

## On the Production of the Complementizer *-nun* of Korean into English: With Respect to Its Translation

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### 1. Introduction

This article reports the ways in which the complementizer *-nun*<sup>1)</sup> of Korean should be translated into English. More specifically, this article touches on the types of relative pronouns that adult Korean EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners tend to select when producing the complementizer *-nun* of Korean within the direct object relative clause<sup>2)</sup> in English. The

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1) The affix *-nun* is used for the present, *-n* for the past, and *-l* for the future (Kim, Alan H.-O. and Shin, Hyon-Sook 1994). This article, however, discusses only the present affix *-nun*.

2) This article deals mainly with the production of restrictive direct object relative clauses in English among many other available types of relative clauses, although relevant discussions with subject and other relative clauses will be made at later

complementizer *-nun* as an affix morpheme in Korean can be produced with independent lexical items in English such as *that* and *which*,<sup>3)</sup> as listed in (1) below.

- (1) 원숭이가 좋아하는 과일  
 [RC wensungi-ka joaha] -nun] gwail  
 monkey-TOP like COMP fruit  
 a. 'the fruit that the monkey likes'  
 b. 'the fruit which the monkey likes'

Although ordinary adult native speakers of English do not consciously know the proper use of *that* and *which* in relative clauses,<sup>4)</sup> they do seem to properly use them without any difficulty in spontaneous and unmonitored situations. Probably, native speakers do not even recognize that they are using such lexical items as *that* and *which* when producing relative clauses; nor is it likely that they calculatedly design a structure to generate intended relative clauses. All in all, it seems that native speakers may not know precisely when to use *that* and *which*, but when they do, the use of them is literally always proper.

This article then raises some immediate inquiries: Do Korean EFL learners select *that* and *which* in a similar way as native speakers do? Is the level of

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sections, in order to help the reader understand the general tendency of the population.

- 3) Theoretically, Rizzi (1990) classifies the relative clauses with  $\emptyset$  as in *the fruit  $\emptyset$  the monkey likes* and *which* in (1b) involved with the same syntactic featural system and the one with *that* in (1a) to have a different syntactic featural system from the other two. Hence, this article restricts its discussion to the relative clauses introduced by *that* and *which*.
- 4) The first author contacted about ten native speakers of English who were undergraduates at a university in America and asked them when to use *that* and *which*. None could properly explain their usage, and instead, they vaguely said they 'just' knew how to use *that* and *which*, since they were young.

proficiency in English a factor for a different use of *that* and *which*? The first inquiry is, in essence, interesting in the sense that it is uncertain whether Korean EFL learners actually select, knowingly or unknowingly, the same relative pronoun in a relative clause as native speakers do. How similar or different is the use of relative pronouns between oral translation and written translation – also between Korean EFL learners and native speakers? The end result brings about valuable information for Korean EFL learners when producing the complementizer *-nun* of Korean into *that* or *which* in English. The second inquiry intends to find out whether a discrepancy exists in the selection of *that* and *which* among basic, intermediate, and advanced learners, in comparison with the selection by native speakers.

What follows the next are Sections 2 and 3, addressing previous studies on the pragmatic and social differences between *that* and *which*. Section 4 introduces the data gathering method and process and participants. Section 5 presents the results of the data analysis with descriptive statistics. Section 6 summarizes the present article and discusses further findings and implications.

## 2. Pragmatic Differences Between *That* and *Which*

What follows is an argument that relative clauses introduced by *that* are being used systematically differently from those introduced by *which*, although the differences between the two types of relative pronouns are virtually impossible for native speakers or Korean EFL learners to distinguish the differences, as for (1). But, according to the data to which we will return in a later section, where there are differences between *that* and *which* in relative clauses, the differences in use seem to be systematic.

With *that* as in *the fruit that the monkey likes*, the implication is that the head noun *fruit* is used for an attributive reference in the context (Bundrick 1989). That is to say, *fruit* followed by *that* in the relative clause cannot be

used to refer by itself - a relative clause is required. Hence, in the Korean question *원숭이가 좋아하는 과일은 어디에 있습니까?*, if the speaker is trying to restrict the referring entity to a specific fruit within a larger set of fruits in the context (say, at a fruit market), *that* must introduce the relative clause, as in (1a). In the same situation, the question without a relative clause *과일은 어디에 있습니까?* would only draw out an answer like *Which one? There are many kinds of fruits and I don't know which fruit you are talking about.* Similarly, imagine that there are many dogs on the playground and the speaker wants to refer to one specific dog such as *달리기를 잘하는 개는 어디에 있습니까?*, then the compatible relative clause in English must be translated as introduced by *that*; that is, *Where is the dog that runs fast?* Without the restriction modified by a relative clause with *that*, the head noun cannot be used successfully to refer to the speaker's intended referent.

