

# Noun-Verb Asymmetry in Korean

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## 1. PREVIOUSLY

### (1) BASE-IDENTITY IN KOREAN NOUNS (Kenstowicz 1996, Ko, in press...)

- Nouns show ‘special’ behaviors because they have a free standing “Base”.
  - Nouns can stand alone unsuffixed and the unsuffixed form acts as a “Base” that influences the realization of other forms in the paradigm through cross-derivational faithfulness constraints.
  - Verbs cannot stand unsuffixed and therefore, the verbs have no “Base”.

### (2) OVERAPPLICATION OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (no complex coda!)

	<u>Nouns</u>	Unsuffixed	V-initial suffix ‘Stem-Acc.’
/talk/ ‘chicken’	tak		talk-il (expected) ~ <b>tak</b> -il (more common)
/kaps/ ‘price’	kap		kaps-il (expected) ~ <b>kap</b> -il (possible)
	<u>Verbs</u>	Unsuffixed	V-initial suffix ‘Stem-therefore’
/palk-/ ‘to be bright’	*pak		<b>palkini</b> , * <b>pakini</b>
/aps-/ ‘to be absent’	*ap		<b>apsini</b> , * <b>apini</b>

### (3) OVERAPPLICATION OF LARYNGEAL NEUTRALIZATION (no laryngeally marked coda!)

	<u>Nouns</u>	Unsuffixed	V-initial suffix ‘Stem-Acc.’
/mulip <sup>h</sup> / ‘knee’	mulip		mulip <sup>h</sup> -il (expected) ~ <b>mulip</b> -il (more common)
/puak <sup>h</sup> / ‘kitchen’	puak		puak <sup>h</sup> -il (expected) ~ <b>puak</b> -il (more common)
	<u>Verbs</u>	Unsuffixed	V-initial suffix ‘Stem-therefore’
/ap <sup>h</sup> -/ ‘to topple’	*ap		<b>ap<sup>h</sup>ini</b> , * <b>ap</b> -ini
/sak’-/ ‘to mix’	*sak		sak’-ini, * <b>sak</b> -ini

(4) UNDERAPPLICATION OF GLIDE FORMATION IN NOUNS

a. Verbs: glide formation across a stem-suffix boundary

/o-α/ → [oα]~[wα]	: /s'o-α/	[s'oα] ~ [s'wα:]	'to shoot-Decl.'
/u-α/ → [uα]~[wα]	: /tsu-α/	[tsuα] ~ [tswα:]	'to give-Decl.'
/i-α/ → [iα]~[jα]	: /ki-α/	[kiα] ~ [kjα:]	'to crawl-Decl.'

b. Nouns: glide formation fails to apply

/o-e/ → [oe], *[we]	: /so-e/	[soe], *[swe]	BASE: [so]	'cow-at'
/u-e/ → [ue], *[we]	: /hu-e/	[hue], *[hwe]	BASE: [hu]	'after-at'
/i-e/ → [ie], *[je]	: /pi-e/	[pie], *[pje]	BASE: [pi]	'rain-at'

(5) UNDERAPPLICATION OF i-DELETION IN NOUNS

a. Verbs: Deletion of stem-final [i] before a vowel-initial suffix.

/i-α/ → [α]/[α]	: /k <sup>h</sup> i-α/	[k <sup>h</sup> α], *[k <sup>h</sup> iα]	'to be tall-Decl.'
	: /pap'i-α/	[pap'α], *[pap'ia]	'to be busy-Decl.'

b. Nouns: Stem-final [i] deletion fails to apply.

/i-e/ → [ie], *[e]	: /ki-eke/	[kieke], *[keke]	BASE: [ki]	'him-to'
	: /pasi-e/	[pasie], *[pase]	BASE: [pasi]	'bus-to'

(6) CURRENT PROPOSAL

- A base doesn't have to be a free-standing form.
- Verbs have a Base too, "A-initial suffix form".
- The different phonological behavior of the verbs and nouns follow from the different phonological and morphological properties of the nominal and verbal bases.

