

Two *nows* in Korean

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Abstract

This paper presents a study of the two lexical adverbs in Korean, *cikum* and *icey*, which are assumed to be synonymous with each other and equivalent in meaning with English *now*. Because *cikum* and *icey* seem to be interchangeable in many instances without significant differences, their distinctive semantic features have been overlooked and not systematically studied. Starting from an overview of previous studies of *cikum* and *icey*, which focus on the intra-sentential analysis, this paper claims that, contrary to common assumptions, *cikum* and *icey* differ inherently in terms of the viewpoint of perspective taking in narrative discourse. Using examples drawn from a corpus, we argue that *cikum* simply refers to a time interval that contains the reference point from which the described event is viewed. On the other hand, *icey* describes a change in situation, showing that the reference point can be perceived as a point that divides the past and the future seen from this vantage point. Subsequently, we show that English *now* has in fact two functions corresponding to the Korean *cikum* and *icey*. The semantic differences between *cikum* and *icey* in narrative discourses are represented in discourse representation theory. *Cikum* preserves the given reference time, elaborating on an event described by the preceding sentence, while *icey* introduces a new reference time, updating the temporal context with a shifted temporal perspective.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is a study of the two lexical adverbs, *cikum* and *icey* meaning ‘now’ in Korean narrative discourse in dynamic semantics. The adverb *now* is often assumed to be an indexical expression referring to the time of utterance or, more accurately, to a time interval including the time of utterance. This assumption does not seem problematic when it comes to a canonical speech situation, where *now* refers to the moment of utterance for both speaker and hearer. However, unlike the canonical situation of utterance, *now* also appears in narrative discourse with the past tense, in which *now* denotes neither the speech time nor the production (or perception) time of the narrative. That is, *now* has its own independent status in the story world (Rauh 1983; Segal 1990) and is not referenced against the reader’s own real-time experience. In this paper, we discuss how these two *nows* in Korean, *cikum* and *icey*,

can occur with the past tense in narrative discourse and what are the semantic differences between them.

At first sight, it seems a little surprising that the adverb *now* can occur in the narrative, because we commonly assume that *now* always refers to utterance time. In most narratives, however, the events of the story are described in the past tense. In order to give a unified semantics for its indexical (deictic) and narrative uses, it is assumed that the adverb *now* in English, as well as in many other languages, refers to a time interval that overlaps the time of perspective from which the described event is viewed (Kamp and Reyle 1993: 595). The temporal perspective point can be either the speech time, as in (1a), or a past reference time, as in (1b).

- (1) a. John *is* eating breakfast *now*.
 b. Finally, at six o'clock, Mr. Johnson *started* to speak. *Now* there *were* only ten people left in the room.

The reference points are established by context; often the relevant contextual factors are contained in the antecedent discourse. In the case of (1b), *now* in the second sentence must be understood as lying in the event time of the previous sentence which is marked as reference point. That is, the perspective shifts to the reference time of the last sentence in the simple past, and the situation is viewed from that temporal location, from the position of someone who could have been attending the meeting (Kamp and Rohrer 1983). In other words, in (1a), the tense is used deictically, that is it refers to the utterance time, which is salient in the speech situation similar to the use of deictic and demonstrative pronouns such as *I*, *you* and *this*, while in (1b), the tense is used anaphorically, that is it refers to a time which is extracted from the previous discourse similar to the use of pronouns and anaphors (see Partee 1983). Another property that has been pointed out about *now* is that it is only used with a stative predicate when occurring with the past tense in narratives. Thus, (2a) is awkward and not nearly as good as (2b) (Kamp and Reyle 1993: 596). It is observed that the same restriction applies to *nows* in other languages, for example *maintenant* in French (Kamp and Rohrer 1983: 265).

- (2) a. Bill had come home at seven. Now he *wrote* a letter.
 b. Bill had come home at seven. Now he *was writing* a letter.

The Korean *nows* can be viewed in a similar way except that Korean has two lexical adverbs, *cikum* and *icey*, which are assumed to be synonymous and equivalent in meaning to English *now*. For example, in the major Korean dictionaries, *cikum* and *icey* are each, in most cases,

defined in terms of each other. According to the *Yonsei* Korean dictionary, published by the Korean Language Society, *cikum* and *icey* are synonyms and both defined as ‘the very moment that one speaks’. Furthermore, as shown in the following example (3), it is very difficult, if not impossible, to exactly pinpoint the differences in meaning between the two in isolated sentences without any context. Regardless of whether *cikum* or *icey* is used, (3) describes an action of eating that is ongoing at the utterance time. That is, both *cikum* and *icey* can be used to denote an interval that contains the time of utterance. Because *cikum* and *icey* seem to be interchangeable in many instances, as in the example below, their own distinctive semantic features have been overlooked and not systematically studied or described.

- (3) Mina-ka cikum/icey hakkyo siktang-eyse pap-ul
 Mina-NOM now school cafeteria-LOC meal-ACC
 mek-nun-ta.
 eat-PRES-DEC¹
 ‘Mina is eating at the school cafeteria now.’