With *which* as in *the fruit which the monkey likes*, the implication is different. The head noun *fruit* modified by a relative clause introduced by *which* is used to refer to a particular referent; *fruit* followed by *which* can be used to refer by itself - a relative clause is sufficient but not necessary to denote the intended referent. Hence, in the same Korean question *원숭이가 좋아하는 과일은 어디에 있습니까?* if the speaker does not necessarily need to restrict the referring entity to a specific fruit within a larger set of fruits in the context, *which* must introduce the relative clause, as in (1b). That is, the speaker is talking about one specific kind of fruit. Hence, in the same situation, the question without a relative clause *과일은 어디에 있습니까?* would be sufficient to refer the intended referent. Similarly, imagine that although there are many dogs and the speaker knows which specific dog he is referring to and says *달리기를 잘 하는 개는 어디에 있습니까?*, then the compatible relative clause in English must be translated as introduced by *which*; that is, *Where is the dog which runs fast?*

According to a further claim by Bundrick (1989), with a relative clause introduced by *that*, the speaker is saying only as much as is absolutely

necessary. With a relative clause introduced by *which*, the speaker is saying as much as he *can* even if he feels that the head noun alone can be used to refer to the intended referent. To see how the complementizer *-nun* should be translated into English, a Korean question is presented: *툼이 다니는 학교가 어디에 있습니까* If the relative clause *툼이 다니는*<sup>5)</sup> is necessary to denote the school in the context and there may possibly exist a set of other schools that the school is in contrast with, the relative clause in Korean must be introduced by *that* for translating the complementizer *-nun* into English, as in (2a).

- (2) a. Where is the school that Tom goes to?  
b. Where is the school which Tom goes to?

In (2b), the complementizer *-nun* is translated into *which* as introducing a relative clause. The implication is that a particular school is being referred to, which the speaker decides to describe as Tom's school. The entity of being Tom's school still serves to distinguish this school from other schools, although it does not necessarily need to be the sole quality for distinguishing the school. To sum, the complementizer *-nun* should be translated into *that* if restriction on the head noun is absolutely required and there is no way to distinguish the intended referent from a set of other referents. Otherwise, *which* is used if restriction on the head is not necessarily needed, and the speaker intends to say as much as he can. Note in addition that the deletion of *which* in this situation is optional, if still grammatical.

Bundrick (1989) further explores the distinction between the particular reference for *which* and the attributive reference for *that*, when the relative clause restricts a head noun other than those modified by the definite article. With *that*, the head noun modified by the zero article or an indefinite article

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5) The present article is not defining that such a clause in Korean is syntactically a relative clause as it is in English; it could be called a pre-modifying adjectival clause. The exact linguistic term for its structure is not a concern here.

can be used to refer to whatever or whoever fits to the description of the relative clause (that is, attributive); with *which*, the head noun refers a particular entity that has been under discussion at some earlier point in the context. The distinction can be shown in the translation of the following Korean sentence *학생들은 머리를 아프게 하는 관계대명사를 싫어한다.* into English, in (3) below.

- (3) a. Students hate relative pronouns that give them a headache.  
 b. Students hate relative pronouns which give them a headache.

If the implication of the Korean sentence is that students hate a certain set of relative pronouns among all relative pronouns and the speaker wishes to indicate only those relative pronouns having the characteristic of giving students a headache, the complementizer *-nun* is translated into *that*, as in (3a). The relative clause *학생들은 머리를 아프게 하는* serves to remind the listener of the certain types of relative pronouns under discussion. Any other way of describing those relative pronouns may not have resulted to refer the same intended relative pronouns. Such attributive reference does not hold true of (3b). In contrast, as in (3b), if the speaker's implication is that the particular relative pronouns under discussion just happened to be described as giving students a headache - at other times, the relative pronouns may not cause a headache, the complementizer *-nun* is translated into *which* for the same Korean sentence. It is, however, possible that there could have been some other ways of describing the relative pronouns, with an equal chance of success for referring the same relative pronouns. Accordingly, a set of similar examples are illustrated below in (4) for the distinction between the attributive reference with *that* and the particular reference with *which*.