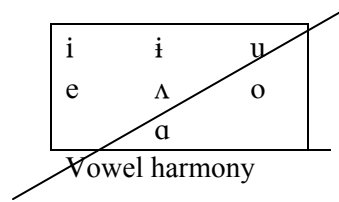
(7) DATA

- Inter-/intra-dialectal variations in verbs gathered from published sources.
  - Dialectal data published by the Academy of Korean Studies (1990-1995), vols. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, and 9
  - Bak (2004), M. Choi (1985, 1988, 1993), B. Kim (2003), H. Kim (2001, 2002), Park (2002), Um (1999), Yoo (2000).

## 2. Background in Korean phonology

### (8) PHONEME INVENTORY OF KOREAN

p, p <sup>h</sup> , p'	t, t <sup>h</sup> , t'	k, k <sup>h</sup> , k'	
	ts̄, ts̄ <sup>h</sup> , ts̄'		
	s, s'		h
m	n	ŋ	
	l/r		



### (9) Coda Neutralization

- Laryngeal and manner contrast are neutralized in coda position and only [p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, l] are allowed.

/t t<sup>h</sup> t' ts̄ ts̄<sup>h</sup> ts̄' s s' h/ → [t]

/p p<sup>h</sup> p' / → [p]

/k k<sup>h</sup> k' / → [k]

/sup<sup>h</sup>/ [sup] 'forest'

/nas/ [nat] 'sickle'

### (10) Cluster simplification

- No more than one consonant can occur in the syllable margin. Extra consonants are deleted.

/hilk/ [hik] 'soil, dirt'

### (11) Post-Obstruent Tensing:

- An obstruent becomes tense following an obstruent.

/pap-to/ [papt'o] 'rice-also'

### (12) Nasal assimilation

- A consonant becomes nasal before a nasal consonant.

/pap-man/ [pamman] 'rice-only'

### (8) Aspiration

- When /h/ occurs next to an obstruent (that can be aspirated), /h/ surfaces as aspiration on the adjacent obstruent.

/hip-hap/ [hip<sup>h</sup>ap] 'hip hop'

/noh-ko/ [nok<sup>h</sup>o] 'to lay down-and'

(13) FOUR TYPES OF VERBAL SUFFIXES

	<i>C-final stem</i>	<i>V-final stem</i>	
	/mΛk-/ ‘to eat’	/ka-/ ‘to go’	
a. <b>A-initial suffix:</b>	mΛk- <u>Λ</u>	ka (<ka- <u>α</u> )	/α/~Λ/ ‘declarative’
b. <b>i-initial suffix:</b>	mΛk- <u>imjΛn</u>	ka- <u>mjΛn</u>	/-(i)mjΛn/ ‘if’
c. <b>C-initial suffix:</b>	mΛk- <u>k’o</u>	ka- <u>ko</u>	/-ko/ ‘and (also)’
d. <b>C-alternating suffix::</b>	mΛk- <u>s’imnita</u>	ka- <u>mnita</u>	/-(s’i)mnita/ ‘declarative, Addressee, honorific’

(14) **A-initial suffixes**

/-α~Λ/ ‘declarative (plain), interrogative (intimate), imperative (intimate)’, /-αjo~Λjo/ ‘declarative (polite), imperative (polite), imperative (polite), propositive (polite)’, /-αα~Λα/ ‘imperative (plain), exclamatory’, /-αsΛ~ΛsΛ/ ‘and then’, /-ato~Λto/ ‘although’, /-ass~Λss-/ ‘past tense’, etc.

- a. Vowel Harmony: [α] when the stem vowel is [α o].  
[Λ] when the stem vowel is [i i u e Λ].

- b. Vowel sequence contraction

Vowel deletion

/α-α/ → [α]	: /ka-α/	[kα]	‘to go’
/Λ-Λ/ → [Λ]	: /sΛ-Λ/	[sΛ]	‘to stand up’
/i-Λ/ → [Λ]	: /s’i-Λ/	[s’Λ]	‘to use’
/e-Λ/ → [eΛ]~[e]	: /se-Λ/	[seΛ] ~ [se]	‘to count’

Glide formation (optional in most cases)

/o-α/ → [oα]~[wα]	: /s’o-α/	[s’oα] ~ [s’wα:]	‘to shoot’
/u-Λ/ → [uΛ]~[wΛ]	: /tsu-Λ/	[tsuΛ] ~ [tswΛ:]	‘to give’
/i-Λ/ → [iΛ]~[jΛ]	: /ki-Λ/	[kiΛ] ~ [kjΛ:]	‘to crawl’

- These contractions are almost obligatory in casual speech.

