

Notes on Pronouns, Reflexives, and Pronominalization*

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O. Introduction

Linguists have been aware that the description of *pronouns* is one of the most intriguing problems in linguistic investigations. Recently, some Korean linguists, working within the framework of generative grammar, have shown their interests in Korean pronominal system (C. M. Lee 1974 and D. W. Yang 1975), but their investigations are mostly limited to the description of constraints on the occurrence of *ku* and *caki*. No attempt has been made to relate the occurrence of *ku* (i.e., Pronominalization) to that of *caki* (i.e., Reflexivization), and it has been suggested that the two pronominal expressions be brought about through independent syntactic processes.

The main concern of the present paper is to explain *informally* the relatedness of pronominal forms in sentences like (1).

- (1) a. *sensayngnim-i caki-uy calmos -ul molu-n-ta*
teacher SM self of mistake OM not know
선생님이 자기의 잘못을 모른다.
- b. *sensayngnim-i casin-uy calmos-ul molu-n-ta*
선생님이 자신의 잘못을 모른다.
- c. *sensayngnim-i caki-casin-uy calmos-ul molu-n-ta*
선생님이 자기자신의 잘못을 모른다.
- d. *sensayngnim-i ku-uy calmos-ul molu-n-ta*¹
he of
선생님이 그의 잘못을 모른다.
- e. *sensayngnim-i ku-casin-uy calmos-ul molu-n-ta*
선생님이 그 자신의 잘못을 모른다.
'The teacher does not know his own mistake.'

The most puzzling thing as regards to sentences like (1) is that they all mean the same thing. Thus, it is natural that the grammar of Korean must provide for them either a single underlying structure from which all the sentences in (1) are derivable or some

* This is a preliminary report of a more extensive study on Korean pronominal system which is currently under investigation.

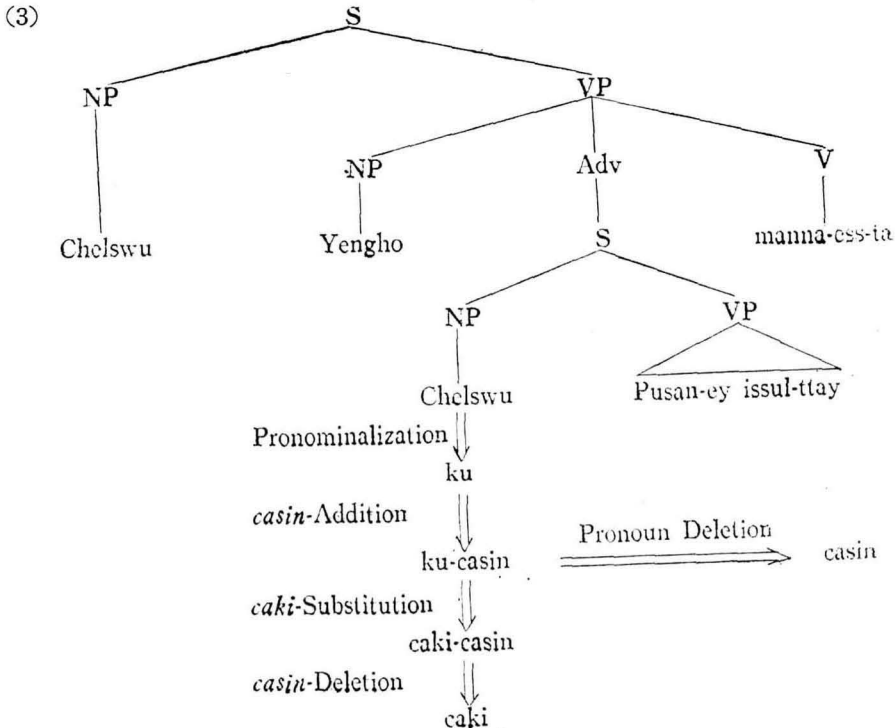
¹ Sentence (1d) is ambiguous: *ku* may refer to either the subject noun phrase *sensayngnim* or someone else. But the latter interpretation does not concern us here.

interpretive device which is capable of assigning an identical meaning to them. I do not exclude the possibility of adopting the interpretive position; but here I will simply take it for granted that all pronominal expressions in (1) are derived from fully specified noun phrases through transformations.

