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Preface

What is the Korean language like? By way of describing its major grammatical structures, this book attempts to answer this question. Following the general editorial guideline for the series of London Oriental and African Language Library (LOALL), it is designed to be informative and descriptive rather than technical or theoretical. Yet, it tries to meet rigorous standards of descriptive and structural linguistics without aligning heavily with any particular theory. Centering around structures of sentences with overviews on those of sounds and words, it describes fundamental units of Korean grammar, including some aspects of discourse and sample text analyses in the final chapter. Rather than explicating each grammatical point in detail, an effort is made to provide, with examples, typological and cross-linguistic observations. Also, since the LOALL series have size limitations, many features of Korean grammar have been simplified or treated in a cursory vein.

Romanization of Korean used in this book is based on Samuel E. Martin's Yale system, which is the one used most widely among Korean linguists. This book in general owes a great deal, not only to his Romanization system, but also to his influential works on Korean grammar (Martin 1954, 1992). Among others, the use of grammatical terms like 'infinitive' and 'gerund' or speech level terms like 'formal' and 'plain' has been directly borrowed from them.

Recently two more books on Korean grammar have come off the press: Ho-min Sohn's *Korean* (1994) and Cheongsoo Suh's *Kwuke Mwuunpep* [*Korean Grammar*] (1994). The former contains insightful observations on syntactic and semantic structures of Korean; and the latter, consisting of more than 1,400 pages, is a compendium of Korean grammar, comparable in its size and scope to Quirk et al's *Comprehensive English Grammar* (1985). I recommend these monographs (Martin 1992, Sohn 1994 and Suh 1994) to those who, after browsing through this book, wish to pursue their exploration of Korean grammar in more detail. Incomplete and insufficient as this volume is, I offer it for publication as a brief introduction to Korean grammar, and look forward to

receiving feedback and comments for future revision and expansion.

The reading materials appended to this book (Texts 1-5) are adaptations from *Korean* (volume 3), edited by the Language Research Institute of Seoul National University, which I recommend as a good textbook for those learning Korean as a foreign language. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Nahm-Sheik Park, former Director of the Institute, for letting me make use of the materials.

I am grateful to my colleagues Professor Kiyong Lee and Professor Jaewoong Choe (both, Korea University in Seoul), for their scholarly care in helping me to put the finishing touches to the first draft of this book. I would also like to thank Professor Theodora Bynon (University of London) and Professor Masayoshi Shibatani (Kobe University, Japan) for introducing me to LOALL and for their comments and suggestions; and Professor David Bennett (University of London) for working through the manuscript and helping me to improve the English style to conform to RP! Last but not least, I would like to thank Professor Chin-W. Kim (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), who has willingly agreed to write a brief promotional passage for this volume that appears in the back cover.

I dedicate this book to my teachers--Professors Joong-Whi Kwon, Chon-Deuk Pi, Masataro Takesue, and Sung Sik Cho.

S. J. C.
November 1995

TABLE OF ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS

The following table shows some Romanization systems: Yale (the Yale Romanization adopted in this book*); M-R (the McCune-Reischauer system); SoK (South Korea's Ministry of Education system, 1984); NoK (North Korea's Academy of Sciences system (cf. Martin et al. 1967); ISO (International Standardization Organization; for consonants, both South (S) and North (N) Korea's drafts are provisionally adopted). The numbers are those assigned by ISO). For a commentary on the interpretation of the phonetic symbols, see Chapter 2.

- Consonants

Hankul	Sound []	Yale	M-R	SoK	NoK	ISO S / N	No.
ㄱ	k, g	k	k, g	k, g	k	g / k	1
ㅋ	k ^h	kh	k'	k'	kh	k / kh	2
ㆁ	k'	kk	kk	kk	kk	gg / kk	3
ㄷ	t, d	t	t, d	t, d	t	d / t	4
ㅌ	t ^h	th	t'	th	th	t / th	5
ㄸ	t'	tt	tt	tt	tt	dd / tt	6
ㅂ	p, b	p	p, b	p, b	p	b / p	7
ㅃ	p ^h	ph	p'	p'	ph	p / ph	8
ㅍ	p'	pp	pp	pp	pp	bb / pp	9
ㅈ	c, j	c	ch, j	ch, j	ts	j / c	10
ㅊ	c ^h	ch	ch'	ch'	tsh	c / ch	11
ㅌ	c'	cc	tch	tch	tss	jj / cc	12
ㅅ	s	s	s	s	s	s	13
ㅆ	s'	ss	ss	ss	ss	ss	14
ㅎ	h	h	h	h	h	h	15
ㅇ	ŋ	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng, zero	16
ㄴ	n	n	n	n	n	n	17
ㄹ	l, r	l	l, r	l, r	r	l, r	18
ㅁ	m	m	m	m	m	m	19

- Vowels

Hankul	Sound []	Yale	M-R	SoK	NoK	ISO	No.
ㅏ	a	a	a	a	a	a	20
ㅑ	ə	e	ǒ	ǒ	ǒ	eo	21
ㅓ	o	o	o	o	o	o	22
ㅕ	u	wu	u	u	u	u	23
ㅡ	i	u	ǔ	ǔ	ǔ	eu	24
ㅣ	l	i	i	i	i	i	25
ㅙ	æ	ay	ae	ae	ai	ae	26
ㅛ	e	ey	e	e	e	e	27
ㅜ	ō	oy	oe	oe	oi	oe	28
ㅠ	^y a	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	29
ㅝ	^y ə	ye	yǒ	yǒ	yǒ	yeo	30
ㅞ	^y o	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	31
ㅟ	^y u	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	32
ㅚ	^y æ	yay	yae	yae	yai	yae	33
ㅜ	^y e	yey	ye	ye	ye	ye	34
ㅘ	^w a	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	35
ㅙ	^w ə	we	wǒ	wǒ	wǒ	weo	36
ㅛ	ü	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	37
ㅜ	^w æ	way	wae	wae	wai	wae	38
ㅞ	^w e	wey	we	we	we	we	39
ㅟ	i ^y	uy	ǔi	ǔi	ǔi	yi	40

* The vowel letter <ㅕ> is romanized as <wu> across the board in this book, whereas in the Yale system it is <u> after a bilabial (<ㅍ (p), ㅍ (pp), ㅍ (ph)>; <ㅁ (m)>) or <wu> elsewhere.

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

A(DJ)	adjective
AC	adnoun/adjective clause
ADN	adnoun
ADNZ	adnominalizer (suffix)
ADV	adverb
ADVC	adverb clause
ADVP	adverb phrase
ADVT	adverbative (suffix: <i>key</i>)
ADVZ	adverbializer (suffix)
AGT	agent
AN	adjectival noun
AP	adnoun/adjective phrase
AUX	auxiliary (verb/adjective)
BL	blunt (speech level)
C	consonant; complement; clause; context
CAU	causative (suffix)
C _D	direction complement
C _L	locative complement
C _O	object complement
C _S	subject complement
CL	classifier (= counter); clause
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
CON	connective
CONJ	conjunctive (particle)
COP	copula
DCL	declarative (ending)
DET	determiner
DF	discourse function
DS	discourse segment
DT	discourse type
E	event time
EK	European-Korean (loanword)
EXC	exclamative
F	final position (word-final)
FA	familiar (speech level)
FO	formal (speech level)
FOC	focus

GEN	genitive (particle)
GER	gerund (suffix: <i>ko</i>)
GO	goal
H	hearer
HON	honorific (form)
I	initial position (word-initial)
IC	immediate constituent
IN	intimate (speech level)
INF	infinitive (suffix: <i>e/a</i> [])
INST	instrumental
INT	interrogative
J	Japanese
lit.	literal
LOC	locative
M	modifier; medial position (word-medial)
NC	noun clause
NEG	negative
NK	native Korean (word)
NOMZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
O	object
O _A	agentive object
O _I	indirect object
O _L	locative object
O _{OBL}	oblique object
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OM	object marker (particle: <i>ul/lul</i>)
P	particle
PAS	passive (suffix)
PAT	patient
PL	plain (speech level)
PLU	plural (particle: <i>tul</i>)
PO	polite (speech-level particle: <i>yo</i>)
POSS	possessive
PP	particle phrase
PR	promissory (S-type: <i>(u)ma</i>)
PRED	predicate
PREP	preposition
prf	prefix
PROJ	projective (suffix: <i>tolok</i>)
PRP	propositive (S-type)
PRS	present tense (suffix)

PST	past tense (suffix)
Q	question
QU	quotative (particle: <i>ko</i>)
R	reference time
r	root
REF	reference
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RET	retrospective mood (suffix: <i>-te</i>)
S	sentence; subject; speaker; speech time
SE	sentence ender
SG	singular
SK	Sino-Korean (word)
SL	sentence level
SM	subject marker (particle: <i>i/ka</i>)
SO	source
SS	sentence structure
ST	sentence type
SU	susceptive (suffix: <i>ci</i>)
SUBJ	subject
suf	suffix
TNS	tense
TOP	topic (particle: <i>(n)un</i>)
TS	tree structure
U	utterance
V	verb; vowel
vi	intransitive verb
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VOL	volitional mood (suffix: <i>keyss</i>)
VP	verb phrase
vt	transitive verb
vtt	ditransitive verb
?	semi-grammatical (syntactically)
*	ungrammatical (syntactically)
#	inappropriate (pragmatically)
##	more inappropriate
< >	grapheme (or string); list
[]	phonetic value, zero (if empty); set
//	phoneme
-	morpheme boundary (optionally marked)
.	morpheme boundary (interchangeable with the dot '.')

1. Introduction

Korean is spoken as a native language by 65 million people on the Korean Peninsula in the Far East. It is also spoken as a native or near-native language by about five million Korean residents overseas, mainly in China, America, Japan and Russia.¹

The genealogical affiliation of Korean to other languages is indeterminate, even though a leading hypothesis about its origin is that it is one of the Altaic languages along with Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu-Tungus and that it branched out from Proto-Altaic a few thousand years ago (Poppe 1965, Street 1962). The difficulty of reconstructing genetic ties to other languages is mainly due to the meager evidence of written data. Modern Korean is an outgrowth of the Silla vernacular, the language spoken by the people of the Silla Kingdom (676-918)--the first unified nation on the Korean Peninsula--in the 7th century. The Silla language, which represents a language spoken in the south along with the Three Han States, may or may not be of the same language family as that spoken by the people of Koguryo in southern Manchuria and the northern part of the peninsula for about eight centuries (the 1st century B.C. until the 7th century A.D.). In all probability, a few millennia ago Korean was born of mixed blood: the Silla language of the south and the Koguryo language of the north.²

Historically, Korean may be divided into three stages: Old Korean (up to the 11th century), Middle Korean (up to the 17th century), and Modern Korean. Since linguistic data or written documents pertaining to Old Korean are scanty and all recorded in Chinese characters,³ it is all but impossible to reconstruct the sound system of Old Korean. The language of the Koryo, who came to rule the nation after the Silla for over four hundred years (918-1392) is best known in the writing system of Itwu, a method for recording the Korean sounds with Chinese characters. The advent of Hankul, the native alphabet, invented in the mid-15th century (1446) by King Sejong of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), brought forth linguistic inquiry on the structure of Middle Korean. The sound system of Middle

Korean had 22 consonants and seven vowels; in contrast, that of Modern Korean has 19 consonants and 10 vowels.⁴ Consonant clusters, which Middle Korean had in word-initial position (e.g. <pt (ㅍㅌ)>, <ps (ㅍㅅ)>, and <pst (ㅍㅌㅅ)>) are no longer extant in Modern Korean. Middle Korean also had a pitch accent system--with three types of pitch: high, rising, and low. The pitch system is lost in Modern Korean except for some dialects in Kyengsang Province; the rising pitch is generally replaced by lengthening.

In Modern Korean there are quite a few regionally characterizable dialects in South and North Korea.⁵ Dialectal variations, however, are no barrier to communication, as they are largely phonological, involving the vowel system. In some dialects, the distinction between /e/ (<ㅔ (ey)>) and /æ/ (<ㅐ (ay)>) or between /i^y/ (<ㅟ (uy)>) and /i/ (<ㅡ (u)>) is not made; in many dialects, the the round high /ü/ (<ㅟ (wi)>) and the round mid /ö/ (<ㅟ (oy)>) are not single vowels but diphthongs /^wi/ and /^we/, respectively. Accordingly, the overall vowel pattern of Modern Korean varies from 10 to 7 vowels, depending on the dialect spoken.

An overview of some salient typological characteristics of Korean may be in order. Korean has a rich system of sound symbolism. The following reduplicate forms (as adverbs) all describe movements of the flow of water: *col-col*, *cwul-cwul*, *cwal-cwal*, *cil-cil*, *chel-chel*, *chwal-chwal*, *ccol-ccol*, *ccwul-ccwul*, *chelleng-chelleng*, *chwulleng-chwulleng*, *ccolok-ccolok*, *ccilkkum-ccilkkum*, *ttok-ttok*, *ttwuk-ttwuk*, and many more. Korean has a mixed system of two types of writing: the *Hankul* (native Korean) writing and the *Hanca* (Chinese character) writing. The former is alphabetic, or more precisely morphophonemic and the latter ideographic. More than one half of the Korean words are Sino-Korean (SK) words--words representable with Chinese characters; they are either borrowed directly from Classic Chinese or indirectly from Sino-Japanese words. Consequently, Korean has a great number of doublets--a native Korean (NK) word and a Sino-Korean (SK) word. Morphologically, Korean is an agglutinative language with rich verbal inflections. The affixes agglutinate to a verbal stem one after another in a fixed order, each functioning as a marker of honorification, tense, aspect, mood, sentence level or sentence type. Syntactically, Korean is an SOV (subject-object-verb) language with relatively free word order. All the modifiers precede the modified elements. Case is not declensional: it is marked by particles (or postpositions) attached to a noun. In addition to the case marking (or better, grammatical-function marking, as used in this book), particles mark discourse functions like topic or focus, and also form adverb phrases attached to nouns. From a discourse perspective, Korean has a system of honorification, which is formally reflected in the personal

pronouns, nouns, verbs, and verbal suffixes. Korean is a topic, as well as subject, prominent language and the topic or known elements are suppressed in a discourse.

What follows is a brief survey on the study of Korean. It was around the turn of the 20th century that Korean was first subject to serious linguistic scrutiny by native grammarians, Kil-Cwun Yu and Si-Kyeng Cwu.⁶ Cwu is a forerunner in the study of Korean grammar and his work *Kwuke Mwupep* [*Korean Grammar*] (1910) extensively dealt with parts of speech and syntax as well as sounds. Some decades later Hyon-Pai Choi came along with *Wuli Malpon* [*Our Grammar*] (1937), which was mainly prescriptive but comprehensive in dealing with phonetics and parts of speech. Historical study on Korean was initiated by Gustaf J. Ramstedt, who claimed that Korean is one of the Altaic languages (*A Korean Grammar*, 1939; *Studies in Korean Etymology*, 1949). While the main trend of research on Korean was historical in its nature in the 1950s and 1960s, the descriptive and structuralist approach to Korean was undertaken by Samuel E. Martin (1954) and forty years later with his *Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the History of the Korean Language* (1992). Since the late 1960s, transformational and generative studies of Korean grammar have been steadily promoted at home and abroad, encompassing the fields of phonology, syntax and semantics.⁷ Meanwhile, historical and diachronic studies of Korean have been carried out by grammarians at home and abroad.

Grammar is a complex system, each part of which cannot be properly explained in abstraction from the whole. All parts of the grammar are mutually defining and there is no simple linear path we can take in explaining one part in terms of another. The method of presentation adopted in this book is to order the description of Korean grammar in such a way that simple units come before more complex ones: scripts and sounds--words--word classes--sentences--extended sentences--discourse.

The book is composed of seven chapters. After the introductory chapter, writing and sound systems are presented in Chapter 2, where following a brief historical survey on the use of Hanca in Korea the Hankul writing system is introduced and illustrated with the Hankul symbols and sounds; the sound system is treated with some sound rules and suprasegmental features as well as vowels and consonants. Words and word classes are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Eight word classes are set up: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adnouns, adverbs, particles, and interjections. Chapter 5 describes simple sentences, including sentence types, basic sentence patterns, semantic roles, negation, passive and causative constructions, and TAM (tense, aspect and mood). Chapter 6 deals with extended sentences, including compound,

complex and mixed sentences. Chapter 7 treats topics of discourse such as speech acts, honorification, topic-focus articulation, reference and ellipsis; in the last section is given discourse analyses of a dialogue and a passage from a literary essay. Appended to the book are some reading materials representing both spoken and written modes of discourse, including a dialogue, a play, tales, and a prayer.

2. Scripts and Sounds

2.1. Writing Systems

Two kinds of scripts are used side by side in Korean: the native Korean (NK) Hankul writing and the Sino-Korean (SK) Hanca writing. Hankul is a unique alphabetic writing which came into being in the mid-15th century. Up until then, Hanca had been the sole means to represent the language in writing for over one thousand years.

2.1.1. *The Hanca Writing*

Since Hanca is ideographic in nature, it is used to show meanings as well as Korean sounds. Hanca is a sort of lingua franca of writing in Asia. It was introduced into Japan via Korea around the 7th century; it represents the hard core of the vocabularies of Korean and Japanese. It is also used in Hongkong, Malaysia and Singapore (in South East Asia)--not to speak of China and Taiwan, the two countries where Hanca is the medium of writing and communication among the speakers of different Chinese languages.

SK words, which make up more than a half of the Korean vocabulary, are written in Hanca. Since SK words can be written in Hankul in place of Hanca, the use of Hanca was discouraged or even banned from the official publications of the government and Hanca disappeared from the textbooks of middle schools for some time (1948-54) in South Korea.⁸ The number of Hanca taught at middle school has since been fixed to 1800 characters. There is now an increasingly loud demand for teaching Hanca at the elementary school level in South Korea. The current state of affairs as to the use of Hanca is in flux. We may not have to write SK words in Hanca but more than half of the words we use are SK words, whether they are written in Hanca or Hankul.

Setting aside the issue of Hanca, we will now outline the Hankul writing and the sound system of Korean.

The basic combinations of vowel (V) and consonant (C) letters (i.e. C-V form) are shown in the following (incomplete) table. The order of letters in the table is the standard one. Notice that the <ㅇ> in the middle of the list of consonant letters stands for a dummy letter with no phonetic value.