(15) **i-initial suffixes**

/-(i)mjΛn/ ‘if’, /-(i)si/ ‘subject honorific’, /-(i)lΛ/ ‘in order to’, /-(i)na/ ‘but’, /-(i)lle/ ‘intention’, /-(i)ma/ ‘promissive’, /-(i)ni/ ‘since’, /-(i)nik’α/ ‘because’, /-(i)n/ ‘relativizer’

- [i-] forms occur with C-final stems and ∅ forms occur with V-final stems

(16) **C-initial suffixes**

/-tΛ-/ ‘retrospective’, /-ta/ ‘declarative (plain)’, /-ke/ ‘so that’, /-nila/ ‘as a result of’, /-taka/ ‘and then’, /-ko/ ‘and (also)’, /-tolok/ ‘to the point where’, /-tsi/ ‘suppositive’, /-ni/ ‘interrogative (plain)’, /-kess-/ ‘intention’, /-nin/ ‘relativizer’, etc.

(17) **C-alternation suffixes**

/-(si)mnita/ ‘addressee honorific, declarative’, /-(ni)nta/ ‘indicative’

- The long forms occur with C-final stems and the short forms occur with V-final stems.

### 3. “BASE”-IDENTITY EFFECTS IN VERBS

(18) UNDERAPPLICATION OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (CF. (2)) (Cho 1999)

	A-initial suffix	Consonant-initial suffix
/malk-/ ‘to be clear’	malk-a	mal-t’a ~ mak-t’a ~ <b>malk-t’a</b>
/palp-/ ‘to tread’	palp-a	pal-t’a ~ pak-t’a ~ <b>palk-t’a</b>

(19) “UNDERAPPLICATION” OF LARYNGEAL NEUTRALIZATION (CF. (3))

[...can be reinterpreted as a case of stem reanalysis → See (34)]

	A-initial suffix	Consonant-initial suffix
/nop <sup>h</sup> -/ ‘to be high’	nop <sup>h</sup> -a	nop-k’o (expected) ~ <b>nop<sup>h</sup>iko</b> (common)
/sɔk’-/ ‘to mix’	sɔk’-a	sɔk’-iko (expected) ~ <b>sɔk’i-ko</b> (possible)

- The A-initial suffix form remains stable and the other forms in the paradigm show variations under the pressure to be similar to the A-initial suffix form (=“Base”)

### 4. ANOTHER TYPE OF “BASE” EFFECT

(20) “BASE” OF UR RECOVERY (Albright 2002, Drescher 2001)

- A particular form in the paradigm that seems to determine the UR of the stem (=how the stem should inflect).

(21) NEUTRALIZATION AND MISANALYSIS

- If certain underlying contrast is neutralized in the base, there is ambiguity in the UR analysis.



- When learners choose the “wrong” UR, a change occurs.
- The base acts as a pivot of change; i.e., the base itself remains unchanged but other forms in the paradigm changes.

#### 4.1. NEUTRALIZATION AND REANALYSIS IN NOUNS<sup>1</sup>

(22) CORONAL OBSTRUENT FINAL NOUNS → /s/

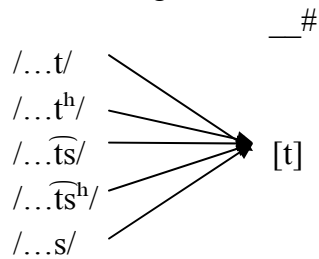
- Nouns that end in a coronal obstruent show a variation pronunciation with final [s].