As we will see shortly, when embedded in a verbal context that provides a reference time, *cikum* and *icey* are rather clearly distinguished in terms of whether an expression introduces a new reference time, describing a later situation, or preserves the given reference time, elaborating on the previous situation. Sentential analyses treat reference times as completely undetermined, or as simply given by extralinguistic context. Therefore, the semantic difference between *cikum* and *icey*, which depends on a contextually given reference time, does not surface in isolated sentences like (3) above. However, it seems clear that the manner in which the reference time is extracted from the linguistic context may depend on the tenses of the sentence and its preceding sentences. In a context, various temporal relations between events described by the sentences can be observed, and based on this observation, numerous temporal inferences can be made about what happened when.

In narrative discourse, as we will see shortly, *cikum*, like *now* in many other languages, can only occur with a stative predicate, while *icey* freely appears with an eventive predicate. Some questions naturally arise: why is it that Korean has two words for *now*, whereas English has

¹ The abbreviations that we will be using in our glosses are the following: TOP: topic, NOM: nominative, ACC: accusative, LOC: locative, POSS: possessive, DR: directional, NEG: negation, PST: past, PRES: present, PRG: progressive, RESL: resultative, CN: connective, CONJ: conjunction, RL: relativizer, DEC: declarative, Q: interrogative, QT: quotative, SUP: suppositive, POL: polite speech level, AH: addressee honorific, SH: subject honorific, IN: indicative mood, CL: numeral classifier, PL: plural.

only one? Why does *icey* behave differently than the *now* word in many other languages? What does the study of *cikum* and *icey* tell us about the property of *now* as a temporal (indexical and anaphoric) adverbial in natural languages? In this paper, we will show that *cikum* and *icey* differ inherently from the viewpoint of perspective taking in discourse and provide a systematic semantic account based on narrative discourse data using the framework of discourse representation theory (DRT; Kamp and Reyle 1993; van Eijck and Kamp 1997). Based on our analysis, we will argue that English *now*, and possibly *now* in other languages, in fact, has two functions corresponding to the two lexical *nows* in Korean.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews previous studies and their problems. Section 3 presents an analysis of *cikum* and *icey* in narrative discourse, describing various lexical and grammatical aspects they can combine with when the sentence is in the past tense. We also discuss English *now* and argue that its function is similar to the Korean *icey*. In section 4, the semantic differences between *cikum* and *icey* are represented in DRT. Section 5 concludes the paper by summarizing the main points and suggesting directions for future research.

2 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES AND THEIR PROBLEMS

There are only a few previous studies of the Korean *cikum* and *icey*, and most of them are concerned with the properties of *cikum* as a temporal indexical. For example, Lee (1976) argues that *cikum* refers to an interval of time containing the present moment. Park (1994) examines the properties of *cikum* and *kuttay*, which correspond to *now* and *then* in English, and argues that, unlike *now* in English, *cikum* refers to a time interval which includes the past and the future.² There are very few studies of *icey*, let alone comparative studies of *cikum* and *icey*. The first scholar who made a brief comparative study of *cikum* and *icey* is Park (2003). Park analyses sentences with *cikum* and *icey*, replacing one with the other and trying to find similarities and differences between them. Consider his examples:

- (4) Ku-nun *cikum/icey* ttena-n-ta.
 he-TOP now leave-PRES-DEC
 ‘He is now leaving.’

² This claim is based on the fact that *cikum* can sometimes occur with the future and past tenses. However, Park’s claim that *cikum* and *now* are semantically different is unconvincing given that English *now* can occur with the futurate progressive and the present perfect, just like *cikum*.

- (5) Ku-nun *cikum/icey* ttena-ss-ta.
 he-TOP now leave-PST-DEC
 'He has just left'

According to Park, in (4) the sentence with *icey* should be paraphrased as 'he has been here all along and now he is leaving' or as 'he has been here and is supposed to leave soon', whereas what the sentence with *cikum* indicates is that 'the time to leave is just now, not another time' or 'what he is trying to do now is leaving not staying'. However, (4) with *cikum* also entails that he has been here. Let us consider the same example in the past tense. He argues that in (5), *icey* implies that he is not here now, along with the fact that he has left, but *cikum* only indicates that the time he left is just now and it cannot be seen as implying his not being here. However, the Korean past tense pragmatically implies that the result state of an event still holds at the utterance time (Lee 1987). Without any overt time adverbials, sentences with the past suffix *-ess* implicate current relevance of the described situation. For example, (6) indicates that the accident has occurred recently and that possibly Mina is in the hospital now. In English, this is often expressed with the present perfect. Also, sentences with durative adverbials show similar effects. Example (7) indicates that Mina is still sick.

- (6) Mina-ka cha-sako-lul tangha-yss-ta.
 Mina-NOM car-accident-ACC suffer-PST-DEC
 'Mina has had a car accident.'
- (7) Mina-ka ithul-cen-pwuthe aph-ass-ta.
 Mina-NOM two.day-before-from sick-PST-DEC
 'Mina has been sick for two days now.'

Therefore, the implicature arising in (5) is not caused by *icey*. Even without *icey* or *cikum*, (5) has the implicature that he is not here, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) Ku-nun ttena-ss-ta.
 he-TOP leave-PST-DEC
 'He has left.'