(3) Basic combinatory chart of vowel and consonant letters

	V	ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ	ㅡ	ㅣ
C		a	ya	e	ye	o	yo	wu	yu	u	i
ㄱ		가	가	거	겨	고	교	구	규	그	기
k		ka	kya	ke	kye	ko	kyo	kwu	kyu	ku	ki
ㄴ		나	냐	너	녀	...					
n		na	nya	ne	nye						
ㄷ		다	다	더					
t		ta	tya	te							
ㄹ		라							
l		la	...								
ㅁ		마									
m		ma									
ㅂ		바									
p		pa									
ㅅ		사									
s		sa									
ㅇ		아	야	어	여	오	요	우	유	으	이
[]		a	ya	e	ye	o	yo	wu	yu	u	i
ㅈ		자	자	저	...						
c		ca	cya	ce							
ㅊ		차	차	...							
ch ¹²		cha	chya	...							
ㅋ		카	...								
kh		kha	...								
ㅌ		타	...								
th		tha	...								
ㅍ		파	...								
ph		pha	...								
ㅎ		하	...								
h		ha	...								

A written syllable, or a block of graphic symbols, is made up of: one (simple or geminated) initial consonant letter (C), including a dummy <ㅇ>, a

vowel letter (V), and one or two optional final consonant letter(s): C(C)+V or C(C)+V+C(C).

(4) Composition of a syllable block: (the initial C includes a dummy symbol <◦>.)

- a. C + V
- b. CC + V
- c. C + V + C
- d. CC + V + C
- e. C + V + CC
- f. CC + V + CC

The initial consonant letter is written on the left, the vowel letter either on the right (ㅏ (a), ㅓ (e), ㅣ (i)) or below (ㅜ (o), ㅜ (wu)), and the final consonant at bottom.

(5) Syllable-block Shapes

Syllable Type	Shape	Example -	Roman Letter	Gloss
a. CV				
i.			na	'T'
ii.			so	'cow'
b. CCV				
i.			tta	'nick'
ii.			tto	'again'
c. CVC				
i.			pam	'chestnut'
ii.			pom	'spring'

d. CCVC

i.	<table border="1"><tr><td>CC</td><td>V</td></tr><tr><td colspan="2">C</td></tr></table>	CC	V	C		<table border="1"><tr><td>ㅌ</td><td>ㅣ</td><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3">ㅍ</td></tr></table>	ㅌ	ㅣ	ㅌ	ㅍ			ttam	'sweat'
CC	V													
C														
ㅌ	ㅣ	ㅌ												
ㅍ														

ii.	<table border="1"><tr><td>CC</td></tr><tr><td>V</td></tr><tr><td>C</td></tr></table>	CC	V	C	<table border="1"><tr><td>ㅍ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅍ</td></tr></table>	ㅍ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ppwul	'horn'
CC										
V										
C										
ㅍ										
ㅌ										
ㅍ										

e. CVCC

i.	<table border="1"><tr><td>C</td><td>V</td></tr><tr><td colspan="2">CC</td></tr></table>	C	V	CC		<table border="1"><tr><td>ㄱ</td><td>ㅣ</td><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3">ㅍ</td></tr></table>	ㄱ	ㅣ	ㅌ	ㅍ			kaps	'price'
C	V													
CC														
ㄱ	ㅣ	ㅌ												
ㅍ														

ii.	<table border="1"><tr><td>C</td></tr><tr><td>V</td></tr><tr><td>CC</td></tr></table>	C	V	CC	<table border="1"><tr><td>ㅎ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅡ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅌ</td></tr></table>	ㅎ	ㅡ	ㅌ	hulk	'soil'
C										
V										
CC										
ㅎ										
ㅡ										
ㅌ										

f. CCVCC

i.	<table border="1"><tr><td>CC</td><td>V</td></tr><tr><td colspan="2">CC</td></tr></table>	CC	V	CC		<table border="1"><tr><td>ㅍ</td><td>ㅣ</td><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td colspan="3">ㅍ</td></tr></table>	ㅍ	ㅣ	ㅌ	ㅍ			kkakk	'cut'
CC	V													
CC														
ㅍ	ㅣ	ㅌ												
ㅍ														

ii.	<table border="1"><tr><td>CC</td></tr><tr><td>V</td></tr><tr><td>CC</td></tr></table>	CC	V	CC	<table border="1"><tr><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅌ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅎ</td></tr></table>	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㅎ	ttwulh	'pierce'
CC										
V										
CC										
ㅌ										
ㅌ										
ㅎ										

g. CVV¹³

	<table border="1"><tr><td>C</td><td>V</td></tr><tr><td>V</td></tr></table>	C	V	V	<table border="1"><tr><td>ㄱ</td><td>ㅣ</td><td>ㅣ</td></tr><tr><td>ㅡ</td><td>ㅣ</td><td>ㅌ</td></tr></table>	ㄱ	ㅣ	ㅣ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅌ	kwi	'ear'
C	V												
V													
ㄱ	ㅣ	ㅣ											
ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅌ											

Traditionally, Korean (like Chinese) is written vertically from top to bottom and right to left. Currently, however, the horizontal writing of left-to-right and top-to-bottom is prevailing. This trend is due to the use of Arabic numerals, Roman letters, and more recently the spread of computers. So, at present, these two

modes of writing coexist in Korea.

- (6) a. Traditional: Vertical
- ↓
 ↓

- b. Current: Horizontal
- →

There is no distinction between upper and lower cases in Korean as in English, nor such distinctions as *katakana* and *hiragana* in Japanese. Throughout the book, however, proper nouns and the sentence-initial word are written in initial capitals (e.g. *Mia* and *Yengkwuk* 'England'), simply to facilitate readability for those accustomed to it.

The problem of spelling has always been a thorny one ever since a unified spelling system was set up in 1933 by the Korean Language Society. It centers around dialectal as well as etymological issues. In 1988, after a series of revisions, an official spelling system was made public by the Ministry of Education in South Korea.¹⁴ There is also a problem of spacing for word division. The traditional practice was, as in Chinese and Japanese, running together without a space between words. The use of spacing began around the turn of the 20th century.¹⁵ Guidelines for spacing were set out, along with the spelling system, in 1988. Considerable leeway still prevails especially in treating noun compounds, numerals and classifiers and verb compounds. Two most common practices are: (1) particles are attached to the preceding noun and (2) inflectional endings to the verbal stem.

The following illustration shows the commonly used spacing and the one practiced as part of interlinear glossing in this book. The dot (.) and hyphen (-) are used here as interchangeable, both marking morpheme boundaries; the latter is also used to mark word boundaries between a noun and a particle (Noun + Particle).

(7) a. Noun + Particle (no spacing)

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| i. <i>mianun</i> | ii. <i>chayki</i> | iii. <i>mikwukeyseun</i> | |
| <i>Mia-nun</i> | <i>chayk-i</i> | <i>Mikwuk-eyse-nun</i> | (as used in this book) |
| TOP | book-SM | America-at-TOP | |

b. Verb Stem + Suffix (no spacing)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----|------------------------|
| i. <i>mekko issessta</i> | | |
| <i>mek-ko iss-ess-ta</i> | or | (as used in this book) |
| <i>mek.ko iss.ess.ta</i> | | |
| eat-GER exist-PST-IN/DCL | or | |
| eat-ing be-PST.SE | or | |
| eating was | | |

2.2. The Sound System

The sound system of Korean can be represented by the use of Hankul, up to the phonemic level of description. There are 10 vowels, 2 glides, and 19 consonants.

2.2.1. Vowels

The following table shows the overall pattern of Korean vowels, inclusive of dialectal variations: sounds (phonemes) are given inside the slashes (/ /); letters, both Hankul and Roman, are inside angled brackets (< >).

(8) Vowel Letters and Sounds

Sound	/	i	e	æ	ü	ö	i	ə	u	o	a	/
Hankul	<	ㅣ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅡ	ㅜ	ㅓ	ㅗ	ㅏ	>
Roman	<	i	ey	ay	wi	oy	u	e	wu	o	a	>

The following is the articulatory description of the vowels listed above.¹⁶

(9) Overall Vowel System

	Front		Back	
	Spread	Round	Spread	Round
High	ㅣ /i/	ㅛ /ü/	ㅡ /i/	ㅓ /u/
Mid	ㅓ /e/	ㅕ /ö/	ㅜ /ə/	ㅗ /o/
Low	ㅕ /æ/			ㅏ /a/

In addition to the simple vowels shown above, there are a number of diphthongs formed with two glides: the round /w/ and the front /y/.

(10) Diphthongs: Glide + Vowel

Sound	/	^y a	^y æ	^y ə	^y e	^y o	^w a	^w æ	^w ə	^w e	^y u	i ^y	/
Hankul	<	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅛ	ㅕ	ㅛ	ㅓ	ㅑ	ㅑ	>
Roman	<	ya	yay	ye	yey	yo	wa	way	we	wey	yu	uy	>

Note that the pattern of diphthongs is /glide + vowel/, except for the last

one /iʷ/ (<ㅣ (uy)>).¹⁷

The following is a list of vowels and glides with examples, along with the corresponding Hankul and Roman letters.

(11) Korean Vowels

Sound	Letter		Description	Example
	Hankul	Roman		
/ i /	< ㅣ >	< i >	High Front Spread	<i>si.min</i> 'citizen' <i>pi.mil</i> 'secret'
e	ㅔ	ey	Mid Front Spread	<i>ney-key</i> 'to you'
æ	ㅐ	yey ¹⁸ ay	Low Front Spread	<i>kikyey</i> 'machine' <i>nay-key</i> 'to me'
ü	ㅟ	wi	High Front Round	<i>say.hay</i> 'new year' <i>wi</i> 'above' <i>cwi</i> 'mouse'
ö	ㅞ	oy	Mid Front Round	<i>oy.pwu</i> 'outside' <i>soy</i> 'iron'
i	ㅡ	u	High Back Spread	<i>kulim</i> 'picture' <i>susung</i> 'teacher'
ə	ㅓ	e	Mid Back Spread	<i>emeni</i> 'mother' <i>sense</i> 'oath'
u	ㅜ	wu	High Back Round	<i>pwupwu</i> 'husband and wife; wuli 'we'
o	ㅝ	o	Mid Back Round	<i>moca</i> 'hat' <i>phokpho</i> 'waterfall'
a	ㅑ	a	Low Back Spread	<i>apeci</i> 'father' <i>salang</i> 'love'

(12) Semi-Vowels

Sound	Letter		Description	Example
	Hankul	Roman		
/ ʷe /	< ㅟ >	< yey >	Semi-V y + ey	<i>yeyoy</i> 'exception' <i>yeyuy</i> 'manners'
ʷæ	ㅞ	yay	Semi-V y + ay	<i>yayki</i> 'story' <i>Yayya</i> 'Hey'
ʷə	ㅓ	ye	Semi-V y + e	<i>yeca</i> 'woman' <i>chenye</i> 'maiden'
ʷa	ㅑ	ya	Semi V y + a	<i>yasim</i> 'ambition' <i>yoyak</i> 'summary'
ʷu	ㅜ	yu	Semi V y + u	<i>yuse</i> 'will' <i>wuyu</i> 'milk'

^y o	ㅛ	yo	Semi-V	y + yo	<i>kyoswu</i> 'professor' <i>hakkyo</i> 'school'
^w e	ㅟ	wey	Semi-V	w + ey	<i>kweyto</i> 'track' <i>palchwe</i> 'abstract'
^w æ	ㅠ	way	Semi-V	w + ay <i>twayci</i> 'pig'	<i>way</i> 'why'
^w ə	ㅢ	we	Semi-V	w + e <i>sowen</i> 'wish'	<i>wenchik</i> 'principle'
^w a	ㅤ	wa	Semi-V	w + a	<i>kwankwang</i> 'sight-seeing' <i>hyokwa</i> 'effect'
ⁱ y	ㅠ	uy	Semi-V	i + i	<i>uyca</i> 'chair' <i>uyuy</i> 'sense'

2.2.2. Consonants

There are 19 consonants: 4 plain stops, 4 aspirated stops, 4 tense stops, 3 spirants, 3 nasals, and 1 liquid.

(13) Consonants: / p, p^h, p', t, t^h, t', c, c^h, c', k, k^h, k', s, s', h, m, n, ŋ, l /

As noted earlier, the aspirated ([^h]) and tense ([']) obstruents are analyzed as unitary, not geminate or compound. Note also that the obstruents, all voiceless phonemically, outnumber the sonorants by more than ten (15 vs. 4), which may give rise to an acoustic impression that Korean is harsh, robust, or masculine.

The above consonants are shown below along with the Hankul and Roman letters.

(14) Consonants

Sound	/ p	p ^h	p'	t	t ^h	t'	c	c ^h	c'	k	k ^h	k'	s	s'	h	m	n	ŋ	l /
Hankul	< ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㅌ	ㄷ	ㄷ	ㄷ	ㄱ	ㄱ	ㄱ	ㅅ	ㅅ	ㅎ	ㅁ	ㄴ	ㅇ	ㄹ >
Roman	< p	ph	pp	t	th	tt	c	ch	cc	k	kh	kk	s	ss	h	m	n	ng	l >

In terms of manner and position of articulation these consonants may be classified as shown in the following table.

(15) Manner and Position of Articulation

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Obstruent						
Stop	(lax)	p	t		k	
	(aspirate)	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
	(tense)	p'	t'		k'	
Affricate	(lax)				c	
	(aspirate)			c ^h		
	(tense)			c'		
Fricative	(lax)		s			h
	(tense)		s'			
Nasal		m	n		ŋ	
Liquid			l			

Korean consonants, whose phonemic values are identified with the Hankul consonant letters, have different allophonic variants, depending on their position in a word. The following is a list of major allophones of each consonant. (I = word-initial, M = word-medial (intervocalic), F = word-final; the superscript [^h] indicates that the sound is 'unreleased'.)

(16) Korean Consonants

Sound	Letter		Allophone	Environment (position)	Example
	H	R			
/ /	<	>	< > []		
p	ㅍ	ㅍ	p	I	<i>pay</i> 'ship', <i>pap</i> 'meal'
			b	M	<i>apeci</i> 'father', <i>kipon</i> 'basis'
			p'	F	<i>sip</i> 'ten', <i>cip</i> 'house'
p ^h	ㅍ	ㅍ	p ^h	I, M	<i>phal</i> 'arm', <i>phili</i> 'flute'
			p'	F	<i>aph</i> 'front', <i>swuph</i> 'forest'
p'	ㅍ	ㅍ	p'	I, M	<i>ppwuli</i> 'root', <i>ppye</i> 'bone'
				F	- not occurring
t	ㅌ	ㅌ	t	I	<i>tal</i> 'moon', <i>twul</i> 'two'
			d	M	<i>pantal</i> 'half-moon', <i>pata</i> 'sea'
			t'	F	- not occurring
t ^h	ㅌ	ㅌ	t ^h	I, M	<i>thal</i> 'mask', <i>naktha</i> 'camel'
			t'	F	<i>kkuth</i> 'end', <i>nath</i> 'piece'
t'	ㅌ	ㅌ	t'	I, M	<i>ttal</i> 'daughter', <i>uttum</i> 'top'
				F	- not occurring
k	ㄱ	ㄱ	k	I	<i>kong</i> 'ball', <i>koki</i> 'meat'
			g	M	<i>koki</i> 'meat', <i>caki</i> 'self'
			k'	F	<i>pwuk</i> 'drum', <i>kwuk</i> 'soup'
k ^h	ㄱ	ㄱ	k ^h	I, M	<i>kho</i> 'nose', <i>cokha</i> 'nephew'
			k'	F	<i>pwuekh</i> 'kitchen', <i>tongnyekh</i> 'east'

k'	ㄱ	kk	k'	I, M	<i>kkoli</i> 'tail', <i>thokki</i> 'rabbit'
			k'	F	<i>pakk</i> 'outside', <i>anphakk</i> 'in and out'
c	ㅈ	c	c	I	<i>cam</i> 'sleep', <i>cito</i> 'map'
			j	M	<i>moca</i> 'hat', <i>sicak</i> 'beginning'
			t'	F	<i>nae</i> 'daytime', <i>pie</i> 'debt'
c ^h	ㅊ	ch	c ^h	I, M	<i>cham</i> 'truth', <i>kicha</i> 'train'
			t'	F	<i>kkoch</i> 'flower', <i>nach</i> 'face'
c'	ㅌ	cc	c'	I, M	<i>ccam</i> 'leisure', <i>iccok</i> 'this side'
				F	- not occurring
s	ㅅ	s	s	I, M	<i>sal</i> 'flesh', <i>kiswul</i> 'technique'
			t'	F	<i>nas</i> 'sickle', <i>kos</i> 'place'
s'	ㅆ	ss	s'	I, M	<i>ssal</i> 'rice', <i>malssum</i> 'saying'
			t'	F	<i>iss.ta</i> 'exist', <i>kass.ta</i> 'went'
h	ㅎ	h	h	I, M	<i>hanul</i> 'sky', <i>kiho</i> 'sign'
				F	- not occurring
m	ㅁ	m	m	I, M,F	<i>maum</i> 'mind', <i>namwu</i> 'tree'
n	ㄴ	n	n	I, M,F	<i>nwun</i> 'eye', <i>hana</i> 'one'
	ㅇ	ng		I	- not occurring
				M	<i>kongki</i> 'air', <i>sayngmyeng</i> 'life'
				F	<i>kang</i> 'river', <i>pang</i> 'room'
l	ㄹ	l	l	I	- not occurring (except for loanwords like <i>lisuthu</i> 'list')
			r	M	<i>salam</i> 'human', <i>solli</i> 'sound'
			l	F	<i>mal</i> 'word', <i>tal</i> 'moon'

2.2.3. Sound Rules

Some of the allophonic variations of the consonant phonemes listed above may be given in the form of sound rules. Three phonologically conditioned sound rules (namely, voicing, *l-r* alternation, and neutralization) are given below, first informally and then formally.

(17) Voicing

- The lax obstruents /p, t, c, k/ are voiced in intervocalic position.¹⁹

p → b	} / V _ V	<i>kipan</i>	→	<i>kiban</i>	'base'
t → d		<i>kito</i>	→	<i>kido</i>	'prayer'
c → j		<i>cici</i>	→	<i>ciji</i>	'support'
k → g		<i>koki</i>	→	<i>kogi</i>	'meat'

(18) $l \rightarrow r$

- The lateral liquid /l/ becomes [r] in intervocalic position.

$l \rightarrow r / \quad V _ V$	<i>palam</i> → <i>param</i> 'wind'
	<i>tali</i> → <i>tari</i> 'leg'
	<i>soli</i> → <i>sori</i> 'sound'

(19) Neutralization

- The obstruents are neutralized to unreleased stops in word-final position.

a. $p, p^h \rightarrow p' / _ \#$	<i>cip</i> 'house'; <i>aph</i> 'front'
b. $k, k^h, k' \rightarrow k' / _ \#$	<i>pwuk</i> 'drum'; <i>pwuekh</i> 'kitchen'
	<i>pakk</i> 'outside'
c. $\left. \begin{array}{l} t, t^h \\ c, c^h \\ s, s' \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow t' / _ \#$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} nat \text{ 'grain'} \\ nat^h \text{ 'piece'} \\ nac \text{ 'day'} \\ nac^h \text{ 'face'} \\ nas \text{ 'sickle'} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow nat$
	<i>iss-</i> 'exist'

The phenomenon of assimilation affecting neighbouring sounds across morpheme boundaries is quite pervasive in Korean. Some morphophonemic rules of the following kind may account for the assimilation.