Consider further the sentences in (2).

- (2) a. *Chelswu-ka* Yengho-lul *ku-ka* Pusan-ey issulttay manna-ess-ta²
 SM OM he at be when meet Tns
 철수가 영호를 그가 부산에 있을 때 만났다.
- b. *Chelswu-ka* Yengho-lul *ku-casin-i* Pusan-ey issulttay manna-ess-ta
 철수가 영호를 그 자신이 부산에 있을 때 만났다.
- c. *Chelswu-ka* Yengho-lul *casin-i* Pusan-ey issulttay manna-ess-ta
 철수가 영호를 자신이 부산에 있을 때 만났다.
- d. *Chelswu-ka* Yengho-lul *caki-casin-i* Pusan-ey issulttay manna-ess-ta
 철수가 영호를 자기 자신이 부산에 있을 때 만났다.
- e. *Chelswu-ka* Yengho-lul *caki-ka* Pusan-ey issulttay manna-ess-ta
 철수가 영호를 자기가 부산에 있을 때 만났다.

The kind of derivations which I believe is responsible for the synonymy of the sentences in (2) can be illustrated rather informally as in (3).



² The antecedent of *ku* in sentence (2a) may be the subject, the object, or someone else.

1. Reflexivization and Pronominalization

In English, Reflexivization and Pronominalization are in complementary distribution; that is, they do not operate under the identical syntactic environment. Observe the following sentences:

- (4) a. John recommended *him*.
 b. John recommended *himself*.
 (5) a. John said that Bill would kill *him*.
 b. John said that Bill would kill *himself*.

In (4) and (5) the antecedent that the pronoun *him* refers to is different from the one that the reflexive *himself* refers to.

Yang (1975 : 67) claims, 'As in English, Pronominalization and Reflexivization are mostly in complementary distribution.' Then, he goes on, '...if the antecedents of the pronouns were the matrix subjects, then Reflexivization, instead of Pronominalization, would apply...' and (6b) and (7b) would be derived, instead of (8b) and (9b).

- (6) a. John-i Tom-lul John-uy cip-eyse manna-ess-ta
 SM OM house at meet Tns
 b. John-i Tom-ul *caki*-uy cip-eyse manna-ess-ta
 존이 톼을 자기의 집에서 만났다.
 'John met Tom at his own house.'
 (7) a. John-i Tom-lul [John-i Chicago-ey wassulttay] manna-ess-ta
 came
 b. John-i Tom-ul *caki*-ka Chicago-ey wassulttay manna-ess-ta
 존이 톼을 자기가 시카고에 왔을 때 만났다.
 'John met Tom when he came to Chicago.'
 (8) a. John-i Tom-lul Tom-uy cip-eyse manna-ess-ta
 b. John-i Tom-ul *ku*-uy cip-eyse manna-ess-ta
 존이 톼을 그의 집에서 만났다.
 'John met Tom at his house.'
 (9) a. John-i Tom-lul [Tom-i Chicago-ey wassulttay] manna-ess-ta
 b. John-i Tom-ul *ku*-ka Chicago-ey wassulttay manna-ess-ta
 존이 톼을 그가 시카고에 왔을 때 만났다.
 'John met Tom when he came to Chicago.'

As Lee (1974 : 68) and Yang (1975 : 32-33) claim, it is true that in sentences (6b) and (7b) *caki* can only be coreferential with the subject of the sentences. However, Yang is mistaken in thinking that in (8b) and (9b) the antecedent of the pronoun *ku* can only be the object of the sentences. All Koreans I have consulted with on the meanings of (8b) and (9b) unanimously said that they are ambiguous; one of their meanings is identical with that of (6b) and (7b), respectively. In other words, the pronoun *ku* may also refer to the subject in sentences like (8b) and (9b). This means that both Pronominalization and Reflexivization are applicable to structures like (6a) and (7a).