	Unsuffixes	V-initial suffix ‘Stem-Acc.’
/p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> / ‘red bean’	p <sup>h</sup> at	p <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> -il (expected) ~ <b>p<sup>h</sup>as-il</b> (more common) <sup>2</sup>
/k’ots <sup>h</sup> / ‘flower’	k’ot	k’ots <sup>h</sup> -il (expected) ~ <b>k’os-il</b> (more common)

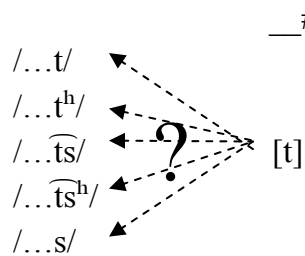
<sup>1</sup> The overapplication of cluster simplification and laryngeal neutralization discussed in (2)-(3) can also be reanalyzed as cases of UR reanalysis. But, the underapplication of vowel contraction processes in (4)-(5) cannot be. Therefore, the UR reanalysis cannot replace the cross-derivational faithfulness constraint.

<sup>2</sup> Also frequent is [pats<sup>h</sup>-il]. See Kang (2005) for a recent cross-dialectal investigation of the [ts<sup>h</sup>]-final realization of /t<sup>h</sup>-final nouns.

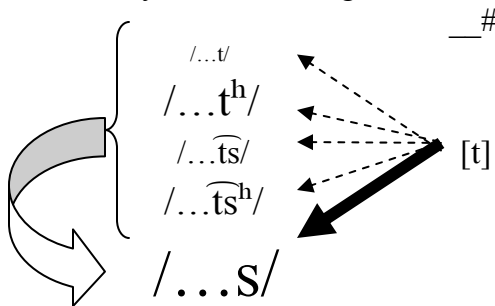
- Contrast among all coronal obstruents is neutralized in the unsuffixed form.



- What learners have to do: given a [t] final base form, figure out what the UR is (that is, how the noun should inflect.)



- Learners choose the type of UR that is statistically best represented in the existing lexicon to maximize their chance of getting the correct result. Nouns ending in /s/ is far more frequent than those ending in any other coronal obstruent in Korean and the UR of these stems are reanalyzed as /s/-final (cf. Ko 1989, Kang 2003, Hayes 1997, Albright 2002, Idsardi 2006).<sup>3</sup>



- Verbal stems do not show a comparable change to [s] because no comparable neutralization occurs in the verbal base.

	Base (A-initials suffix)	i-initial suffix ‘Stem-therefore.’
/kat <sup>h</sup> -/ ‘to be identical’	kat <sup>h</sup> -a	kat <sup>h</sup> -ini, *kas-ini
/ts̃Λts̃-/ ‘to be wet’	ts̃Λts̃-Λ	ts̃Λts̃-ini, *ts̃Λs-ini

<sup>3</sup> This is a highly simplified picture of the actual situation, where the innovative ‘s’-final stem is not acceptable to an equal degree for all inflected forms of a given noun (See Kang 2002, 2003, 2005b). Specifically, the more frequently used a given stem plus suffix combination is, the less acceptable the innovative ‘s’-final variant is for that word. This indicates that the information regarding the individual inflected forms should be somehow encoded in the speaker’s knowledge. Under the current “stem reanalysis” analysis, the variable realization of inflected forms can be modeled as a competition in a dual mechanism model; [s]-form is produced through a regular derivation from the UR and the historically earlier form is produced as a reproduction of a “listed” form. For an alternative analysis that relates surface forms directly using an anti-correspondence constraint without reference to the UR, see Kang (2002, 2003).

## 4.2. NEUTRALIZATION AND REANALYSIS IN VERBS

### 4.2.1. NEUTRALIZATION IN THE VERBAL BASE

(23) VOWEL SEQUENCE CONTRACTION IN THE A-INITIAL SUFFIX FORM (repeated from (15))

a. Vowel deletion

/a-a/ → [a]	: /ka-a/	[ka]	‘to go’
/ʌ-ʌ/ → [ʌ]	: /sʌ-ʌ/	[sʌ]	‘to stand up’
/i-ʌ/ → [ʌ]	: /sʰi-ʌ/	[sʰʌ]	‘to use’
/e-ʌ/ → [eʌ]~[e]	: /se-ʌ/	[seʌ] ~ [se]	‘to count’

b. Glide formation (optional in most cases)

