THE INS AND OUTS OF NON-OPPOSITES DO NOT MEAN THE SAME IN KOREAN

1. INTRODUCTION
1.1 PHENOMENA IN FOCUS

[1] Lindner (1982): Antonyms that denote opposite orientations in space do not necessarily mean the opposite in utterances.

(1) a. He filled in his registration card.
   b. He filled out his registration card.


(2) [Basic senses: (metaphoric) Spatial notions]
   a. kunye-nun ku-u-y nwun pakk-ey na-ess-ta
      she-Top his-Gen eye outside-Loc be.out-Ant-decl.ending
      “Lit. she went out of his eye (she became out of his concern).”
   b. kunye-nun ku-u-y nwun an-ey tul-ess-ta
      she-Top his-Gen eye inside-Loc be.in-Ant-decl.ending
      “Lit. she came inside of his eye (she became his concern).”

(3) [Extended senses: Orientation or creation]
   a. chelswu-nun pyeng-i na-ess-ta
      chelswu-Top disease-Nom be.out-Ant-d.e.
      “Lit. Disease went out (to) Chelswu (Chelswu became sick).”
   b. chelswu-nun pyeng-i tul-ess-ta
      chelswu-Top disease-Nom be.in-Ant-d.e.
      “Lit. Disease came in (to) Chelswu (Chelswu became sick).”

(a) Stems na- and tul- in (2) convey the opposite meaning, whereas in (3), they convey non-opposite meaning (ORIGINATION-related and CREATION-related meanings such as ‘happen,’ ‘occur,’ ‘appear,’ ‘be generated,’ and so forth).

[3] There is a semantic constraint for either of the predicates due to the difference between their basic senses, when they convey ORIGINATION-related and CREATION-related meanings (Lindner 1982, Kwon 2007).

- e.g. [Depending on whether aspect of an event is durative.]

(4) ku hwanca-ka samsip-pwun-tongan cengsin-i
    the patient-Nom thirty-minute-for spirit-Nom
    tul/*na-ess-e
    be.in/*be.out-Ant-decl.ending
    Lit. The patient’s spirit came in / out for 30 minutes.
    “The patient was conscious for 30 minutes.”

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1 Kwon (2007) is a term project for a course of Linguistics 104 (George Lakoff) in Fall 2007, University of California, Berkeley.
1.2 The Aims of the Paper
[1] To show that predicates *na* ‘be.in’ and *tul* ‘be.out’ in Korean encode very subtle differences, when they are construed as non-opposite senses,
[2] To figure out distribution of the two predicates, looking into their semantic parameters such as conceptualization of cause, aspects and factivity, and
[3] To provide unified accounts of the distribution of the two predicates, as well as those of how the seemingly opposite senses can be understood as non-opposite, in terms of image schema (Johnson 1987).

2. Previous Research
(a) I.-K. Kim (2009): Categorizing semantic properties of the two predicates into basic and extended senses and providing an image-schematic explanation for them.
[2] Problems raised
(a) Problem #1: The distinction between basic senses and extended senses needs to be clarified.
[I.-K. Kim’s (2009) example of basic sense]
(5) *nay pay-eyse kkolok-kkolok soli-ka na-ess-ta*
my belly-Loc onomatopoeia sound-Nom be.out-Ant-Decl
Lit. Sound of hunger *kkolok* came out of my belly.
“I heard sound of hunger *kkolok* from the inside.”

[I.-K. Kim’s (2009) example of extended sense]
(6) *ku-nun ilccik cameali-ey tul-ess-ta*
he-Nom early sleeping.place-Loc be.in-Ant-Decl
Lit. He went into his sleeping place.
“He went to bed.”

◊ It is not clear what criterion distinguishes basic sense from extended one.
◊ This paper argues as an alternative that default senses are spatially used and thus, can be the opposite to each other, whereas extended senses are meanings related to origination and creation.


![Figure 1. Gradation bar (I.-K. Kim 2009)](image-url)
3.1 MEANING OF TUL-
(a) Something that is not inside of a certain container comes into the container and comes into existence inside of the container
(b) Something becomes a part of a container and changes the state of the container.

(c) The little circle (trajector; TR) comes into the container (landmark: LM).
(d) The internal state of the container is focused (the dotted box in Figure 2; frame of attention (FOA, equivalent to Langacker’s (2002:190) Active Zone)), not the outside state of the container.