- (4) a. This is a hotdog that I don't want to eat

- b. This is a hotdog which I don't want to eat

In (4a), the relative clause is introduced by *that*, indicating an attributive description of hotdog. The implication is that the speaker does not like a kind of hotdog having certain characteristics and is not restricting the hotdog to the one that he is currently holding: It could be a hotdog with loaded toppings, it could be a hotdog only with mustard, or it could be a hotdog from the hotdog stand. Hence, (4a) can be translated in Korean as *이런 핫도그는 먹고 싶지 않습니다*. On the other hand, the relative clause introduced by *which* in (4b) indicates a particular hotdog that the speaker is currently holding. A context could be where he is so full that eating one more hotdog held in his hand can make him sick. Hence, (4b) can be translated in Korean as *이 핫도그는 먹고 싶지 않습니다*.

Thus far, against a common belief that the relative pronouns *that* and *which* imply the same meaning and can be used literally interchangeably when the use of them is indeed systematically different, this article attempted to explain how the complementizer *-nun* of Korean should be translated into English, which is syntactically equivalent to *that* and *which*.

What follows in the next section further reviews previous studies that document systematic differences in using *that* and *which* in natural situations.

### 3. Social Differences Between *That* and *Which*

Although only a few previous studies have put forth data on the use of *that* and *which*, the distinction between the two clearly seems to be socially stratified and linguistically predisposed – socially stratified in the sense that speakers from certain social classes from certain situations, or of certain groups tend to prefer one over the other between *that* and *which*; and linguistically predisposed in the sense that speakers (*e.g.*, adult Korean EFL learners in this

study) also tend to prefer one over the other between *that* and *which*, depending on the types of relative clauses (*e.g.*, subject, direct object, or indirect object relative clauses) (Lee 2006). Below are reported some relevant data.

Guy and Bayley (1995) analyze 827 restrictive relative clauses from speech data of The White House Transcripts, the surreptitious recordings made by Richard Nixon during the Watergate crisis. In the recordings, *that* was selected 53% and *which* was 43% of the time for subject relative clauses. But the use of *that* could have been much greater if human head nouns (*e.g.*, president, candidate) had been excluded from their analysis. For direct object relative clauses, *that* or the omission of *which* was preferred to the presence of *which*, and *that* was noticeably favored in informal speech and when head nouns were nonhuman (*e.g.*, office, ballot).

Berni (1995) reports the use of *that* and *which* according to education level. Speakers in Oklahoma with high school education used *that* for human head nouns in subject relative clauses 69% of the time, and *which* time, 12% of the time - *that* was preferred for subject relative clauses. Berni further claims that *which* seems to be not part of the dialect used in Oklahoma. According to Ball (1996), speakers on US Senate Hearing (supposedly, a formal situation) used *that* for nonhuman head nouns 76% of the time and people in the middle class (supposedly, a less formal situation) used *that* 84% of the time after nonhuman head nouns in subject relative clauses - *that* was preferred for the people in lower social classes.

Flanigan and Inal (1996) investigate the use of relative pronouns in the direct object relative clause by native speakers and non-native speakers of American English. Half of the subjects were given a preference task for a relative pronoun (*i.e.*, written data) and the other subjects were given a sentence-combination production task (*i.e.*, spoken data). They found out that the choice of relative pronoun differs between native speakers and non-native speakers: Native speakers preferred *that*, while non-native speakers equally

preferred both *that* and *which* in speaking, but *which* was more dominant in writing.

Bayley (1999) studies interviews with Latino graduate students and children on topics of dating, schooling, children, and community concerns, and coded the data according to age, social class, immigrant generation, and region. The results show a high use of *that* and correspondingly a low use of *which*, which agrees with studies of other English vernaculars. He concludes that *that* is by far the most common relative pronoun in Latino English.