We can conclude, therefore, that in Korean Pronominalization and Reflexivization are *not* in complementary distribution.

2. The Relationship between *ku* and *caki*

In the preceding section, we have seen that *ku* and *caki* are not always in complementary distribution. In this section I will try to show that Reflexivization (if we agree to call the substitution of an NP with *caki* Reflexivization) is a special type of Pronominalization. Consider the following sentences:

- (10) a. *sonye-tul-i* Mary-ka $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} caki \\ ku \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -*tul* lul ssi-tolok takaw-ess-ta
 girl PI SM SM PI OM wash so that approach
 소녀들이 매리가 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 자기 \\ 그 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 들을 씻도록 다가왔다.
 'Girls approached so that Mary could wash them.'
- b. *sensayngnim-nun* haksayng-tul-eykey $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} caki \\ ku \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -ka ka-keyss-ta-ko malha-ess-ta
 teacher student PI to SM go will that tell Tns
 선생님은 학생들에게 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 자기 \\ 그 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 가 가겠다고 말했다.
 'The teacher told the students that he would go.'
- c. $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} caki \\ ku \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -uy ttal-lul kyothongsako-lo ilhepin *ku-kyoswu-nun* hollo salko-iss-ta
 of daughter car accident by lost the professor alone live
 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 자기 \\ 그 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 의 딸을 교통사고로 잃어버린 그 교수는 홀로 살고 있다.
 'The professor who lost his daughter in a car accident lives alone.'
- d. *ku sinsa-nun* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} caki \\ ku \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -wa chwumchwu-n yeca-lul poaess-ta
 the man with dance woman saw
 그 신사는 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 자기 \\ 그 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 와 춤춘 여자를 보았다.
 'The gentleman saw the woman who danced with him.'
- e. *Chelswu-nun* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} caki \\ ku \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -lul ttayli-n namca-lul manna-ess-ta
 OM beat man OM met
 철수는 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 자기 \\ 그 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 를 때린 남자를 만났다.
 'Chelswu met the man who beat him.'

The primary investigation of the data seems to indicate that the pronoun *ku* can always substitute the reflexive *caki* without destroying the original meaning of the sentences (see (13) and (15) for exception). As we will see, however, it does not appear to be the case that the reflexive *caki* can always replace the pronoun *ku*. Observe the following sentences:

- (11) a. John-i Tom-eykey $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} ku \\ *caki \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -ka calmos-i-la-ko malha-ess-ta
 to SM mistake that said
 존이 톰에게 $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 그 \\ *자기 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 가 잘못이라고 말했다.
 'John said to Tom that he was wrong.'

b. John-i Tom-eykey $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ku \\ *caki \end{matrix} \right\}$ -ka ku-kes-ul hal-kes-ul myenglyengha-ess-ta
 to SM it OM do order

존이 톰에게 $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{그} \\ *자\text{기} \end{matrix} \right\}$ 가 그것을 할것을 명령했다.

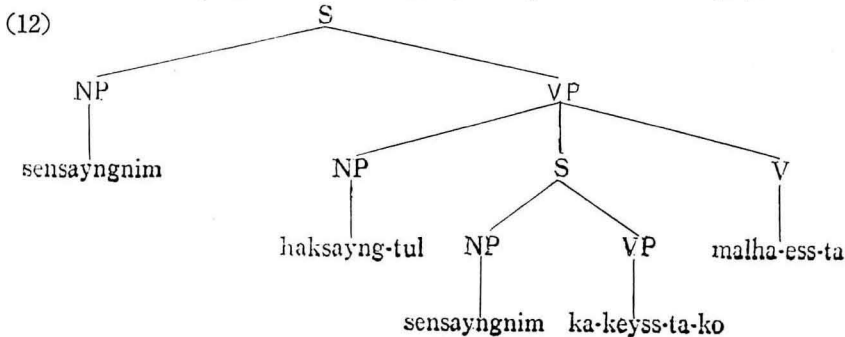
‘John ordered Tom that he should do it.’