(20) Assimilation Rules

a. $\left. \begin{array}{l} p \\ t \\ k \end{array} \right] + m/n \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} m \\ n \\ \eta \end{array} \right] + m/n$	<i>cip.man</i> → <i>cimman</i> 'only house'
	<i>mat.myenuli</i> → <i>manmyenwri</i> 'first daughter-in-law'
	<i>hak.mwun</i> → <i>hangmwun</i> 'scholarship'
b. $\left. \begin{array}{l} m \\ \eta \end{array} \right] + l \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} m \\ \eta \end{array} \right] + n$	<i>sim.li</i> → <i>simni</i> 'psychology'
	<i>sang.lyu</i> → <i>sangnyu</i> 'upper stream'
c. $\left. \begin{array}{l} p \\ t \\ k \end{array} \right] + l \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} m \\ n \\ \eta \end{array} \right] + n$	<i>sip.li</i> → <i>simni</i> '10 miles'
	<i>kot.latio...</i> → <i>konnadio...</i> 'soonradio...'
	<i>phok.lyek</i> → <i>phongnyek</i> 'violence'
d. $\left. \begin{array}{l} n + l \\ l + n \end{array} \right] \rightarrow l + l$	<i>non.li</i> → <i>nolli</i> 'logic'
	<i>wel.nam</i> → <i>wellam</i> 'coming to south'

Morphophonemic strings across morpheme boundaries are shown in the following table. The column at the left shows the end of the prior syllable

and the line across the top the beginning of the following syllable. At a point of intersection, an expected normal string is left blank; only a string undergoing morpho-phonemic rules is entered.

(21) Assimilation across morpheme boundaries

	<i>p-</i>	<i>ph-</i>	<i>pp-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>th-</i>	<i>tt-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>ss-</i>	<i>c-</i>	<i>ch-</i>	<i>cc-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>kh-</i>	<i>kk-</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>l-</i>
<i>-p</i>		<i>ph</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>ptt</i>				<i>pss</i>	<i>pcc</i>			<i>pkk</i>				<i>mm</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>ml</i>
<i>-t</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kk</i>		<i>nm</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>nl</i>
<i>-k</i>	<i>kpp</i>			<i>ktt</i>			<i>kss</i>	<i>kcc</i>					<i>kh</i>	<i>kk</i>		<i>ngm</i>	<i>ngn</i>	<i>ngl</i>
<i>-m</i>																		<i>ml</i>
<i>-n</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mph</i>		<i>mpp</i>								<i>ngk</i>	<i>ngkh</i>		<i>mm</i>			<i>nl</i>
<i>-ng</i>	<i>ngn</i>																	
<i>-l</i>																		<i>ll</i>

2.2.4. Suprasegmental Features

The sentence-terminal contour of intonation, namely rising (↑) or falling (↓), plays a role in distinguishing an interrogative from a declarative sentence in the intimate or polite speech level, where the sentence type is not morphologically manifested (cf. 5.2). The rising contour marks a question and the falling contour a statement. The high rising intonation may be treated as marking an echo question (cf. 7.2.4) or a similar speech act. In addition, the level (or sustaining) contour marks a non-final clause ending.

- (22) a. *Mia-ka ttena-ss-e* (yo) ↓ (falling)
 SM leave PST-DCL(PO)
 'Mia (has) left.'
- b. *Mia-ka ttena-ss-e* (yo) ↑ (rising)
 SM leave PST-INT(PO)
 'Did Mia leave?'
- c. *Mia-ka ttena-ss-e* (yo) † (high rising)
 SM leave PST-DCL(PO)
 'Mia left? (did you say?)'
- d. *Pi-ka o- ko* → *palam-i pwul-ess-ta.*
 rain- SM come-and wind-SM blow-PST-PL/DCL
 'It rained and the wind blew.'

Suprasegmental features like length and tone are not distinctive in present-day Korean, even though the long-short distinction of vowel length disambiguates homographic words in some dialects, while a pitch level (high, mid, or low) plays a distinctive role in some southern dialects. The interrelation between length and tone manifested in Seoul and Kimhay (Kyengsang) dialects is

illustrated in (23).

(23) Length and Tone

		Dialect	
		Seoul	Kimhay
		(length)	(tone)
a.	<i>mal</i> 'horse'	[mal] (short)	high
b.	<i>mal</i> 'measure'	[mal] (short)	mid
c.	<i>mal</i> 'word'	[ma:l] (long)	low

Pause or open juncture plays a role in distinguishing syntactic structures. For example, the three sentences in (24) consist of identical strings, but depending on segmentation and pause, they turn out to be distinct syntactically and lexically, as indicated in the English translation.

- (24) a. *Wuli.cip.ey # kaca!*
 we.house.to let's.go
 'Let's go to our house.'
- b. *Wuli # cip.ey # kaca!*
 we house.to let's go
 'Let's go home. (Each goes to his/her home.)'
- c. *Wuli.cip.ey # ka # ca!*
 we.house.to go sleep
 'Go to our house and sleep.'

In the c-sentence *ca* is an imperative form of 'sleep', whereas in the a- and b-sentences, *ca* is a verbal suffix with a propositive or suggestive meaning. Without a pause in between *wulicipey* means 'to/at our house'; with a pause, *wuli* is interpreted as the nominative 'we', not the possessive 'our'.

3. Words

Just as any natural numbers can be represented on the basis of a small set, namely 10 Arabic numerals, an infinitely large number of words can be produced in speech or writing from a small set of basic sounds or letters. There are two stocks of words in Korean, reflecting the two sources of its writing system. One is native and the other is Sino-Korean. After a brief survey of these different sources of Korean words we will look into the internal structure of words--inflection and derivation. The final section describes sound symbolism.

3.1. Native and Sino-Korean Words

Sino-Korean (SK) words outnumber the native Korean (NK) words by about 15 percent.²⁰ The SK words are considered an integral part of the common vocabulary of the language although a large number of them were borrowed, along with the Chinese characters, from Chinese in the 3rd century onwards. Another source of the SK words is Japanese; thousands of Sino-Japanese words were borrowed from Japanese and 'naturalized' during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945). The SK words are cultivated terms, including terms of politics, government organizations or academic disciplines. By contrast, the NK words are those basic to everyday use, including kinship terms, body-part names and numerals. This situation is similar to that of English, where cultivated words are of Latin or French origin. Since Chinese characters are ideographic, one can build up new words by compounding one with another. They can function not only as a root, but as a prefix or a suffix as well. Consider, for example, a Chinese character *hwa* (話) 'speech'. It can be used to form, among others, *swu.hwa* 'sign language', *hwa.yong* 'pragmatics', *hwa.hayng* 'speech act'.²¹

(1) *hwa* (話) 'speech'

<i>swu.hwa</i>	(手話 hand.speech)	'sign language'
<i>hwa.yong</i>	(話用 speech.use)	'linguistic pragmatics'
<i>hwa.hayng</i>	(話行 speech.act)	'speech act'

There are hundreds of commonly used doublets: one is of NK origin and the other of SK origin. Notably, there are two sets of numerals and kinship terms. A third layer is recent borrowings from English and other languages. Those loanwords occupy about 7 percent of the vocabulary, but they are slowly and steadily on the rise in the age of information and free trade.

(2) Doublets:

a. Kinship Terms

NK	SK	
<i>apeci</i>	<i>pwuchin</i>	'father'
<i>emeni</i>	<i>mochin</i>	'mother'
<i>epei</i>	<i>pwumo</i>	'parents'
<i>halapeci</i>	<i>copwu</i>	'grandfather'
<i>halmeni</i>	<i>como</i>	'grandmother'
<i>anay</i>	<i>che</i>	'wife'
<i>ay</i>	<i>canye</i>	'children'
<i>atul</i>	<i>casik</i>	'son'
<i>ttal</i>	<i>yesik</i>	'daughter'
-	<i>sonca</i>	'grandson'
-	<i>sonnye</i>	'grand-daughter'

b. Color Terms

NK	SK	
<i>huyn (sayk)</i>	<i>payk (sayk)</i>	'white colour'
<i>ppalkan (sayk)</i>	<i>cek (sayk)</i>	'red colour'
<i>phulun (sayk)</i>	<i>cheng (sayk)</i>	'blue colour'
<i>kemun (sayk)</i>	<i>huk (sayk)</i>	'black colour'

c. Numerals

NK	SK	Arabic
<i>hana</i>	<i>il</i>	1
<i>twul</i>	<i>i</i>	2
<i>seys</i>	<i>sam</i>	3
<i>neys</i>	<i>sa</i>	4
<i>tases</i>	<i>o</i>	5
<i>yeses</i>	<i>yuk</i>	6
<i>ilkop</i>	<i>chil</i>	7
<i>yetel</i>	<i>phal</i>	8
<i>ahop</i>	<i>kwu</i>	9

<i>yel</i>	<i>sip</i>	10	
<i>yel.hana</i>	<i>sip.il</i>	11	(10+1)
<i>yel.twul</i>	<i>sip.i</i>	12	(10+2)
...			
<i>sumwul</i>	<i>i.sip</i>	20	(2x10)
<i>sumwul.seys</i>	<i>i.sip.sam</i>	23	((2x10)+3)
<i>selun</i>	<i>sam.sip</i>	30	(3x10)
<i>mahun</i>	<i>sa.sip</i>	40	(4x10)
<i>swiun</i>	<i>o.sip</i>	50	(5x10)
<i>yeswun</i>	<i>yuk.sip</i>	60	(6x10)
<i>ilhun</i>	<i>chil.sip</i>	70	(7x10)
<i>yetun</i>	<i>phal.sip</i>	80	(8x10)
<i>ahun</i>	<i>kwu.sip</i>	90	(9x10)
-	<i>payk</i>	100	(100)
-	<i>payk.il</i>	101	(100+1)
-	<i>chen</i>	1000	(1000)
-	<i>man</i>	10000	(10000)
-	<i>sip.man</i>	100000	(10x10000)
-	<i>payk.man</i>	1000000	(100x10000)

Note that the NK numerals go up to two digits only, that is, up to 99. For the expression of date and time, the NK numerals are used with hours (up to 12) and the SK numerals with other time units like month, day, minute and second.

(3) Numerals with time expressions

- a. *il-wel phal-il* 'January 8'
1-month 8-day
- b. *sipi-wel sipi-il* 'December 12'
12 month 12-day
- c. *yeltwu-si sipi-pwun* '12 minutes past 12'
12- time 12-minute

SK words may be divided into two categories: nominal and verbal. Semantically, one is an entity type and the other is an event type. SK words are usually in multi-character form, even though there are quite a few one-character words. Entity-type SK words can be converted into event-type words by adding the pro-verb *hata* 'do, be'.

(4) One-character SK words

- a. Nominal (entity type)
- san* (山) 'mountain'
- sin* (神) 'god'
- phyo* (票) 'ticket'

yek (驛) 'station'

b. Verbal (event type)

kwu (求) + *hata* 'seek'

cen (傳) 'transmit'

kup (急) 'urgent'

kwi (貴) 'precious'

The two-character SK word, each character functioning as a morpheme, is regarded as unitary in meaning. The distinction between root and affix is often hard to draw in multi-character SK words. Two-character SK words may be grouped into a nominal (entity) and a verbal (event) type. An SK word consisting of more than two characters may be regarded as a compound word.

(5) Two-character SK words

a. Nominal (entity) type

i. *yuk. ci*

陸 地

land earth

\\

'land'

ii. *tay. lyuk*

大 陸

big land

\\

'continent'

b. Verbal (event) type (+ *hata*)

i. *chak. lyuk*

着 陸

arrive land

\\

'landing (of a plane)'

ii. *sang. lyuk*

上 陸

up land

\\

'landing (of a ship)'

iii. *ceng. cik*

正 直

right straight

\\

'honesty'

Some two-character SK words may have their order reversed, giving rise to a distinct meaning.

(6) a. *hoy.sa* 'company'

(會社)

-- *sa.hoy* 'society'

(社會)

b. *in.myeng* 'person's name'

(人名)

-- *myeng.in* 'master'

(名人)

c. *ye.ca* 'woman'

(女子)

-- *ca.nye* 'son and daughter'

(子女)

SK words abound in homonyms, sharing the same phonological or orthographic shape, though unrelated morphologically. Written in Hankul, the following are homophones and homographs. We use the term homonym for phonological or orthographic identity.²²

- (7) a. *cen.ki* (電氣) 'electricity'
 b. *cen.ki* (傳記) 'biography'
 c. *cen.ki* (前期) 'prior/early period'
 d. *cen.ki* (前記) 'aforementioned'
 e. *cen.ki* (轉記) 'transcription'
 f. *cen.ki* (轉機) 'turning point'

Some SK words are composed of two characters, identical phonetically but opposite in meaning.

- (8) a. *swu.swu* (授受) 'give and receive'
 b. *may.may* (賣買) 'sell and buy'
 c. *pwu.pwu* (夫婦) 'husband and wife'

A common practice in writing, as well as in speaking, is the use of a shortened form which is formed by picking out salient SK characters, out of a sequence of phrasal expressions standing for institutional names. To understand these expressions correctly, we have to know the original institutional names. If they are written in Hankul, it is much harder to know what they stand for; if in Hanca, as (9.c) shows, this can help to disambiguate otherwise homographic shortenings. This is an advantage of the ideographic writing system of Hanca in understanding a written language.

- (9) a. *min.ca.tang* (< *mincwu.cayu.tang*)
 democracy liberty party
 'Democratic Liberal Party'
 b. *cen.hak.lyen* (< *cenkwuk.haksayng.lyenmayng*)
 national student federation
 'National Students Federation'
 c. *min.pang* (i. 民防 < *minkan.pangwi*
 civil defence
 'civil defence'
 ii. 民放 < *minkan.pangsang*
 civil broadcast
 'civil/private broadcast')

3.2. Loanwords

Borrowings from English or other European languages (EK, in short) may be sorted into two: those having counterparts in NK or SK words and those having none.

(10) Loanwords

EK		NK/SK
<i>milkhu</i>	'milk'	<i>wuyu</i> (SK)
<i>hotheyl</i>	'hotel'	<i>yekwan</i> (SK)
<i>phulinthe</i>	'printer'	<i>inswayki</i> (SK)
<i>meynyū</i>	'menu'	<i>siktan</i> (SK), <i>chalimphyo</i> (NK)
<i>kkem</i>	'chewing gum'	-
<i>khephi</i>	'coffee'	-
<i>pesu</i>	'bus'	-
<i>lokheys</i>	'rocket'	-
<i>khempyuthe</i>	'computer'	(<i>censanki</i>) ²³

The loanword *hotheyl* 'hotel' and the SK word *yekwan* 'inn' do not necessarily have the same connotative meaning. The former implies a Western-style or large hotel, whereas the latter is a traditional or small one. The distinction is comparable to the English contrast between *hotel* and *inn*. Similarly, the loanword *phulinthe* 'printer' implies a small printer such as one for computer printout and the SK word *inswayki* implies a large one. The increase of these loanwords is a consequence of the recent influx of the cultural and commercial products of the West--electrical appliances, computer games, CD players and the like. The foreign words coming along with these products are no longer semantically translated into Korean as they used to be. For example, English words with the prefix *tele-* 'distant' came into being as semantic or pseudo-semantic borrowings but now they come in as phonetic borrowings (cf. 11.d,e).²⁴

(11) a. telescope	<i>mang.wen.kyeng</i>	(view + distance + mirror)	- semantic
b. telephone	<i>cen.hwa</i>	(electricity + talk)	- pseudo-semantic
c. telegram	<i>cen.po</i>	(electricity + informing)	- pseudo-semantic
d. teletype	<i>thelletaiphu</i>		- phonetic
e. television	<i>theylleyicyen</i>		- phonetic

Foreign words, including verbs, are borrowed as nouns and they are made verbs with the pro-verb *hata* 'do/be'.

(12) a. <i>ssain-hata</i>	'sign'
b. <i>khisu-hata</i>	'kiss'
c. <i>teymo-hata</i>	'demonstrate'

d. *alpaithu-hata* 'do part time work (from the German *arbeiten* 'work')

Another aspect related to borrowing and writing is the use of acronyms written in Roman letters, similar to English words such as *CNN* (Cable News Network), *NBA* (National Basketball Association), and *MP* (member of parliament; military police). These abbreviations can be ambiguous unless their context is known.²⁵

(13) Abbreviations

<i>KBS</i>	'Korea Broadcasting System'
<i>SBS</i>	'Seoul Broadcasting System'
<i>PD</i>	'producer'
<i>MC</i>	'master of ceremony'
<i>CD</i>	'compact disk'

These forms are usually written in Roman letters, not in Hankul, e.g. 'KBS' is written as *KBS*, not as *khei-pii-eyisu* in Hankul. In this sense, we may as well say that the Roman alphabet has become a subtype of writing system in Korea.

3.3. Word Structure

A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit and a word is composed of one or more morphemes--root, affix (prefix or suffix). A root is extended to a stem when certain affixes like a causative or passive morpheme are added. There are two types of affixes: inflectional and derivational. Given a string of morphemes, it is not easy to determine whether it is one word, single or compound, or a phrase of several words. The borderline between free and bound morphemes is not always clear-cut. It is quite vexing to decide whether a bound morpheme forming a nominal expression is a root or an affix, particularly in SK words.

The stem is a form with one or more roots. A criterion for distinguishing two classes of morphemes, derivational and inflectional, is that the former changes the word class and the latter does not. Verbal affixes are inflectional, including nominalizer suffixes *-(u)m* and *-ki*, somewhat akin to the English gerund *-ing* and infinitive marker *to*. The following are some illustrations of word formation.

3.4. Compounding

A compound is a word composed of two or more free words. A two-character SK word (e.g. *hak.sayng* 'student') is not a compound, whereas *chayk.sang* 'desk' is a compound as its components *chayk* 'book' and *sang* 'table' are each free.²⁶ Often it is hard to determine whether a string of character or sound segments is a word, a compound, or a phrase.

Nominal compounds are quite common and show the following patterns: (1) NK Noun + NK Noun; (2) SK Noun + SK Noun; (3) hybrids: mixing of NK and SK Nouns.