Upon the assumption that adult Korean EFL learners (or Korean translators) know the availability of two lexical items *that* and *which* in the relative clause, although they supposedly do not know the exact uses of *that* and *which*, it would be interesting to examine, between *that* and *which*, which word they tend to select in the translation of the complementizer *-nun* of Korean (cf. Kim and Lee, in progress). The selection of *that* may indicate that they, probably unknowingly, are targeting for informal, casual, or vernacular English used typically by American immigrants and people below the upper social class. The selection of *which* may indicate that they are, also perhaps unknowingly, heading for rather more formal, more proper, or more marked English used by speakers in the upper social class. For example, a Korean translator can translate the phrase *내가 보는 영화* into, at least, two outputs: one with *that* and the other with *which*. If he translates the phrase into English as *the movie that I watch*, the language can be more fit to informal and causal English readers. On the other hands, if he translates it as *the movie which I watch*, the readers should be those in the upper social class.

At this time, among many possible research interests, this article investigates the selection of *that* and *which* for both oral translation and written translation, produced by the same learners classified into three English-proficiency levels (basic, intermediate, advanced) and also by native speakers as the control group.

#### 4. Data Gathering

To examine the selection tendency for a relative pronoun between *that* and *which* for oral production and written production, the following three research questions were brought up, which were structured to answer the primary interests of the present article.

- Do learners at different proficiency levels of English prefer the same or different relative pronoun between *that* and *which*?
- Do advanced EFL learners tend to prefer the same relative pronoun as native speakers do in the same situation?
- Are there any discrepancies between oral production and written translation for preferring a certain relative pronoun?

First, in order to sort out learners who were proficient enough in English to be capable of producing relative clauses in the experimentally-controlled situations, 126 Korean university students who were majoring and minoring in English were initially contacted. A sentence combination test composed of fairly low-level vocabulary was given in which two separate simple sentences containing the same noun (*e.g.*, I saw the cat. The cat loves milk.) had to be properly combined by using a relative pronoun (*e.g.*, I saw the cat that loves milk.).<sup>6)</sup> Of 126, 48 participants were classified as basic learners and 40 participants as intermediate learners; and the rest were eliminated because they were determined to possess immature knowledge of relative clause formation in English or some were those who simply did not attend the actual experiment after the classification into groups. The advanced group consisted of six Korean instructors who were teaching liberal English courses at the university which the learners were attending. The group had 2 to 6 years of living experiences

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6) For the more comprehensive analysis of the data and detailed information on the experimental methodology, *cf.* Lee (2006).

in English-speaking countries (U.S., Canada, Australia) as graduate students. The native group comprised eight native speakers who were living or travelling in Korea at the time of the experiment. The list of the participant groups is summarized below.

- Basic group: 48 Korean EFL learners in university
- Intermediate group: 40 Korean EFL learners in university
- Advanced group: 6 Korean EFL instructors in university
- Native group: 8 native speakers

A cross-sectional elicited production method was employed to obtain sufficient relative clauses within a single experiment. To elicit a direct object relative clause, the participant was presented with two pictures of a glass, for example. The target object *glass* was marked with a different colored sticker in each of the two pictures. One picture had a glass with a yellow star and a lady was kissing the glass; the other picture had another kind of glass with a white star and a lady was holding the glass. The experimenter asked the participant to answer asked a whidistr Thing questisti about the pictures: *Which glass has the white star?* An appropriate answer in that situation would be, *the glass that a lady is holding*. Pictures for written production were different, but the contents were similar. Each participant was given two chances of oral production and written production for direct object relative clauses.

When transcribing the outputs of oral production and written production the researcher distinguished understandable and readable outputs from those that could not be understood or read, and the latter were excluded. Also excluded were good outputs without a relative pronoun or with an altered structure like passivized subject relative clauses such as *the glass that is held by a lady*. When the participant made a change to the earlier relative pronoun, the first one was selected for further analysis.

Table 1 lists the numbers of relative pronouns elicited from oral production

and written production for the four groups aforementioned. The data were counted by the number of occurrences and analyzed to understand the general tendency of adult Korean EFL learners in the selection of *that* and *which*, in comparison with native speakers.

