

Korean causal markers *-ese* and *-nikka* in clause-initial and final positions in relation to the sequence of Mandarin Chinese *yinwei*

Eunson Yoo
Sun Yat-sen University

Korean causal markers *-ese*, *-nikka* and Mandarin Chinese *yinwei* are used most widely in their respective languages to denote causality. Due to the syntactic structure of the adjunct-preceding-main order in both languages, *-ese* and *-nikka* are considered to be clause-initial connectives. However, in both languages, *because*-clauses also occur frequently in final position. By examining the behavioral patterns of *-ese* and *-nikka* in clause-initial and -final positions in relation to the sequence of *yinwei* through the original Korean texts translated to Mandarin Chinese and the Korean texts translated from the original Mandarin Chinese texts, this paper aims to show: (1) *ese*-tokens correspond more to the preposed *yinwei* and other Mandarin Chinese result causal markers that strengthen the “cause-consequence” construction, as *-ese* mainly expresses forward logical reasoning, whereas *nikka*-tokens correspond more to the postposed *yinwei*, as *-nikka* expresses epistemic inference and elaboration; (2) these logical relations are more explicitly expressed by *-ese* and *-nikka*, whereas Mandarin Chinese relies more on zero-marking when expressing a strong sense of sequential logic or an utterance of elaboration.

Keywords: preposed, postposed, forward reasoning, epistemic inference, elaboration, zero-marking

1. Introduction

Causal connectives can denote different types of coherence relation. For instance, in the case of a cause-consequence relation, an objective coherence relation is

denoted, as opposed to epistemic and speech act relations which are subjective.¹ In English, both relations can be made explicit with the connective *because*. On the other hand, in French, different causal connectives are utilized to express content, epistemic, and speech act relations. Starting from Groupe Lambda-L (1975), one point of convergence between linguists is that *parce que* is more frequently used to link objective causes and consequences as in (1), while *car* and *puisque* are more used to relate subjective claims and arguments, as in (2):

- (1) *Éva est venue à la réunion parce qu'elle voulait rencontrer Max.*
 'Eva came to the meeting CONNECTIVE she wanted to meet Max.'
- (2) *Anne doit être fatiguée, car elle a quitté la réunion en avance.*
 'Anne must be tired, CONNECTIVE she left the meeting early.'
 (Degand & Zufferey 2016)

Degand & Zufferey (2016) point out that *parce que* in (1) relates real-world events, while *car* in (2) relates the speaker's own reasoning and conclusion. Similarly, Korean tends to distinguish the usage of causal connectives *-ese* and *-nikka*. Kwon (2012) claims that *-ese* is more used in the content domain while *-nikka* is more used in the epistemic and speech act domains. According to Sohn (1993: 84), *-nikka* can be used in all three of Sweetser's (1990) content, epistemic, and speech act usage levels, whereas *-ese* is limited to content level use, as illustrated below:

- (3) a. *Pi-ka o-nikka/ase² chwup-ta.*
 rain-NOM come-because cold-DECL
 'It was cold because it rained.'
- b. *Onul Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey anh o-ass-nikka/*ase aphun key*
 today Suni-NOM school-at NEG come-PST-because sick COMP
thullimeps-ta.
 sure-DECL
 'Suni must be sick today, because she didn't come to school.'
- c. *Pi-ka o-nikka/*ase naka-ci ma.*
 rain-NOM come-because go.out-COMP NEG.IMP
 'Don't go outside, because it's raining.'

1. Sweetser (1990) presents a domain approach in which she argues that a conjunction like English *because* is used in the content-domain when one event causes another in the real world. Epistemic use concerns the speaker's reasoning and illustrates the speech act use.

2. In Korean, when a verb or adjective stem contains a bright vowel, *-ase* is attached, while *-ese* is attached to a dark vowel.

In (3a), the causal relation is in the content domain, and thus the rain is the cause of the coldness. In (3b), however, Suni's absence at school is the cause of her illness, but it causes the speaker to conclude that Suni must be sick. Similarly, the rain in (3c) causes the speaker to issue the command not to go outside and is classified into the domain of speech acts. (3a) shows that *-ese* is limited to causal assertions at the content level.

Similarly, among Chinese linguists, attempts have been made to characterize Chinese causal complex sentences with cognitive approaches to semantics. Shen (2003:196) shows that Chinese causal complex sentences can display three domains of causality, as illustrated below:

- (4) a. 張剛回來了，因為他還愛小麗。
'Zhang Gang has come back because he still loves Xiaoli.'
b. 張剛還愛小麗，因為他回來了。
'Zhang Gang still loves Xiaoli, because he has come back.'
c. 晚上還開會嗎？因為禮堂裡有電影。
'Do we still have a meeting this evening? We have a film in the auditorium.'

The example phrases in Mandarin Chinese presented by Shen (2003) are the same phrases exemplified by Sweetser (1990:77).³ Like the *because*-clauses in English, *yinwei* in (4a) and (4b) is placed after the main clause. In fact, (4a) can have the *yinwei*-clause shifted to the sentence-initial position, according to the cause to effect order of *yinwei...suoyi* ('because...so') as in "*yinwei ta hai ai Xiaoli, Zhang Gang huilai le*". However, in (4b), it is not felicitous to shift *yinwei ta huilai le* to the sentence-initial position, because it is operative in the inferential epistemic causal domain, expressing backward causality.

With regard to inferential causality, to describe causal relations, Lü (1982) proposes to distinguish between three types of reason: reason for fact, reason for action, and reason for inference, as illustrated in the examples by Lü (1982:388).

- (5) a. 因為天冷，缸裡的水都結了冰。
'Because it is cold, the water inside the jar is frozen.'
b. 因為天冷，我又把毛線衣穿上了。
'Because it is cold, I put on the sweater again.'

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3.
(i) a. John came back because he loved her.
b. John loved her, because he came back.
c. What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on. (Sweetser 1990:77)

The *because* connective can be used respectively to indicate a cause-and-effect relationship, a conclusion drawn from premises and the conditions securing the performance of a speech act.

- c. 天一定很冷，因為缸裡的水都結了冰了。
 'It must be very cold, because the water in the jar has been frozen.'

What is noticeable from Lü's examples is that while (5a) and (5b) are marked by *yinwei*, placed before the main clause, (5c) has the postposed *yinwei*. (5a) and (5b) are based on forward processing from the cause "the cold weather" to the effect "the water in the jar being frozen" and "putting on the sweater", whereas (5c) is based on backward inference from the effect "being cold" to the cause "the frozen water in the jar".

Let us compare the examples in (5) translated into Korean and examine how the causal marker *yinwei* is realized. *Yinwei*⁴ that occurs in initial position in (5a) corresponds to *-ese* in (6a), while the postposed *yinwei* in (5c) is realized as *-nikka* in (6c).

- (6) a. *Chwuwu-ese/nikka pyeng sok-ey mwul-i el-ess-ta.*
cold-ese/nikka bottle inside-at water-NOM freeze-PST-DECL
 'Because it is cold, the water inside the jar is frozen.'
- b. *Chwuwu-ese/nikka suweythe-lul te ip-nun-ta.*
cold-ese/nikka sweater-ACC more wear-IND-DECL
 'Because it is cold, I put on the sweater again.'
- c. *Pyeng sokey mwul-i el-ess-unikka/*ese chwuwwun key thullimeps-ta.*
 bottle inside water-NOM freeze-PST-**nikka** cold COMP sure-DECL
 'It must be very cold, because the water in the jar has been frozen.'

(6a) and (6b) can be marked by either *-ese* or *-nikka*. On the other hand, (6c) can be marked only by *-nikka*, drawing an inference about 'being cold' in the backward order from a premise that water in the bottle is frozen. The examples in (5c) and (6c) show that the epistemic use of *-nikka* in reverse order, which is not allowed for *-ese* in the content domain, can be comparable to the initial and final positioning of *yinwei*.

