Prosodic Realization of Multiple Accusative Construction in Korean

Dong Jin Kim, Okgi Kim & Hanyong Park

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (USA)
kim252@uwm.edu, okgikim@uwm.edu, park27@uwm.edu

Multiple Accusative Construction in Korean (henceforth MAC) involves two different accusative Noun Phrases (NPs) despite the fact that the verb (e.g., *manna* 'meet') requires only one direct object, as illustrated in (1) (cf. [1]).

(1a) a specificational MAC
Mimi-ka   UWM.haksayng-ul   John-ul   manna-ss-e
Mimi-NOM   UWM.student-ACC   John-ACC   meet-PAST-DECL
'Mimi met a UWM student: John.'

(1b) a predicational MAC
Mimi-ka   John-ul   UWM.haksayng-ul   manna-ss-e
Mimi-NOM   John-ACC   UWM.student-ACC   meet-PAST-DECL
'Mimi met John who is a UWM student.'

In this paper, we would like to suggest that despite no overt copular verb, the semantic relationship between the two direct objects in (1a) and (1b) is interpreted as specificational and predicational relations, respectively. Based on the information structure of canonical specificational and predicational clauses suggested by [2], we hypothesize that only the second direct object in specificational MAC receives a focus, but either the first or second direct object can be freely focused in predicational MAC, as shown in (2a) and (2b).

(2a) Mimi-ka   [$^?$$_{Focus}$ UWM.haksayng-ul]   [$_{Focus}$ John-ul]   manna-ss-e

(2b) Mimi-ka   [$_{Focus}$ John-ul]   [$_{Focus}$ UWM.haksayng-ul]   manna-ss-e

If our hypothesis is correct, we expect that only the second NP (NP2) in specificational MAC exhibits focus effects such as longer word duration, longer voice onset time (VOT) and higher F0 [3], [4], [5] than the first NP (NP1). In predicational MAC, such focus effects would be shown in either NP1 or NP2. In order to see whether this expectation was borne out, we conducted a production study in which six native speakers of Seoul Korean in their twenties participated. The target items (Table 1) were included in carrier sentences and the speakers were asked to read the prompted sentences. Considering a phrasal tone of accentual phrase in Seoul Korean, THLH [5], the initial segments of the target items were controlled as voiceless lenis stops /t, k/ making their phrasal-initial tones to L. The results showed that specificational NP2 exhibited longer word duration and VOT with higher F0 than predicational NP2 (Fig.1). These results indicate that focus effects were shown on specificational NP2 as we anticipated. This prosodic realization thus suggests that MACs can be classified into two types: specification and predication.

In order to see whether such prosodic information facilitates listeners' interpretation, five additional native listeners of Seoul Korean in their twenties participated in a perception experiment. We made three different types of stimuli: silence reading, contrastive-focused NP1, and contrastive-focused NP2. After listening to one of the stimuli, the listeners responded "Yes" or "No" to questions asking whether the sentence they heard has a specificational/predicational relation. The results revealed that when specificational MACs with the silence condition were presented, 69% of the responses were "Yes" to questions about the specificational relation. However, when specificational MACs with the contrastive-focused NP2 were presented, all the listeners chose "Yes" (100%) to the same question. Meanwhile, when predicational MACs with the silence condition were given, 79% of the responses were "Yes" to questions about the

predicational relation, and the same percentage of "Yes" (79%) was also obtained when predicational stimuli with the contrastive-focused NP2 were presented. These perception results demonstrate that there are facilitation effects on the interpretation of MACs when the prosodic realizations correspond with the information structure given in (2a) and (2b).

Taken together, the results of the current study indicate that phonetic details that reflect the information structure of MACs are utilized in order for speakers to encode and decode linguistic information (e.g., specification and predication). Such phonetic information gives rise to the facilitation effects on listeners' interpretation of the encoded linguistic information [6].
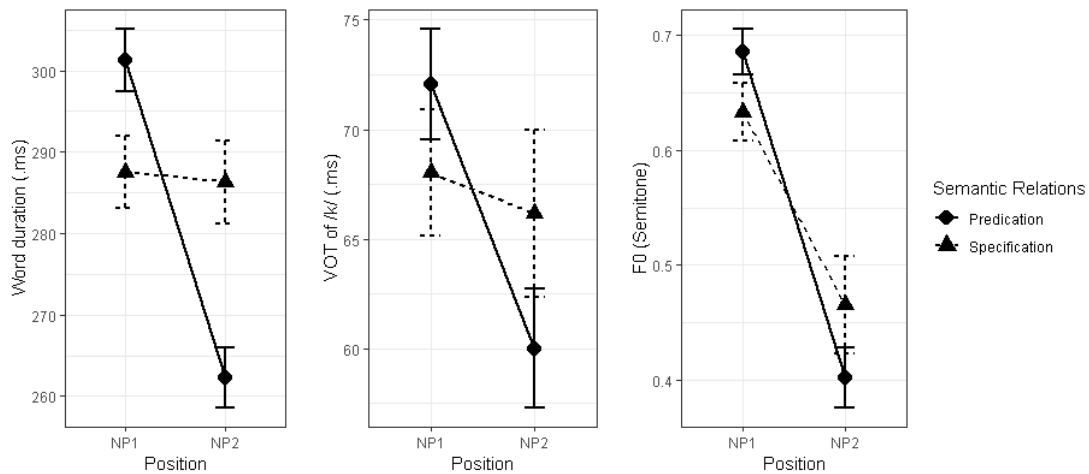

Fig.1 Comparison of word duration (ms), VOT of /k/ (ms), and F0 (semitone) regarding the position of NPs. Error bars represent standard errors.

Table 1 Target items in specificational and predicational MAC conditions.

Specification		Predication	
NP1	NP2	NP1	NP2
kogi 'meat/fish'	koni 'swan'	koni 'swan'	kogi 'meat/fish'
kogi 'meat/fish'	totsʰi 'lumpfish'	totsʰi 'lumpfish'	kogi 'meat/fish'
kogi 'meat/fish'	tomi 'snapper'	tomi 'snapper'	kogi 'meat/fish'

References

[1] Chae, H. R. & Kim, I. (2008). A clausal predicate analysis of Korean Multiple nominative constructions. *Ene [Language]*, *33*(4), 869-990.

[2] Mikkelsen, L. (2005). *Copular clauses : Specification, predication and equation*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamin Publishing Company.

[3] Cho, T., Lee, Y., & Kim, S. (2011). Communicatively driven versus prosodically driven hyper-articulation in Korean. *Journal of Phonetics, 39*(3), 344-361.

[4] Choi, J., Lee, J., Kim, S., & Cho, T. (2018). Prosodically-conditioned phonetic cue in production of Korean aspirated vs. lenis stops. In T. Cho, S. Kim, J. Choi, J. J Kim, S. Y. Kim., & K. J. Lee (eds.), *Proceedings of Hanyang International Symposium on Phonetic and Cognitive Sciences of Language (HISPhonCog) 2018, Volume 1* (pp. 121-122). Seoul, Korea: HIPCS (Hanyang Institute for Phonetics and Cognitive Sceiences of Language).

[5] Jun, S. A. (2006). Intonational phonology of Seoul Korean revisited. In T. Vance & K. Jones (eds.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, Volume 14* (pp. 15-26). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

[6] Cho, T. (2016). Prosodic boundary strengthening in the phonetics-prosody interface. *Language and Linguistics Compass, 10*(3), 120-141.