3.1.1 EXAMPLES OF TUL- AS A DEFAULT SENSE
[1] Chasing of TR’s Trace
(7)  
  eccey  cip-an-ey  totwuk-i  tul-ess-ta
  yesterday  house-inside-Loc  thief-Nom  be.in-Past-decl.ending
  Lit. A thief came inside the house yesterday “I got my house robbed by a thief.”

(8)  
  ku-uy  phyen-un  tul-ci  ma-la
  his-Gen  side-Top  be.in-Conn  do.not-Impe.ending
  Lit. Do not go in his side “Don’t be on his side.”

(9)  
  nayil  sewul-un  kokiap-uy  yenghyangkwuen-ey
  tomorrow  Seoul-Top  high.pressure-Gen  range.of.effect.-Loc
  tul-keyss-supnita
  be.in-Fut-decl.ending [honorific]
Lit. Tomorrow, Seoul will go in the range of high air pressure “Seoul will be affected by high air pressure, i.e. will be clear, tomorrow.”

[2] Change of the container’s internal state by TR
(10) \[i \text{ yak-i } \text{ cal } \text{ tul-e}\]
this medicine-Nom well \text{ be.in-decl.ending}
Lit. this medicine came in well “This medicine works well.”

3.2 MEANING OF \(Na\)-
(a) Something that is located in a container gets out of it.
(b) Something gets out of the container and state of the exterior gets changed.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Schematic Picture of \(na\)-}
\end{figure}

(c) As TR moves out of the container, state of outside of container has changed: from the state of zero to the state where TR comes into existence at the outside of the container.
(d) The FOA is outside of the container in Figure 3 (the dotted box).

3.2.2 EXAMPLES OF \(Na\)- AS A DEFAULT SENSE
[1] Chasing TR’s trace
(11) \[\text{khong } \text{ sim-un-tey } \text{ khong } \text{ na-ko } \text{ phath}\]
bean plant-Conn-place bean \text{ be.out-Conn } red.bean
\text{ sim-un-tey } \text{ phath } \text{ na-n-ta}
plant-Conn-place red.bean \text{ be.out-Pres-decl.ending}
Lit. Beans come out (of ground) where we plant beans and red beans come out (of ground) where we plant red beans
“Beans are reaped where they are planted, so are red beans [Korean proverb: Every result has its cause].”

(12) \[\text{ne-nun } \text{ icye } \text{ nay } \text{ nwun } \text{ pakk-ey } \text{ na-ess-e}\]
you-Top now my eye outside-Loc \text{ be.out-Past-d.e.[Colloq]}
Lit. Now you went out of my sight “You are not my concern any more.”

[2] Change of the container’s external state by TR
(13) \[\text{nappu-n } \text{ somwun-un } \text{ kumpang } \text{ na-n-ta}\]
be.bad-Rltv rumor-Top rapidly \text{ be.out-Pres-decl.ending}
Lit. Bad rumors goes out rapidly “Bad rumors spread rapidly.”
4. IN AND OUT AS NON-Opposites in korean

4.1 What is Out is not necessarily the opposite of In

[1] Stems tul- and na- can be interchangeably used in a certain context where they are interpreted as ‘happen,’ ‘appear,’ ‘be generated,’ ‘be yielded,’ and so forth:

(16) kulehkey ca-cianh-umyen
    in.such.a.way sleep.n-Acc sleep.v-Neg-if
    pyeng-na/-tul-l-ci mol-la
    disease-be.out/-be.in-Relativizer-Conn not.know-decl.ending
    Lit. If you don’t sleep like that, disease will be out / in (my body) “If you don’t sleep enough, you will get sick.”

(17) cengsin-i com na- / tu-ni
    spirit-Nom a little be.out/be.in-inter.ending
    Lit. Is (your) spirit out / in? “Are you up?” or “Are you OK?.”

(a) TR: disease, spirit, thought, idea and so forth.
[2] Image schema shared in common

(a) Different positions of FOA: In examples of tul-, the internal state of the container is focused, whereas in the case of the stem na-, the external state of the container is focused.
(b) Langacker (2002:190): “… it is more accurate to think of it [the active zone] as the focal area of the relational interaction, the participation of a region becoming more tenuous the farther it lies from this focus.”