The fact that the reflexive *caki* cannot occur in sentences such as (11) has been accounted for by Yang and Lee under the assumption that the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun must be the subject of the sentence (see Yang 1975: 32 and Lee 1974: 68). However, they have made no attempt to explain sentences like (10) in which *ku* and *caki* can substitute each other.

To account for this interesting syntactic phenomenon, we can think of two possible solutions;

- (A) Pronominalization and Reflexivization *independently* derive *ku* and *caki*, respectively, from their underlying noun phrases.
- (B) Reflexivization is a special type of Pronominalization: that is, an NP first becomes *ku* by pronominalization, and then this *ku* is transformed into *caki* under certain syntactic environments.

Solution (A), which I believe is supported by Yang, not only is intuitively unacceptable but also does not offer a way to deal with pairs of sentences in (10). However, let us suppose that the underlying structure of (10b) is represented as in (12).



Pronominalization applies to (12), converting the subject NP of the embedded sentence into *ku*; and whether Reflexivization is further applicable to (12) or not depends on the question of whether the antecedent of the pronoun *ku* is the subject of its *dominating*³ sentence. Since in (12) the antecedent is the subject of the matrix sentence, Reflexivization *optionally* replaces the pronoun *ku* with the reflexive *caki*. This seems to explain why two synonymous sentences in (10b) are derivable from a single underlying sentence like (12). However, *caki* cannot occur in sentences like (11), because the antecedent of the pronoun is not the subject of its dominating sentence.

³ As to the constraints on the applicability of Reflexivization, see Lee (1974:68-128) and Yang (1975:31-66).

There seem to be a few exceptions to the claim that the pronoun *ku* can always substitute the reflexive *caki* without destroying its original meaning. Examine the following sentences:

- (13) a. *Chelswu-nun caki-lul chwuchenha-ess-ta*
SM OM recommend Tns

철수는 자기를 추천했다.

'Chelswu recommended himself.'

- b. **Chelswu-nun ku-lul chwuchenha-ess-ta*

*철수는 그를 추천했다.

'Chelswu recommended him (not Chelswu).'

The sentences in (13) indicate that *ku* cannot occur when the pronoun and its antecedent are clause-mates, that is, they are included in a simple sentence. I claim that even sentences like (13a) are derived from their underlying structures through the application of *both* Pronominalization and Reflexivization. In other words, Pronominalization first applies to the underlying structure of (13a), transforming it into (13b), and next we *obligatorily* applies Reflexivization to (13b) to derive (13a). This is to say that Reflexivization applies *obligatorily* when the pronoun and its antecedent are clause-mates. Note that the so-called subject-antecedent condition also holds in a simple sentence. In sentence (14) *caki* can refer to only the subject of the sentence.

- (14) *ku haksayng-i sensayngnim-ekey caki-lul calangha-ess-ta*
student SM teacher to OM pride

그 학생이 선생님에게 자기를 자랑했다.

'The student boasted about himself to the teacher.'

The obligatoriness of Reflexivization does not seem to be limited to a simple sentence. Consider the following sentences:⁴

- (15) a. *ku-ka oltha-ko sayngkakha-nun salam-un motwu i-pang-ul naka-ess-ta*
right that think man all room go out

그가 옳다고 생각하는 사람은 모두 이 방을 나갔다.

'Men who think he is right all left this room.'

- b. *caki-ka oltha-ko sayngkakha-nun salam-un motwu i-pang-ul naka-ess-ta*

자기가 옳다고 생각하는 사람은 모두 이 방을 나갔다.

'Everyone who thinks he is right all left this room.'