Then, the question remains how *-ese* and *-nikka* function differently in (6a) and (6b). The original Mandarin Chinese texts in (6a) and (6b) are marked by *yinwei* in initial position which tends to focus on sequential linear order. The preposed *yinwei*, based on the *yinwei...suoyi* ('because...so/therefore') structure, follows forward temporal sequence; *-ese* that follows forward temporal order can be more felicitous with the *yinwei...suoyi* ('because...so/therefore') structure, as 'being cold' leads to 'water in the bottle being frozen' and 'wearing a sweater'.

4. In this paper, the prepositional use of *yinwei* such as *yinwei ni* (因為你) 'because of you' is excluded.

On the other hand, the postposed *yinwei* is flexible in terms of temporal sequencing and can be even interpreted as having a present and past tense as in (7a), which can be marked only by *-nikka* when translated into Korean.

- (7) a. 老王回來了，因為他的包在這兒。
 ‘Lao Wang came/must have come back, because his bag was/is here.’
 (Shen 2003: 198)
- b. *Kapang-i yeki iss-nun ke-l po-nikka Laowang-i*
 bag-NOM here exist-CONN thing-ACC see-*nikka* Lao Wang-NOM
tolawa-ss-ta.
 return-PST-DECL
 ‘Since the bag is here, Lao Wang came back.’

Compared to *-ese* that describes a sequence of law-like events with the cause preceding the effect temporally, *-nikka* is flexible in terms of temporal and logical order. Zhang (1993) claims it reflects the speaker’s subjective judgment and assertion and thus cannot only allow a causal link for an event that violates natural law and common sense as in “*kongpwu-lul an-ha-nikka (ese?) (na-nun) sengcek-i ollaka-tela*” (‘Because I didn’t study, I have a rather better score’), but can also shift the temporal sequence of events as in (8) and the cause and consequence without restricting temporal sequencing.

- (8) a. *Na-nun nayil mos ka-nikka/ase* onul ka-ss-ta wa-ss-e.*
 I-TOP tomorrow cannot go-*nikka/ase** today go-PST-TRNS come-PST-SFP
 ‘Because I cannot go tomorrow, I went today.’ (Zhang 1993: 341)

Going back to (5b), if the *yinwei*-clause is shifted to final position as in “我又把毛線衣穿上了，因為天冷。”; the use of *-nikka* can be more felicitous. Big (1995) and Zhang & Zhang (2011) labeled *zhengxu* ‘forward linking’ in which the antecedent precedes the consequent, and *daoxu* ‘backward linking’ in which the consequent precedes the antecedent. Li & Liu (2004); Li (2011); Gao (2013), Li (2014), and Li et al. (2016) investigated the different features among Mandarin causal connectives such as *jiran*, *youyu*, and *yinwei*. Their study results show that *youyu* and *yinwei* in initial position occur more in the content domain and follow the forward order, whereas *jiran* and *yinwei* in final position occur more in the epistemic domain, showing flexibility in sequencing causal events.

A cognitive approach has been already applied to the studies of *-ese* and *-nikka*. Ree (1977:180) claims that *-ese* gives a direct reason whereas *-nikka* denotes the speaker’s knowledge, belief, or assertion. Sohn (1993) explains that *-ese* describes the world objectively while *-nikka* relates to how it is perceived or experienced. However, most studies of *-ese* and *-nikka* have ignored that they also occur in final position. As seen above, comparing *-ese* and *-nikka* in relation to

the sequence of *yinwei* cannot only shed more light on their cognitive meanings but also can provide better understanding of the pragmatic functions of Korean causal connectives placed in sentence-final position, as opposed to their canonical causal reading. In natural discourse, the use of sentential-final *nikka* is frequently found in the form *waynyahamyen...-nikka* ('because...causal connective').

For comparative analysis, fragments containing *-ese* and *-nikka* are collected from five originals in Korean and their translations in Mandarin Chinese and six originals in Mandarin Chinese and their translations in Korean, all printed and published in Korea and China (including one novel from Taiwan – see Appendix, pp.686–687). In terms of genre, 3 originals in Korean and 4 originals in Mandarin Chinese are novels, while 2 originals in Korean and 2 originals in Mandarin Chinese are essays. As of now, open parallel corpora do not exist between Korean and Mandarin Chinese, except an interlanguage corpus of two languages, “HSK Essay Corpus”.⁵ For better comparative analysis, this study selected original texts that match with target texts with direct and full access to the conceptual content of the source language text rather than the texts that focus more on transmitting translators’ impression of the conceptual content.

2. *-ese* and *yinwei*

In the five original Korean texts, there are 318 tokens of *-ese* found. 99 tokens of *-ese* in initial position and 2 tokens of *-ese* in final position correspond to the preposed *yinwei*. Eight tokens of *-ese* in initial position and 14 tokens of *-ese* in final position are realized in the postposed *yinwei*.⁶ 132 initial *ese*-tokens and 20 final *ese*-tokens have zero correspondence in Mandarin translations.⁷ In addition to *yinwei*, preposed *ese*-tokens also correspond to other Mandarin Chinese causal

5. The HSK Corpus is a collection of 11,600 essays written by learners of Chinese for the HSK test. It was developed by the Research Center for Studies of Chinese as a Second Language at Beijing Language and Culture University.

6. In a study on the positioning of *yinwei*, Gao (2013) divides the postposed (inter-sentential) *yinwei* into two categories: (1) a *yinwei*-clause that is reversed from initial position to final position in a complex sentence, marked by a comma in between; (2) a *yinwei* sentence that stands alone in a non-complex sentence as a means of adding an explanation, marked by a sentence period.

7. *-Ese* and *-nikka* clauses with zero correspondence in Mandarin Chinese refer to constructions realized without any causal markers when translated to Mandarin Chinese.

markers such as *youyu* ('because'), *suoyi*, *yushi*, *yinci* ('so, therefore')⁸ and a resultative complement such as *de* (得) whose causative interpretation is derived from temporal order.

Table 1. *Ese*-tokens in original Korean texts marked and unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers

	Preposed <i>ese</i>	% of subtotal	Postposed <i>ese</i>	% of subtotal	Total	% of total
Preposed <i>yinwei</i>	99	35	2	6	101	32
Postposed <i>yinwei</i>	8	2.8	14	39	22	7
<i>youyu</i>	3	1	0	0	3	1
<i>suoyi</i>	27	9.6	0	0	27	8
<i>yushi</i>	5	2	0	0	5	1.6
<i>yizhiyu</i>	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.3
<i>yinci</i>	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.3
<i>de</i>	6	2	0	0	6	1.8
zero-marking	132	47	20	56	152	48
Subtotal	282	100	36	100	318	100

In the six Mandarin Chinese to Korean translations, there are 451 tokens of *-ese* collected. 67 tokens of *-ese* in initial position correspond to the preposed *yinwei*. 9 tokens of *-ese* in initial position and 17 tokens of *-ese* in final position correspond to the postposed *yinwei*. 280 preposed *ese*-tokens and 18 postposed *ese*-tokens have zero correspondence in Mandarin translations. In addition to *yinwei*, preposed *ese*-tokens also correspond to other Mandarin Chinese causal markers such as *youyu* ('because'), *suoyi*, *yushi*, *yinci* ('so, therefore') and connectives such as *er* ('and then') and *de*.

2.1 Preposed *-ese*

2.1.1 Preposed *-ese* marked by Mandarin Chinese markers

The *ese*-tokens in initial position that correspond to the preposed *yinwei* tend to be followed by other Mandarin Chinese connectives such as *er* ('and then') and

8. Li (2014) divides Mandarin Chinese causal connectives into reason connectives, such as *because*, which are used to mark the antecedent of the causal relation, and result connectives, such as *so*, which are used to mark the consequent of the causal relation.