(17) NK Noun + NK Noun

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. <i>pwul.kkoch</i> | 'firecracker' |
| fire flower | |
| b. <i>koki.capi</i> | 'fishing' |
| fish catching | |
| c. <i>pwul.pata</i> | 'sea of fire' |
| fire sea | |
| d. <i>mul.koki</i> | 'fish' |
| water meat | |
| e. <i>pwul.koki</i> | 'Korean (beef) barbecue' |
| fire meat | |
| f. <i>nala.seywuki</i> | 'making of a nation' |
| nation making | |

(18) SK Noun + SK Noun

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>han.kwuk-ceng.pwu</i> | 'Korean government' |
| SK SK SK SK | |
| \ / \ / | |
| Korea government | |
| b. <i>yeng.e- kong.pwu</i> | 'English study' |
| SK SK SK SK | |
| \ / \ / | |
| English study | |
| c. <i>ko. sok- to.lo</i> | 'highway' |
| SK SK SK SK | |
| \ / \ / | |
| high.speed road | |
| d. <i>pak.sa-hak.wi-non.mwun-cey.chwul- ca.kyek-si.hem- wi.wen.hoy</i> | |
| doctor-degree-thesis- submission-qualification-exam-committee | |

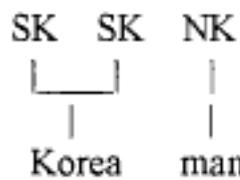
paksa-hakwi-nonmwun-ceychwul-cakyek-sihem-wiwenhoy



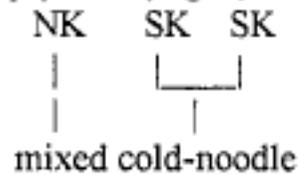
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(19) Mixed Compound-hybrid: NK/SK - SK/NK

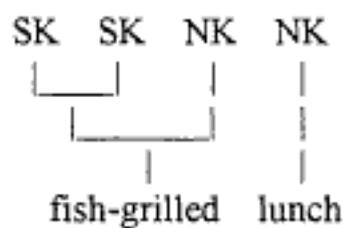
a. *han.kwuk-salam* 'Korean (people)'



b. *pipim-nayng.myen* 'mixed cold noodle'



c. *sayng.sen.kwui-tosilak* 'grilled-fish lunch'



New compounds may be formed by chopped foreign (English) and SK words.

(20) a. *heyl-ki* 'helicopter'

hel-machine

b. *khem-mayng* 'computer-blind'

com- blind

The *heyl* in *heyl-ki* (20.a) is the shortening of *helicopter* and the *ki* following it means 'machine' (as in *pihyang-ki* 'airplane' (lit. 'flying machine')). *Khem-mayng* is the chopped form of *khem* (*-phyuthe*) 'com-puter' followed by *mayng* 'blind', as in *sayk. mayng* 'colour-blind' and *mwun.mayng* 'illiterate' (< letter-blind).²⁷

3.5. Sound Symbolism

The use of sound symbolism is one of the salient features of Korean lexicology. Many adjectives, adverbs, and also some verbs and deictics, appear in several shapes as connotational variants. They may be grouped into two: (1) phonomimes (*uyseng.e*): those representing sounds and (2) phenomimes (*uytay.e*): those representing sight, smell, taste, touch or the like. They come in consonant and vowel forms. Many of the impressionistic adverbs appear in several related shapes. The initial consonant is lax, tense, or aspirated. When the difference is a systematic alternation in medial vowels it is a kind of ablaut, called 'isotopes' (Martin 1992:343). The following is an illustration of syllable-final symbolism showing an iterative use of lax, tense, and aspirated syllables.

(21) Syllable-final Consonant Shape:

a. *-l*: smooth-flowing

pel pel 'trembling, shivering'
ppel ppel
phel phel

b. *-ng*: round

ping-ping 'around'
pping-pping
phing-phing

c. *-k*: abrupt

pak-pak 'tight'
ppak ppak
phak phak

The isotope varying in vowel quality has two types: light and heavy.

(22) a. Light Isotopes

/a, ay, o, oy/

b. Heavy Isotopes

/e, ey, wu, wi/

(23) a. *ayng-ayng* 'buzzing of mosquitos'

eng-eng 'crying of humans'

wing-wing 'buzzing of bees'

b. *pal-pal* 'trembling'

pel-pel 'trembling'

phal-phal 'boiling'

phel-phel 'boiling'

The light isotope is used of something light of weight, or tiny, or fragile. It is

often extended to a pejorative connotation indicating 'small', 'silly', 'insignificant' or the like.²⁸

The neutral deictic words *i* 'this', *ku* 'that', *ce* 'that (over there)' have light isotopes of *yo*, *ko*, *co*, respectively.

(24)	Neutral		Light			
	<i>i</i>		<i>yo</i>	<i>kes</i>	'this vs.	this (petty) stuff
	<i>ku</i>		<i>ko</i>	<i>nom</i>	'the vs.	the (silly) guy'
	<i>ce</i>		<i>co</i>	<i>saykki</i>	'that vs.	that (dinky) guy'

Words are often repeated for emphasis or other effects. When a noun is iterated, it is often taken as plural or collective. Repeated adjectives intensify the meaning.

(25)	a. <i>cip cip mata</i>	'each and every house'
	b. <i>pang-pang-kok-kok</i>	'everywhere'
	c. <i>mena-men</i>	'far and away'
	d. <i>khuna-khun</i>	'really big'

4. Word Classes

Word classes or parts of speech are characterized by form and function. Eight major word classes are set up in this book: nouns, pronouns, adnouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, particles, and interjections.²⁹ They are either open or closed: the open class is extendable by creating new words, whereas the closed one is not

(1) Korean Word Classes

a. Open Classes

Noun	: <i>Mia, chayk</i> 'book'
Verb	: <i>ota</i> 'come', <i>mekta</i> 'eat', <i>cwuta</i> 'give'
Adjective	: <i>yepputa</i> 'be pretty', <i>yongkamhata</i> 'be brave'
Adverb	: <i>acwu</i> 'very', <i>taytanhi</i> 'greatly'

b. Closed Classes

Particle	: <i>ka</i> 'subject marker', <i>nun</i> 'topic marker' <i>eykey</i> 'to', <i>kuliko</i> 'and', <i>yo</i> 'polite marker' <i>ko</i> 'quotative marker'
Pronoun	: <i>na</i> 'I', <i>ne</i> 'you', <i>wuli</i> 'we'
Adnoun	: <i>i</i> 'this', <i>ku</i> 'the', <i>enu</i> 'which', <i>say</i> 'new'
Interjection	: <i>Aya</i> 'Ouch!', <i>Olhci</i> 'Right!', <i>Yepo</i> 'Hey!'

Korean words can also be grouped into inflected and uninflected classes. Verbs and adjectives are inflected; the rest are uninflected. In terms of modification adnouns and adverbs modify nominals and verbals, respectively. In addition to the basic categories of verbals (verbs and adjectives) and nominals (nouns and pronouns), a class called 'particle' (or postposition) is a functionally heterogeneous class consisting of half a dozen subclasses. They play multiple roles in Korean grammar. The class called adnouns includes determiners, numerals, and uninflected pre-nouns. A word may belong to more than one word class (e.g. *khuta*: adj. 'big', v. 'grow'; *ecey*: n., adv. 'yesterday').

The following list is a summary of Korean word classes with their major subclasses.

(2) Word Classes

Nominal	
Noun	[1]
Numeral	
Pronoun	[2]
Personal	
Definite/Indefinite	
Reflexive / Reciprocal	
Verbal	
Verb	[3]
Intransitive	
Transitive	
Ditransitive	
Causative/Passive	
Adjective	[4]
Copula	
Descriptive	
Transitive	
Emotive	
Existential	
Adnoun	[5]
Determiner	
Quantifier	
Descriptive	
Adverb	[6]
Proper	
Derived	
Particle	[7]
Grammar-Functional	
Discourse-Functional	
Adverbial	
Conjunctive	
Sentential	
Interjection	[8]
Exclamatory	
Vocative	

4.1. Nouns

On formal grounds, nouns may be classified into two: free and bound. Bound nouns belong to a closed set consisting of a few scores of items. They are also

called dependent nouns as they cannot stand alone; they always form a noun phrase with a preceding modifying element, that is, a prenominal modifier. Listed below are some representative bound nouns.

(3) Bound Nouns

<i>kes</i>	'thing/fact'	<i>i-kes</i> 'this', <i>ku-kes</i> 'that', <i>ce-kes</i> 'that (over there)'
<i>i</i>	'person'	<i>i-i</i> 'this person, (s)he', <i>ku-i</i> 'the person, (s)he'
<i>pwun</i>	'person'	<i>i/ku/ce-pwun</i> 'this/the/that person'
<i>tey</i>	'place'	<i>cohun-tey</i> 'good place'
<i>swu</i>	'means'	<i>cohun-swu</i> 'good means'
<i>li</i>	'reason'	<i>kulel li</i> 'such a reason'

The bound noun *kes* 'thing/fact', when modified with a determiner *i* 'this', *ku* 'that' or *ce* 'yonder', functions as a pronoun 'this', 'that/it' or 'that', respectively.

There is a class of noun derived from verbs or adjectives by nominalizing suffixes *-(u)m*, *-ki*, or *-i*. Such derived nouns are fossilized or frozen and the original verbal nature becomes defunct.

(4) a. Nominalizer *-(u)m*

el- 'freeze' → *el.um* 'ice'; *nol-* 'play' → *no.lum* 'gambling'; *sey-* 'count' → *sey.m* 'calculation'

b. Nominalizer *-ki*

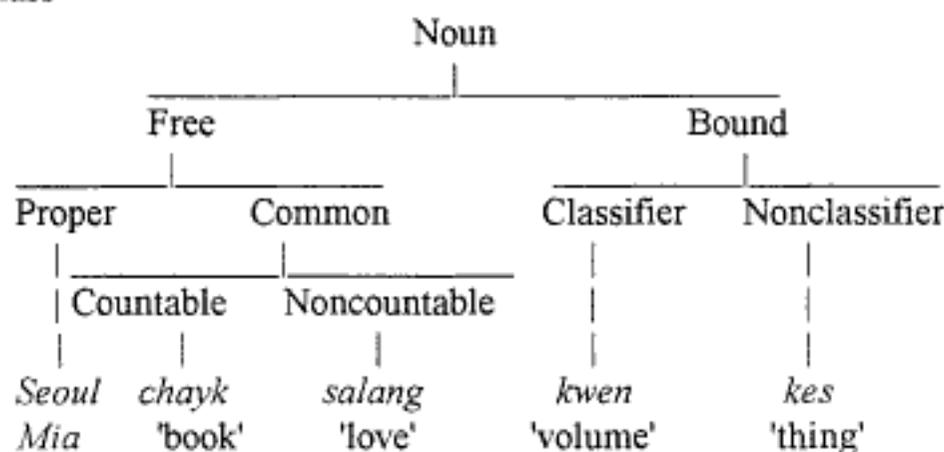
po- 'see' → *po.ki* 'sample'; *kopha-* 'double' → *kopha.ki* 'multiplication'

c. Nominalizer *-i*

mek- 'eat' → *mek.i* 'food'; *nol-* 'play' → *nol.i* 'play'

On semantic grounds, free nouns may be grouped into two: proper and common. Proper nouns refer to individual entities, while common nouns denote properties.

(5) Noun Class



Proper names like Mia or Seoul cannot be preceded by quantifiers like *han* 'one' or determiners like *ku* 'this', nor followed by *tul* (plural marker).³⁰ Common nouns are either countable or noncountable. Countable nouns may co-occur with numerals or the plural marker *tul*.

Numerals, both of NK and SK origin, form a subtype of nouns, as well as of adnouns. Some of the NK numerals have different adnominal forms (e.g. *hana* vs. *han* '1'; *twul* vs. *twu* '2').

(6) Numerals

a. NK nouns		b. SK nouns	
<i>hana</i>	'1'	<i>il</i>	
<i>twul</i>	'2'	<i>i</i>	
<i>yel</i>	'10'	<i>sip</i>	
a'. NK adnouns		b'. SK adnouns	
<i>han salam</i>	'1 person'	<i>il in</i>	
<i>twu salam</i>	'2 persons'	<i>i in</i>	
<i>yel salam</i>	'10 persons'	<i>sip in</i>	

There is a subtype of nouns which may be turned into verbs or adjectives in construction with the auxiliary *-hata*: verbal noun (VN) or adjectival noun (AN). These verbs function as intransitive (vi), transitive (vt), or ditransitive (vtt), according to their lexical meaning.

(7) a. Verbal noun (VN) (+ *-hata*)

i. SK words

<i>tochak</i>	n. 'arrival'	(<i>tochak-hata</i>)	vi. 'arrive'
<i>tolcin</i>	n. 'dash'	(<i>tolcin-hata</i>)	vi. 'dash'
<i>yenkwu</i>	n. 'research'	(<i>yenkwu-hata</i>)	vt. 'do research'
<i>talseng</i>	n. 'achievement'	(<i>talseng-hata</i>)	vt. 'achieve'
<i>swuye</i>	n. 'award'	(<i>swuye-hata</i>)	vtt. 'award'

ii. NK words

<i>soncis</i>	n. 'hand-gesture'	(<i>soncis-hata</i>)	vi. 'gesture'
<i>melmi</i>	n. 'nauseousness'	(<i>melmi-hata</i>)	vi. 'feel nauseous'
<i>pelii</i>	n. 'earning'	(<i>pelii-hata</i>)	vi. 'make earning'
<i>salang</i>	n. 'love'	(<i>salang-hata</i>)	vt. 'love'
<i>tacim</i>	n. 'pledge'	(<i>tacim-hata</i>)	vt. 'pledge'

b. Adjectival noun (AN) (+ *-hata*)

<i>cengcik</i>	n. 'honesty'	(<i>cengcik-hata</i>)	adj. 'honest'
<i>yongkam</i>	n. 'bravery'	(<i>yongkam-hata</i>)	adj. 'brave'
<i>sengsil</i>	n. 'sincerity'	(<i>sengsil-hata</i>)	adj. 'sincere'

An SK verbal noun may form a compound with another SK verbal noun.

(8) VN + VN

- phayka-mangsin* n. 'ruining oneself and one's family'
 (*phayka-mangsin-hata* vi. 'go to rack and ruin')
solsen-swupem n. 'leading and setting an example'
 (*solsen-wupem-hata* vi. 'take the initiative and set an example')

Classifiers (also called counters) are a type of bound nouns, which take a numeral to form a noun phrase.

(9) Classifiers

- *myeng* 'person'
yel myeng '10 person' *haksayng yel myeng* 'ten students'
- *in* 'person'
sip in '10 persons' *haksayng sipin* 'ten students'
- *kay* 'object'
yel kay '10 objects' *sakwa yelkay* 'ten apples'
- *kwen* 'volume'
payk-kwen '100 volumes' *chayk payk-kwen* 'a hundred books'
- *calu* 'stick'
tases-calu '5 sticks' *yenphil tases calu* '5 pencils'
- *can* 'cup, glass'
han can 'one glass' *khephi han-can* 'a cup of coffee'
- *pyeng* 'bottle'
twu-pyeng 'two bottles' *maykcwu twu pyeng* 'two bottles of beer'
- *tal* 'month'
han-tal 'one month'
- *sikan* 'hour'
tases sikan 'five hours'
- *si* 'o'clock'
tases si 'five o'clock'

Personal names may have a title: prenominal (à la English) or postnominal. The diminutive particle *-i* can be added to a given name with a consonant ending. To honour a person, a bound noun *-nim* is added to the postnominal title.

(10) a. Prenominal title

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|---|-------------------|------------|
| <i>misu-</i> | 'Miss' | : | <i>misu Kim</i> | 'Miss Kim' |
| <i>misuthe-</i> | 'Mr.' | : | <i>misthe Li</i> | 'Mr. Lee' |
| <i>seng-</i> | 'St.' | : | <i>seng Paolo</i> | 'St. Paul' |

b. Postnominal title

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|---|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>-sensayng</i> | 'Teacher' | : | <i>Kim-sensayng</i> | 'Teacher Kim' |
| <i>-sacang</i> | 'President' | : | <i>Hong-sacang</i> | 'President Hong' |
| <i>-paksa</i> | 'Dr.' | : | <i>Yun-paksa</i> | 'Dr. Yun' |
| <i>-yang</i> | 'Miss' | : | <i>Kim-yang</i> | 'Miss Kim' |

-*yesa* 'Madam' : *Yuk-yesa* 'Madam Yuk'

c. Diminutive *-i* (to a given name with a consonant ending)

Yong-i, *Tol-i*, **Mia-i*, **Hong Kil-Tong-i*

d. Honorific *-nim*

<i>Kim sensayng-nim</i>	'(honourable) Teacher Kim'
<i>Hong sacang-nim</i>	'(honourable) President Hong'
<i>tta-nim</i> (< <i>ttal</i> 'daughter'+ <i>nim</i>)	'daughter of an honoured person'
<i>atu-nim</i> (< <i>atul</i> 'son'+ <i>nim</i>)	'son of an honoured person'

4.2. Pronouns

Pronouns are closed class items. They have two distinct functions: deictic and anaphoric. The deictic use of a pronoun involves finger-pointing or head nodding with its utterance, or some other gesture towards the referent in a discourse. The anaphoric use takes place when a pronoun refers to some item mentioned elsewhere in the discourse, normally in the preceding utterance. These functions of pronouns are described in Chapter 7. Pronouns are grouped into subtypes: personal, definite, indefinite/interrogative, and reflexive.

4.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns reveal the honorific system of the language, reflecting the speaker's status-sensitive attitude toward the addressee.³¹

There are two distinct pronominal forms for the first person: the plain *na* (plu. *wuli*) and the self-lowering³² *ce* (plu. *cehuy* (-*tul*)). Written, and archaic, forms for the first person pronominal reference include: *so.in* '(lit.) little man', *so.nye* '(lit.) little woman'. For the second person, there are a few non-honorific pronominal forms: *ne* (plu. *nehuy*(-*tul*)), *caney* (plu. *caney*(-*tul*)), *tangsin* (plu. *tangsin-tul*), *imca*, *kutay*, *caki*. Also the addressee's name or title is used for non-honorific second person reference: *Mia*, *Yong-i*, *Kim-kwun*. For an honoured addressee, there is no appropriate *pronominal* form. To honour the addressee, kinship terms (e.g. *emeni* 'mother', *apeci* 'father') or titles (e.g. *sensayng-nim* 'teacher', *sacang-nim* 'president of a business firm') are used, instead. For the third person the demonstrative *i* (proximal), *ku* (mesial), or *ce* (distal) is used in construction with an epithet (e.g. *pwun* 'honoured person', *i* 'person', *salam* 'person', *ay* 'child', *nom* 'guy', *nyen* 'wench').³³ Below is the list of the personal pronouns.