Contrary to Park's observation, *cikum* with the past tense also implicates the current relevance of the described situations, which is clearly shown in example (9). In (9), what the speaker B means by *cikum* is not the exact departure time of the train, but the fact that the described event has just ended, with this instantaneous event resulting in a change of state, that is the train is not in the station anymore.

perspective, in a way similar to the English example (1b). In this paper, we focus on how *cikum* and *icey* combine with the past tense, since our main interest lies in their ability to shift the temporal perspective, and the semantic difference between the two becomes clearly visible only when they are embedded in discourse contexts. In other words, the current article only provides a detailed examination and analysis of the adverbs combining with the past in narratives, and the result of the investigation will have to be extended to cover the (majority) present tense cases. Among the two hundred discourse examples we looked at, 36 examples of *cikum* and 57 examples of *icey* occur with the past tense (18% for *cikum* and 28.5% for *icey*). Table 1 shows various lexical and grammatical aspects with which *cikum* and *icey* can combine in the past tense.

The most striking aspects of these data are the following: the large percentage of cases where *cikum* is used with (i) the progressive *-ko iss* 'be -ing' and (ii) stative predicates, and also the large percentage of cases where *icey* is used with (iii) the inchoative *-toy* or *-ci* 'get, become' as well as (iv) telic verbs. In the remaining cases, *cikum* occurs with modal expressions and the result state form and both *cikum* and *icey* appear in negative sentences. Based on this observation, we claim that *cikum* occurs with state descriptions whereas *icey* combines with event descriptions; (10) below is an example in which *cikum* occurs with modal expression and negation. Since modals and result states are state descriptions, the fact that *icey* does not occur with them also supports the claim that *icey* only occurs with dynamic event descriptions.

	<i>Cikum</i>		<i>Icey</i>	
Telic verbs	2	5.5%	17	29.8%
Stative predicates	10	27.8%	4	7%
Modal expressions	5	13.9%	0	0%
Negative (<i>-ci ahn</i>)	6	16.7%	10	17.5%
Result state (<i>-a iss</i>)	2	5.5%	0	0%
Progressive (<i>-ko iss</i>)	11	30.6%	2	3.5%
Inchoative (<i>-toy, -ci</i>)	0	0%	24	42.2%
Total	36	100%	57	100%

Table 1 Various lexical and grammatical aspects co-occurring with *cikum* and *icey*

- (10) Manswu-nun pang-ulo tuleka-ass-supnita.
 Mansu-TOP room-LOC enter-PST-DEC
 ‘Mansu entered the room.’
cikum i kipwun-ulo-nun amwukes-to mos
 now this feeling-with-TOP nothing-even NEG
 ha-l kes kath-ass-supnita.
 do-seems-PST-DEC
 ‘It seemed that he couldn’t do anything *now* feeling like this.’

Although both adverbs involve a shift of temporal perspective, the properties of *cikum* and *icey*, as revealed by these facts, are quite different. We will argue that, in a sentence where *cikum* is used, the temporal perspective point is the very time at which events are being viewed or narrated. By contrast, the temporal perspective point of *icey* seems to be the point that divides two opposite states. In the following we will back up this claim.

Let us examine the uses of *cikum* first. For *cikum*, the shifted reference point is perceived simply as a temporal vantage point from which the described event is viewed. As a result, like English *now*, *cikum* almost invariably takes an internal viewpoint, that is it describes something as going on at the reference time. As shown in Table 1, the majority of cases in which *cikum* is used are stative descriptions and there were only two cases where *cikum* was used with a telic eventive verb. First, let us look at the cases where *cikum* is used with the progressive *-ko iss* ‘be -ing’. In (11) and (12), the events are viewed from a past perspective point as ongoing, adding presentness and vividness to the situation.

- (11) Swuhye-nun amwu soli-to tuli-ci anh-ass-ko
 Swuhye-TOP no sound-also be heard-NEG-PST-and
 casin-i *cikum* ttuy-ko iss-ta-nun nukkim-cocha
 self-NON now run-PRG-DEC-RC feeling-even
 tul-ci ahn-ass-ta.
 enter-NEG-PST-DEC
 ‘Swuhye could not hear any sound and could not even feel
 that she was *now* running.’
- (12) Taylicem-un ilpon ponsa-lo palsonghay-ss-ko
 agency-TOP Japan head.office-LOC dispatch-PST-and
 ponsa-ese -nun *cikum* memwulu-ko iss-nun
 head.office-from -TOP now stay-PRG-RC

ilakh-e ponay-o-ass-ta.
 Iraq-LOC send-come-PST-DEC
 ‘The agency dispatched it to the headquarters, and the
 headquarters forwarded it to the local branch in Iraq
 I was staying at *now*.’

According to Kamp and Reyle (1993), Kamp and Rohrer (1983), Hinrichs (1986) and Partee (1983), stative predicates preserve the current temporal reference and give a more detailed description of the event described in the previous sentence, whereas an event sentence introduces a new reference time, updating the context with a further episode. Since the stative predicate overlaps an event described in the previous sentence, a sentence in which *cikum* is used expresses an overlapping temporal relation with the event described in the preceding sentence.³ Consider (13), in which *cikum* modifies a sentence in the result state form.