Table 2. *Ese*-tokens in translated Korean texts marked and unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers

	Preposed <i>ese</i>	% of subtotal	Postposed <i>ese</i>	% of subtotal	Total	% of total
Preposed <i>yinwei</i>	67	16.2	0	0	67	15
Postposed <i>yinwei</i>	9	2.2	17	49	26	5.8
<i>youyu</i>	7	1.7	0	0	7	1.6
<i>suoyi</i>	18	4	0	0	18	4
<i>yushi</i>	4	1	0	0	4	0.9
<i>yinci</i>	8	2	0	0	8	1.7
<i>er</i>	14	3.4	0	0	14	3
<i>de</i>	9	2.2	0	0	9	2
zero-marking	280	67.3	18	51	298	66
Subtotal	416	100	35	100	451	100

cai (signal the recent completion of an action ('just, only now') or with a restrictive value 'only') which link events or states of affairs in a linear order, as illustrated below:⁹

- (9) a. 因為裝了太多的油膩而瀉起肚子來了。
 b. *Ku-nun nemwu kilumcin umsik-ul manhi mek-ese selsa-lul*
 he-TOP too oily food-ACC a.lot eat-ese diarrhea-ACC
hay-ss-ta.
 do-PST-DECL
 'Because he ate too much oily food, he had diarrhea.'

- (10) a. *Na-to himtul-ese kulay.*
 I-too difficult-ese so.it.is
 b. 我也是因為累才這樣的。
 'Because I'm so tired, I'm like this.'

In (9) and (10), the reason provided in the subordinate clause and the consequence provided in the main clause hold a causal relation that is established on

9. All the examples not specified for text sources originate from the five originals in Korean and their translations in Mandarin Chinese and six originals in Mandarin Chinese and their translations in Korean. An example that displays a Korean phrase first followed by a Mandarin Chinese phrase refers to an original Korean text translated into Mandarin Chinese, and vice versa.

the basis of the propositional content. Young (1994) argues that Chinese tends to place causes and reasons before the concluding main point at the discourse level, because in Chinese sentence structure, the *because*-clause is placed before the *so*-clause.

In Examples (11) and (12), preposed *ese*-tokens in the original Korean and translated Korean texts, respectively, correspond to the postposed *yinwei*. However, *yinwei* placed in final position is just the reversing of the *yinwei...suoyi* ('because...so') structure and can be shifted to initial position.

- (11) a. *Sasil-un ta mos-ha-n mal-i iss-ese wa-ss-e.*
truth-TOP all not-do-ADN word-NOM exist-ese come-PST-SFP
b. 其實我來，是因為我還有話沒說完。
→因為我還有話沒說完，我又來了。
'Actually, because I still have something to tell you, I came.'
- (12) a. 我的目光不能跟隨他的身影，因為還有很多人等在旁邊與我致意。
→因為還有很多人等在旁邊與我致意，我的目光不能跟隨他的身影。
b. *Ku yephulo-to manhun salam-i na-eykey ayto-lul*
he beside-too many people-NOM me-to condolence-ACC
phyo-haki wihay kitali-koiss-ese teisang kuuy kulimca-lul coch-ul
offer-in.order.to wait-PRG-ese more his shadow-ACC chase-ADN
swu eps-ess-ta.
ability NEG-PST-DECL
'Because there were too many people waiting to offer me condolences around him, I couldn't follow even his shadow.'

Although *yinwei* is the most frequently used causal marker, *-ese* in initial position also shows correspondence to other causal markers such as *yoyu* as in (13) and (14) and *yushi* as in (15) and (16).

- (13) a. 但由於她還有一些其他的病，手術風險較大，就一直拖在那裡。
b. *Happyengcung ttaymwuney wihempwutam-i kh-ese cikum-kkaci*
complications because.of risk.burden-NOM large-ese now-until
milweo-ko iss-ess-ta.
postpone-TRNS PRG-PST-DECL
'Because it is too risky due to complications, we have been delaying it.'
- (14) a. 由於年代久遠，我已經忘記這個故事的出處。
b. *Yele hay ceney ilk-ese iyaki-uy chwulche-nun ic-ess-ta.*
many year before read-ese story-of source-TOP forget-PST-DECL
'Because it was a long time ago, I forgot the source of the story.'

- (15) a. 我不喜歡這樣不爽快，於是我對他說。
 b. *Na-nun ccipcciphakey kkuthmayc-nun kes-i silh-ese ku-eykey*
 I-TOP unpleasantly finish-CONN thing-NOM dislike-ese he-to
mwul-ess-ta.
 ask-PST.DECL
 ‘Because I didn’t like to end it this way, I asked him.’
- (16) a. *Cenglan-i socwu-lul masi-nun ke-n cheum-i-ese wusen*
 Cenglan-NOM SOCWU-ACC drink-CONN thing-TOP first-be-ese first
ancwu-lul manhi kwenhay-ss-ta.
 side.dish-ACC a.lot recommend-PST-DECL
 b. 還從來沒見過她喝燒酒呢，於是點了幾種下酒的小菜。
 ‘Because it was the first that she drank so much soju, I recommended a lot
 of side dishes first.’

Youyu and *yushi* are known to denote forward reasoning. In a comparative study of *youyu* and *jiran*, Li & Liu (2004) suggest that *youyu* is used more often in the objective content domain whereas *jiran* is more used in the epistemic and speech-act domains. Xing (2001:527) claims that in clauses connected with *yushi*, the main clause often expresses a natural consequence of the state of affairs described in the first clause. Li (2014) interprets this to suggest that *yushi* occurs more often in the content domain to describe cause and consequence relations existing in the physical world.

2.1.2 Preposed *-ese* unmarked by Mandarin Chinese markers

The correspondence of preposed *ese*-clauses with the preposed *yinwei* are significantly prominent. However, it is also noticeable that a majority of preposed *ese*-clauses are realized without any causal markers in Mandarin Chinese,¹⁰ as in (17), (18), or they are realized in the form of compressed or contracted sentences in Mandarin Chinese without causal connectives when there is a strong sense of sequential logic.

10. One of the common *ese*-constructions which is unmarked by causal markers in Mandarin Chinese includes giving a reason for thanking someone or apologizing to someone as in ‘I’m glad to meet you.’:

- (i) a. *Mann-ase pankawe-yo.*
 meet-ese glad-SFP
 b. 很高興 見到您。
 very happy meet you

- (17) a. *Alloey-ka chemkatway-ese yenyakhan phipwu-ey coh-tay-yo.*
 aloe-NOM added-ese weak skin-to good-be.said-SFP
 b. 裡面含有薰衣草成分，利於柔軟皮膚。
 ‘It is known that because it contains aloe, it is good for skin.’
- (18) a. *Sako n-ase phyeycha-sikyeo pely-ess-ta.*
 accident occur-ese scrap-PASS leave-PST-DECL
 b. 出了車禍，車成了廢品。
 ‘Because there was an accident, the car is scrapped.’

With regard to previous studies on the positioning of *yinwei*-clauses,¹¹ Gao (2013) points out that previous studies have ignored the important fact that *yinwei* in initial position can often be omitted and is unmarked, especially when there is a clear sequence of events specified in the sentence. In the same regard, due to the lineal process of one event leading to another,¹² the proposed *ese*-construction denotes “real-world” causality, showing zero correspondence to *yinwei*.

Gao (2013) claims that *yinwei* in initial position can often be omitted when there is a clear linear relationship, especially marked by an adjoining adverb *cai* in the consequence clause, indicating a time-sequential relationship, as in the example illustrated by Gao (2013):

- (19) 我(因為)喜歡你們這兒的人才說那番話，碰到上海人我一聲也不吮。
 ‘(Because) I like you guys, I talk about this, I don’t dare talk about it when I come across someone from Shanghai.’