In (15) the reference of the pronoun *ku* is obviously different from the one of the reflexive *caki*. In other words, *ku* must not refer to the head noun of the relative clause, *salam*, whereas *caki* must. The same phenomenon is also observed in sentences like (16).

- (16) a. *ku-ka totwuknom-i-la-ko mit-nun haksayng-un epsta*
thief be that believe student not be

그가 도둑놈이라고 믿는 학생은 없다.

'There are no students who believe that he is a thief.'

⁴ The example is due to Chung-min Lee.

b. *caki-ka totwuknom-i-la-ko mit-nun haksayng-un epsta*

자기가 도둑놈이라고 믿는 학생은 없다.

'No student believes that he(himself) is a thief.'

Chung-min Lee (personal communication) pointed out to me that the difference in their references probably has to do with the predicates of dominating sentences. That is, if the predicate of the matrix sentence is a 'psychological verb' as in (15) and (16), only Reflexivization is possible. However, sentences like (17) and (18) cannot be handled by what Lee proposes.

(17) a. *ku-ka oltha-ko malha-nun salam-un motwu i pang-eyse ccokyena-ess-ta*
right say man all room from be expelled

그가 옳다고 말하는 사람은 모두 이 방에서 쫓겨났다.

'Men who said that he was right were all expelled from this room.'

b. *caki-ka oltha-ko malha-nun salam-un motwu i pang-eyse ccokyena-ess-ta*

자기가 옳다고 말하는 사람은 모두 이 방에서 쫓겨났다.

'Everyone who said that he was right was all expelled from this room.'

(18) a. *ku-ka totwuknom-i-la-ko cwucangha-nun haksayng-un epsta*
claim

그가 도둑놈이라고 주장하는 학생은 없다.

'There are no students who claim that he is a thief.'

b. *caki-ka totwuknom-i-la-ko cwucangha-nun haksayng-un epsta*

자기가 도둑놈이라고 주장하는 학생은 없다.

'No student claims that he (himself) is a thief.'

In (17) and (18), the predicates of matrix sentences are not psychological verbs, but 'verbs of saying'; still in the sentences of (17a) and (18a) the pronoun *ku* cannot refer to the head noun.

The 'psychological verb' solution seems to fall down in sentences like (19), in which the higher predicates are psychological verbs and the pronoun *ku* may also refer to the head noun of the relative clause.

(19) a. *ku-mwuncey-ey tayhayse acikto ku-ka olh-ass-ess-ta-ko sayngkakha-nun*
the problem about still right that think

Chelswu-nun teisang malha-ki-lul kepuwha-ess-ta
more say Nom refuse

그 문제에 대해서 아직도 그가 옳았었다고 생각하는 철수는 더 이상 말하기를 거부했다.

'Chelswu, who still thinks he was right on the problem, refused to say more.'

b. *ku-muncey-ey tahhayse acikto caki-ka olha-ss-ess-ta-ko sayngkakha-nun*
Chelswu-nun teisang malha-ki-lul kepuwha-ess-ta

그 문제에 대해서 아직도 자기가 옳았었다고 생각하는 철수는 더 이상 말하기를 거부했다.

Note that in (19a) the pronoun *ku* may also refer to the head noun *Chelswu* as in (19b).

I believe that the problem is closely related to the *definiteness* or *specificity* of the

head noun of the relative clause, rather than to the status of higher predicates. In (15-18) the head nouns are *indefinite*, while in (19) they are *definite*. Why this is so will be dealt with in the subsequent study on the problem; the problem, I believe, must be studied in conjunction with the problem of *referentiality* (cf. B. Hall Partee 1973).

Lee (1974: 119-24) points out that the subject which the reflexive *caki* refers to must be aware of what the *caki* clause represents. Thus, we find a semantic anomaly in (20a), whereas we do not in (20b).