/o-a/ → [oa]~[wa]	: /sʰo-a/	[sʰoa] ~ [sʰwa:]	‘to shoot’
/u-ʌ/ → [uʌ]~[wʌ]	: /tsu-ʌ/	[tsuʌ] ~ [tswʌ:]	‘to give’
/i-ʌ/ → [iʌ]~[jʌ]	: /ki-ʌ/	[kiʌ] ~ [kjʌ:]	‘to crawl’

(24) IRREGULAR VERBS

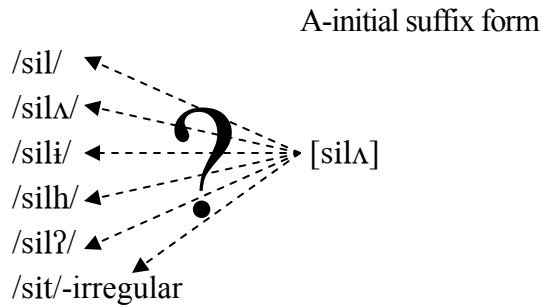
	<i>A-initial</i>	<i>i-initial</i>	<i>C-initial/C-alternating</i>
a. ‘p’-irregular: ‘to help’ [tou]~[top]	tow-a	tou-mjʌn	top-kʰo
b. ‘t’-irregular: ‘to load’ [sil]~[sit]	sil-ʌ	sil-imjʌn	si-kʰo (<sit-ko)
c. ‘li’-irregular: ‘to flow’ [hill(i)]~[hili]	hill-ʌ	hili-mjʌn	hili-ko
d. ‘ha’-irregular: ‘to do’ [he]~[ha]	he	ha-ni	ha-ko
e. ‘h’-irregular: ‘yellowish’ [nulʌ]~[nulʌh]	nule	nulʌ-ni	nulʌ-kʰo
f. ‘lə’-irregular: ‘to reach’ [ilil(i)]~[ili]	ilil-ʌ	ili-mjʌn	ili-ko

(25) /h/ and /ʔ/-final verbs

- Before a vowel-initial suffix, /h/ and /ʔ/ are deleted.
- Before a consonant-initial suffix, they are realized as aspiration, tensification or gemination of the suffixal consonant, as applicable.

	<i>A-initial</i>	<i>i-initial</i>	<i>C-initial</i>
‘to be good’ /tsoh-/	tso-a	tso- <b>ini</b>	tso-kʰo (< /tsoh-ko/) tso-sʰo (< /tsoh-so/) tson-ni (< /tsoh-ni/)
‘to draw’ /kiʔ-/	ki-ʌ	ki- <b>ini</b>	ki-kʰo kin-ni
‘to wear (shoes/socks)’ /sinʔ-/	sin-ʌ	sin- <b>ini</b>	sin-kʰo, *sin-ko
‘to put (in a container)’ /tamʔ-/	tam-a	tam- <b>ini</b>	tam-kʰo, *tam-ko

(26) POTENTIAL AMBIGUITY OF THE VERBAL BASE AND REANALYSIS



- How do learners choose the UR?
- What are the factors that constrain the choice of reanalysis, if any?

(27) FACTORS THAT DETERMINE THE DIRECTION OF REANALYSIS---HYPOTHESIS

**A. Irregular stem alternation tends to be eliminated and rarely introduced**

(cf. Kiparsky 1971)