In fact, in the original Mandarin texts, 14 phrases which contain *er* (and then) depicting a logical or temporal order, are realized in a proposed *ese*-token as in:

11. As opposed to the claim that the initial-positioning of *yinwei* is predominant due to the cause-preceding-consequence ordering at the sentence level, Biq (1995), Wang (2002; 2006), Song & Tao (2009), and Diessel & Hetterle (2011) have shown that the final positioning of *yinwei*-clauses is dominant in Mandarin spoken discourse.

12. In the data presented in this paper, proposed *ese*-clauses that are not marked in Mandarin Chinese exclude *ese*-clauses which indicate that the two conjoined events are merely sequential, as in:

- (i) *Ton kackow-ase chacaka-yo.*
 money bring-ese take-SFP
 ‘Bring money and take it.’

- (20) a. 自己沒有子女而一向將他當作兒子般寵愛的姨母。
 b. *Casik-i eps-ese cwulkot ku-lul atul-chelem salanghay*
 child-NOM not.have-ese always he-ACC son-like love-do
cwu-ess-ta.
 give-PST-DECL
 ‘Because she didn’t have her own child, she treated him like her own son.’

2.2 Postposed *-ese*

2.2.1 Postposed *-ese* marked by Mandarin Chinese markers

As for the postposed *ese*-clause that corresponds to the postposed *yinwei*, the *-ese* and *yinwei* clause placed in final position can be shifted to initial position. The postposed *because*-clauses in (21) and (22)¹³ can be reversed to initial position as in ‘Because he is too popular with women, it is difficult to do so’ and ‘Because so many cases were outdated, he asked to update the data’.

- (21) a. *Konlanhay-yo. Yecatul-hanthey inki-ka manh-ase.*
 problematic-SFP women-from popularity-NOM a.lot-ese
 b. 不好辦啊，因為女人都喜歡他。
 → 因為女人都喜歡他，不好辦啊。
 ‘It is difficult to do so. Because he is too popular with women.’
- (22) a. 他提出更新一下資料，因為很多事例都太舊了。
 → 因為很多事例都太舊了，他提出更新一下資料。

13. Unlike the postposed *yinwei* which can appear both in a complex sentence, separated by a comma, or in a separate non-complex sentence, all the *ese*- and *nikka*-tokens classified into postposed *ese*- and *nikka*-clauses in this paper only refer to those that stand alone, which is not intersententially separated by a comma. This paper focuses on which tokens between *-ese* and *-nikka* correspond to *yinwei*. As for a difference between *-ese* and *-nikka* that occurs in final position, Yoon (2005) discusses that *-ese* puts focus on the clause before the main clause while *-nikka* on the main clause. As such, according to Yoon, (i.a) can omit the main clause but not the clause before the main clause as in *chinkwu-lul manna-l il-i iss-ese-yo*.

- (i) Question: *Ettehkey o-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka?*

how come-HON-PST-AH-IND-INT

‘On what occasion did you come?’

Answer: a. *Chinkwu-lul manna-l il-i iss-ese wa-ss-sup-ni-ta.*

b. *Chinkwu-lul manna-l il-i iss-unikka wa-ss-sup-ni-ta.*

friend-ACC meet-ADN matter-NOM exist-because come-PST-AH-IDN-DECL

‘Because I have an occasion to meet a friend, I came.’ (Yoon 2005: 184–194)

- b. *Ku-nun thongkyey swusca-lul kayngsin-hay-talla-ko ha-yss-ta.*
 he-TOP statistics number-ACC update-do-give-and do-PST-DECL
Manhun salyey-ka nemwu olaytoy-ese-yess-ta.
 many case-NOM too.much old-ese-PST-DECL
 ‘He asked to update the data, because so many cases were outdated.’

Ese-clauses are often placed in final position as an answer to a question about the cause of the main clause event, and they can correspond to a postposed *yinwei*-clause, as illustrated below:

- (23) a. *Nwuna ansayk-i way kulay? Swuhyeki-ka aph-ase.*
 sister complexion-NOM why be.so Swuhyek-NOM sick-ese
 b. 姐姐，你的臉色怎麼這樣差？哦，因為秀赫很痛苦。
 ‘Sister, why do you look so bad?’ ‘Because Swuhyek is sick.’
- (24) a. *I cali caymi-eps-ni? A, phathune-ka eps-ese?*
 this place fun-not.exist-SFP Oh, partner-NOM not.exist-ese
 b. 沒意思嗎？啊，是不是因為沒有搭檔？
 ‘This place is boring?’ ‘Oh, is it because you don’t have a partner?’

As to *-ese* in why-questions, Hwang (2008: 70) claims that usually *-ese* is more felicitous for answers to why-questions, as illustrated below:

- (25) a. *Way kel-e wa-ss-ni?*
 why walk-CONN come-PST-INT
 ‘Why did you walk?’
 b. *Chapi-ka eps-ese/?-unikka kel-e wa-ss-e.*
 fee-NOM not.exist-ese walk-CONN come-PST-SFP
 ‘Because I didn’t have a bus fee, I walked.’

According to Hwang, it is presupposed that the speaker knows that the listener has walked, but he does not know why. Therefore, the speaker asks why the listener has walked, and the listener answers the speaker’s question for the reason. This is why when answering a why-question, *-ese* is more felicitous than *-nikka*.

2.2.2 Postposed *-ese* unmarked by Mandarin Chinese markers

Some *ese*-clauses show zero correspondence to *yinwei*. In the examples below, the speaker does not specify that the *because*-predicate is a reason that leads to a conclusion in the preceding utterance, but rather adds an explanation to justify his/her own action.

- (26) a. *Na kuman ilena-lkey. Cip-ey tongsayng honca iss-ko*
 I then leave-will home-at brother alone exist-and
ha-l-il-to iss-ese.
 do-ADN-thing-too exist-ese
- b. 我先走了。弟弟單獨留在家裡，我也很多事情要做呢。
 ‘I’m leaving then. My brother is home alone and I have things to do.’
- (27) a. 我沒有通知那邊的朋友，沒必要麻煩他們。
 b. *Kuccok chinkwutul-hanthey-nun yenlak an ha-yss-eyo. Phyey-lul*
 there friends-to-TOP contact NEG do-PST-SFP trouble-ACC
kkichi-ko siph-ci an-ase-yo.
 cause-want.to-CONN NEG-ese-SFP
 ‘I didn’t contact the friends over there. I didn’t want to bother them.’

Gao (2013:64) explains that a *yinwei*-clause placed in final position in a complex sentence still denotes a causal reading, as *yinwei* placed in final position can be shifted to initial position, as seen in (28). In contrast, the postposed *yinwei* that stands alone in a non-complex sentence has no direct causal reading but involves an explanation or a subjective judgment and can be omitted, as in (29):

- (28) 他亡了國因為不懂得武裝鬥爭的重要性。
 ‘He lost his country, because he ignored the importance of an armed struggle.’
 → 因為不懂得武裝鬥爭的重要性，他亡了國。
 ‘Because he ignored the importance of an armed struggle, he lost his country.’
- (29) 圍繞著好軍嫂韓素雲展開的這個故事為什麼感人？
 (因為)在韓素雲的身上體現了崇高的愛，體現了一種精神。
 ‘Why is the story about the serviceman’s wife, Han Suyun, so touching?’
 ‘(Because) she exemplified in herself lofty love, as a kind of lofty spirit.’