<Table 1> Numbers of *that* and *which* in direct object relative clauses for oral production and written production

Oral Production	Total <sup>a</sup>	No. <sup>b</sup>	<i>that</i>	<i>which</i>
Basic Group	96 <sup>c</sup>	21	8 (38%)	13 (62%)
Intermediate Group	80 <sup>d</sup>	42	17 (41%)	25 (59%)
Advanced Group	12 <sup>e</sup>	9	4 (45%)	5 (55%)
Native Group	16 <sup>f</sup>	13	10 (77%)	3 (23%)
Written Production	Total	No.	<i>that</i>	<i>which</i>
Basic Group	96	26	11 (42%)	15 (58%)
Intermediate Group	80	40	12 (30%)	28 (70%)
Advanced Group	12	10	1 (14%)	9 (86%)
Native Group	16	13	6 (46%)	7 (54%)

<sup>a</sup> The total number of tokens for each group

<sup>b</sup> Numbers of successful relative clauses, excluding the  $\emptyset$  relative pronoun

<sup>c</sup> 48 learners x 2 tokens = 96    <sup>d</sup> 40 learners x 2 tokens = 80

<sup>e</sup> 6 instructors x 2 tokens = 12    <sup>f</sup> 8 native speakers x 2 tokens = 16

## 5. Results

A quick glimpse at the percentages in Table 1 shows discrepancies between the Korean groups and the native group: Korean EFL learners clearly prefer *which* regardless of the levels of English proficiency, while native speakers, by and large, seem to prefer *that*.

For oral production, the percentages of *that* increase, rather slightly, as the levels of English proficiency increase from basic to intermediate to advanced

groups (38% → 41% → 45%). On the other hand, the percentages of *which* decrease at the same time (63% → 59% → 55%). It is apparent that the native group heavily depends on *that* over *which* (77% vs. 23%).

For written production, however, the outcome is quite different from the one for oral production. The percentages of *that* decrease, rather sharply, as the levels of English proficiency increase from basic to intermediate to advanced groups (42% → 30% → 14%). The use of *which* also increases, rather sharply, as the proficiency in English increases (58% → 70% → 86%). Although the use of *which* by the native group also increases to 54% from 23% for oral production, it is not as extreme as the use of it by the advanced group: only one occurrence of *that* and nine occurrences of *which*.

What follows next are the answers to the research questions proposed earlier. The first question was to examine whether learners at different proficiency levels of English prefer the same or different relative pronoun between *that* and *which*. Since the percentages of *which* is greater for all three Korean groups for both oral production and written production, it can be concluded that Korean EFL learners prefer *which* to *that* regardless of the levels of English proficiency and the types of production.

The second question was to understand whether advanced learners tend to prefer the same relative pronoun as native speakers do in the same situation. This question attempted to find out the similarity or the difference between Korean EFL instructors and native speakers in terms of the selection of *that* and *which*. According to the data gathered, the answer is more likely *no* since the advanced group and the native group seem to prefer different relative pronouns. For oral production, the dependency on *which* is still great for the advanced group (55%), while the native group largely prefer *that* (77%) to *which* (23%). For written production, the dependency on *which* is radically strong for the advanced group (86%), while the native group mildly prefers *which* (54%) to *that* (46%).

The third question was to find out whether there exist any discrepancies

between oral production and written production for preferring a certain relative pronoun. In Table 1, all Korean groups prefer *which* to *that* at all times for both types of productions, at least for direct object relative clauses, but the preference of *which* is much greater for written production. The native group prefers *that* for oral production (77%), but shows a mere tendency towards *which* for written production (54%), although not as radically as the advanced group (86%).

## 6. Summary and Discussion

The present article started with the claim that a morpheme particle called the complementizer *-nun* of Korean can be produced into the individual lexical item *that* or *which* relative pronouns in English. And it is likely that non-native speakers of English like Koreans may not know the proper use of *that* and *which* and they may freely select one or the other. On the other hand, although native speakers of English cannot also tell the exact use of *that* and *which*, their use of them is literally always proper. Arguably, there are, however, differences between the uses of *that* and *which*. According to Bundrick's (1989) analysis, pragmatic differences exist between *that* and *which*. *That* is used if the speaker is trying to restrict a specific entity with a larger set of entities in the context, while *which* is used if the speaker is merely offering sufficient, but not necessary, information about the entity. Thus, the article further pointed out that the phrases containing a relative clause introduced by *that* as in *a hotdog that I don't want to eat* or *which* as in *a hotdog which I don't want to eat* must be translated differently in Korean, because the implications of *that* and *which* are totally different. This article then reviewed a few previous studies reporting on the use of *that* and *which* used by politicians (Guy and Bayley 1995), high-school graduates (Berni 1995), immigrants (Flanigan and Inal 1996), Hispanics (Bayley 1999), etc. A general