- (13) Nay kiek-ulo-nun han cip-to ppattuli-n
 my memory-in-TOP one house-even miss-RL
 kes kath-ci ahn-untey... Kulena *cikum*/**icey*
 seem like-NEG-CN but now
 nay son aney-nun pwunmyeng sinmwun-i han cang
 my hand in-TOP certainly newspaper-NOM one
 nam-a iss-nun kes-i-ess-ta.
 remain-RESL-RL thing-be-PST-DEC
 ‘As far as I remembered, it seemed I had not missed a single
 house. However, without a doubt, *now* I had one newspaper
 left in my hand.’

In (13), *cikum* indicates a current state of the narrator’s (a newspaper delivery person) having one newspaper left in his hand. Furthermore, the fact that the narrator has a newspaper that has not been delivered overlaps the time when he tried to remember if he missed any houses. If *cikum* is replaced with *icey*, which requires a change of state, the discourse sounds unnatural.

Let us now turn to *icey*. Unlike *cikum*, *icey* is used with inchoatives or resultatives most often, implying that there must be a qualitative change of state, as shown in (14).

³ In order to observe a context change, the first sentence must describe a telic event. If the first sentence gives an atelic description, the following sentence does not generally describe a later event, but would express an overlapping one.

- (14) Minswu-nun say os-ulo kalaip-ess-supnita.
 Minswu-TOP new clothes-into change-PST-DEC
 Ku-nun *icey*/**cikum* wancenhi mosup-i
 he-TOP now completely appearance-NOM
 pakkuy-ess-supnita.
 be changed-PST-Dec
 ‘Minswu changed into new clothes. *Now* his appearance
 had changed completely.’

In (14), the protagonist Minswu changed into new clothes, which made him look like a different person. In order to indicate a change of state from his appearance before changing into new clothes to his resulting appearance, *icey* is used. Since *cikum* does not imply a change of state but refers to an ongoing state, it is deviant in this context.

Let us observe another discourse example (15).

- (15) Talkyal hana-ka elmana pissata-ko, tayswulopta-ko,
 egg one-NOM how expensive-Q important-Q
 kuluhkey sai coh-ten iwus sachonkkili
 like that relation good-used to neighbour cousin
 meli-ka theci-tolok ssawutani. . . *icey*/**cikum*
 head-NOM break-until fight now
 twu cip-un kuman sai-ka
 two house-TOP unfortunately relation-NOM
 nappa-ci-ess-supnita.
 bad-become-PST-DEC
 ‘How expensive is an egg? How important is it? How could
 the two neighbours who used to have such a good relationship
 fight so furiously over an egg? *Now* the two neighbours have
 become estranged.’

In (15), the final sentence with *icey* describes an event of two neighbours’ becoming estranged, which follows the event of their fighting over an egg. Here, the event modified by *icey* is a dividing point between two opposite states: the state of getting along well and the state of having a bad relationship. The event of becoming estranged follows the event of fighting in the previous sentences, moving the narrative time forward. The existence of *icey* in Korean shows that the shifted temporal perspective can be perceived not only as a temporal vantage

point from which the described event is viewed but also as a point between two different states seen from the temporal vantage point.

Another interesting result of our corpus research is that, when used with the past tense, *icey* appears in more diverse genres such as novels, newspaper articles, and diaries. In the corpus, we found that all the examples of *cikum* in past tense sentences were drawn from novels, while 20 examples of *icey* (35%) in past tense sentences came from non-fiction sources such as newspaper articles and diaries. Therefore, *icey*'s function is not restricted to changing the temporal perspective in a narrative. Example (16) contains an example of *icey* in a newspaper article.

- (16) Han ttay i kos-ey ipcwuhan oykwuk kiek
 one time this place-at move in foreign company
 swusca-ka ilpayk sipkay-lul nem-ess-una
 number-NOM hundred ten-ACC over-PST-but
icey celpan isang-i ttena-ss-ko...
 now half more than-NOM leave-PST-CN
 'At one time, there were more than a hundred and ten foreign
 company offices in this building, but *now* more than half of
 them have left...'

In (16), *icey* refers to the change of situation from the building having a lot of foreign company offices to the current situation where more than half of them have left. *Cikum* does not normally occur with past tense in newspaper articles which deliver a sequence of events in a factual manner.⁴ Let us look at another example of *icey*, taken from a diary.

- (17) *Icey* an ip-nun-ta-ko nehetu-n kin
 now NEG wear-PRES-DEC-QT put-RL long
 os-i tasi nao-ko...
 clothes-NOM again come-CN
 'I took out the long clothes again, which I had put into the
 closet, thinking that I would never wear them *now*. And ...'

In (17), the writer took her clothes out which had been originally shoved away in the closet because at that time she thought she would never wear them again. In order to indicate a change of state from the state of her wearing the clothes to the state of not wearing the same

⁴ In Kamp and Rohrer (1983: 265), it is noted that French *maintenant* 'now' would never be found 'in a newspaper article which reports a sequence of events in a purely factual, detached manner. It is only when the author takes the temporal perspective of the past that sentences with *maintenant*, *dans une heure*, *jusqu'ici* show up'.

clothes, *icey* is used. Since *cikum* coerces an ongoing process interpretation,⁵ the sentence does not make sense if *icey* is replaced with *cikum*.