2.3 Summary

In the original Korean texts, out of a total of 282 preposed *ese*-tokens, 150 are marked, while 132 are unmarked. In the translated Korean texts, out of a total of 416 preposed *ese*-tokens, 136 are marked, while 280 are unmarked. As for *-ese* placed in final position, in the original Korean texts, out of a total of 36 tokens, 16 are marked by *yinwei*, while 20 remain unmarked. In the translated Korean texts, out of a total of 35 tokens, 17 are marked by *yinwei*, while 18 are unmarked. In the original Korean texts translated to Mandarin Chinese, preposed *ese*-tokens show more correspondence with Mandarin Chinese causal markers (mostly *yinwei*). However, when translated from Mandarin Chinese to Korean, preposed *ese*-tokens are more frequently unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers.

99 and 67 preposed *ese*-tokens from the original Korean and translated Korean texts, respectively, correspond to *yinwei*. 8 and 9 preposed *ese*-tokens in the original Korean and translated Korean texts, respectively, correspond to the postposed *yinwei* in which *yinwei*-clauses can be shifted to initial position. There are only 14 and 17 postposed *ese*-tokens matched with *yinwei* in final position. *-Ese* is dominantly initial-positioned when corresponding to *yinwei*. However, as for the unmarked *-ese*, a significant number of initial-positioned *ese*-tokens show zero correspondence in Mandarin Chinese due to the strong sense of temporal sequence. On the contrary, the number of unmarked *-ese* occurring in final position is insignificant, however, their correspondence to *yinwei* is very high, mostly in the form of providing a reason to a question asked.

3. *-nikka* and *yinwei*

In the five original Korean texts, there are 413 tokens of *-nikka* collected. 13 tokens of *-nikka* in initial position and 2 tokens of *-nikka* in final position correspond to the preposed *yinwei*. 1 token of *-nikka* in initial position and 106 tokens of *-nikka* in final position are realized in the postposed *yinwei*. 93 preposed *nikka*-tokens and 159 postposed *nikka*-tokens show zero correspondence in the Mandarin Chinese translations. In addition to *yinwei*, preposed *nikka*-tokens also correspond to other Mandarin Chinese causal markers such as *jiran* and *suoyi*.

Table 3. *Nikka*-tokens in original Korean texts marked and unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers

	Preposed <i>nikka</i>	% of subtotal	Postposed <i>nikka</i>	% of subtotal	Total	% of total
Preposed <i>yinwei</i>	13	9	2	0.7	15	3.6
Postposed <i>yinwei</i>	1	0.6	106	39.8	107	26
<i>Jiran</i>	12	8.1	0	0	12	2.9
<i>Suoyi</i>	27	18.3	0	0	27	6.5
zero-marking	93	64	159	59.5	252	61
Subtotal	146	100	267	100	413	100

In the six translated Korean texts, there are 272 tokens of *-nikka* found. 6 clause-initial *nikka*-tokens correspond to the preposed *yinwei*. 2 tokens of *-nikka* in ini-

tial position and 46 tokens of *-nikka* in final position are realized in the postposed *yinwei*.¹⁴ 97 clause-initial *nikka*-tokens and 120 clause-final *nikka*-tokens show zero correspondence in Mandarin translations.

Table 4. *Nikka*-tokens in translated Korean texts marked and unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers

	Preposed <i>nikka</i>	% of subtotal	Postposed <i>nikka</i>	% of subtotal	Total	% of total
Preposed <i>yinwei</i>	6	6	0	0	6	2
Postposed <i>yinwei</i>	2	2	46	28	48	18
<i>Suoyi</i>	1	1	0	0	1	0.3
zero-marking	97	92	120	72	217	79.7
Subtotal	106	100	166	100	272	100

3.1 Preposed *-nikka*

3.1.1 Preposed *-nikka* marked by Mandarin Chinese markers

13 and 6 tokens of clause-initial *nikka*-tokens in the original Korean and translated Korean texts, respectively, correspond to the preposed *yinwei*. What is different from the *-ese* clause in initial position which corresponds to the preposed *yinwei* is that although *yinwei* is placed in initial position, it does not simply assert a causal link leading to the conclusion in the following main clause but rather entails an epistemic assertion, as an extension to elaborate a reason to back up the following statement.¹⁵ Let us examine the examples as in (30) and (31):

14. A reviewer pointed out that the correspondence between preposed *-ese* and preposed *yinwei* as well as postposed *-nikka* and postposed *yinwei* seems very clear as the translator must have tried to translate the pragmatic information of original to the target language. However, the focus of this comparative analysis is on why preposed *ese*-tokens correspond to *yinwei* more than preposed *nikka* when both of them are placed in clause-initial position. As for postposed *ese* and *nikka*-tokens, although they both correspond to *yinwei* in final position, they have different readings. When *-ese* corresponds to *yinwei* in final position, the postposed *yinwei* still has a causal reading and can be shifted to initial position, whereas *yinwei* that corresponds to *-nikka* has a looser causal sense.

15. The *-ese* construction indicates the assertion of a cause ("B occurs after A and with some relation to it; B is caused by A"), whereas the *-nikka* construction indicates argumentation of discovery ("When A, one finds that B," "A is the reason for (believing) B"). (Lukoff & Nam 1982: 559).

- (30) a. *Ileko ka-se tasin an po-lyeko? Ne cengmal nappu-ta,*
 like.this go-CONN again NEG see-in.order.to you really bad-DECL
Kangthayyeng.
Kangthayyeng
 ‘You leave like this and don’t see me again?’ ‘You are really bad.’
Ponay-cwu-ci anh-unikka tomangka-nun swu-pakkey
 let.go-give-CONN NEG-nikka run.away-CONN ability-only
eps-canha-yo.
 not.exist-you.know-POL
 ‘Because you don’t let me go, I can only run away.’
- b. 你想通過這種方式回避我？
 你真是壞透了，姜太英。因為你不放我走……我只好逃跑，不是嗎？
- (31) a. “傷風？” 天磊呆呆的望著他。因為每看一次，汗毛直立，出來一吹風，就傷了風。
- b. *Kam-ki? Hanpen po-ki-man ha-myen somthel-i ppicwuk se-ko*
 cold once look-NMLZ-only do-if fuzz-NOM straight stand-and
pakkey nao-myen palam-i pw-unikka kamki-ey kelli-n-tako-yo.
 outside come.out-if wind-NOM blow-nikka cold-at catch-PRS-COMP-SFP
 ‘A cold?’ ‘Once you take a look out, even your hair will stand up straight, if you go outside, wind is blowing, so that’s why you catch a cold.’

In Example (30), *-nikka* does not just indicate a causal relation between the reason provided in the causal subordinate clause, that “you don’t let me go” and the consequence provided in the main clause, that “I can only run away”. *-Nikka* marks an epistemic assertion to defend oneself against the accusation, that “you are really bad”. In Example (31), the speaker blames the listener for catching a cold and afterwards gives a reason and explanation as to why the listener got a cold. Although *yinwei* is initially positioned, *yinwei* in the above examples functions as an assertion to back up the previous utterance rather than emphasize the sequential logic from cause to effect.

It is also noted that 12 preposed *nikka*-clauses in the Korean originals correspond to *jiran*,¹⁶ as illustrated in (32).

16. A reviewer pointed out that to say that in English, content, epistemic, and speech-act relations can be made explicit with the connective *because*, and then quote the Example (32) can be translated into English *since* and into Chinese *jiran* seems somewhat contradictory. According to Sweetser (1990), although *because* can be used across the three domains, she also suggested that some connectives are specified in one domain such as English *since*. *Since* is specifically used in the epistemic and speech act domains. While *because* that conveys subjective relations is usually placed in final position, *since* is placed in initial position. Given that *-nikka* and *jiran*

- (32) a. *Elkwul pw-ass-unikka ka-lkey.*
 face see-PST-**nikka** go-will
 b. 既然已經見到媽媽，我該走了。
 ‘Since I saw you, mom, I must go now.’