(11) Personal Pronouns

Person	Number		
	singular	plural	
1st	<i>na</i>	<i>wuli(-tul)</i>	plain, nonhonorific
	<i>ce</i>	<i>ce-huy(-tul)</i>	self-lowering
	<i>sosayng</i>		self-lowering, archaic (male)
	<i>sonye</i>		self-lowering, archaic (female)
	<i>mwunhasayng</i>		self-lowering, written, archaic
2nd	<i>ne</i>	<i>nehuy</i>	plain
	<i>caney</i>	<i>caney-tul</i>	plain, between adults
	<i>tangsin</i>	<i>tangsin-tul</i>	plain, between adults
	<i>kutay</i>	<i>kutay-tul</i>	poetic
	<i>caki</i> ³⁴		plain and intimate; between husband and wife
3rd	<i>tayk</i>		formal; lit. (your) household
	<i>i/ku/ce pwun</i> ³⁵	<i>-tul</i>	honorific
	<i>i</i>	<i>-tul</i>	plain
	<i>salam</i>	<i>-tul</i>	plain
	<i>nom</i>	<i>-tul</i>	pejorative (for male)
	<i>nyen</i>	<i>-tul</i>	pejorative (for female)

4.2.2. *Definite/Indefinite Pronouns*

Referential terms for non-personal objects are formed also with the basic deictic pointers *i* (proximal to the speaker), *ku* (mesial or proximate to the addressee), and *ce* (distal from both speaker and addressee), followed by bound nouns *kes* 'thing', *cey* 'time', or *ki* 'place'. These forms are noun phrases in a strict sense. For convenience, however, they are each treated as a pronoun--a unit forming a single definite reference.

(12) Definite Pronouns

	Thing	Time	Place	Person
	<i>kes</i>	<i>cey/ttay</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>i pwun</i>
Proximal:	<i>i (yo) i-kes</i>	<i>i-cey/ttay</i>	<i>ye-ki</i>	<i>i-i i-pwun</i>
Mesial :	<i>ku (ko) ku-kes</i>	<i>ku-ttay</i>	<i>ke-ki</i>	<i>ku-i ku-pwun</i>
Distal :	<i>ce (co) ce-kes</i>	<i>cep-ttay</i>	<i>ce-ki</i>	<i>ce-i ce-pwun</i>

In place of *i*, *ku*, and *ce*, the light isotope forms (*yo*, *ko*, and *co*, respectively) can be used to convey pejorative connotation: *yo.ki* 'here', *ko.nom* 'that bastard', *co.saykki* 'that idiot' (see 3.5 for light isotopes).³⁶

In contrast to the definite reference by the demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce*, the following pronominal forms are used for indefinite reference: *nwukwu* 'someone'

and *mwues* 'something'. These indefinite forms are also used as interrogative pronouns, possibly due to the semantic affinity between indefinite and unknown references-unknown or indefinite entities being subject to questioning. Another pronominal *amwu* 'someone' is also used as an indefinite, but not interrogative, person pronoun (e.g. *amwu* 'some-one') and an indefinite adnoun (e.g. *amwu-kes* 'some-thing', *amwu-ttay* 'some-time', *amwu-tey* 'some-place').

(13) Indefinite/Interrogative Pronouns

		Indefinite	Interrogative
Person	<i>nwukwu</i>	<i>some/any-one</i>	<i>who</i>
	<i>amwu</i>	<i>any-one</i>	
Thing	<i>mwues</i>	<i>some/any-thing</i>	<i>what</i>

As an extension of the three basic deictic categories *i*, *ku*, and *ce*, we may add an indefinite/interrogative category *enu* or *etten* 'some, which'.³⁷

(14) Indefinite/Interrogative Adnouns

	Person	Thing	Time	Place
	<i>pwun/i</i>	<i>kes</i>	<i>ttay/cey</i>	<i>kos/tey</i>
<i>enu</i>	<i>enu-pwun/*-i</i>	<i>enu-kes</i>	<i>enu-ttay/encey</i>	<i>enu-kos/etey</i>
'some'	someone	something	some time	some place
'which'	which one	which one	when	which place
<i>etten</i>	<i>etten-pwun/i</i>	<i>etten-kes</i>	<i>etten-ttay</i>	<i>etten-kos/tey</i>
'some'	someone	some thing	some time	some place
'which'	which one	which one	when	which place

4.2.3. Reflexives and Reciprocals

The basic reflexive morpheme is an SK character *ca* (自) 'self', which as a prefix may form a great number of two-character reflexive words, analogous to the English prefix *self-*.

(15) Sino-Korean: *ca-* 'self-'

<i>ca-sal</i>	'self-killing, suicide'
<i>ca-myeng</i>	'self-evident'
<i>ca-myel</i>	'self-destruction'
<i>ca-ay</i>	'self-love'
<i>ca-cey</i>	'self-constraint'

Common reflexive pronouns are *caki* 'oneself' and *casin* 'self'. *Caki* is used mostly for a third-person reference, whereas *casin* is used for any person

with a personal pronoun/noun, or by itself.³⁸ *Tangsin*, which is a second-person pronoun, is also used as reflexive for an honoured third-person.³⁹ For nonhuman reference *cachey* 'itself' is used as reflexive. These are all SK words. A native reflexive pronoun is *ce* 'oneself'.

(16) Reflexives

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------|
| a. <i>caki</i> | 'oneself' | (SK, for a third-person referent) |
| b. <i>tangsin</i> | 'oneself' | (SK, for an honoured third-person referent) |
| c. <i>ce</i> | 'oneself' | (NK) |
| d. <i>casin</i> | 'self' | (SK) |
- na-casin* 'myself', *ne-casin* 'yourself', *caki-casin* 'oneself', *tangsin-casin*, '(s)he him/her-self (to be honored)', *ce-casin* 'oneself, myself', *Mia-casin* 'Mia herself'

Reciprocal expressions include an NK word *selo* 'each other, one another' and its duplicate *selo-selo* 'each other, one another', which is used as a pronoun as well as an adverb; a postnominal *-kkili* 'group by group', which like *caki* 'self' can form pronominal reflexives in combination with plural pronouns.

(17) Reciprocals

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. <i>selo</i> | 'each other, one another' |
| <i>selo-selo</i> | 'each other, one another' |
| b. <i>kkili-kkili</i> | 'group by group' |
| <i>wuli(-tul)-kkili</i> | 'among ourselves' |
| <i>nehuy(tul)-kkili</i> | 'among yourselves' |
| <i>ku(i)-tul-kkili</i> | 'among themselves' |
| <i>sensayng-tul-kkili</i> | 'among teachers themselves' |
| <i>caki.ney-tul-kkili</i> | 'among themselves' |
| <i>ce.huy(-tul)-kkili</i> | 'among themselves; among ourselves' |

Note that *-kkili* 'one another' is attached to a plural noun in all persons.

4.3. Verbs

Verbs have inflections. Another inflected category, adjectives, may be classified as a subclass of verb. Verbs are then of two types: 'processive' and 'descriptive'.⁴⁰ However, we keep the verb and the adjective separate here in consideration of the familiarity of the term adjective, even though these two classes are nondistinct except in a few syntactic features. The verb can have an imperative ending, a progressive form <V-ko-issta>, and the present tense *-nun*; in contrast, the adjective cannot have any of these. The distinctions of these two word classes will be treated in the next section in detail. However, verbal

inflections are, unless stated otherwise, those applicable to both classes.

A verb is composed of a stem, simple or expanded, and a sequence of inflectional suffixes. It is the head of a sentence and the agglutinative nature of Korean manifests itself well in the internal structure of a verbal phrase, its description cutting across the morphological as well as the syntactic levels.

Passive and causative morphemes are attached to the roots of scores of lexically-conditioned verbs forming expanded stems of passive and causative verbs, which are entered in the dictionary as independent verbs.

(18) Passive Suffix (PAS) and Passive Verbs

- i: *po-* 'see': *po.i-* 'be visible'; *ssah-* 'pile': *ssah.i-* 'be piled'
- hi: *mek-* 'eat': *mek.hi* 'be eaten'; *cap-* 'capture': *cap.hi-* 'be caught'
- li: *mwul-* 'bite': *mwul.li-* 'be bitten'; *phal-* 'sell': *phal.li-* 'be sold'
- ki: *kam-* 'wind': *kam.ki-* 'be wound'; *kkunh-* 'cut': *kkunh.ki-* 'get cut'

(19) Causative Suffix (CAU) and Causative Verbs

- i: *mek-* 'eat': *mek.i-* 'feed'; *po-* 'see': *po.i-* 'show'
- hi: *ilk-* 'read': *ilk.hi-* 'make-read'; *ssek-* 'rot': *ssek.hi-* 'make-rot'
- li: *al-* 'know': *al.li-* 'inform'; *wul-* 'weep': *wul.li-* 'make-weep'
- ki: *wus-* 'laugh': *wus.ki-* 'make-laugh'; *pes-* '(vi.) undress': *pes.ki-* '(vt.) undress'
- wu: *pi-* 'be empty': *pi.wu-* '(vt.) empty'; *ci-* 'carry on the back': *ci.wu-* 'make-carry'
- chwu: *nac-* 'low': *nac.chwu-* 'lower'; *nuc-* 'late': *nuc.chwu-* 'make-late, loosen'
- kwu: *sos-* 'rise': *sos.kwu-* 'raise'; *tot-* 'rise': *tot.kwu-* 'make-higher'

4.3.1. Verb Inflections

Inflectional endings may be shown in the form of sequence positions (1)-(7). All the positions are optional except for the last one, which is the word-final or the clause-final position including the sentence ending (SE). The positions 1 through 6 are pre-wordfinal.⁴¹

(20) Sequence Positions of Verb Inflections

		Pre-wordfinal						Word-final
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	STEM	Status	Tense	Tense	Tense	Mood	Mood	S-modulator
		HON	PRS	PST	PST	VOL	RETR	
		-(u)si	-n(un)/[]	-(e/a)ss	-ess	-keyss	-t(e/i/u)	
a.								- S-ending
b.								- Nominalizing
c.								- Adnominalizing
d.								- Adverbializing
e.								- Conjoining
f.								- Auxiliary Connecting

- Examples⁴²

STEM	HON	PRS	PST	PST	VOL	RET	
	<i>-(u)si</i>	<i>-n(un)/[j]</i>	<i>-(e/a)ss</i>	<i>-ess</i>	<i>-keyss</i>	<i>-t(e/i/u)</i>	
a.							- S-ending (SE)
<i>o-</i>		<i>-n</i>	X	X	X	X	<i>ta/...</i> 'come/...'
<i>o-</i>		X			<i>-keyss</i>		<i>ta/...</i> 'will come/...'
b.							- Nominalizing (NOMZ)
<i>o-</i>		X				X	<i>ki</i> 'to come'
<i>o-</i>		X				X	<i>m</i> 'coming'
c.							- Adnominalizing (ADNZ)
<i>o-</i>		<i>-n</i>	X	X	X	X	<i>un</i> '(NP) that ...come'
<i>o-</i>		X	X	X	X	X	<i>n</i> '(NP) that ...came'
<i>o-</i>		X			X	X	<i>l</i> '(NP) that ...will come'
d.							- Adverbializing (ADVZ)
<i>o-</i>						X	<i>nikka</i> 'as ...come'
<i>o-</i>						X	<i>myen</i> 'if ... come'
<i>o-</i>						X	<i>ciman</i> 'though ... come'
e.							- Conjoining (CONJ)
<i>o-</i>						X	<i>ko</i> '...come and'
<i>o-</i>						X	<i>na</i> '...come or'
f.							- Auxiliary Connecting (aux.con)
<i>o-</i>		X	X	X	X	X	<i>ko (issta)</i> '...(be) coming'
<i>o-</i>		X	X	X	X	X	<i>ci (anhta)</i> '...(not) come'

The first status position is that of the honorific *-(u)si*. The following three positions (2-4) are those for tense: the present (or nonpast) tense is realized by *-(n)un*, the first past tense by *-ess* (its variants: *-ss/-ass*); the second past tense *-ess* (with no variant) depends on the occurrence of the first past tense. The fifth position is that of the suffix *keyss* 'will', the mood of volition, intention, or prediction. It is not treated as future tense here. The sixth position is that of the retrospective mood *-te* (its variants: *-ti*, *-tu*, *-t*)⁴³. The last position, most complex of all, involves half a dozen syntactic roles at the sentence level: (a) sentence-ending (SE), (b) nominalizing, (c) adnominalizing, (d) adverbializing (e) clause conjoining and (f) auxiliary connecting.

The sentence-ending is realized as a fusion of sentence level (SL) and sentence type (ST). The following is a paradigmatic table showing the combination of sentence level and sentence type. The use of these sentence enders will be described in 7.3.1.

(21) Sentence Ending: SL x ST

ST \ SL	Formal (FO)	Polite (PO)	Blunt (BL)	Familiar (FA)	Intimate (IN)	Plain (PL)
Declarative (DCL)	<i>(su)pnita</i>	<i>(e)yo</i>	<i>(s)o</i>	<i>ney</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ta</i>
Interrogative (INT)	<i>(su)pnikka</i>	<i>(e)yo?</i>	<i>(s)o?</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>e?</i>	<i>nya/ni</i>
Imperative (IMP)	<i>psio</i>	<i>(e)yo</i>	<i>(s)o</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>(u)la</i>
Propositive (PRP)	<i>(u)psita</i>	<i>(e)yo</i>	<i>(s)o</i>	<i>sey</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ca</i>

In addition to the four major sentence types, there are a few minor ones, expressing speech acts of supposition, exclamation, promise and the like. The suspensive (or suppositive) sentence ender is *-ci* (plain level) or *-ci.yo* (polite level).⁴⁴

(22) Suspensive S-ending: *-ci, -ci.yo*

	Intimate	Polite
Suspensive Declarative	<i>ci</i>	<i>ci.yo</i>
Suspensive Interrogative	<i>ci?</i>	<i>ci.yo?</i>
Suspensive Imperative	<i>ci</i>	<i>ci.yo</i>
Suspensive Propositive	<i>ci</i>	<i>ci.yo</i>

The exclamatory ending is *-kwun* and its variants, *-kwuna*, *-kwulye* and *-kwunyo*; another ender *-(u)n-tey(yo)* also carries an exclamatory force. Sentence enders, *-(u)ma* (and its variant *-(u)msey*) and *-(u)lkkey* (and its variant *-kkey*) carry promissory force. The ending *-(u)ma* is not allowed to combine with the polite marker *yo* (**-ma.yo*). The ending *-(u)lkey* can have the polite *yo* attached to it. These sentence endings express the speaker's promise. The subject is restricted to the first person.

The construction with the nominalizer ending *-(u)m* or *-ki* shifts a verbal function to a nominal one.⁴⁵

(23) Nominalizers (NOMZ): *-(u)m, -ki* 'fact, act'

a. <i>po-ki</i> , see-NOMZ 'seeing'	<i>po-si-ki</i> , see-HON-NOMZ 'seeing (HON)'	<i>po-ass-ki</i> , see-PST-NOMZ 'having seen'	<i>po-si-keyss-ki</i> see-HON-VOL-NOMZ 'willing to see'
b. <i>po-m</i> , see-NOMZ 'to see'	<i>po-si-m</i> , see-HON-NOMZ 'to see (HON)'	<i>po-ass-um</i> , see-PST-NOMZ 'to have seen'	<i>po-si-keyss-um</i> see-HON-VOL-NOMZ 'to be willing to see (HON)'

The construction with adnominalizers *-(u)n* and *-(u)l* shifts a verbal function to an adnominal one. Their shape shows the distinction of tense in the adnoun clause: *-nun* (present for verbs only), *-(u)n* (past for verbs; present for adjectives), *-(u)l* (future for verbs and adjectives) and *-ten* (retrospective for

verbs and adjectives).

(24) Adnominalizers (ADNZ): *-(u)n*, *-(u)l*

- a. *-(u)n*
- i. *o- n- un salam*
come-PRS-ADNZ person
'the man who comes'
 - ii. *o- n salam*
come-ADNZ person
'the man who came'
 - iii. *w- ass- te- n salam*
come-PST-RETR-ADNZ person
'the man who (I recall) came'
- b. *-(u)l*
- i. *o- l salam*
come-ADNZ person
'the man who will come'
 - ii. *w- ass- ul salam*
come-PST-ADNZ person
'the man who will have come'

The construction with an adverbializer shifts a verbal function to an adverbial one. There are dozens of adverbializing suffixes, including those expressing cause (*-(u)nikka* 'because', *-e*, *-ese* 'as'), condition (*-(u)myen* 'if'), concession (*-toy*, *-ciman* 'although'), contrast (*-ci* 'but ... (not)'), manner (*-key* '-ly'), purpose (*-(u)le* 'so as to'), projection (*tolok* 'so that'), and provision (*ketun* 'provided'). The following is a list of typical adverbializers. (See 6.3.3 for adverb clauses.)

(25) Adverbializers (ADVZ):

<i>-(u)nikka</i>	'as'	:	<i>palam-i pwu-nikka,...</i>	'as the wind blows'
			wind-SM blow-ADVZ	
<i>-(e)se</i>	'as'	:	<i>palam-i pwul-ese,...</i>	'as the wind blows'
			ADVZ,...	
<i>-(u)myen</i>	'if'	:	<i>palam-i pwul-meyn,...</i>	'if the wind blows'
			ADVZ	
<i>-ciman</i>	'though'	:	<i>palam-i pwul-ciman,...</i>	'though the wind blows'
			ADVZ	
<i>-key</i>	'-ly'	:	<i>ppalu-key</i>	'in a quick way, quickly'
			quick-ADVZ	
	'so that':		<i>nay-ka ttena-key,...</i>	'so that I leave'
			I-SM leave-ADVZ	
<i>-tolok</i>	'so that':		<i>ney-ka ttena-tolok,...</i>	'so that you leave'
			you-SM leave-ADVZ	
<i>-(u)le</i>	'so as to':		<i>ne-lul tow-ule,...</i>	'so as to help you'
			you-OM help-ADVZ	

-ketun 'provided': *k.ui-ka o-ketun,...* 'if he comes'
 he-SM come-ADVZ

The sentence connective builds up a coordinate structure of two (or more) sentential conjuncts: (conjunctive) *-ko* 'and', *-(u)mye* 'while', *-taka* 'while', *-ci* 'and'; (disjunctive) *-(ke)na* 'or'.