(S): standard; (V): variant

<b>(28) ‘hʌ’-irregular</b>	<i>A-initial</i>	<i>i-initial</i>	<i>C-initial</i>
(S) /hæ-/~/hʌ-/ ‘to do’	hæ	hʌ-ni	hʌ-ku
(V) /hæ-/	hæ (<hæ-ʌ)	<b>hæ-ni</b>	<b>hæ-ku</b>
<b>(29) ‘h’-irregular</b>			
(S) /nule-/~/nulʌ-/~/nulʌh-/ ‘to be yellowish’	nule	nulʌ-ni	nulʌ-k <sup>h</sup> u
(V) /nule-/ (M. Choi 1993)	nule (<nule-ə)	<b>nule-ni</b>	<b>nule-ku</b>
<b>(30) ‘lʌ’-irregular</b>			
(S) /ilil(i)-~/ili-/ ‘to reach’	ilil-ʌ	ili-mjʌn	ili-ko
(V) /ilili-/ (M. Choi 1993)	ilil-ʌ (<ilili-ə)	<b>ilili-mjʌn</b>	<b>ilili-ko</b>
<b>(31) ‘li’-irregular</b>			
(S) /hill(i)-~/hili-/ ‘to flow’	hill-ʌ	hili-mjʌn	hili-ko
(V) /hilli-/	hill-ʌ (<hilli-ʌ)	<b>hilli-mjʌn</b>	<b>hilli-ko</b>
<b>(32) ‘p’-irregular</b>			
a. /u/ ~ /p/ → /u/	<i>A-initial</i>	<i>i-initial</i>	<i>C-initial</i>
(S) /tou-/~/top-/ ‘to help’	tow-ʌ	tou-mjʌn	top-k’o
(V) /tou-/	tow-ʌ	tou-mjʌn	<b>tou-ko</b>
b. /u/ ~ /p/ → /u/ ~ /up/			
(V) /tou-/~/toup-/	tow-ʌ	tou-mjʌn	<b>toup-k’o</b>
c. /u/ ~ /p/ → /wa/			
(V) /towa-/	towa	<b>towa-mjʌn</b>	<b>towa-ko</b>



d. /uu/ ~ /up/ → /u?/

(S) /kuu-/~/kup-/ ‘to grill’	kuw- $\Lambda$	kuu-ni	kup-k’o
(V) /ku?-/ (M. Choi 1993)	ku-w $\Lambda$ (< ku- $\Lambda$ : glide insertion)	ku-uni (< ku-ini : assimilation)	<b>ku-k’o</b>

e. /uu/ ~ /up/ → /uh/

(V) /kuh-/ (M. Choi 1993)	ku-w $\Lambda$ (<ku- $\Lambda$ )	ku-uni(<ku-ini)	<b>ku-k<sup>h</sup>o</b>
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(33) ‘t’-irregular

a. /l-/ ~ /t-/ → /lʔ-/

(S) /mul-/~/mut-/ ‘to ask’	<i>A-initial</i> mul- $\Lambda$	<i>i-initial</i> mul-ini	<i>C-initial</i> mu-k’o (< mut-ko)
(V) /mulʔ-/	mul- $\Lambda$	mul-ini	<b>mul-k’o</b>

b. /l-/ ~ /t-/ → /lh-/

(V) /mulh-/	mul- $\Lambda$ s $\Lambda$	mul-ɪŋk’e	<b>mul-k<sup>h</sup>o</b>
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c. /l-/ ~ /t-/ → /li-/

(S) /til-/~/tit-/ ‘to listen’	til- $\Lambda$	til-ini	ti-k’o (<tit-ko)
(V) /tili-/	til- $\Lambda$ s $\Lambda$	tili-ŋk’e	<b>tili-ko</b>

d. /l-/ ~ /t-/ → /l-/

(S) /kil-/~/kit-/ ‘to raise water’	kil- $\Lambda$	kil-ini	ki-k’o (<kit-ko)
(V) /kil/ (B. Kim 2003)	kil- $\Lambda$	<b>ki-ni</b>	<b>kil-ta</b>

**B. Sensitivity to the existing words in the lexicon**

(34) /XC<sup>h</sup>-/, /XC’-/ → /XC<sup>h</sup>i-/, /XC’i-/

(S) /kip <sup>h</sup> -/ ‘to be deep’	kip <sup>h</sup> - $\Lambda$ (<kip <sup>h</sup> - $\Lambda$ )	kip <sup>h</sup> -imj $\Lambda$ n	kip-k’o
(V) /kip <sup>h</sup> i-/ (B. Kim 2003)	kip <sup>h</sup> - $\Lambda$ (<kip <sup>h</sup> i- $\Lambda$ )	kip <sup>h</sup> i-mj $\Lambda$ n	<b>kip<sup>h</sup>i-ko</b>

