

**Korean verbal base is determined based on the usage, not informativeness**

The aim of the paper is to argue that in the formation of each verbal paradigm in Korean, speakers derive the whole paradigms based on a few conjugated forms that are entrenched by the frequency and the grammatical function.

Since the verbal stems of Korean must combine with the affixes upon usage, speakers build up their lexicon by reanalyzing the conjugated forms into the stems and the affixes. The verbal affixes of Korean are divided into three phonological classes (1), and the phonologically-conditioned allomorphs of the stems may appear when combined with these affixes (2).

- (1) *C-affixes* (affixes beginning with consonants): ci, ko, nin, se, ta, ...;  
*A-affixes* (affixes beginning with vowels, ə~a harmonize according to the last vowel of the stems): ə/a, əsə/asə, əs'/as', ...;  
*i-affixes* (affixes beginning with /i/ which disappears when combined with vowel final stems): imyən, in, il, inik'a, ...
- (2) a. /mut-ko, **mut**-imyən, **mut**-əsə/ → [mutk'o, **mul**imyən, **mul**əsə]  
 a'. Innovative paradigm [mulk'o, **mul**imyən, **mul**əsə]  
 b. /pali-ko, pali-imyən, pali-asə/ → [paligo, palimyən, **pallasə**]  
 b'. Innovative paradigm [**pall**igo, **pall**imyən, **pallasə**]

Kang (2006) verified that the decisive conjugated form (i.e. the base) is the A-affixed form through the examination of paradigm leveling occurred in the various dialects of Korean such as (2a', b'), and Albright & Kang (2008), along the line with Albright (2002) that phonological predictiveness (i.e. informativeness) plays a decisive role in determining the base, argued that A-affixed form is the most informative form among three affixed forms so that it can be the pivot for projecting the remaining paradigm members.

We can, however, find many exceptions to this leveling tendency (Kim 2014), and especially, most adjectives did not go through the leveling as described above. This asymmetry that adjectives, unlike verbs, are immune to paradigm leveling toward A-suffixed forms, is observed in synchronic data as well as diachronic and dialectal data.

- i) *Diachronic immunization*: the verb /tikhΛ- 'to keep'/ became /tiki-/ which is the restructured forms before A-suffixed form, whereas adjectives such as /kathΛ- 'to be same', tyohΛ- 'to be good'/became /kath-, tyoh-/ which are the forms before i-suffixed form (Chung 2015).
- (3) /tyohΛ-ko, tyohΛ-imyən, tyohΛ-asə/ → [tyohΛgo, tyohΛmyən, tyohΛyasə]  
 Innovative paradigm [tyokho, tyohΛmyən, tyohasə]
- (4) /tikhΛ-ko, tikhΛ-imyən, tikhΛ-asə/ → [tikhΛko, tikhΛmyən, tikhΛyasə]  
 Innoavative paradigm [tikhiko, tikhimyən, tikhyəsə]
- ii) *Dialectal immunization*: there are implicational relationships between the leveling of li-final adjectives and /li/-final verbs in various dialects: if the leveling occurred in li-final adjectives (2b'), then it also occurred in /li/-final verbs. This is observed in
- iii) *Synchronic immunization*: by the examination of the usage of /li/-final stems in SNS (Han 2014), it was observed that while the verb stems went through the leveling well above the expected range (O/E ratio: 2.1495), the levelled adjective stems occurred far below the expected range (O/E ratio: 0.0583, Kim 2015).

This asymmetry cannot be explained solely by the difference in informativeness since the phonological processes applied to the verbs and the adjectives are identical. Rather, the difference resides in the predominant grammatical functions that the two categories play: the adjectives are used most commonly with relativizing suffix which belongs to the i-affix class, whereas the verbs are used most commonly with predicating suffixes which belong to the A-affix class. This conforms to the frequency survey conducted by Kang & Kim (2009), which shows that the verb stems show up before A-affixes most frequently (27.8%, cf. 13.6% before i-affixes), and the adjective stems before i-affixes

(34.2%, cf. 9.9% before A-affixes). Thus, the adjective's immunization effect is closely linked to the entrenchment of the attributive form based on the frequency; the dominant tendency of verbs levelled toward A-affixed form is also attributed to the high frequency of A-affixed forms in actual usage.

<Reference>

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