(26) Sentence Connective (CONJ):

Conjunctive: *-ko* 'and', *-(u)mye* 'while',
-ci 'and'
 Disjunctive: *-na* 'or', *-kena* 'or',
-tun(ci) ...-tun(ci) 'whether... or'

a. Conjunctive

o- ko 'come and'
 come-CONJ
o- mye 'come and (then)'
 come-CONJ
o- ci 'come and'
 come-CONJ

b. Disjunctive

o- (ke)na ... -(ke)na 'come or ...'
 come-CONJ
o- tun(ci) ...-tun(ci) 'whether ... come or ...'
 come-CONJ

The auxiliary connective (*-ko*, *-e*, or *-ci*) functions as a connective linking a preceding sentence to an auxiliary predicate *issta* 'be', or *anhata* (<*ani.(ha)ta*) 'be/do.not', and produces the progressive aspect <*V-ko-issta*> 'be V-ing', the perfective aspect <*V-e-issta*> 'have/be V-ed', and the negative phrase <*V-ci-anhmunta*> 'do not V'. These connectives, called the infinitive *-e*, the gerund *-ko*, and the suspensive *-ci*,⁴⁶ are attached to the stem of the verb.

While the progressive form (*V-ko-issta*) is productive, the perfective aspect form (*V-e-issta*) is closed. It is restricted to certain intransitive verbs (e.g. *seta* 'stand', *ancta* 'sit', *mwupta* 'lie') and *ci*-'become' passive forms (e.g. *allie.cita* 'get known', *cwue.cita* 'be given') (cf. 5.8.2.2).⁴⁷

(27) Auxiliary Connective (CON): *-ko* (gerund), *-e* (infinitive), *-ci* (suspensive)

a. Gerund (GER): *-ko*

o- ko issta 'be coming'
 come-GER be
o- ko keysita 'be coming'
 come-GER be (HON)
mek- ko issta 'be eating'

eat-GER	be			
<i>tusi-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>keysita</i>		'be eating'
eat(HON)-GER-be (HON)				
b. Infinitive (INF): <i>-e</i>				
<i>nwuw-e-</i>	<i>issta</i>			'be lying'
lie-INF-be				
<i>al. li.e-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>issta</i>	'be known'
know.CAU-PAS-INF-be				

4.3.2. *Verb Auxiliaries*

Verbs and adjectives may each be divided into two categories: main and auxiliary. There are about 50 auxiliaries: all but a few also function as main verbs or adjectives.⁴⁸

An auxiliary verb is used with the infinitive *-e*, the gerund *-ko*, or the suspensive *-ci* of the preceding verb to form a verb phrase, as we described above. The constructions with the auxiliaries are distinguished from simple compounds in which both verbs retain their usual meanings and functions.⁴⁹ The auxiliaries add to the meaning of the main verb a sense of emphasis, intensity, exhaustion, negation, prohibition, completion, progression or the like.

In the following table auxiliary verbs are provided with auxiliary meanings in brackets ([]), each preceded by a main verb (V) or adjective (A) and an auxiliary connective (*e*, *ko*, or *ci*).

(28) Auxiliary Verbs

main v/adj	aux. con	aux. v	meaning
<i>nwup-</i> v. 'lie'	<i>e</i>	<i>-issta</i>	[resultative] 'be lying'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>e</i>	<i>-pelita</i>	[exhaustive] 'eat up'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>e</i>	<i>-twuta</i>	[completive] 'eat up'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>e</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[conative] 'try eating'
<i>top-</i> v. 'help'	<i>a</i>	<i>-cwuta</i>	[beneficial] 'give help'
<i>tul-</i> v. 'enter'	<i>e</i>	<i>-ota</i>	[inbound] 'come in'
<i>tul-</i> v. 'enter'	<i>e</i>	<i>-kata</i>	[outbound] 'go in'
<i>tep-</i> adj. 'warm'	<i>e</i>	<i>-cita</i>	[inceptive] 'become warm'
<i>kippu-</i> adj. 'glad'	<i>e</i>	<i>-hata</i>	[emotive] 'feel glad'
<i>cwu-</i> v. 'give'	<i>ko</i>	<i>-malta</i>	[terminative] 'give away'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>ko</i>	<i>-issta</i>	[progressive] 'be eating'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>ci</i>	<i>-anhta</i>	[negative] 'don't eat'
<i>mek-</i> v. 'eat'	<i>ci</i>	<i>-malla</i>	[prohibitive] 'Don't eat!'

4.3.3. *Verb Classes*

In terms of transitivity or the number of constituents the predicate of a sentence requires to make it well-formed, the predicate verb is classified into intransitive (vi), transitive (vt), or ditransitive (vtt), depending on whether it takes no object, an object (O), or two objects (OO). Furthermore, if the predicate verb is incomplete, it takes a complement--a subject complement (C_S) in case it is intransitive, or an object complement (C_O) in case it is transitive.

How many constituents or functional categories a particular predicate verb is required to take is not always clear as it is hard to distinguish obligatory constituents from optional ones (modifiers or adjuncts). Many verbs function as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive.

The following list shows the classes of verb with obligatory functional categories. The subject is not marked as it is considered obligatory with any verb. These subclasses of verb will be described with grammatical functions in the next chapter (cf. 5.1.2).

(29) Verb Classes

- a. Intransitive verb (no complement)
ttwita 'run', *nohta* 'play', *wumcikita* 'move'
- b. Passive verb (no complement)
mekhita 'be eaten' (< *mekta* 'eat'); *poita* 'be visible' (< *pota* 'see')
- c. Incomplete intransitive verb (1 subject-complement)
toyta 'become', *pakkwita* 'change'
- d. Transitive verb (1 object)
mekta 'eat', *wumcikita* 'move', *sayngkakhata* 'think'
- e. Incomplete transitive verb (1 object, 1 object-complement)
yekita 'regard', *ppopta* 'elect', *sayngkakhata* 'think'
- f. Ditransitive verb (2 objects)
 - i. Dative verb: *cwuta* 'give', *ponayta* 'send'
 - ii. Causative: *sikhita* 'make-do', *poita* 'show'

There is a class of verb formed with an SK noun (verbal noun) and the auxiliary *hata*. (cf. 3.1). Such verbs may be any of the subclasses of verb listed above and, if transitive, they may be turned into passive verbs with the auxiliary *toyta* 'become' in stead of *hata* 'do' (cf. 5.7.1.3 for *toyta*-passives).⁵⁰

(30) VN-*hata*

- a. Intransitive: *swuyeng-hata* 'swim', *wuntong-hata* 'play sports'
- b. Transitive: *yenkwu-hata* 'do research', *sicak-hata* 'begin'
- c. Ditransitive: *swuye-hata* 'award', *palsong-hata* 'deliver'

d. Incomplete transitive: *kolye-hata* 'consider', *kancwu-hata* 'regard'

(31) VN-*toyta* (passive)

<i>yenkwu-toyta</i>	'be researched'
<i>sicak-toyta</i>	'be begun'
<i>swuye-toyta</i>	'be awarded'
<i>palsong-toyta</i>	'be delivered'
<i>kolye-tyota</i>	'be considered'

4.4. Adjectives

A Korean adjective needs no copula or linking verb to make a sentence well-formed, which is a salient syntactic trait of Korean when contrasted to the English counterpart. The adjective functions as a predicate by itself. It is used attributively with inflectional suffixes called adnominalizers. Those attributive 'adjectives' with no predicative use (e.g. the English *former*) are called adnouns, not adjectives, in this book.

Adjectives, which as noted earlier (cf. note 40) may be called descriptive verbs in Korean, have nearly the same inflectional and constructional patterns as those of verbs. The few differences between the two types of predicate are noted in the following section.

4.4.1. Adjective Inflections

The sequence positions of adjective inflections are the same as those of verb inflections (cf. (20)); adjectives inflect almost like verbs except for the following: (1) their present tense is zero ([]); (2) they have no imperative or propositive ending, (3) they are unable to form the progressive/perfective aspect with <-*ko/e* + *issta*>; (4) their adnominalizers are not identical to those of verbs: (*u*)*n* denotes present in adjectives but past in verbs; (5) they cannot have certain adverbializers (e.g. *-*lyeko* 'so as to').

(32) Adjective Inflections

a. Sequence Positions

	Pre-wordfinal						Word-final
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Status		Tense	Tense	Tense	Mood	Mood	S-modulator
STEM	HON	PRS	PST	PST	VOL	RET	
	(<i>u</i>) <i>si</i>	[]	(<i>e/a</i>) <i>ss</i>	<i>ess</i>	<i>kevss</i>	<i>t(e/i/u)</i>	

b. Sentence Ending (SE)

Declarative

noph-ta 'be high.'

high-PL/DCL

cengcik-hata 'be honest.'

honest-DCL

Interrogative

noph-unya 'be high?'

high-PL/INT

cengcik.ha-nya 'be honest?'

honest PL/INT

Imperative

**noph-ula!* '* be high!'

?*cengcikha-la* 'Be honest!'⁵¹

Propositive

**noph-ca!* '*Let's be high!'

**ppalka-ca!* '*Let's be red!'

c. Adnominalizers (ADNZ):

-(u)n (present)

-(u)l (future)

- *noph-un entek* 'high hill'

high-ADNZ hill

- *cengcikha-n sonyen* 'honest boy'

honest- ADNZ boy

- *coh-ul ttay* 'time that will be suitable'

good-ADNZ time

d. Adverbializer (ADVZ): *A-(u)lye(ko)

- **noph-ulye(ko)* 'so as to be high'

e. Auxiliary Connective (CON)

- A-*ci-anhta* (*A-*ci-anhnunta*)

noph-ci anhta 'be not high'

high-SU not

cengcikha-ci anhta. 'be not honest'

- *A-*ko-issta*

**noph-ko-issta*

**cengcikha-ko-issta.*

- *A-*e-issta*

**noph-a-issta*

**cengcikha.y-issta*

Some auxiliary adjectives (-*siphta* 'desirous', *anhta* (< *ani* 'not' *hata* 'do/be'), -*pota* 'try') form adjective phrases with a preceding main verb (or adjective) connected by -*ko*, *ci*, *na*, or -(u)*nka*).

(33) Auxiliary Adjectives

main v/adj	aux.con	aux.adj	meaning	
<i>mek- eat</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>-siphta</i>	[desiderative]	'want to'
<i>coh- good</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>-anhta</i>	[negative]	'be not good'
<i>mek-</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>-siphta</i>	[semblative]	'seem to eat'
<i>mek-</i>	<i>nun.ka</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[semblative]	'seem to eat'
<i>coh-</i>	<i>un.ka</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[semblative]	'seem good'

4.4.2. Adjective Classes

Adjectives are typically descriptive and stative, while verbs are processive and dynamic. Like intransitive verbs, adjectives require no complement. However, some adjectives require two nominative-marked noun phrases: the copula *ita* and emotive adjectives. The copula requires a subject complement in addition. Some adjectives of existence *issta* 'exist/be' and *epsta* 'not.exist', which partially behave like verbs, require a locative phrase as a complement (C_L).

(34) Adjective Classes

- a. Copula (subject complement)
ita 'be'
- b. Descriptive Adjectives (no complement)
nophta 'be high', *khuta* 'be big', *cohta* 'be good', *nolahta* 'be yellow',
cengcikhata 'be honest', *coyonghata* 'be quiet'
- c. Transitive Adjectives (2 subjects)
kilta 'be long', *manhta* 'plenty'
- d. Emotive Adjectives (2 subjects)
sulphta 'be sad', *mipta* 'be hateful', *cohta* 'be likable'
- e. Existential Adjectives (locative complement)
issta 'there be', *epsta* 'there not be'

4.5. Adnouns

Adnouns are a non-inflectional word class which modifies the following nominals. Verbs and adjectives can function as adnominals when used in construction with adnominalizer endings (cf. 4.3.1 for verbs and 4.4.1 for adjectives).

4.5.1. *Adnoun Classes*

There are three subclasses of adnoun: determiners, quantifiers, descriptive adnouns. Determiners are those demonstratives used for deictic or anaphoric reference. They are either definite (e.g. *i* 'this', *ku* 'that', *ce* 'yonder') or indefinite (e.g. *enu* 'some', *etten* 'certain', *amwu* 'any'). The latter also function as interrogative adnouns (cf. 4.2.2). Quantifiers include two sets of numerals: NK and SK numerals. Descriptive adnouns are those describing the quality or state of the modifying noun.

(35) Adnoun Classes

a. Determiners

i. Definite:

Proximal (close to the speaker)

i 'this'

yo (light isotope)

Mesial (close to the hearer)

ku 'that, the'

ko (light isotope)

Distal (away from both speaker and hearer)

ce 'yonder'

co (light isotope)

ii. Indefinite/interrogative

enu 'some; which'

etten 'some, certain; which'

mwusun 'what'

amwu 'any'

b. Quantifiers

i. NK numerals: *han* 'one', *twu* 'two', *sey* 'three', *sumwu* 'twenty', *myetch* 'some', *yele* 'many', *motun* 'all', *on* 'all',

ii. SK numerals: *il* 'one', *i* 'two', *sam* 'three', *isip* 'twenty', *swu* 'some', *pan* 'half', *cen* 'all', *chong* 'all'

c. Descriptive Adnouns

say 'new', *yeys* 'old', *hen* 'worn-out', *wis* 'above', *alays* 'below', *mwus* 'many', *ttan* 'other', *olun* 'right', *oyun* 'left'

It may be noted that the adnoun *say* 'new' has no inflection, while *saylowun* 'new', which is similar in meaning and form to *say*, is an adnominalized adjective (stem: *saylop-*).

Nouns with the possessive particle *uy* 'of' syntactically function as adnominal: *na-uy* 'my'.

coyong-hi 'quietly' (< *coyonghata* 'quiet')
pwucilen-hi 'diligently' (< *pwucilenhata* 'diligent')

(39) Nouns as Adverbs

- a. Time and place nouns: *onul* 'today', *nayil* 'tomorrow', *ecey* 'yesterday', *encey* 'when, sometime', *cikum* 'now', *yeki* 'here', *ceki* 'there'
- b. Ordinal numbers: *chesccay* 'first', *seysccay* 'third'
- c. Discourse nouns: *sasil* 'in fact' (< n. 'fact'), *pothong* 'normally' (< n. 'norm'), *taykay* 'generally' (< n. 'outline')

4.6.1.3. *Onomatopoetic Adverbs*

Words formed by sound symbolism also constitute a subclass of adverb (cf. 3.5).

(40) Onomatopoetic Adverbs

- a. *pel-pel*, *ppel-ppel*, *phel-phel* 'trembling, shivering'
- b. *ping-ping*, *pping-pping*, *phing-phing* 'round and round'
- c. *pak-pak*, *ppak-ppak*, *phak-phak* 'tightly'

4.6.2. *Adverbial Particles*

A particle phrase (PP) consisting of a noun (or an NP) and an adverbial particle functions as adverbial. The adverbial particle is the head of the phrase (cf. 4.7.1.3).

(41) Adverbial Particle-Phrases (PP)

- a. *Seoul-ey* 'in Seoul'
in/at/to
- b. *Mia-eykey* 'to Mia'
to
- c. *son-ulo* 'with hands'
hand with
- d. *9-si- pwuthe* 'from 9 o'clock'
o'clock from

4.6.3. *Syntactic Functions of Adverbs*

Adverbs typically modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs with various semantic roles (4.6.4). In addition, some intensifying adverbs (e.g. *paro* 'just', *keuy* 'nearly, almost') modify nouns and numerals; some modify a sentence as a

whole--sentence adverbs. Furthermore, some discourse-oriented adverbs connect a sentence to the preceding one--conjunctive adverbs.

(42) a. Adverbs modifying nouns/numerals

- <i>paro</i> 'just, exactly'	<i>paro ecey</i> 'just yesterday'
- <i>keuy</i> 'nearly, almost'	<i>keuy ta</i> 'almost all'
- <i>kkok</i> 'exactly, for sure'	<i>kkok yel myeng</i> 'exactly 10 persons'
- <i>ceketo</i> 'least'	<i>ceketo yel myeng</i> 'at least 10 persons'

b. Sentence adverbs

- *ama* 'perhaps', *kulssey* 'maybe', *pwuti* 'please', *ceypal* 'please', *pantusi* 'without fail', *kiei* 'by all means' (NK adverbs)
- *mwullon* 'of course', *tangyenhi* 'naturally', *pothong* 'normally', *silun* 'in fact', *sasil* 'in fact', *hwaksil-hi* 'certainly', *pitan* 'not only' (SK adverbs)

4.6.3.1. *Conjunctive Adverbs*

On top of their modifying function, some conjunctive adverbs connect a preceding discourse to the following sentence. They are formed with deixis-oriented *ile-* 'this', *kule-* 'the', *cele-* 'that' and adverbializers (e.g. *-nikka* 'as', *-ni* 'as', *-myen* 'if', *-na* 'though', *-ciman* 'though'). Coordinate connectives *kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but', *animyen* 'if not, or', *tto-nun* 'or' form a subclass of particles--conjunctive particles (cf. 4.7.1.4).

(43) Conjunctive Adverbs:

(typically: *kule-/ile-/cele-* + *ha* 'be/do' + ADVZ)
kulehciman 'though', *kulenikka* 'so', *kulayse* 'so, therefore', *kulemyen* 'then',
kolo 'therefore', *manil ... myen* 'if ... then', *pilok ... ciman* 'even though', *amwuli ... to*
 'no matter how ...', *machi* 'as if'

4.6.4. *Semantic Types of Adverbs*

In terms of semantic roles, adverbs may roughly be classified as follows: adverbs of degree, quantity, time, frequency, manner, modality and negation.

(44) a. Degree

phék 'pretty', *kkway* 'fairly, very', *maywu* 'very', *acwu* 'very', *cham* 'very, truly',
ta 'all', *cenhye* 'entirely', *yeng* 'totally', *nemwu* 'too, overly', *com* 'little', *tewuk*
 'more', *taso* 'more or less'

b. Quantity

manhi 'much', *taso* 'more or less', *phék* 'pretty', *tangcang* 'at once', *wusen* 'at first'

c. Time

pelsse 'already', *acik* 'yet', *cemcem* 'gradually'

d. Frequency

cacwu 'frequently', *nul* 'always', *kakkum* 'often', *ttayttay-lo* 'from time to time',
han pen 'once'

e. Manner

chenchenhi 'slowly', *ppalli* 'quickly', *nulisnulis* 'slowly', *col-col*, *pel-pel*⁶³

f. Modality

kkok 'certainly', *pantusi* 'certainly', *ama* 'probably', *cengmal* 'truly', *selma* '(not)
by any possibility', *kwayen* 'as expected', *totaychey* 'on earth', *celtaylo* 'by no
means'

g. Negation

an(i) 'not', *mos* 'cannot'

h. Negative polarity

kyelkho 'by no means', *tomwuci* 'utterly (not)'

4.7. Particles

Particles belong to an uninflected and closed word class. When they occur after nominals, they are often called 'postpositions' in contrast to 'prepositions' in English. They also occur after other particles, forming a particle sequence. Some occur after sentence endings (e.g. the polite particle *yo*) or between sentences as a connective.

4.7.1. Particle Classes

According to their syntactic functions, particles may be divided into several subclasses.