The reason that an initial-clause *nikka* can be felicitous with *jiran* is that both *-nikka* and *jiran* have a common point, which is epistemic causality. Epistemic causality found in *-nikka* is conceptually related to the speaker’s subjective assessment based on his/her “discovery” of some piece of information. Guo (2008) claims that *jiran...then* has a meaning that someone comes to think of something in the *jiran*-clause, and then someone gets to think of something else in the following main clause. Zhong & Zhang (2013) claims that the typical semantic meaning of *jiran* is to make an epistemic inference in the effect to cause order. Xing (2001) has observed that *yinwei* is to mark the “descriptive causality” on the basis of facts, whereas *jiran* ‘since’ typically expresses an “inferential causality” on the basis of rationality.

3.1.2 Preposed *-nikka* unmarked by Mandarin Chinese markers

93 and 97 tokens of preposed *nikka*-tokens in the original Korean and translated Korean texts, respectively, have zero realizations in Mandarin Chinese, out of which, 69 and 78 tokens of preposed *nikka*-tokens in the Korean original and translated texts, respectively, are sorted as the causal sense of *-nikka*, however, indicating an epistemic domain assertion without a direct causal link, as illustrated below:

- (33) a. *Na-ya mwe wanpyekha-nikka calli-l yemye-nun eps-ci.*
 I-TOP somewhat perfect-**nikka** be.fired-ADN worry-TOP not.exist-SFP
 b. 不過我這麼完美，不可能被炒魷魚啦。
 ‘Since I’m perfect, I won’t be fired.’
- (34) a. 姐夫最能幹了，也許他能修好。
 b. *Hyengpwu-ka ilen ke-n cal-ha-nikka kochye-cwu-si-l keya.*
 brother.in.law-NOM like.this-TOP well-do-**nikka** fix-give-HON-will
 ‘My brother-in-law is good at this, so he will fix this well.’

The examples in (33) and (34) with zero correspondence to Mandarin Chinese causal connectives indicate an inferential causal link in the epistemic domain. The

for this use both appear in clause-initial position, and *-nikka* can be translated into *jiran*, while *-ese* cannot be translated into *jiran*, comparing *-nikka* and *jiran* can help better understand the difference between *-nikka* and *-ese* in initial position.

speaker establishes a causal correlation from his/her epistemic point of view without a direct logical link.

In addition to the epistemic causal sense of *-nikka*, *nikka*-clauses in initial position which show zero realizations in Mandarin Chinese also include the speech-act (a majority of these tokens identified in the colloquial texts), as in (35) and (36) and the sequential use of *-nikka*, as in (37), all of which fall into a highly subjective causal category.

- (35) a. *Icey nan philyo-eps-unikka ney-ka ta ss-e.*
 now I need-not.exist-**nikka** you-NOM all use-SFP
- b. 現在我不需要這些東西了，都留給你吧！
 ‘Since I don’t need it now, you can use all.’
- (36) a. 好了好了，別唱了。
 b. *Al-ass-unikka kuman hay.*
 know-PST-**nikka** stop-IMP
 ‘I got it, so stop it.’
- (37) a. 那天我不停地向你遞紙巾，你不停地對我說謝謝。
 b. *Cey-ka tangsin-eykey thisyu-lul kenney-nikka tangsin-un kyeyso*
 I-NOM you-to tissue-ACC give-**nikka** you-TOP constantly
komapta-n mal-man ha-yss-sup-ni-ta.
 appreciate-ADN word-only do-PST-AH-IND-DECL
 ‘When I gave you tissue, you just kept saying thank you.’

Li (2016: 24, 26) claims that speech-act causal relations are highly subjective because performing a speech act is bound to a situation in which the speaker is present, involving an epistemic reasoning process to perform a speech-act.

As for *nikka*-sequential clauses, Hong (2012: 18) pointed out that:

There is clearly no forward causal relationship between opening and looking in the refrigerator and the non-existence of milk inside. *-Nikka* rather appears to be involved in narrating a process of discovery.

- (38) *Neyngcangko-lul yel-e po-nikka wuywu-ka eps-te-la.*
 refrigerator-ACC open-CONN see-**nikka** milk-NOM not.exist-EVID-DECL
 ‘I (opened and) looked in the refrigerator and there was no milk.’

(Hong 2012: 18)

According to Sohn (1993), the difference from the sequential use of *-ese* is that *-nikka* is not merely sequential but has causal uses where an explicit subject of consciousness bears responsibility for the relation between the clauses.

- (39) *Kulleli-ka eps-nuntey kulemyense [sacin-ul chac-ko po-nikka] swuswul*
 that-NOM cannot-and saying [photo-ACC find-and see-nikka] surgery
cen pota koyngcanghi cohaci-ess-nuntey.
 before than very improve-PST-and
 “While thinking ‘that (looking worse than before the operation) can’t be’, I
 intently looked for her pre-surgery photo. [When I found that photo], I dis-
 covered that the result of the surgery was actually a dramatic improvement.”
 Sohn (1993:93)

3.2 Postposed *-nikka*

3.2.1 Postposed *-nikka* marked by Mandarin Chinese markers

106 and 46 tokens of final-clause *-nikka* in the Korean original and translated texts, respectively, are realized in the postposed *yinwei*. As briefly shown in (5c), when *yinwei* manifests backward sequencing, due to epistemic causality which is not time-directionally constrained, *-nikka* is preferred over *-ese*.

In the data collected, postposed *nikka*-clauses which correspond to the post-posed *yinwei* show the effect to cause order as in:

- (40) a. *Emma-to salang-ul ha-nunka pw-a. Ce pyel-i wangpangwul*
 mama-too love-ACC do-CONN think-SFP that star-NOM big.bell
manhakey poi-nikka.
 like seen-nikka
 b. 媽媽的心裡好像也賽上了莫個人，因為媽媽也感覺那顆星星大如鈴
 鐺。
 ‘Mama must be also in love, because that star looks big like a big bell.’
- (41) a. 不過不能說是屬於我，因為大部分已經賣出去了。
 b. *Haciman nay kes-i-lako ha-ki-n kuleh-cyo. Tay pwupwun-un*
 but my thing-be-QT do-NMLZ-TOP be.SO-SFP most-TOP
imi phal-ly-ess-unikka.
 already sell-PASS-PST-nikka
 ‘But, I cannot call it mine. Because most of them are already sold.’

Park (2015) claims that while the usage of *-ese* is limited to the propositional level modification, *-nikka* seems to mark a cause/reason for the speaker’s epistemic judgment or the speech act of the main clause as well as propositional causations. This is why *nikka*-clauses accompany epistemic modals in the main clause, e.g. *thullimeps-* ‘must’ or *-ul kes-* ‘will’, and the *nikka*-clause is understood as giving a reason for the speaker’s epistemic judgment. In a similar vein, the sequencing

of *yinwei* shows different behaviors in relation to epistemic modals.¹⁷ In the CCL (Center for Chinese Linguistics) corpus, the occurrences of *yinggai* ‘should’ and *kending* ‘must’ that precede the postposed *yinwei*, as seen in (42), are much more frequent than *yinggai* and *kending* that follow the prepositional *yinwei*, as seen in (43). 841 phrases are found in the *yinggai...*, *yinwei* order, in contrast to 79 phrases in the *yinwei...*, *yinggai* construction. 296 phrases are found in the construction of *kending...*, *yinwei*, as opposed to only 29 phrases in the form of *yinwei...*, *kending*. Examples found in the CCL corpus are as below:

- (42) a. 他應該感到自豪，因為他只有 18 歲。
 ‘He **must** be proud of himself, **because** he’s only 18 years old.’
 b. 我們家肯定是最好的，因為我們有一個好媽媽。
 ‘Our family **must** be the best one, **because** we have a wonderful mom.’
- (43) a. 因為表面說兒子打死了父親，應該判什麼罪。
 ‘**Because** apparently, the son killed his father, he **should** be punished.’
 b. 因為傷得比較重，肯定會對他在比賽中的發揮造成影響。
 ‘**Because** he’s badly injured, his performance during the game **must** be affected.’

