by ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ because the ‘-e’, basically, has the function of static location, in (17a). On the other hand, NP represents the meaning of ‘qualification’ for only those that are not related to static locative, and the ‘-e’ cannot be replaced with ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ in (17c). We can find similar phenomenon for instrumental, in (18).

- (18) a. uri-neun haebyeoth-eulo(sseo)/e os-eul malli-eoss-da.
 We-TP sun shine-INS clothes to dry-PST-FE
 ‘we dried the clothes in the sun.’
- b. geu uija-ga namu-lo(sseo)/*e mandeuleoji-eoss-da.
 that chair-NM wood-INS be made-PST-FE
 ‘That chair is made of wood.’

The ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ can be replaced by ‘-e’, which is followed by NP and related to static locative as shown in (18a). But NP here has only the meaning of instrumental, which does not have a meaning of static locative, the ‘-(eu)loseo/-(eu)lo’ and thus can not be replaced by ‘-e’ in (18b).

5) Allative vs Translative

When verbs describe a change within a situation, such as ‘*byenhada*’ (‘change’), ‘*deureonada*’ (‘be revealed’), and ‘*balkhyeojida*’ (‘be disclosed’), they are used with ‘-lo’, the particle that indicates the results of the change in the allative and translative, in (19).

- (19) a. Cheolsu-ga hakkyo-e/lo ga-nda.
 Cheeosu-NM school-SL/ALT go-SFE

‘Cheolsu goes to school.’

- | | | |
|----------|---------------|------------|
| b. mul-i | eoleum-eulo/i | doe-nda. |
| water-NM | ice-TR/CP | become-SFE |

‘Water becomes ice.’

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|------------|
| c. Cheolsu-ga | banjang-eulo(seo)/i | doe-da. |
| Cheolsu-NM | monitor-FC/CP | become-SFE |

‘Cheolsu becomes a monitor (at his class).’

The static locative and allative share ‘-(eu)lo’, the case marker which is combined with the verbs of movement and the agent of verbs moved to destinations; so, the nature of the agent is not changed, in (19a). The allative of ‘-(eu)lo’, however, also can be used as translative, that is, the agent of the verb can be changed into other functions and meanings of complement cases, for instance in (19b). The function, and translative may sometimes be confused as functions and meanings of their own, in (19c). But there is a difference between translative and function. Function has the capacity or qualification of meaning, translative does not have those attributes; so the nature of agent of verbs does not changes, in (19c).

4. Conclusion

We can group the adverbial cases by morphological and semantic relations in Table 1.⁸ First group, which is based on ‘-e’, includes static locative, dative, allative, emphasis, and succession; while second group, which is based on ‘-eseo’, includes dynamic locative, source, ablative, and emphasis; the last group, which is based on ‘-lo’, includes translative, function, and instrumental.

8 Introductory remarks are as follows, E: Emphasis, S: Succession, F: Function, I: Instrumental, T: Translative.

Table 1. The sub-categories of adverbial cases in Korean

Essive 'at, in, on'		Dative 'to'	Directional 'to'	Source 'from'	Ablative 'from'
Static locative	Dynamic locative				
<i>e</i>	<i>eseo</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>eseo</i>	<i>eseobuteo/eseo</i>
<i>ege</i>		<i>ege</i>	<i>ege</i>	<i>egeseo/ege</i>	<i>egeseobuteo/egeseo</i>
<i>kke</i>		<i>kke</i>	<i>kke</i>	<i>kkeseo/kke</i>	<i>kkeseobuteo/kkeseo</i>
<i>hante</i>		<i>hante</i>	<i>hante</i>	<i>hanteseo/ hante</i>	<i>hanteseobuteo/han- teseo</i>
		<i>deo- reo</i>	<i>(eu)lo</i>		<i>lobuteo</i>
		<i>bogo</i>			<i>buteo</i>
<i>eya(E)</i>	<i>eseoya(E)</i>		<i>(eu)lo(T)</i>		
<i>edaga/ eda/e(S)</i>			<i>(eu)loseo/ lo(F)</i>		
			<i>(eu)losseo/ lo(I)</i>		

In conclusion, the arguments that have been raised in the paper has been summarized in the following in (20).

(20) Adverbial case markers in Korean

- a. Static locative: '-e, -ege, -kke, -hante'.
- b. Dynamic locative: '-eseo/seo'.
- c. Dative: '-e, -ege, -kke, -hante, -deoreo, -bogo'.
- d. Directional: '-e, -ege, -kke, -(eu)lo, -kkaji'.
- e. Source: '-eseo/seo, -egeseo, -hanteseo'.
- f. Ablative: '-eseobuteo, -egeseobuteo, -hanteseobuteo, -(eu)lobuteo, -buteo'.
- g. Function: '-e, -(eu)loseo/(eu)lo'.
- h. Instrumental: '-e, -(eu)losseo/(eu)lo'.
- i. Translative: '-(eu)lo'.
- j. Emphasis: '-eya, -eseoya'.
- k. Succession: '-edaga/eda/e, -kkedaga/kkeda/kke'.

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외국어로서의 한국어교육을 위한 부사격조사의 체계

박준석*

요약 본 연구는 외국어로서의 한국어교육을 위한 부사격조사 체계를 수립하기 위한 연구이다. 지금까지 부사격조사는 의미나 기능을 기반으로 하여 활발히 연구되었지만 형태를 기반으로 하는 연구는 미진하였다. 한국어의 문법 형태, 특히 조사나 어미는 문장이나 담화에서 유표적 표지로서 나타나므로 외국어로서의 한국어 교육을 위해서는 그 형태를 기준으로 하여 체계를 설정하는 것이 우선적으로 필요하다. 본 연구에서는 부사격조사의 체계가 조사 ‘-에’와 ‘-에서’와 ‘-(으)로’의 세 개의 조사를 중심으로 하여 하위 부류가 성립된 것으로 연구되었다. 조사 ‘-에’ 의한 하위 부류는 정적 처격, 여격, 향격, 강조격 등이 포함되고, ‘-에서’에 의한 하위 부류는 동적 처격, 시원격, 탈격, 강조격 등이 포함되며, ‘-(으)로’에 의한 하위 부류는 전격, 도구격 등이 포함되는 것으로 연구되었다.

주요어 한국어교육, 조사, 격조사, 부사격조사, 부사격조사 체계

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