(45) Subclasses of Particles

- a. Grammatical-function particles
- b. Discourse-function particles
- c. Adverbial particles
- d. Conjunctive particles
- e. Sentence particles

In addition to these subclasses, there are derived quasi-particles such as *kathi* 'like' (< *katha* 'be similar'), *kaciko* 'with' (< *kacta* 'have'), *malko* 'instead of' (< *malta* 'stop, quit'). They are particles in the transitional state--particles in the

making. We treat them just as ordinary particles in this book, along with other particles like *pota* 'than', *puthe* 'from', *cocha* 'even', *mace* 'even', *mankhum* 'that many/much, to (that) extent', which are all derived morphologically but not felt as such by native speakers.

There are also many phrasal particles, including *ey-tayhayse* 'about', *ey-kwanhayse* 'concerning' and *lul-wihayse* 'for (the sake of)'.

4.7.1.1. Grammatical-Function Particles

The primary function of particles *i/ka* and *(l)ul* is to mark the noun attached to them as the subject and object of a sentence, respectively. They are also called nominative and accusative case markers.⁵⁴ Since these particles have other uses as well, it seems appropriate to call them by their forms--*i/ka*-particle, *(l)ul*-particle--rather than by their grammatical function or case names. The possessive particle *uy* and the vocative particle *(i)ya* may be added to these. Particles used for more oblique objects, such as locative and agentive objects, are grouped under adverbial particles. Some of these particles have phonologically conditioned alternants--depending on whether the noun to which they are attached ends in a vowel (V) or a consonant (C).

(46) Grammatical-Function Particles

a. Subject marker (SM) (or nominative marker)

- ka* (after a V-ending noun)
Mia-ka (as subject), *nay-ka* 'I'
i (after a C-ending noun)
Yong-i, *kutul-i* 'they'
kkeyse (after an honoured subject-referent)
emenim-kkeyse 'mother (as subject)',
imkumnim-kkeyse 'king (as subject)'
eyse (after a group)
wuliphyen-eyse 'our team (as subject)',
wuli chuk-eyse 'our side (as subject)'

b. Object marker (OM) (or accusative marker)

- lul* (after a V-ending noun)
Mia-lul (as object), *na-lul* 'me'
ul (after an C-ending noun)
Yong-ul (as object), *kutul-ul* 'them'

c. Possessive marker (POSS)

- uy* *Mia-uy* 'Mia's', *na-uy* 'my', *Yong-uy* 'Yong's', *kutul-uy* 'their'

d. Vocative marker (VOC)

- ya* (after V-ending noun)

- Mia-ya* 'Mia!', *Yuna-ya* 'Yuna!'
a (after C-ending noun)
Yong-a 'Yong!', *Tol-a* 'Tol!'

4.7.1.2. Discourse-Function Particles

Discourse-function (DF) particles are the particles that mark topic, focus, emphasis, or contrast in discourse. They may be viewed as delimiting grammatical functions in various ways--thus, they are also called delimiters.⁵⁵ The most prominent DF-particle is *(n)un*, usually known as topic marker (TOP). Other delimiters include *to* 'also', *man* 'only' and *mace* 'even'.

(47) Discourse-Function Particles

<i>(n)un</i>	'topic marker'
	<i>nun</i> after a V-ending noun
	<i>un</i> after a C-ending noun (<i>Yong-un</i> 'as for Yong')
<i>to</i>	'reinforced emphasis, also'
<i>man</i>	'only'
<i>mace</i>	'even'
<i>kkaci</i>	'even'
<i>(i)ya</i>	'reinforced contingency'
<i>(i)na</i>	'or something'
<i>(i)lato</i>	'or something'
<i>cocha</i>	'even'
<i>(u)nama</i>	'but (adversative)'
<i>khenyeng</i>	'far from, on the contrary'
<i>pakkey</i>	'in addition to'
<i>mata</i>	'each'
<i>kkaci</i>	'even'

Among these discourse-function particles *(n)un* and *to* may combine with other DF-particles but they cannot cooccur with grammatical-function particles *i/ka* (SM), *(l)ul* (OM) and *uy* (POSS).

- (48) a. *Mia-man-un* 'only Mia (as topic)'
 -man-to 'even Mia ... (not)'
 -mace-to 'even Mia'
 b. **Mia-ka-nun/to*
 **Mia-lul-nun/to*
 c. **Mia-uy-nun/to*

4.7.1.3. Adverbial Particles

Particles that mark oblique objects are called adverbial particles, for they function

as adverbs, indicating location, direction, goal, source, and the like. The particles *ey* and *eykey* are complementary; one is for an inanimate and the other for an animate referent.

(49) Adverbial Particles

<i>ey/eykey</i>	(static locative 'at', goal 'to', agentive 'by') <i>Seoul-ey</i> 'in/to Seoul', <i>Mia-eykey</i> 'to Mia'
<i>kkey</i>	(honorific form for <i>eykey</i>) <i>emenim-kkey</i> 'to mother'
<i>eyse</i>	(dynamic locative 'at', starting point/source 'from') <i>Seoul-eyse</i> 'at/from Seoul'
<i>kkaci</i>	(end point/goal 'to') <i>Seoul-kkaci</i> 'to Seoul', <i>12-si-kkaci</i> 'until 12 o'clock'
<i>(u)lo</i>	(direction 'towards', instrument 'with', capacity 'as') <i>Seoul-lo</i> 'for Seoul', <i>kong-ulo</i> 'with a ball' <i>hoychang-ulo</i> 'as chairman'
<i>(k)wa</i>	(comitative 'with') <i>Mia-wa</i> 'with Mia', <i>Yong-kwa</i> 'with Yong'
<i>hako</i>	(more colloquial than <i>wa/kwa</i>) <i>Mia-hako</i> 'with Mia'

4.7.1.4. *Conjunctive Particles*

There are two subclasses of conjunctive particle: (1) those conjoining nominals; (2) those conjoining sentences and adverbials as well as nominals. The latter are also called discourse-deictic particles in this book.

(50) Conjunctive Particles⁵⁶

a. Nominal Particles

- i. *kwa* : (after C-ending) *Yong-kwa na* 'Yong and I'
- ii. *wa* : (after V-ending) *Mia-wa Yong* 'Mia and Yong'
- iii. *hako* : (more colloquial than *wa/kwa*)
Mia-wa na 'Mia and I'
Yong-kwa Mia 'Yong and Mia'
- iv. *kuliko* : *Mia kuliko Yong* 'Mia and Yong'

b. Discourse-deictic Particles

(The conjunctive marker '+' below stands for: *kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but', *ttohan* 'and', *animyen* 'if not, or', etc.)

i. S + S

Mia-ka wassta. Kuliko Yong-i ttenassta.
came and left

ii. Verb + Verb

ilhako kuliko kongpwuhanta

- work and study
- iii. Adjective + Adjective
cakun kulena yeyppen (os)
 small but pretty (dress)
- iv. Adverb + Adverb
chenchenhi kulena hwaksilhakey
 slowly but assuredly

4.7.1.5. Sentence Particles

In addition to the above four subclasses of particle, there is another class which we call sentence particle. There are at least three varieties of sentence particles. The first one is the polite marker *yo*, which usually comes after the intimate-level ending *-e* (its variants: *a*, zero) but can also occur after any major break in discourse. The second variety of sentence particles is the plural marker *tul*, which can occur not only after a noun but also at any major break, similar to the polite particle *yo* in this respect, indicating that the covert subject-referent is plural. The third variety is the indirect quotative marker *ko* and the direct quotative *hako* and *lako*.

(51) Sentence Particles

a. Polite marker: *yo*

- i. *Mia-ka wasse-yo.* 'Mia came.' (polite level)
 came PO
- Mia-ka wass-na-yo?* 'Did Mia come?' (polite level)
 came-INT-PO
- Kuliko-yo, ...* 'And ...' (polite level)
 and PO
- Ce-nun-yo, ...* 'I ...' (polite level)
 I TOP PO

b. Plural marker: *tul*

- i. *Wuli-tul-i ...* 'We ...'
 we PL SM
- ii. *Ppali-tul wa.* '(You guys,) come quickly.'
 fast PL come
- iii. *Pelse ttenasse-yo-tul.* '(They've) already left.'
 already left PO-PL

c. Quotative Marker: *ko* (direct quotative marker: *hako, lako*)

- i. Indirect quotative: *ko*
Mia-ka wassta-ko Yong-i malhayssta.
 SM came QU SM said
 'Yong said that Mia came.'
- ii. Direct quotative: *hako/lako*

'Mia-ka wassta' lako/hako Yong-i malhayssta.
 SM came QU SM said
 'Yong said, "Mia came." '

4.8. Interjections

Interjections belong to a word class with no grammatical relation with other word classes. Two subclasses may be set up for this word class: exclamatories and vocatives. The exclamatories are emotive words, typically involving the use of sounds which do not otherwise occur in Korean words.

4.8.1. Exclamatories

Some of the typical exclamatories are listed below.

(52) Exclamatories

a. Response

- i. Positive: *Ney* 'Yes', *Yey* 'Yes', *Kulay* 'That's right', *Ung* 'Yeah', *Onya* 'Yeah'
- ii. Negative: *Ani*, *Aniyo*, *Anya* 'No'

b. Inquiry: *Way* 'why', *Mwe* 'what'

c. Uncertainty: *Kulssey.yo* 'Well ...'

d. Pain: *Aya* 'Ouch!', *Aiko* 'Oh my ...'

e. Damning: *Ceyki(lal)* 'Damn (it)!', *Ceyncang* 'Damn'

f. Hesitation: *Cham* 'Well', *Ce...* 'let's see...'

g. Pity: *Celen* 'Oh dear!'

h. Surprise: *Ilen!/celen!* 'Oh gosh', *Ani!* 'Oh my'

4.8.2. Vocatives

The vocatives are represented by the use of personal names or epithets with or without the vocative marker (y)a.

(53) Vocatives

a. Names: full name, first name, last name

Chang-Mia ssi 'Miss Mia Chang!'

Kim-kwun 'Kim!'

Changho-ssi/hyeng '(Brother) Changho!'

Mia-ya 'Mia!'

Thayksi 'Taxi!'

b. Names with titles or a nickname or pet name

- Kim-sacang* 'President Kim!'
Kim-kisa 'Technician Kim!'
Chang Mia-sonnim '(Customer) Mia Chang!'
- c. Titles (prefixed): (English style):
misu Kim 'Miss Kim'
- d. Appelatives
- i. Pure Address
Ya, Yepo, 'Hey', 'Dear'
Yeposeyyo 'Hello' (phone call; polite level)
- ii. Kinship Terms
Emma 'Mom!'
Appa 'Dad!'
Hyeng(nim) '(older) Brother!'
Nwuna/nwunim '(boy's older) sister'
Acessi 'Uncle' (a general term for a grown-up man)
Acwumeni 'Aunt!' (a general term for a grown-up woman)
Akassi 'Miss!'
- iii. Titles: (normally with *nim*, addressing an honoured person)
Sensayng-nim 'Teacher!'
Sacang-nim 'President!'
Samo-nim 'Madam!' (to the wife of an honoured person)
Pwucang-nim 'Department Chief'
Hananim 'God!'
- iv. Epithets: (normally, in an extended form:
 Deictic *i* 'this' + Epithet + (Vocative (*y)a*)
I-nom(-a) 'You bastard'
I-nyen-a 'You bitch'
I-saykki-ya 'You idiot'
I-mengcheng-a 'You stupid fool'
I-twayci-ya 'You pig'
- v. Set phrases
Sinsa swuknye yelepwun 'Ladies and Gentlemen!'
Chinayhanun tongci-yelepwun! 'Dear Comrades'
- vi. Salutation (in letter form)
Salanghanun Mia-eyekey! 'Dear Mia!'

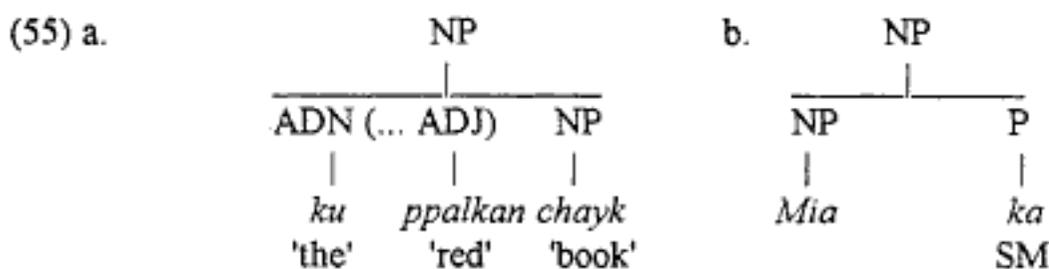
4.9. Phrases

A word may be expanded to a phrasal unit either by modification or by coordination. A noun is expanded to a noun phrase, a verb to a verb phrase, an adjective to an adjective phrase, and so on. The phrasal unit may also be expanded further to a compound phrasal unit by coordination. Modification and coordination will be treated in Chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

4.9.1. *Noun Phrases*

Noun phrases have several shapes. Normally a noun preceded by one or more adnominals is a noun phrase (NP). An NP marked by a particle of either grammatical or discourse function is also an NP.

- (54) a. NP = ADN (... ADN) + N
 b. NP = NP + P (where P = GF- or DF-particle)

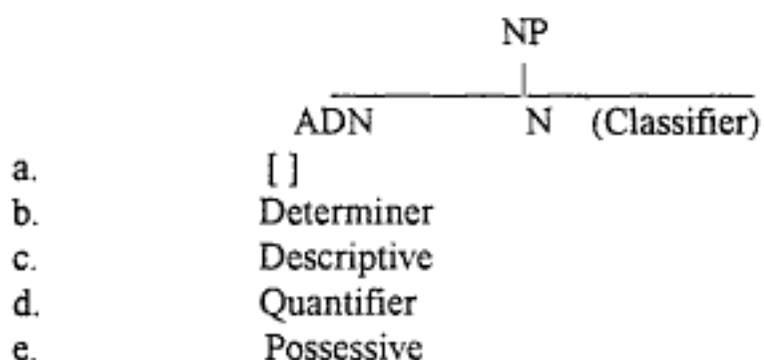


- (56) NP
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------|------|------------------------|
| a. | <i>i</i> | <i>chayk</i> | = NP | 'this book' |
| b. | <i>i ppalkan</i> | <i>chayk</i> | = NP | 'this red book' |
| c. | <i>ce khun</i> | <i>namwu</i> | = NP | 'that big tree' |
| d. | <i>Yong</i> | <i>i</i> | = NP | 'Yong (subj)' |
| e. | <i>Mia</i> | <i>lul</i> | = NP | 'Mia (obj)' |
| f. | <i>Mia</i> | <i>nun</i> | = NP | 'Mia (top)' |
| g. | <i>i chayk</i> | <i>un</i> | = NP | 'this book (top)' |
| h. | <i>i ppalkna chayk</i> | <i>i</i> | = NP | 'this red book (subj)' |
| i. | <i>ce khun namwu</i> | <i>lul</i> | = NP | 'that big tree (obj)' |

The combination of a noun and an adverbial particle forms an adverb phrase (cf. 4.9.4).

Noun phrases consist of a head noun and one or more optional adnouns including classifiers. Adnouns precede the head and classifiers may follow it. If the head noun is a bound noun, adnominal modification is obligatory. (The symbol [] indicates zero/null.)

(57) Noun phrase (NP)



- (58) a. NP = Proper N *Mia* 'Mia'
 b. NP = DET + N *ku kes* 'that'
 the thing
 c. NP = ADN + N *say os* 'new dress'
 new dress
 d. NP = ADN + N *han haksayng* 'one student'
 one student
 e. NP = N[uy] + N *Mia-uy chayk* 'Mia's book(s)'
 's book

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | NP | | |
| | | | |
| | NP | NP | |
| f. | <i>Mia-uy chayk</i>
's book | <i>sey-kwen</i>
three volume | 'three volumes of Mia's book' |
| g. | <i>i os- kwa</i>
this dress-and | <i>ce moca</i>
that hat | 'this dress and that hat' |

Noun phrases consisting of a determiner and a numeral with a classifier are constrained in their ordering. Normally, the plural marker *tul* is optional except in construction with the determiner *i/ku/ce*. The construction <DET + N> is singular; for plurality the noun is marked by *tul* (DET + N + *tul*).

- (59) a. *ku salam* 'he, she' (sg)
 that person
 b. *ku salam-tul* 'they' (plu)
 PLU
 c. *manhun salam(-tul)* 'many people'
 many person PLU
 d. *ku manhun salam(-tul)* 'the many people'
 e. *manhun ku salam-tul* 'many of the people (lit. *many the people)'
 f. **manhun ku salam*

Determiners (*i, ku, ce, etc.*) normally precede but may follow adnominalized modifiers like *manhun* 'many' (cf. (59.d) and (59.e)); notice that the plural marker *tul* is optional in the former and obligatory in the latter.

An extended noun phrase may include the following kind--compounding of a numeral, a classifier and a head noun. The word order is rather free in the construction of a subject NP (60) or an object NP (61). But in the case of the indirect object (62), the *eykey*-phrase disallows separation of the classifier and the head noun (62.c).

- (60) a. *sey-myeng(-uy) haksayng-i* 'three students (subj)'
 three-CL(POSS) student-SM
 b. *haksayng sey-myeng-i*

- student three-CL-SM
 c. *haksayng-i sey-myeng*
 student-SM three-CL
- (61) a. *yele kwen(-uy) chayk-ul* 'many (volumes of) books (obj)'
 many volume (POSS) book-OM
 b. *chayk yele kwen-ul*
 book many volume-OM
 c. *chayk-ul yele kwen*
 book-OM many volume
- (62) a. *sey-myeng(-uy) haksayng-eykey* 'to three students'
 three CL(POSS) student-to
 b. *haksayng sey-myeng-eykey*
 student three-CL-to
 c. **haksayng-eykey sey-myeng*
 student-to three-CL

4.9.2. Verb Phrases

Verb phrases are composed of verbs or adjectives and auxiliary verbs.⁵⁷ We may expand the verb phrase to include those constructions consisting of an adnominal phrase with a bound-noun head followed by a verb (e.g. *-issta* 'be', *alta* 'know') or of an auxiliary-like verb with an auxiliary connective (e.g. *-eya hata*). Such verb phrases may be analyzed as idiomatic: e.g. <V-*l* 'ADNZ'-*swu* 'means'-*issta* 'exist' > 'can V', <V-*l* "ADNZ' *cwul* 'way' *anta* 'know' > 'know how to V', <V-*(e)ya* 'AUX.CON' *hata* 'do' > 'must V' (cf. 4.3.2).