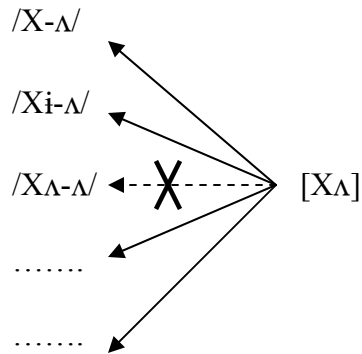
- Reanalysis of a consonant-final stem to a ‘consonant + i’-final stem is potentially possible for all consonant and is reported to be attested in children’s speech (Lee and Im 2004).
- But, in the adult dialectal data, the change is attested only when the consonant is laryngeally marked  
: /hult<sup>h</sup>-/ ‘to hackle’, /tsit<sup>h</sup>-/ ‘to be thick’, /sək’-/ ‘to mix’, and /nop<sup>h</sup>-/ ‘to be high’.<sup>4</sup>
- This can be attributed to the fact that the majority of common verbs /...Ci/ ends a laryngeally marked consonant: 11 out of 13<sup>5</sup> in a list of 952 common verbs ([http://www.korean.go.kr/000\\_new/50\\_dic\\_pds.htm#](http://www.korean.go.kr/000_new/50_dic_pds.htm#)).

<sup>4</sup> An alternative explanation for this may be possible from the cross-derivational faithfulness perspective (20). In fact, this may be able to explain why the language come to have the lopsided lexicon it has now.

<sup>5</sup> Excluding /li/-final verbs which are irregular and surface with geminate ‘l’ in the A-initial form.

**C. Preference for overt suffix parsing (Hypercorrection bias)**

- The whole-A-initial-suffix-form-as-a-stem analysis seems conspicuously rare...



- ...although such reanalysis seems prevalent in Children's speech and American Korean speech (incomplete acquisition): (H. Choi 2003 and Lee and Im 2004).  
 $/k^h i-\Lambda/$  [ $k^h \Lambda$ ] 'to be big'  $\rightarrow$   $/k^h \Lambda-$   
 $/po-\alpha/$  [ $pwa$ ] 'to see'  $\rightarrow$   $/pwa-$
- Moreover, originally  $/\Lambda/-$ final nouns are reanalyzed so that the suffix has an overt exponence in the A-initial suffix form.

<u>(35) <math>/Xj\Lambda-/\rightarrow /Xi-/\</math></u>	<i>A-initial</i>	<i>i-initial</i>	<i>C-initial</i>
(S) $/k^h j\Lambda-/\$ 'to turn on'	$k^h j\Lambda$ ( $< k^h j\emptyset-\Lambda$ )	$k^h j\Lambda$ -mjən	$k^h j\Lambda$ -ko
(V) $/k^h i-/\$ (B. Kim 2003)	$k^h j-\Lambda$ ( $< k^h i-\Lambda$ )	<b><math>k^h i</math>-mjən</b>	<b><math>k^h i</math>-ko</b>
<u>(36) <math>/X\Lambda-/\rightarrow /Xi-/\</math></u>			
(S) $/s\Lambda-/\$ 'to stop'	$s\Lambda$ ( $< s\Lambda-\Lambda$ )	$s\Lambda$ -mjən	$s\Lambda$ -ko
(V) $/si-/\$ (B. Kim 2003)	$s-\Lambda$ ( $< si-\Lambda$ )	<b><math>si</math>-mjən</b>	<b><math>si</math>-ko</b>

- The difference between the adult Korean and Child Korean may be attributed to the underdevelopment of morphology in Child Korean.

## 5. CONCLUSION

- Verbal paradigms have a base too, A-initial suffix form.
- The different behavior of nouns vs. verbs follow from the different morphological and phonological properties of the base.

	Nouns	Verbs
<b>Phonological environment of Base</b>	__#	__V
	consonantal contrast are <b>neutralized</b>	consonantal contrasts are maintained
	vocalic contrast are maintained	vocalic contrasts are <b>neutralized</b>
<b>Morphonological property</b>	<b>Simple</b>	<b>Complex</b>
	No preference for overt parsing of suffix	Preference for overt parsing of suffix

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