As mentioned above, in the corpus that we used, there were only two examples in which *cikum* was used with telic eventive sentences. These two examples seem like counterexamples to the claim that *cikum* simply refers to a shifted temporal perspective point from which the event is viewed as ongoing; we have already seen that *cikum* is naturally used with the progressive *-ko iss* and stative predicates most often in past tense sentences. For example, it has been argued that in English and French⁶ it is almost impossible for *now* or *maintenant* to refer to a past time if the clause in which it occurs describes an event rather than a state (Kamp and Reyle 1993: 595; Kamp and Rohrer, 1983: 265). Then, how can we explain the exceptional cases in which *cikum* occurs with an event predicate? Consider (18).

- (18) Ku-nun *cikum* han yein-kwa salang-ey ppaci-ess-nuntey
 he-TOP now one woman-with love-in fall-PST-CN
 eccihal ci molukey-ss-ta-ko hay-ss-ta.
 what to do do not know-PST-DEC-Q do-PST-DEC
 ‘He said that he had *now* fallen in love with some woman,
 and he didn’t know what to do.’

In (18), the main verb which describes an event of him falling in love implies a current state of him being in love at the time of his statement, and *cikum* seems to modify this result state, rather than the past event of falling in love⁷; (19) is the other example.

- (19) *Cikum* myeth ttay-maney wusen hekicung-iya
 Now several time-within for now hunger-as for
 myenha-yss-ciman maksang eti-lo ka-ya ha-l ci-lul
 escape-PST-CN when it comes to where-LOC go-must-CN

⁵ In Korean, activities with the present tense denote both habitual and current events, as in (i). But with *cikum*, (i) can only mean ‘Mina is playing the piano’.

(i) Mina-ka piano-lul chi-n-ta.
 Mina-NOM piano-ACC play-PRES-DEC
 ‘Mina plays the piano’ or ‘Mina is playing the piano’

⁶ The constraint is particularly clear in a language such as French, where there are two past tenses, the *Passé Simple* and the *Imparfait*. The word *maintenant* ‘now’ goes with *Imparfait* but not with *Passé Simple* (Kamp and Reyle 1993: 595).

⁷ See the discussion under example (8) above for the implicature arising from the use of a past tense. The Korean past tense implicates the current relevance of the described situation.

sayngkakha-myen chamulo atulhaki-man hay-ss-ta.
 think-when indeed vague-only do-PST-DEC
 ‘I *now* barely escaped from hunger after skipping several meals, but
 when I thought about where to go, I only had the vaguest ideas.’

Similarly, in (19), the sentence describing an event of the narrator escaping hunger implies her current state of being fed for now. Note that there were only two exceptional cases and, in both cases, the verb meaning implicates a current state. More data are needed to see when exactly *cikum* can occur with event descriptions.

In the corpus that we used, we have found two examples where *icey* occurs with the progressive *-ko iss*. If *icey* indicates a change of state, it is not expected to co-occur with the progressive, which is always stative. Consider (20).

- (20) Kulena nay-ka nolay-lul pwulu-nun swunkan-mada
 but I-NOM song-ACC sing-PRS moment-each
 kulen kes-ey tayhay sayngkakha-ko iss-ci nun anh-keyssci.
 such thing-about think-PRG-NEG-PRS-SUP
 Na-nun *icey* haypalaki 2 cip-uy “maum
 I-TOP now sunflower second album-POSS heart
 kiph-un kot-ey kutaylo”-lul pulu-ko iss-ess-ta.
 deep-RL place as it is-ACC sing-PRG-PST-DEC
 ‘However, I did not think I would ponder upon such things
 every moment I sing a song. *Now* I was singing a song, titled
 ‘From the bottom of my heart’ from the second album
 of the Sunflower.’

If we examine the interpretation more closely, we soon find that (20) is not necessarily a counterexample to the claim that *icey* is not likely to be used with the progressive since it indicates a change of state. In the second sentence, the narrator suddenly notices that he has already finished a song he started humming a while ago and now he is humming a different song to himself. The progressive seems to be employed to have an effect of ‘the next thing I remember, I was singing. . .’. Note that the first sentence describes the narrator’s inner thoughts about something else. Dowty (1986: 56) discusses a similar phenomenon in English progressives. According to him, the cases where the progressive sentence refers to a later situation than its preceding sentence indicate a very particular psychological effect of the protagonist of the narrative: an event begins to happen, but it is only when it is already in progress that the protagonist realizes what is going on. *Icey*’s tendency not to blend

well with the progressive is also observed in the dialogue (21) below. In an isolated sentence, both the progressive with *cikum* and *icey* sound plausible, but when relevant and concrete contexts are provided, as in a narrative discourse, the difference between *cikum* and *icey* becomes visible. In (21B), *icey* can be used with the progressive only when it indicates a change of state in the given context; that is when speaker B implies a change of state from Mina's doing something other than playing the piano to the current state of her playing the piano. Since speaker A asks what Mina has been doing all his time, rather than a new activity that she has just started, *icey* is awkward.