Nikka-clauses placed in final position which correspond to the postposed *yinwei* can also signal an elaboration and continuation to better explain and clarify the preceding utterance as below:

- (44) a. *Kakkum nwun-ul tul-e chang-pakk-ul po-ko i*
 sometimes eye-ACC lift-CONN window-outside-ACC see-and this
nalssi-lul mankkikha-la. Waynyahamyen onul-i ne-eykey
 weather-ACC enjoy-IMP because today-NOM you-to
cwueci-n cenpwu-uy sikan-i-nikka.
 given-CONN all-of time-be-*nikka*
 b. 你要偶爾抬頭，看看窗外，充分感受這美好的天氣，因為今天是你擁有的全部時間。
 ‘Sometimes you have to lift your head, look out the window, and enjoy this weather, **because** today could be the last day given for you.’

17. Li (2014: 100) points out “the fact that inter-sentential *yinwei* often co-occurs with evaluative words *feichang* ‘extremely’ and *juedui* ‘absolutely’, and modality markers *keneng* ‘maybe, probably, possibly’ and *bixu* ‘must’ seems to suggest that it is closely related to conclusions and inferences”.

- (45) a. 在那個生活裡，應該沒有我，因為我已經有了我的。
 b. *Ku salm-eyse na-nun eps-ul keyeyyo. Waynyahamyen nan imi nay*
 that life-in I-TOP not.exist-will waynyahamyen I already my
kes-ul kaci-ko iss-unikka-yo.
 thing-ACC have-PRG-nikka-SFP
 ‘I will not exist in that life, **because** I already have my own life.’
- (46) a. 為什麼？就是因為我一直很看好你，認為你是一個很優秀的律師。
 b. *Waynyako? Ne-lul cohkey pw-ass-unikka. Ney-ka wuswuhan*
 why you-ACC well look-PST-nikka you-NOM excellent
pyenhosa-lako sayngkakhay-ss-unikka.
 lawyer-QT think-PST-nikka
 ‘Why? **Because** I thought good of you. I thought you are an excellent lawyer.’

The postposed *nikka*-clauses that correspond to the postposed *yinwei* in the above examples demonstrate inferences in a loose sense and elaborate and justify the speaker’s position. In this regard, Lee (1999) claims that a sentence structure initiated by *waynyahamyen* ‘because’ which stands alone in a paratactic structure in Korean should receive more attention as an important causal marker in the epistemic and speech-act domains. In English, the *because*-clause also can give a reason why the speaker knows or claims the preceding proposition as in “He’s not coming to class, because he just called from San Diego.” (Rutherford 1970: 97) (It must be the case that he’s not coming to class, because he just called from San Diego.)

In the Examples (44) and (45) marked by postposed *nikka*, although *yinwei* is omitted, the essential meanings of the sentences are not significantly affected, because the function of *yinwei* is not to provide a direct causal link between clauses but to add an elaboration. In (46), as an answer to a “why” question, *-nikka* is used in final position, whereas in (23) which is also an answer to a “why” question, *-ese* is used in final position, corresponding to postposed *yinwei* as in (23b) “姐姐，你的臉色怎麼這樣差？哦，因為秀赫很痛苦。”. The difference between (23b) and (46b) is that in (23b), *yinwei* in final position still denotes a causal link, providing a reason for the question asked, while in (46b), *yinwei* rather emphasizes the speaker’s personal ground for further elaboration of justification.

3.2.2 Postposed *-nikka* unmarked by Mandarin Chinese markers

Gao (2013) claims that the postposed *yinwei* in non-complex sentences elaborates on the preceding utterance by adding some new, more specific information. Since this type of *yinwei* does not denote a causal link between statements, it can be

completely omitted, which can help explain the occurrence of final-clause *nikka* that shows zero correspondence in Mandarin Chinese. 159 and 120 postposed *nikka*-tokens in the Korean originals and Korean translations, respectively, are unmarked by Mandarin Chinese causal connectives as below:

- (47) a. *Kicwu-nun kekceng ma-la. Khukey sinkyeng ss-ul il*
 KICWU-TOP worry NEG-IMP that.way concern use-ADN thing
an-i-nikka.
 NEG-be-**nikka**
- b. 你不用擔心基柱，他不會太在意的。
 ‘Don’t worry about Kicwu. It isn’t a big problem.’
- (48) a. 不要吃得過飽，等下胃要不舒服的。
 b. *Nemwu kwasikha-l philyo epse-yo. Isstaka sok-i*
 too overeat-ADN need not.have-POL later.on stomach-NOM
pwulphyenha-l they-nikka-yo.
 uncomfortable-ADN bound.noun-**nikka**-POL
 ‘You shouldn’t eat too much. You will have a stomach ache later.’

In addition to further elaboration, *-nikka* occurring in final position, which is not realized in any Mandarin Chinese causal marker, can just indicate the speaker’s reinforcement of the proposition.

Kim (2015:37) points out that *-nikka* occurring in utterance-final position can express the speaker’s reinforcement of the proposition as in (49).

- (49) *Oywu-nun ke-n cencay-la-nikka. Na-n Mikwuk ay-tul-i*
 memorizing-ATTR thing-TOP genius-QT-**nikka** I-TOP USA kid-PL-NOM
nolla-nta-nikka-n.
 surprise-QT-**nikka**
 ‘I’m very good at memorizing. My American classmates are even surprised at me.’
 (Sohn 2003: 59, 60)

In the Korean originals and translations, there are examples of postposed *nikka*-clauses found as in (50) and (51), which shows the least sense of causality.

- (50) a. *Sangche-pat-ci ma. Iss-nun kes-tul-un wenlay ta*
 hurt-receive-CONN NEG.IMP have-TOP thing-PL-TOP originally all
kkilikkili-canha. Kaychen-eyse yong an nan-ta-nikka.
 together you.know stream-from dragon NEG occur-DECL-**nikka**
- b. 不要受傷。世界本來就這樣，物以類聚，人以群分，雞窩裡飛不出金鳳凰。
 ‘Don’t feel bad about it. The world is just like this. The haves gather together. A dragon doesn’t rise from a small stream.’

- (51) a. 不誇張，我很真誠，我真的很想把自己的命都送給女兒。
 b. *Kwacang-i an-i-ko cinsim-i-ya. Nan cinccalo nay*
 exaggeration-NOM NEG-be-and truth-be-SFP I really my
ttal-ul wihay mokswum-to naynoh-ul swu iss-ta-nikka.
 daughter-for life-also get.out-ADN ability exist-DECL-**nikka**
 'I'm not exaggerating. For my daughter, I can even sacrifice my life.'

3.3 Summary

In the original Korean texts, out of a total of 146 preposed *nikka*-tokens, 53 are marked, while 93 are unmarked. In the translated Korean texts, out of a total of 106 preposed *nikka*-clauses, 9 preposed *nikka*-tokens are marked, while 97 tokens are unmarked. As for the postposed *nikka*-tokens, in the original Korean texts, out of a total of 267 tokens, 108 are marked by *yinwei*, while 159 remain unmarked. In the translated Korean texts, out of a total of 166 tokens, 46 are marked by *yinwei*, while 120 are unmarked. In the Korean to Mandarin translations, both preposed and postposed *nikka*-tokens are more frequently marked by Mandarin Chinese causal markers.