(c) K.-D. Lee’s (1996) observation: The starting point or the arriving point denoted by *tulta* and *nata* is the closed area.

4.2 SUBTLE DIFFERENCES

Stems *na* and *tul* are subtly different in various aspects:
- The conceptualized position of TR with regard to the container
- Durative aspects
- Presupposition of TR’s existence
- Factivity.

[1] The position of TR with regard to the container

(18) *nay on mom-ey meng-i tul-ess-ta / *na-ess-ta*
    my whole body-Loc bruise-Nom be.in-Past-d.e./*be.out-Past-d.e.
    Lit. bruise came in my whole body “I got bruises on my whole body.”

(19) *chelswu-nun kamki-ka simha-key tul- / *na-ess-ta.*
    Chelswu-Top cold-Nom be.severe-Adv be.in- / be.out-Past-d.e.
    Lit. Cold came in severely (to) Chelswu “Chelswu caught a bad cold.”

(20) *sangche-lul kaman twu-ess-teni yemcung-i*
    wound-Acc remain.still put-Past-Conn inflammation-Nom
    *tul-ess-ta / na-ess-ta*
    *be.in-Past-d.e / be.out-Past-decl.ending*
    Lit. wound remained untouched and an inflammation came out “Since I had my wound untreated, I have inflammation of the wound.”

(a) In (18), the bruise is a TR (our common sense tells us that bruises are mostly caused by external (outside of body) impacts).

(b) In (19), the cold is a TR (when some caught a cold, it is believed that cold is caused by an external factor such as low temperature and so forth).

(c) In (20), the TR an inflammation (an inflammation is conceptualized to occur due to internal putrefaction of the wound)

- exceptions?

(21) *chelswu-ka pyeng-i tul- / na-ess-ta*
    Chelswu-Top disease-Nom be.in- / be.out-Past-decl.ending
    Lit. Disease came in / out (to) Chelswu “Chelswu became sick.”

(a) In (21), both stems are licensed (cf. (19))
   - Our folk theory says that the cause of cold is usually regarded as an external factor, whereas the cause of disease in general might be either an external or an internal factor).

(b) In fact, their interpretations are not exactly the same (aspectual difference).
[2] Aspect with regard to temporal duration
- Durative vs. Instantaneous
  (22) camkkan pyeng-i na-(*tul)-ess-nuntey simha-ci-anh-ta
  temporarily disease-Nom be.out(*be.in)Past-Conn be.serious-Conn be.not-de
  Lit. Disease came out temporarily (to sb), but it is not serious “Somebody was
  sick, but it was not that serious.”

(a) When the stem na- is used with pyeng ‘disease,’ it means that the degree of suffering
is not significant.
(b) When the stem tul- is used with it, it means that the disease is quite serious.
   The stem tul- does not go well with temporary or instant state of event, whereas the
   other stem na- goes well with it.

- Resultative vs. Incipient
  (23)a. ku-nun kapcaki pyeng-i tul-ese cwuk-ess-ta
      he-Top suddenly disease-Nom be.in-Caus die-Ant-Decl
      Lit. Since disease came in suddenly, he died.
  b. ku-nun kapcaki pyeng-i na-ese cwuk-ess-ta
      he-Top suddenly disease-Nom be.out-Caus die-Ant-Decl
      Lit. Since disease suddenly came out, he died
      “He died, because he, all of a sudden, got infected with disease.”

(a) Tul does not seem to encode incipient and instantaneous semantics and kapcaki
   ‘suddenly,’ whereas na does.

- Durativity
  (24) ku hwanca-nun samsip-pwun tongan cengsin-i tul-ess-e (*na-ess-e)
      the patient-Nom thirty-minute for spirit-Nom be.in-Past-decl.e.
      Lit. The patient’s spirit came in for thirty minutes “The patient was up for 30
      minutes.”

(a) Stem na- seems to convey semantic properties of strict achievement predicate that
profiles the stage where only part of trajector comes out of the container, whereas the
stem tul- does not profile it until the trajector as a whole comes into a container.