- (21) A: Mina-nun totaychay pang-eyse yethay
 Mina-TOP on earth room-LOC so far
 mwe ha-ko iss-ni?
 what do-PRG-Q
 'What on earth has Mina been doing in her room all this time?'
 B: *Cikum*/**icey* piano chi-ko iss-eyo.
 now piano play-PRG-DEC
 'She is playing the piano.'

In our corpus, we also found four instances where *icey* is used with stative predicates; (22) contains an example.

- (22) *Icey* i haknyen-i-n minswu-nun ssulssulhaki-man
 now second grade-be-NM Minsu-TOP feel lonely-only
 hay-ss-supnita.
 do-PST-DEC
 'Minsu, who was *now* in second grade, was very lonely.'

Although *icey* is used with the copular *be* 'be in the second grade', (22) still implies a change of state, namely, going up to the second grade. Therefore, we can freely replace the phrase with *i haknyen-i toy-n* 'who has become second grade'. The other three cases were similar.

Based on these observations, we claim that *cikum* has the same meaning as *now* in English and other languages in that it signals that the reference time (R_{pt}) overlaps the described eventuality. In other words, the eventuality modified by *cikum* simply refers to an open time interval, whether long or short, which contains the time of perspective. Due to this overlapping relation between the R_{pt} and the described eventuality, *cikum* occurs with state descriptions. On the other hand, *icey* is compatible with inchoative and resultative event descriptions. The event has an open time span with only one end of its boundaries

fixed, either the starting point or the resulting point. *Icey* shows that the Rpt can be perceived as a dividing point between two different states seen from the temporal vantage point.⁸

So far, we have assumed that *now* only occurs with stative predicates, as argued by Kamp and Reyle and Kamp and Rohrer, and therefore the Korean *icey* is an idiosyncratic feature in this language. Given this assumption, it is puzzling why Korean has two words for *now* while other languages have only one. However, contrary to the claim of Kamp and Reyle and Kamp and Rohrer, we found examples where *now* is used with telic verbs in the past tense in the British National Corpus. In the examples below, it is clear that the sentence modified by *now* indicates a change of state, moving the reference time forward. This is exactly what *icey* does in narratives.

- (23) The early life of their son, Henry II, was marked by the wrangle between Stephen and Matilda for the sovereignty of England. His succession to the English crown in 1154 at the age of 21 was hailed with relief by those worn down by insurrection and counter-bargaining. Anarchy was over and there *now began* the reign of one of the strongest kings ever to rule England, one whose territories and titles gave him authority over a great part of north-western Europe.
- (24) Nor did the boy address him or Peter. He stood a little apart from them, kicking at the screen, and then he walked off across Goughdale between the crumbling towers. Stephen could remember how hot it had been, the sky a dazzling white-blue, the heat making the air wave and shiver above the dry yellowed turf. Dusk *now brought* a stillness and its own grey translucent light.
- (25) Complexity was neither necessary nor desirable; it was of no practical use and it solved nothing in the end. Someone touched his elbow so timidly that he thought it had been accidental, until the gesture was repeated with more insistence. *Now* he *turned* and saw Nebamun walking beside him.

Based on these empirical facts, we claim that English *now* in fact has two functions corresponding to Korean *cikum* and *icey*. In other words,

⁸ We have observed that, in a majority of cases, *cikum* and *icey* are used with the present tense, referring to the utterance time. Given the semantic differences between the two that we have found through the examination of narratives, we speculate that *cikum* simply refers to the utterance time when it is used with the present tense, while *icey* indicates that the utterance time is a dividing point between the past and the future, implying a change of state. This speculation needs to be justified by the examination of the present tense cases, which is outside the scope of the current paper and is left to future research.

even English *now* performs the function of shifting to a new stage in narratives, which is accomplished by *icey* in Korean. This is expected if we assume that the reference point (Rpt) can be a temporal vantage point from which the present situation is viewed (imperfective perspective) or as a point which divides the past and the future seen from this vantage point (perfective perspective). In Korean, perspective taking is lexicalized, while in English it perhaps derives from the rhetorical structure of the narrative.

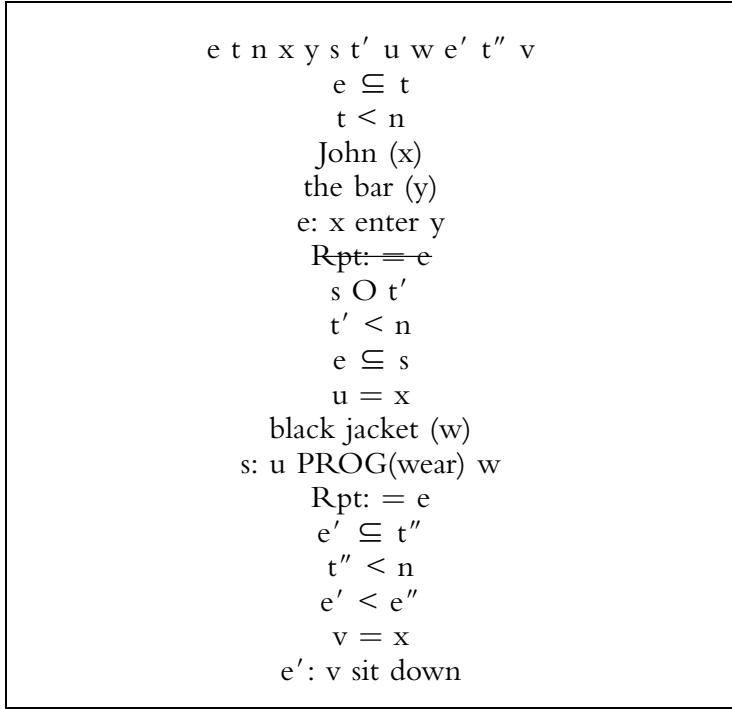
4 SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION

In this section, the semantic differences between *cikum* and *icey* are represented in DRT (Kamp and Reyle 1993; van Eijck and Kamp 1997). In DRT, it is the discourse representation structure (DRS), not the individual sentence as such, which is semantically interpreted. Hence, the theory is useful for analysing narrative discourses and the anaphoric relations among sentences occurring in them. A DRS for tensed discourse includes events, states and times as objects in the universe of discourse, and it specifies relations of precedence and inclusion among them. Observe how DRT analyses a sequence of sentences as in (26).

(26) John entered the bar. He was wearing a black jacket. He sat down.

It is one of the principles governing past tense narrative discourse that the eventuality described by a non-initial sentence is interpreted as standing in some specific relation to some other event e' introduced by an earlier sentence. The temporal relation between e and e' becomes especially important when the new sentence does not contain a temporal adverbial, so that the new eventuality e can be located only in relation to the antecedent context. How e and e' are related depends on a number of factors. One of these is whether e' is an event or a state. If e' is a state, the relation is almost invariably that of overlap. This is the case for the second sentence of (26), for sentences in the progressive always describe states. If e' is an event, then it is typically understood as following the event e . This case is illustrated by the last sentence of (26). When the last sentence gets to be interpreted, the event of John entering the bar is still the last mentioned event. And the new event, that of him sitting down, is naturally seen as following the event of his coming in. Kamp and Reyle adopt Reichenbach's notion of reference time by introducing into the DRS a condition of the form $R_{pt} = \alpha$, where α is some discourse referent which represents a time or an event and which is already present in the DRS. Example (27) below is the DRS for (26).

(27)



(n is the utterance time, $x < y$ means x temporally precedes y , $x \subseteq y$ means x is temporally included in y , and O means temporal overlap).

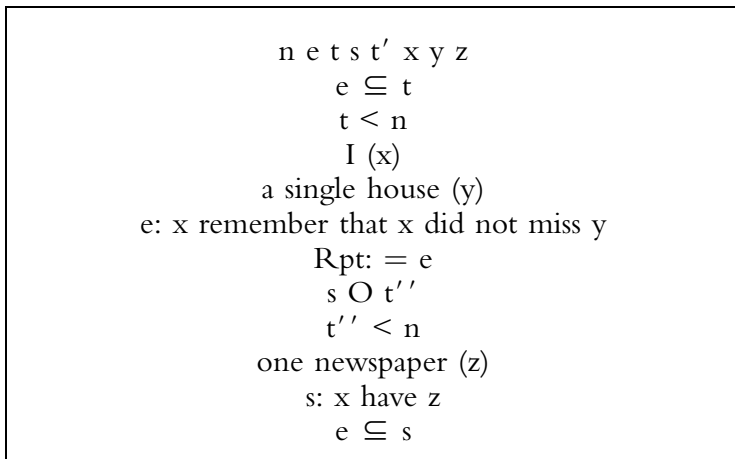
The first sentence of (26) introduces an event discourse referent e of John entering the bar, which is included in its location time t . The location time precedes the utterance time. The past tense of the second sentence contributes, just as that of the first sentence, the condition that the described eventuality precedes n . The first step needed to process the second sentence of (26) involves adding the condition $Rpt = e$, meaning that e is to act as reference point for the second sentence. Since the eventuality denoted by the second sentence is a state, the processing principle entails that it includes the reference point. The interpretation of the third sentence will again require the choice of a reference time. In other words, the value of Rpt will have to be reset. In the present case, e remains the reference point, so Rpt is reset to the same value. To allow for the resetting of Rpt , when a sentence whose interpretation required the choice of an Rpt has been fully processed, the equation expressing this choice is eliminated from the resulting DRS. The third sentence describes an event and so the relation between this event and the reference point is succession. The DRS thus

constructed is true iff there is an embedding function that verifies the DRS in the given model.

Let us see first how DRT analyses the sentence that contains *cikum* and a past tense. Example (29) is the DRS for example (13), which is repeated as (28).

- (28) Nay kiek-ulo-nun han cip-to ppattuli-n
 my memory-in-TOP one house-even miss-RL
 kes kath-ci ahn-untey... Kulena *cikum*/**icey*
 seem like-NEG-CN but now
 nay son aney-nun pwunmyeng sinmwun-i han cang
 my hand in-TOP certainly newspaper-NOM one
 nam-a *iss*-nun kes-i-ess-ta.
 remain-RESL-RL thing-be-PST-DEC
 ‘As far as I remembered, it seemed I had not missed a single
 house. However, without a doubt, *now* I had one newspaper
 left in my hand.’