13 and 6 preposed *nikka*-tokens from the Korean originals and Korean translated texts, respectively, correspond to *yinwei* in initial position. 106 and 46 postposed *nikka*-tokens from the Korean originals and Korean translations, respectively, correspond to postposed *yinwei*. *-Nikka* is overwhelmingly final-positioned when corresponding to *yinwei* in both texts. However, as for the unmarked *-nikka*, a considerable number of preposed and postposed *nikka*-clauses equally show zero correspondence in Mandarin Chinese.

4. Conclusion

This paper examined the behavioral patterns of Korean causal markers, clause-initial and -final *ese* and *nikka* in relation to the sequencing of the Mandarin Chinese causal marker, *yinwei*. Through a comparative analysis of original and translated texts, it is shown that (1) *ese*-clauses more frequently correspond to *yinwei* in initial position, whereas *nikka*-clauses more frequently correspond to *yinwei* in final position; (2) *ese*- and *nikka*-tokens are more explicit both in initial and final positions whereas Mandarin Chinese texts tend to use more zero-marking to denote these logical relations.

Most previous studies on Mandarin Chinese causal connectives treat the causal clauses as part of other types of adverbial clauses. However, recent corpus-based studies for Mandarin Chinese have shown that causal clauses can occur

both in initial and final positions unlike adverbial clauses that tend to precede the main clause. According to Gao (2013), the preposed *yinwei* mainly expresses sequentially logical relations in forward order while a large number of *yinwei* in intersentential positions express epistemic relations in backward order. Li (2014) claims that intersentential *yinwei* expresses a higher degree of subjectivity than sentence-initial *yinwei*.

As of now, most Korean studies on *ese* and *nikka*-constructions have focused on their cognitive functions as adverbial clauses that occur in initial position. However, by comparing the cognitive functions of clause-initial and -final *ese* and *nikka*, in relation to Mandarin Chinese causal markers, we can see that *-ese* in initial position is more marked by Mandarin Chinese causal connectives which follow the “cause-consequence” order, *because...so/therefore* construction, whereas *-nikka* in initial position tends not to be realized by counterpart causal markers that denote a direct causal link. On the other hand, *-ese* and *-nikka* in final position only correspond to the postposed *yinwei* which has two functions: the former still holds a causal sense and the latter that stands alone with no direct causal reading but involves an explanation or a subjective judgment and can be omitted. *-Nikka* in final position which signals an elaboration on the preceding utterance or the speaker’s involvement and reinforcement of the proposition shows the highest zero-marking rate.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NEG	negation
ADN	adnominal	NMLZ	nominalization
AH	addressee honorific	NOM	nominative
ATTR	attributive	PASS	passive voice
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
CONN	connective	POL	polite
COP	copular	PRG	progressive
DECL	declarative	PRS	present
EVID	evidential	PST	past
FUT	future	QT	quotative
HON	honorific	SFP	sentence-final particle
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
IND	indicative	TRNS	transferentive
INT	interrogative		

Appendix

Korean originals: No. 1–3 are novels. No. 4–5 are essays

1. Yu, Hoyeon. 2004. *Pariui yeonin* 파리의 연인 [Lovers in Paris], vol. 1 & 2. Seoul: Golden Branch. (354 and 358 pages respectively.)
- 1'. Translator: Xu, Lihong (徐麗紅). 2005. *Bali lianren* 巴黎戀人 [Lovers in Paris]. Nanjing: Jiangsu Yilin Press.
2. Kim, Eonsoo. 2006. *13 Ho kaebinit* 13 호 캐비닛 [No. 13 cabinet]. Paju: Literary Neighborhood. (391 pages.)
- 2'. Translator: Wang, Chongwen (王崇文). 2009. *13 hao chugui* 13號櫥櫃 [No. 13 cabinet]. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House.
3. Kim, Inha. 2014. *Gukhwakkot hyanggi* 국화꽃 향기 [Scent of chrysanthemums]. Paju: Dasan Books. (384 pages.)
- 3'. Translator: Xun, Shouxiao (荀壽瀟). 2009. *Juhua xiang* 菊花香 [Scent of chrysanthemums]. Haikou: Nan Hai Publishing Company.
4. Jeong, SunHye & Seo, Youngwoo. 2011. *Siganui mabeop* 시간의 마법 [Magic of time]. Paju: 21st Century Books. (264 pages.)
- 4'. Translator: You, Xinxin (遊心歆). 2014. *Gei mengxiang 10 fenzhong* 給夢想10分鐘 [Magic of time]. Sichuan: Sichuan People's Publishing House.
5. Gong, Ji-young. 2008. *Nega eotteon salmeul saldeun naneun neoreul eungwonhal geosida* 네가 어떤 삶을 살든 나는 너를 응원할 것이다 [I will support you no matter what kind of life you live]. Seoul: Open House. (256 pages.)
- 5'. Translator: Xue, Zhou (薛舟) & Xu, Lihong (徐麗紅). 2014. *Wulun ni xuanze shenme yang de rensheng, wo dou wei ni jiyayou* 無論你選擇什麼樣的人生，我都為你加油 [I will support you no matter what kind of life you live]. Beijing: Citic Press Corporation.

Mandarin Chinese originals: No. 1–4 are novels. No. 5–6 are essays

1. Andre (自由行走). 2014. *Di sanzong aiqing* 第三種愛情 [The third way of love]. Nanchang: Baihuazhou Literature and Art Press. (320 pages.)
- 1'. Translator: Lee, Jiyun (이지운). 2015. *Je 3 ui sarang* 제 3 의 사랑 [The third way of love]. Seoul: Bookfolio.
2. Zhang, Jiajia (張嘉佳). 2013. *Cong nide quanshijie luguo* 從你的全世界路過 [Passing through your world]. Changsha: Hunan Literature and Art Publishing House. (376 pages.)
- 2'. Translator: Jeong, Segyeong (정세경). 2017. *Neoui segyereul jinachil ttae* 너의 세계를 지나칠 때 [Passing through your world]. Seoul: Eunhaeng Namu.
3. Yu, Lihua (於梨華). 1984. *You jian zonglu, you jian zong lu* 又見棕櫚，又見棕櫚 [See the palm tree again]. Beijing: China Friendship Publishing Company. (282 pages.)
- 3'. Translator: Ko, Hyerim (고혜림). 2014. *Dasi jongnyeonamureul boda* 다시 종려나무를 보다 [See the palm tree again]. Seoul: Zimanzi.
4. Cao, Wen Xuan (曹文軒). 1997. *Cao fang zi* 草房子 [The grass house]. Nanjing: Jiangsu Children's Book Press. (927 pages.)
- 4'. Translator: Jeon, Sujeong (전수정). 2008. *Himsen sangsang* 힘센 상상 [The grass house], vol. 1 & 2. Seoul: Saeum.
5. Yu, Hua (余華). 2003. *Women shenghuozai juda de chaju li* 我們生活在巨大的差距裡 [We live in a huge gap]. Beijing: October Literature and Art Publishing House. (220 pages.)

- 5' Translator: Lee, Ugyeon (이욱연). 2016. *Wurineun geodaehan chai sogeo itda* 우리는 거대한 차이 속에 살고 있다. [We live in a huge gap]. Paju: Munhakdongne.
6. Li, Juan (李娟). 2013. *Aletai de jiaoluo* 阿勒泰的角落 [Altay corner]. Beijing: New Star Press. (288 pages.)
- 6' Translator: Cha, Hyeongyeong (차현경). 2015. *Areotaiui kkeutjarak* 아리타이의 끝자락 [Altay corner]. Seoul: Gaggwang.

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Author's address

Eunson Yoo (corresponding author)
Department of Chinese Language and Literature
Sun Yat-sen University
No. 135, Xingang Road West
Zhuhai District
Guangzhou, Guangdong 510275
China
eunsun77@hotmail.com

Publication history

Date received: 29 April 2019
Date accepted: 19 November 2019