- (20) a. ?*honswusangthay-e ppaci-ess-nun Chelswu-nun Yenghi-ka caki-lul cikhie-
 coma fall in Rel Top SM OM
 po-nun kawuntey swumci-ess-ta
 watch while die Dec

?*혼수상태에 빠진 철수는 영희가 자기를 지켜보는 가운데 숨졌다.

‘Chelswu, who fell in a coma, died while Younghi was watching him.’

- b. wiphwung-tangtanga-n Chelswu-nun Yenghi-ka caki-lul cikhie-po-nun kaw-
 staelly looking Top SM OM watch while
 untey ssikssikha-key ipcangha-ess-ta
 vigorously enter Past Dec

위풍 당당한 철수는 영희가 자기를 지켜보는 가운데 씩씩하게 입장했다.

‘Chelswu, who looks stately, entered the hall in a vigorous manner while Younghi was watching him.’

To handle sentences such as (20), Lee (1974:122) proposes,

The only possible way is to posit a higher abstract cognitive verb for any felicitous occurrence of a *caki* clause. If this abstract verb occurs, we know that the subject (or sometimes Topic) of its immediately higher sentence is able to cognize the action or state of the *caki*-inclusive (after Reflexivization) clause.

For example, the underlying structure of the relative clause of sentence (21) may be represented as in (22).

- (21) *ku miin-nun caki-lul cwusiha-ten namca-ka teylje-ka-ess-ta*
 the beauty OM watch Rel man SM took away Dec

그 미인은 자기를 주시하던 남자가 데려갔다.

‘The beauty, the man who was watching her took away.’

- (22) [[*ku miin* -[*namca kumiin cwusiha*]_S COGNIZE]_S *namca*]_{NP}

Then he goes on to say ‘On the other hand, if we have a pronoun *kunye* [-Masc, +III] in place of *caki* in (99) (i.e., (21)), the beauty’s being conscious of such action is not relevant.’ It is not clear what he means by ‘not relevant.’ If he means that, when the pronoun *kunye* occurs in place of *caki* in (21), the beauty becomes *unconscious* of the man’s watching her, I think he is wrong, because in (23) the beauty may be also conscious of her being watched by the man as she may in (21).

- (23) *ku miin-nun kunye-lul cwusiha-ten namca-ka teylje-ka-ess-ta*

그 미인은 그녀를 주시하던 남자가 데려갔다.

It is possible to give another semantic interpretation to (23) in which the beauty may not

be conscious of the man's watching her. However, the abstract cognitive hypothesis does not degrade my hypothesis that Reflexivization is a subsystem of Pronominalization, at least in Korean. To counter this hypothesis, I believe we have to come up with instances in which the replacement of *caki* with a pronoun always signifies antecedent's unconsciousness of the action or state of the *caki*-clause.

In conclusion, what I have been trying to say in this section is not that meanings of the *caki*-containing sentences are identical to those of the *ku*-containing sentences, but that the former are included in the latter. In other words, a noun phrase is first pronominalized into a pronoun, and then this pronoun becomes a reflexive under some specifiable environments. The Reflexivization rule is an optional rule, but may become an obligatory rule under a certain circumstances, for example, when applied to a simple sentence. Note that such an apparent simple sentence as (1d) does not contradict the obligatoriness of reflexivization within a simple sentence, since we believe that it is derived from the structure underlying (24).

- (24) *sensayngnim-i ku-ka cecilu-n calmos-ul molu-n-ta*
 teacher SM he SM made mistake OM not know

선생님이 그가 저지른 잘못을 모른다.

'The teacher does not know the mistake he made.'

3. *casin*

In the preceding section, we have assumed that there is no intervening stage in deriving *caki* from the pronoun *ku*. But consider the following sentences:

- (25) a. *John-i Tom-ul ku-casin-uy cip-eyse manna-ess-ta*
 SM OM of house at met

존이 톰을 그 자신의 집에서 만났다.

'John met Tom at his own house.'

- b. *John-i Tom-ul ku-casin-i Chicago-ey w-assulttay manna-ess-ta*
 SM OM SM to came when met

존이 톰을 그 자신이 시카고에 왔을 때 만났다.