Figure 5. Incipient Aspect of na- ‘be.out’
Figure 6. Resultative Aspect of *be.in*

[3] Presupposition of TR’s existence

(25) *ne-ka malha-n kulen sayngkak-un cal an *tul-e*
    you-Nom talk-Conn such idea-Top well be.not *be.in*-decl.e.
    Lit. Such an idea that you said does not come in well “I don’t agree to such an idea that you said.”

(26) *ne-ka malha-n kulen sayngkak-un cal an na-e*
    you-Nom talk-Conn such idea-Top well be.not *be.out*-decl.e.
    Lit. Such an idea that you said does not come out well “I don’t agree to such an idea that you said.” [stronger than (26)]

(a) (25) could entail that you could possibly have such an idea that you said, but that the idea is not mine. In contrast, since (26) does not merely negate the existence of the TR in the speaker’s head, but also negates the existence of the TR itself.

(27) *kulen sayngkak-i an tu-nun-ke-i ani-la*
    such idea-Nom be.not *be.in*-pres-thing-Nom be.not-Conn
    avey an na-e
    ever be.not *be.out*-decl.ending
    Lit. It is not that such an idea does not come in, but such an idea never comes out “It is not that I don’t agree to such an idea, but didn’t even think about agreeing to it.”

(28) *kulen sayngkak-i an na-nun-key ani-la*
    such idea-Nom be.not *be.out*-pres-thing-Nom be.not-Conn
    avey an *tul-e*
    ever be.not *be.out*-decl.ending
    Lit. It is not that such an idea does not come out, but such an idea never comes in “It is not that I don’t agree to such an idea, but didn’t even think about agreeing to it.”

(b) *be.in* presupposes the existence of the TR, whereas *be.out* does not.

   - Factive verbal nouns such as *hwuho* ‘regret,’ *kiek* ‘memory,’ *chaykimkam* ‘feeling of responsibility,’ *uysim* ‘doubt,’ and so forth. as TR
kukes-ul ha-ci anh-un kes-ey-tayhan
it-Acc do-Conn not-Conn thing-Nom
hwuhoy-ka tul-ess-ta (?na-ess-ta)
regret-Nom be.in-Past-decl.ending
Lit. Thought that (my) not doing it is regrettable comes in “I regret that I did not do it.”

Tul- goes well with the factive noun hwuhoy, ‘regret’ and the complementizer –tanun, whereas the other stem na- is not

emeni-ka po-ko siph-tanun sayngkak-i tul-(?na-)ess-ta
mother-Nom see-Conn want-Comp thought-Nom be.in(be.out)-Past-decl
Lit. The thought that I want to see my mother went out “I thought that I wanted to see my mother.”

Summary of semantic distributions of na- and tul-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. THE CONCEPTUALIZED POSITION OF TR WITH REGARD TO THE CONTAINER:</th>
<th>b. DURATIVE ASPECTS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outside: tul-</td>
<td>incipient/ instantaneousness: na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside: na-</td>
<td>resultative/ non-instantaneousness: tul-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. PRESUPPOSITION OF THE EXISTENCE OF TR</td>
<td>d. FACTIVITY:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-presupposed: na-</td>
<td>non-factivity implied: na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presupposed: tul-</td>
<td>factivity implied: tul-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Implication: the conceptual motivation underlying the subtle differences of the predicates na- and tul- relies on which portion of the aspectual scenes evoked by each of the predicate is profiled linguistically (as shown in Figures 5 and 6).

5. CONCLUSIONS

[1] This paper showed that Lindner’s (1982) observation holds in Korean: distributions of stems tul- ‘be.in’ and na- ‘be.out’ are semantically opposite by default, but are not necessarily opposite in other cases where they convey ORIENTATION or CREATION related meaning.

[2] It is argued that the cognitive motivation underlying the non-opposite meanings of them can be intuitively represented in terms of different positioning focus of attention (FOA) differently.

[3] The extended meanings of the predicates have subtle semantic differences which this paper argued can be grasped with the following major semantic parameters:
   (a) The initial position of TR with regard to the container,
   (b) Temporal/Aspectual duration (durative vs. instantaneous/ resultative vs. inchoative)
   (c) Presupposition of the existence of TR
   (d) Factivity

[4] Possible grammaticalization path for aspect markers?
   e.g. Huallaga Quechua (Weber: 1989): -rqU (‘out’: having happened with remarkable speed), -ykU (‘in’: perfective)
REFERENCES