(29)



The DRS (29) contains the event of the newspaper delivery person remembering that he had not missed any house, and the state *s* of him having one newspaper left in his hand. It also specifies the temporal inclusion relation between *e* and *t*, the temporal overlap between *s* and *t'*, the temporal inclusion relation between *e* and *s* and the temporal precedence between *t*, *t'* and the utterance time *n*. The sentence modified by *cikum* does not update the Rpt since it refers to a state, but it includes the given Rpt, which is introduced by the preceding sentence. The DRS conditions support temporal inferences such that the newspaper delivery

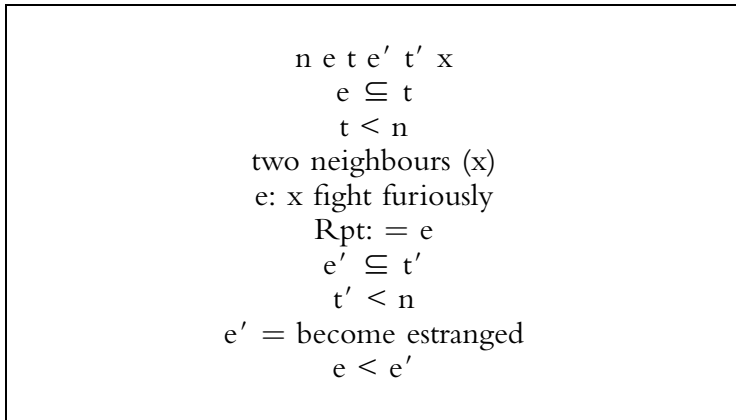
person had one newspaper left while he remembered that he had not missed any houses. A DRS construction rule for *cikum* is provided in (30). *Cikum* with the past tense introduces into the universe of DRS a new state discourse referent *s*, referring to the state description modified by *cikum*. It also contributes a DRS condition such that the state includes the given reference time, which is introduced by its preceding sentence.

- (30) Triggering configuration: *cikum* VP(s)-ess
 Choose Rpt: Rpt = e
 Introduce into U_K : a new state discourse referent *s*
 Introduce into Con_K : $e \sqsubseteq s$

Let us now see how DRT analyses examples that contain *icey*. The DRS for example (15) is (13), which is repeated as (31). Here, e' is the beginning point of a result state of neighbours' being estranged.

- (31) Iwus sachonkkili meli-ka theci-tolok ssawutani..
 neighbour cousin head-NOM break-until fight
icey twu cip-un kuman sai-ka
 now two house-TOP unfortunately relation-NOM
 nappa-ci-ess-supnita.
 bad-become-PST-DEC
 'How could the two neighbours fight so furiously? *Now* the
 two neighbours became estranged.'

(32)



The DRS (32) contains an event *e* of two neighbours fighting and e' of their becoming estranged; e' , which is modified by *icey*, follows the reference time introduced by the preceding sentence *e*. From this DRS condition, it is inferred that two neighbours became estranged after they fought. The DRS construction rule for *icey* is provided in

(33). The event modified by *icey* introduces its own event discourse referent, which follows the given Rpt.

- (33) DRS construction rule for *icey*
 Triggering configuration: *icey* VP(e)-ess
 Choose Rpt: Rpt = e
 Introduce into U_K : a new event discourse referent e'
 Introduce into Con_K : $e < e'$

Note that the construction rules (30) and (33) represent a way to construct the correct DRSs in past tense cases. This is not a final analysis of *cikum* and *icey* since it does not extend to the present tense cases yet. We cannot provide such a general theory which covers all cases in this paper since we have not studied the present tense cases in detail. Furthermore, the construction rules seem to make the difference between the two adverbs the result of a lexical choice. There is an alternative way of looking at the difference: *cikum* only combines with states, and that the overlap relation which is associated with it follows from the general principle that state sentences overlap with the current reference time. On the other hand, *icey* only combines with events, and the sequential interpretation follows from the fact that event descriptions move the narrative time forward. Our rules (30) and (33) put into a single rule both the lexical meanings of the adverbs and the effects of general principles of narration involving aspectual class. In the future, as we build a theory which works for both past tense narration and present tense uses, we would need to separate out these two contributions.

5 CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have argued for a discourse-based account of the two Korean *nows*, which are *cikum* and *icey*, showed their semantic differences in narrative discourse and modelled this difference in DRT. Based on the corpus data, we have argued that, in a sentence where *cikum* is used, the shifted reference point is perceived simply as a temporal vantage point from which the described event is viewed or narrated. As a result, *cikum* almost invariably takes an internal viewpoint, that is it describes something as going on at the time of description. On the other hand, *icey* is compatible with inchoative and resultative event descriptions. Therefore, we argued that the event *icey* modifies is the dividing point between two different states. In DRT, when *now* does not introduce its own reference time, but is anchored to the previous reference time, it does not forward the narrative time, but provides elaboration. This is the function of *cikum*. When *now* introduces its own

new reference time, shifting the temporal perspective, it indicates a change of state and moves the narrative time forward. This is the function of *icey*. In English, the same word *now* has both functions. We observed that, contrary to the common assumption, English *now* in fact is used with punctual eventive verbs and serves a similar function as *icey* does. A more detailed study of how the two perspectives in discourse are derived in English and other languages is left for future research, as is the construction of a general theory that covers both past tense narratives and the present tense cases.

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