'John met Tom, when he (John) came to Chicago.'

- c. *sensayngnim-un haksayng-tul-eykey ku casin-i ka-kess-ta-ko malha-ess-ta*
 teacher student PI to SM go will that say

선생님은 학생들에게 그 자신이 가겠다고 말했다.

'The teacher said to the students that he would go.'

- d. *ku sinsa-nun ku-casin-kwa chwumchwu-n yeca -lul poa-ess-ta*
 the gentleman with dance woman OM saw

그 신사는 그 자신과 춤춘 여자를 보았다.

'The gentleman saw the woman who danced with him.'

- e. *Chelsuw-nun ku-casin-ul ttayli-n namca-lul manna-ess-ta*
 Top OM beat man OM met

철수는 그 자신을 때린 남자를 만났다.

'Chelsuw met the man who beat him.'

The sentences in (25) show that *ku-casin* can always take the place of *caki*. Furthermore, compare the sentences in (11) and (20a) with those in (26).

- (26) a. John-i Tom-eykey *ku-casin-i* calmos-i-la-ko malha-ess-ta
 SM to SM mistake that said
 존이 톰에게 그 자신이 잘못이라고 말했다.
 'John said to Tom that he (Tom) was wrong.'
- b. John-i Tom-eykey *ku-casin-i* ku-kes-ul hal-kes-ul myenglyengha-ess-ta
 SM to SM it do ordered
 존이 톰에게 그 자신이 그것을 할것을 명령했다.
 'John ordered Tom that he (Tom) should do it.'
- c. honswusangthay-e ppaci-ess-nun Chelswu-nun Yenghi-ka *ku-casin-lul* cikh-cikhye-pocoma fall in Rel Top SM OM wat-
 ye-po nun kawunte swumci-ess-ta
 ch while died
 혼수상태에 빠진 철수는 영희가 그 자신을 지켜보는 가운데 숨졌다.
 'Chelswu, who fell in a coma, died while Yenghi was watching him (Chelswu).'

As shown in (26), *ku-casin* may also occur where the pronoun *ku*, but not *caki*, can occur. This means that the distribution of *ku-casin* covers both *ku* and *caki*.

4. Conclusion

On the basis of observations we have made, I propose that a noun phrase be first pronominalized into *ku* under appropriate conditions, and that to this pronoun the morpheme *casin* be added, converting it to *ku-casin*. I further claim that in Korean the insertion of *casin* after the pronoun *ku* should be regarded as *Reflexivization*; *caki* is regarded as an alternative form of *ku-casin*.

There is a certain advantage of regarding *ku-casin* as a third person reflexive pronoun. First, we can predict the forms of the first and second person reflexive pronouns.

- (27) a. na-nun *na-casin-ul* nemwuna haktayhay-w-ass-ta
 I Top myself OM too much ill-treat
 나는 나 자신을 너무나 학대해 왔다.
 'I have ill-treated myself too much.'
- b. ne-nun *ne-casin-ul* al-ayaha-n-ta
 you yourself OM know must
 너는 너 자신을 알아야 한다.
 'You must know yourself.'

Second, you can give a natural explanation of various usages of *casin*. Consider the following sentences:

- (28) a. Chelswu-nun *casin-ul* chwuchenha-ess-ta
 Top self OM recommend
 철수는 자신을 추천했다.
 'Chelswu recommended himself.'

b. na-nun *casin*-ul nemwuna haktayhay-w-ass-ta

나는 자신을 너무나 학대해 왔다.

'I have ill-treated myself too much.'

c. ne-nun *casin*-ul al-ayaha-n-ta

너는 자신을 알아야 한다.

'You must know yourself.'

In (28), *casin* is used as first, second, or third reflexive pronouns. As I have indicated in (3), *casin* is derived from pronoun+*casin* by Pronoun Deletion Transformation.

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