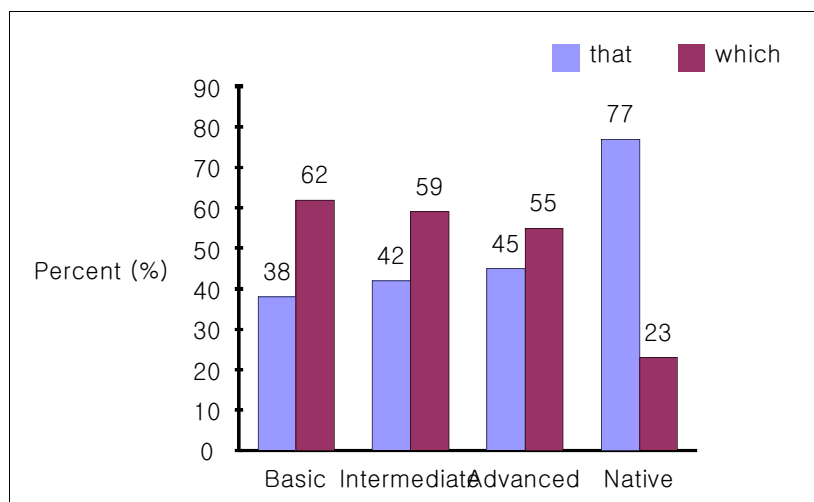
consensus seems to be that people in a higher social class like politicians use *which* more predominantly than people in a lower social class like those with high-school education, non-native speakers of American English, Latino graduate students and children, who prefer *that* almost all times. As such, the use of *that* and *which* is distinguished and systematically different. Otherwise, the two cannot co-exist if the two have exactly the same implication, and the use of them would be random.

This article, then, raised three interesting questions as to the selection tendency for a relative pronoun between *that* and *which* in oral production and written production as produced by adult Korean EFL learners. The first question dealt with the choice between *that* and *which* with regard to proficiency levels of English. It was curious to find out whether adult Korean EFL learners at basic, intermediate, and advanced levels of English would demonstrate the same or different behaviors for selecting *that* and *which*. The second question attempted to compare the tendency for selecting *that* and *which* between advanced Korean EFL learners and native speakers in both oral production and written production. To put it another way, this question concerned nativeness in terms of selecting a relative pronoun by the advanced learners, while using the native speakers as the control group. The third question sought to uncover the preferred relative pronoun between *that* and *which* in oral production and written production. The purpose of the question was to recognize linguistic discrepancies occurring by way of different output modes; that is, in speaking and in writing. The experiment employed 94 Korean EFL learners (university students and instructors) in eliciting the necessary data, and eight native speakers of English were used as the control group. Each participant was given two chances for producing relative clauses, and only the responses that contained a direct object relative clause headed by *that* or *which* were extracted for further analysis.

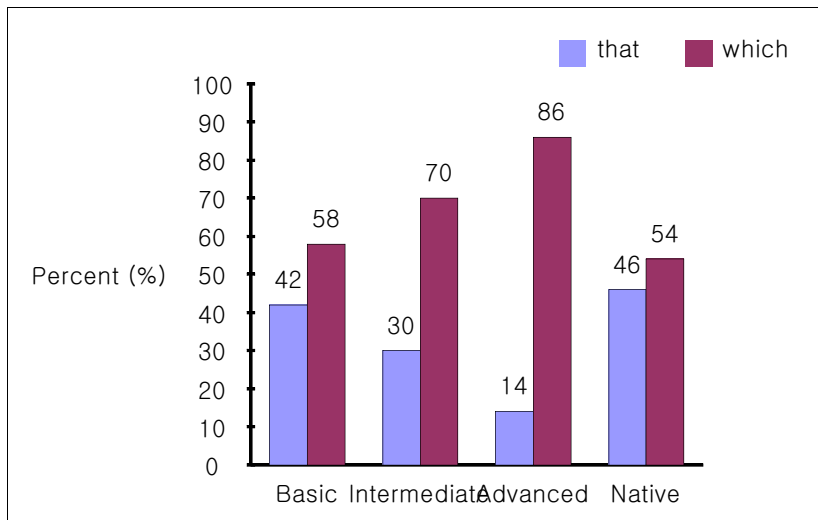
Although this article adopts only descriptive statistics and does not employ inferential statistics, the results present a clear view of discrepancies in

selecting *that* and *which* in terms of the types of groups and productions. Particular findings were that all Korean groups have a tendency toward the selection of *which* (shown in Graph 1, where the left bars of the pair are *that* and the right bars are *which*), while the native group prefer *that*, especially in oral production. The native group draws on *which* more often in written production, being nearly on a par with *that*; the intermediate and advanced groups reveal a predominant tendency for *which* - the tendency is even greater for the advanced group (shown in Graph 2).

