

論文の英文要旨

論文題目 : On the Pre-Modern Korean Past Tense Suffixes

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This study focuses on past tense suffixes of Pre-Modern Korean, which is the period between Middle Korean and Contemporary Korean. In Middle Korean, the verbal suffix ‘-te-’ represents past imperfective and the verbal form without any tense-aspect suffixes (or the suffix ‘-Ø-’) represents past perfective or aorist. These forms are also used in Pre-Modern Korean, but the ‘-Ø-’ is generally no longer used in Contemporary Korean. The suffix ‘-te-’ has also undergone semantic development as a marker of evidentiality and mirativity in the past. On the other hand, the new suffix ‘-as-’, which has developed out of the resultative form ‘-a is-’ of Middle Korean, is also used in Pre-Modern Korean. This suffix ‘-as-’ has changed its form into ‘-ass-’ and it is used as a past tense suffix in Contemporary Korean. Therefore, the following questions should be addressed:

- Question 1: Is the tense aspect system of Pre-Modern Korean similar to Middle Korean or Contemporary Korean?
- Question 2: What are the differences between the past tense suffixes of Pre-Modern Korean?
- Question 3: Is semantic development of ‘-te-’ observed in Pre-Modern Korean literature materials?

This thesis consists of eight chapters. I presented the three questions mentioned above in Chapters 1 and 2. These refer to basic information on Pre-Modern Korean literature materials that I investigated to collect examples. The research methods used in this study are discussed in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 3, I state that examples of the suffixes are distributed in three types. In Type 1, which includes examples of finite verbs used at the end of conversational sentences, the suffix ‘-as-’ is generally used in past tense form, whereas the ‘-Ø-’ form is seldom used. In contrast, in Type 2, which includes examples of finite verbs used at the end of non-conversational sentences, the ‘-Ø-’ form is often used while the suffix ‘-as-’ is rarely found. Type 3 has no such characteristics of the distribution of suffixes, including examples of converbs with the ending ‘-ni’, verbs used at the end of indirect quotations, and verbs used at the end of the interrogative. The suffix ‘-te-’ is found in all of Type 1, Type 2, and Type 3.

Before beginning our research, a classification of events in terms of aspectual meaning is necessary to analyze the temporal and aspectual meaning of examples. In Chapter 3, we primarily classify verbs as repeated events or non-repeated events, and then secondarily classify non-repeated events as stative or active.

In Chapter 4, we examine examples of Type 1 (examples of suffixes of verbs at the end of conversational sentences). In Type 1, in which the ‘-Ø-’ form is rarely used, past tense is generally expressed by the suffixes ‘-as-’ and ‘-te-’. The person of the subject is important for analyzing examples of ‘-te-’, since in Contemporary Korean, the evidential meaning of ‘-te-’ with a first-person subject could be different from that with another person, and it seems to be related to the historical semantic development of ‘-te-’, to which direct evidential sense has been added. In 18th Century Pre-Modern Korean, ‘-te-’ is only used with verbs (or phrases) that express repeated or stative events when the subject is the first person. However, when the subject is not the first person, ‘-te-’ can also be used with active verbs or phrases. When the subject is the first person, the suffix ‘-as-’ is used with active verbs or phrases. These results suggest that the semantic development of ‘-te-’ had already begun in the 18th Century, and it occurred in the case that ‘-te-’ is used with active verbs or phrases first. It appears that the semantic relation of the past imperfective to direct evidentiality caused the historical development of ‘-te-’.

In Chapter 5, we compare examples of the ‘-Ø-’ form and ‘-te-’ at the end of non-conversational sentences (Type 2). This comparison is particularly important when the subject is a third person. It was observed that ‘-te-’ is used in description from a viewpoint that is close to the situation. Hence, we suggest that the ‘-Ø-’ form and ‘-te-’ differ in terms of aspect, i.e., the same distinction as in Middle Korean.

In Chapter 6, we compare examples of the ‘-Ø-’ form, ‘-te-’ and ‘-as-’ in Type 3. When used for verbs at the end of indirect quotations and converbs with the ending ‘-ni’, the distinction between the ‘-Ø-’ form and ‘-te-’ is similar to that in Type 2. On the other hand, ‘-as-’ indicates the perfect or resultative and can be used for events in the past or states in

the present that express reasons related to imperatives, judgements, determinations, or inferences in the present or future. In contrast, the semantic difference between the ‘-Ø-’ form and ‘-as-’ is not found in examples of verbs used at the end of the interrogative; however, the ‘-Ø-’ form is more often used in rhetorical questions in which the importance of temporal meaning is smaller than that in normal questions. Unlike in Contemporary Korean, the suffix ‘-te-’ can be used with a second-person subject in an interrogative sentence. However, it can be used only for rhetorical questions, except for repeated or stative events.

In Chapter 7, we examine examples of ‘-asili-’ and ‘-aste-’ that include ‘-as-’ with another suffix. Since the former consists of ‘-as-’ and ‘-li-’, which is a suffix of the future/inference, it needs to be compared with the form ‘-lile-’ that includes ‘-li-’ and the allomorph of ‘-te-’. In Middle Korean, ‘-lile-’ represented both of ‘inference in the past’ and ‘inference about the past’, but in Pre-Modern Korean, ‘-asili-’ is used for ‘inference about the past’ while ‘inference in the past’ is represented by ‘-lile-’. The form ‘-aste-’ is regarded as ‘perfect/resultative in the past’, and it is parallel with ‘-as-’ which represents ‘perfect/resultative in the present’ in indirect quotations and ‘-ni’ converbs.

On the basis of our findings, in Chapter 8, we concluded that the tense-aspect system used to express the past in Pre-Modern Korean can be distinguished into three different types. It is also advisable to understand Pre-Modern Korean as a language with its own system and characteristics, and not just a transitional one.