<Graph 1> Oral production data



&lt;Graph 2&gt; Written production data



Generalizing at this point, the use of *that* and *which* are different between adult Korean EFL learners (favoring *which*), regardless of the level of English proficiency, and native speakers (favoring *that*) - the difference is greater in written production than in oral production.

Reasoning along these lines, it can be argued that when adult Korean EFL learners translate a Korean sentence that must be produced by way of employing a relative clause headed by a relative pronoun, the translated output would be a variety of English that can be found in the speech of people in higher social classes or of politicians in the U.S., due to the excessive use of *which*. At the same time, the same output can be considered a highly-stratified kind of dialect that people in lower social classes or non-native speakers of English would feel distant. Put another way, if a Korean sentence describing a poor peasant life 가난한 농부는 산불로 황폐해진 밭에서 일을 하고 있다 is translated into English with *which* introducing a relative clause like *The poor farmer is working on the field which has been devastated by wild fire*, the

output would only be unnatural to people in lower social classes or to non-native speakers in English-speaking nations like the U.S. In that case, the use of *that* is proper. In the same vein, if a Korean sentence describing a politician talk *대통령은 국회가 제안한 세법을 거부했다* is translated into English with *that* like *The president vetoed the tax law that was proposed by the Congress* would make the output somewhat informal or casual. In this case, *which* seems to be proper, not *that*. It can be, however, possible if people in lower social classes or non-native speakers in, for example, the U.S. are delivering the news to others in the similar social status. See (5) and (6) below for contrastive implication.

- (5) a. The farmer is working on the field that has been devastated by fire.  
 a'. 농부는 산불로 황폐해진 밭에서 일을 하고 있다.  
 b. The farmer is working on the field which has been devastated by fire.  
 b'. 농부는 밭에서 일을 하고 있는데 바로 그 밭은 산불로 황폐해졌다.
- (6) a. The president vetoed the tax law that was proposed by the Congress.  
 a'. 대통령은 국회가 제안한 세법을 거부했다.  
 b. The president vetoed the tax law which was proposed by the Congress.  
 b'. 대통령은 세법을 거부했는데 바로 그 세법은 국회가 제안했었다.

By contrast, in (5a), as was argued earlier that *that* in *that has been devastated by fire* refers to attributive reference and the information implicated in the relative clause is crucial to denote the entity. In other words, the hearer would not know the field was once on fire in the past unless otherwise told. The case is the same in (6a); without the relative clause introduced by *that*, the hearer would know who proposed the law; it could be the Congress, the President, the Senate. In opposition, in (5b), *which* refers to particular reference and the information implicated in the relative clause is not necessary to denote the entity. It may be possible to paraphrase (5b) with *which* as *The farmer is working on the field, and as you know, it has been devastated by fire*. On the same

vein, in (6b), the hear exactly knows which law is being referred to. (6b) can be paraphrased, as for (5b), *The president vetoed the tax law, and as you know, it was proposed by the Congress.*

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[Abstract]

**On the Production of the Complementizer *-nun* of Korean into English:  
With Respect to Its Translation**

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This article discusses the way in which the complementizer *-nun* of Korean should be translated into *that* or *which* relative pronouns in English. We begin with an overview of pragmatic and social differences between the uses of *that* and *which*. Pragmatically, *that* is used to refer an attributive entity, while *which* is used to refer a particular entity in the given context. Socially, *that* is preferred among the people in lower social classes such as those with lower education, in the speakers in America like the no grad students and their children, *which* is preferred among those like politicians. We then test the preference between *that* and *which* in direct clauses in oral translation and written translation, as produced by 94 adult Korean EFL learners divided into basic, intermediate, and advanced groups and by eight native speakers as the control group. The result shows that the learners generally prefer *which* but such a tendency is greater in written translation, while native speakers generally prefer *that*, in particular, in oral translation. The article then suggests the way to translate *that* and *which* into Korean.

▶ Key Words: translation, relative clause, complementizer, attributive reference, particular reference

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