(63) Verb Phrase (VP)

VP				
v/adj	aux.con	aux. v		
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-issta</i>	[resultative]	'be V-ing'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-pelita</i>	[exhaustive]	'V-away'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-twuta</i>	[completive]	'V- up'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[conative]	'try V-ing'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-cwuta</i>	[beneficial]	'V-for'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-ota</i>	[inbound]	'V (and come)'
V	<i>e</i>	<i>-kata</i>	[outbound]	'V (and go)'
V/A	<i>e</i>	<i>-cita</i>	[inceptive]	'become V/A'
A	<i>e</i>	<i>-hata</i>	[emotive]	'feel A'
V	<i>ko</i>	<i>-issta</i>	[progressive]	'be V-ing'
V	<i>ko</i>	<i>-malta</i>	[terminative]	'end up V-ing'
V	<i>ci</i>	<i>-ahnunta</i>	[negative]	'don't V'
V	<i>ci</i>	<i>-malla</i>	[prohibitive]	'Don't V!'

V/A	<i>e-ya</i>	<i>-hanta</i>	[obligative]	'must (be) V/A'
V/A	<i>e-to</i>	<i>-cohta</i>	[permissive]	'may (be) V/A'
V/A	<i>e-to</i>	<i>-toyta</i>	[permissive]	'may (be) V/A'

(64) Examples

<i>nwu-e-issta</i>	'be lying'
<i>chiwe-pelita</i>	'put away'
<i>meke-twuta</i>	'eat up'
<i>mek-e-pota</i>	'try eating'
<i>tow-a-cwuta</i>	'give help'
<i>tol-a-ota</i>	'come back'
<i>tol-a-kata</i>	'go back'
<i>tew-e-cita</i>	'become warm'
<i>cwu-e-cita</i>	'be given'
<i>sulph-e-hata</i>	'feel sad'
<i>mek-ko-issta</i>	'be eating'
<i>mek-ko-malta</i>	'end up eating'
<i>mek-ci-anhnunta</i>	'don't eat'
<i>mek-ci-malla!</i>	'Don't eat!'
<i>ka-ya-hanta</i>	'must go'
<i>ka-to-toynta</i>	'may go'
<i>ka-myen-an-toynta</i>	'must not go'

(65) Idiomatic Verb Phrases

- a. V *-l swu issta* 'can V'
ADNZ means exist
- b. V *-l swu epsta* 'cannot V'
ADNZ means not-exist
- c. V *-l cwul anta* 'know how to V'
ADNZ way know
- d. V *-l cwul molunta* 'do not know how to V'
way not-know

(66) Examples

<i>ka.l-swu-issta</i>	'can go'
<i>ka.l-swu-epsta</i>	'cannot go'
<i>ha.l-cwul-anta</i>	'know how to do'
<i>ha.l-cwul-molunta</i>	'do not know how to do'

4.9.3. Adjective Phrases

Adjective phrase, like verb phrases, consist of verbs (or adjectives) and auxiliary adjectives linked with auxiliary connectives like the infinitive *e* or the gerundive

ko: <V/A + aux. con + aux. adj>.

(67) Adjective Phrase (AP)

	AP				
	┌───────────┐				
	v/adj	aux. con	aux. adj		
	V	<i>ko</i>	<i>-siphta</i>	[desiderative]	'want to V'
	A	<i>ci</i>	<i>-anhta</i>	[negative]	'be not A'
	V	<i>na</i>	<i>-siphta</i>	[semblative]	'seem to V'
	V	<i>nun-ka</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[semblative]	'seem to V'
	A	<i>un-ka</i>	<i>-pota</i>	[semblative]	'seem A'
	V	<i>e-to</i>	<i>-cohta</i>	[permissive]	'may V'

(68) Examples

<i>ka-ko-siphta</i>	'(I) want to go'
<i>coh-ci-anhta</i>	'be not good'
<i>ka-na-siphta</i>	'seem to go'
<i>ka-nunka-pota</i>	'seem to go'
<i>coh-un-ka-pota</i>	'seem good'
<i>ka-to-cohta</i>	'may go'

Note that the head of the auxiliary phrase is its final element--that is, an auxiliary adjective in this case. The adjective phrase <V-*e-to-cohta*> may be treated as idiomatic.

(69)

	AP			
	┌───────────┐			
	v	con/p	aux.adj	
i.	<i>mek-</i> eat-	<i>ko</i> GER	<i>siphta</i> desirous	'want to eat'
ii.	<i>ka-</i> go	<i>to</i> too	<i>cohta</i> good	'may go'

4.9.4. Adverb Phrases

Adverb phrases consist of an adverb modified by other adverbs.

(70) Adverb Phrases (ADVP)

a. Modifier + Adverb

<i>acwu</i>	<i>manhi</i>	'very much'
very	much	

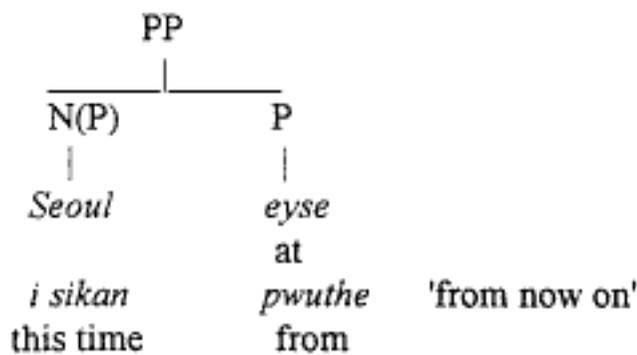
<i>phek</i>	<i>cohkey</i>	'pretty nicely'
pretty	nicely	

4.9.5. Particle Phrases

Particle phrases consist of a noun phrase and an adverbial particle; the particle is the head of the phrase.

(71) Particle Phrases (PP)

PP = NP + P (where P = adverbial particle)



- (72)
- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Seoul-eyse</i> | 'in Seoul' |
| at | |
| <i>Mia-eykey</i> | 'to Mia' |
| to | |
| <i>onul-pwuthe</i> | 'from today' |
| today-from | |
| <i>nayil-kkaci</i> | 'till tomorrow' |
| tomorrow-till | |
| <i>say cip-ulo</i> | 'to a new house' |
| new house-to | |
| <i>yele salam-hanthey</i> | 'to many people' |
| many person to | |

Two or more particles may be formed into an extended or phrasal particle. The IC (immediate constituency) cut is between the particle on the right and the remainder of the phrase, peeling off in turn from the right. Some locational nouns with the particle *ey* 'at' are treated as phrasal particles (e.g. *an.ey* = *an* 'inside' + *ey* 'at' ('inside of')). The particle *se*, which normally comes after another particle or a sentence-ender, is simply marked as P (particle) and its extended form is given a semantic cue like 'at' or 'from'.

(73) Phrasal Particles

a. Two particles

<i>ey-se</i>	'at, in, from'
at-P	
<i>eykey-se</i>	'from (human)
to-P	
<i>lo-pwuthe</i>	'from (location)'
toward-from	
<i>an-ey</i>	'inside of'
inside-at	
<i>yep-ey</i>	'at the side of'
side-at	
<i>wi-ey</i>	'on top of'
top-at	

b. Three particles

<i>ey-se-pwuthe</i>	'from'
at-P-from	
<i>pwuthe-se-uy</i>	'(NP) out of'
from-P-of	
<i>hanthey-se-man</i>	'only from'
from-P-only	
<i>(u)lo-pwuthe-nun</i>	'from (location)' (topic)
toward-from-TOP	
<i>wi-ey-nun</i>	'above' (topic)
top-at-TOP	
<i>alay-ey-nun</i>	'below/at the bottom of' (topic)
below-at-TOP	

c. Four particles

<i>ey-se-pwuthe-uy</i>	'(NP) from (location)'
at-P-from-of	
<i>ey-se-pwuthe-to</i>	'also from (location)'
at-P-from-also	
<i>eykey-se-pota-to</i>	'rather than from'
to-P-than-also	

There are some extended and idiomatic phrasal particles; they function as adverbial or adnominal, depending on their endings.

(74) Extended Phrasal Particles

Adverbial	Adnominal	Meaning
a. <i>ey-kwan.ha.ye/hay se</i>	<i>ey-kwan.han</i>	with respect to
b. <i>ey-tay.hay.se</i>	<i>ey-tay.han</i>	regarding
c. <i>ey-pan.hay.se</i>	<i>ey-pan.han</i>	in opposition to
d. <i>ey-uyhay.se</i>	<i>ey-uyhan</i>	depending on
e. <i>(u)lo in-hay.se</i>	<i>(u)lo in-han</i>	owing to

5. Sentences

A sentence is the highest unit in grammar and the goal of grammatical description is to define a grammatical sentence. However, the question of grammaticality is one which does not always give a decisive answer. There are questions of grammatical acceptability with respect to meaning and context as well as the difficulty of segmenting a discourse into sentences.

A sentence is simple, expanded or incomplete. A simple sentence consists of a single independent clause having one predicate as its head. An expanded sentence contains two or more clauses as its immediate constituents. Such sentences will be treated in the next chapter. Incomplete or fragmentary sentences will be described with discourse ellipsis in Chapter 7. This chapter deals with simple sentences.

The nuclear element of a simple sentence is the predicate. Being a verb-final language, Korean has the predicate, verb or adjective, as the final element of the sentence. Obligatory elements of the sentence are subcategorized by the predicate verb or adjective. This mode of description enables us to tell whether a sentence is well-formed or not in terms of subcategorization or valency. From an utterance-oriented perspective, however, one might argue that the Korean sentence consists of a predicate alone, optionally expanded with a subject, an object, a complement, and the like, which are all then treated as adverbial adjuncts.⁵⁸

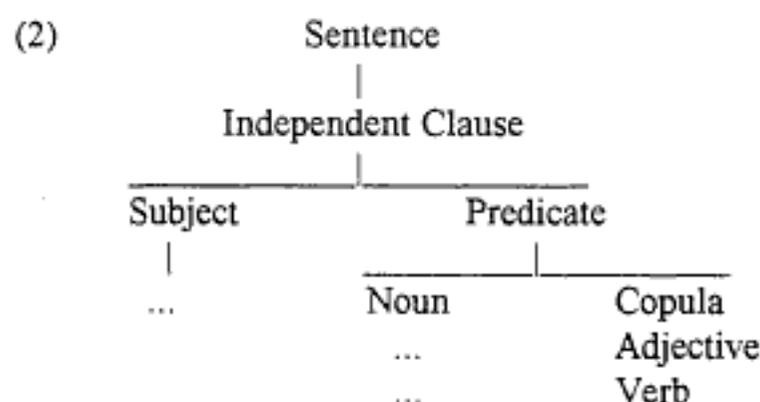
5.1. Sentence Structure

Simple sentences are traditionally divided into two major parts: a subject and a predicate. The predicate consists of the head of the sentence, a verb or an adjective, and combinations of functional categories such as objects, complements, and modifiers. From a thematic point of view, the subject is described as the element specifying the topic or theme of the sentence--that is,

what the sentence is 'about' and the predicate is what is predicated of the subject.

On the basis of the type of predication three classes of sentence may be set up: verbal, adjectival and copular. The copular sentence may well be called a nominal sentence, as the copula functions merely as a word linking the following nominal expression to the subject. Taking into account the structural behaviour of the copula as a free word, we may also treat the copular sentence as a subtype of adjectival sentence.

- (1) Classes of Sentence
 a. Adjectival Sentence
 b. Copular Sentence
 c. Verbal Sentence



(3)

	Subject	Predicate	
a.			[Adjectival S]
	<i>Kulim-i</i>	<i>yepputa.</i>	'The picture is pretty.'
	picture-SM	pretty	
	<i>Mia-ka</i>	<i>cengcikhata.</i>	'Mia is honest.'
	SM	honest	
b.			[Copular S]
	<i>Mia-ka</i>	<i>pancang ita.</i>	'Mia is the class-leader.'
	SM	classleader is	
	<i>Yong-i</i>	<i>pancang-i anita.</i>	'Yong isn't the class-leader.'
	SM	SM not-be	
c.			[Verbal S]
	<i>Hay-nun</i>	<i>tongccok-eyse ttunta.</i>	'The sun rises in the east.'
	sun-TOP	east at rise	
	<i>Mia-ka</i>	<i>Yenge-lul cal hanta.</i>	'Mia speaks English well.'
	SM	English-OM well speak	

The subject is normally a noun phrase (NP) or a noun clause (NC) marked with the subject marker *i/ka* or the topic marker *(n)un*. The NP marked with *nun* (in 3.c) is the subject as well as the topic.

In the following illustration all the topic markers may be replaced by subject markers.

(4)	Topic/Subject	Predicate
a.	<i>Mia-nun</i> As for Mia, she
b.	<i>Na-nun</i> As for me, I
c.	<i>Ce kulim-un</i> As for that picture, it
d.	<i>Ku kulim-un</i> Speaking of the picture, it

These sentence classes are now expanded by subcategorizing adjectives and verbs. We set up the following functional categories of sentence constituents: verb (V), adjective (A), subject (S), object (O), complement (C) and modifier (M). The object and complement are further subcategorized.

(5) Grammatical Functions

- a. Verb (V)
- b. Adjective (A)
 - Descriptive adjective
 - Copula (COP)
- c. Subject (S)
 - Subject 1 (S₁)
 - Subject 2 (S₂)
- d. Object (O) - Direct object (O)
 - Indirect object (O_I)
 - Oblique object (O_{OBL})
- e. Complement (C)
 - Subject complement (C_S)
 - Object complement (C_O)
 - Locative complement (C_L)

Based on the permissible combinations of the functional categories, we may set up the following basic sentence patterns. Different verb/adjective classes require different functional categories to complete the meaning of the sentence.

(6) Basic Sentence Patterns (to be expanded)

- S-A (descriptive adjective)
- S-C-A (copula)
- S-V (complete intransitive)
- S-C-V (incomplete intransitive)
- S-O-V (complete transitive)

S-O-O-V	(ditransitive)
S-O-C-V	(incomplete transitive)

Before dealing with each sentence pattern, we will look into the formal distinctions between the verb and adjective constructions with sample sentences. It may be observed that the adjectives are formally constrained in the following respects (cf. 4.4.1): (1) no present-tense suffix *-n(un)*: **A-nunta*, (2) no imperative/propositive sentence: **A-la/ca*, (3) no progressive/perfective aspect constructions: **A-ko/e-issta*.

(7) a. Adjective	b. Verb
<i>noph-ta</i> 'high'	<i>mek-ta</i> 'eat'
i. * <i>noph-nun-ta</i>	i. <i>mek-nun-ta</i>
<i>San-i noph>(*nun)-ta</i>	<i>Ay-ka pap-ul mek-nun-ta</i>
mountain-SM high-PRS-PL/DCL	baby-SM meal-OM eat-PRS-PL/DCL
'The mountain is high.'	'The baby eats a meal.'
ii. * <i>Noph-ala!</i>	ii. <i>Manhi mek-ela!</i>
high-PL/IMP	lot eat-PL/IMP
'*BE high.'	'Eat a lot!'
iii. * <i>noph-ko-issta</i>	iii. <i>mek-ko-issta</i>
* <i>San-i noph-ko-issta.</i>	<i>Ay-ka pap-ul mek-ko-issta.</i>
high--GER-be	baby-SM meal-OM eat-GER-be
'*The mountain is being high.'	'The baby is eating a meal.'

5.1.1. Adjectival Sentences

One of the subclasses of adjectival sentence contains the copula *ita* or its negative *anita* (< *ani* + *ita*). Other adjectival subclasses include descriptive, transitive and emotive adjectives.

5.1.1.1. Copular Sentences

The basic function of the copula *ita* 'be' is to identify, describe or equate the subject with its complement.

The copular sentence consists of a subject and its complement (subject complement) linked with the copula; the complement is a nominal marked with the marker *i/ka*. In normal speech, when preceded by a vowel-ending noun, the copular stem *i* is usually suppressed.

(8) a. <i>Cekes-i nay moca []-ta.</i>	<i>/N-[]-ta</i>
that-SM my hat be-SE	

- 'That's my hat.'
 b. *Ikes-i nay chayk i-ta. /C-i-ta*
 this-SM my book be-SE
 'This is my book.'

The copula links the subject (A) and its complement (B) in the order: A-B. The copula *ita*, similar to the English *be*, indicates identity ($A=B$), membership ($A \in B$) or subset relation ($A \subset B$). Accordingly, the reversed order (B-A) changes the meaning or results in anomaly.

- (9) a. *Mia-ka nay yetongsayng-ita.*
 SM my sister- be
 'Mia is my sister.'
 b. *Mia-ka haksayng-ita.*
 SM student- be
 'Mia is a student.'
 c. *Pakwi-nun tongmwul-ita.*
 bat-TOP animal- be
 'Bats are animals.'

The example below shows the descriptive use (10.a), as contrasted to the linking use (10.b), of a copular NP. Notice that in the descriptive use the NP-copula *<pwuca-ita>* 'be rich-man' behaves like an adjective ('rich') as it is modified by an adverb *acwu* 'very'.

- (10) a. *Ku.i-nun acwu pwuca- []-ta.*
 he-TOP very rich.man-COP-SE
 'He is very rich.'
 b. *Ku.i.nun khun pwuca- i-ess-ta.*
 .he.TOP big rich.man-COP-PST-SE
 'He was a big rich-man. → He was a very rich man.'

5.1.1.2. Descriptive Adjectival Sentences

Normally, descriptive adjectival sentences take no argument other than a subject.

(11) Descriptive Adjectives

- a. *Ce kulim-i yeppu-ta.*
 that picture-SM pretty-SE
 'That picture is pretty.'
 b. *i khal-i acwu coh-ta.*
 this knife-SM very good-SE
 'This knife is very good.'
 c. *Ku paci-nun nemwu ku-ta.*

the pants-TOP too big -SE
 'The pants are too big.'

However, some adjectives require two arguments. They may be divided into three subtypes: transitive, emotive and existential. The transitive adjectives are typically those taking two subject-marked NPs, forming so-called double nominative (or subject) constructions. The two NPs may be in the part-whole relation (e.g. an elephant and its nose) or the double-subject sentence may be interpreted as idiomatic (e.g. *pay-ka kophuta* ('stomach is empty' → 'hungry')).

(12) Transitive Adjectives

- a. *Khokkili-ka kho-ka kil-ta.*
 elephant-SM nose-SM long-SE
 'Elephants' noses are long. / Elephants have long noses.'
- b. *Yong-i khi-ka khu-ta.*
 SM height-SM big-SE
 'Yong is tall.'
- c. *Mia-ka meli-ka aphu-ta.*
 SM head-SM ache-SE
 'Mia has a headache.'

The outer (or the first) subject may be called 'large subject' or Subject-1, the inner one the 'small subject' or Subject-2. The first subject is normally marked with the topic marker *nun*.

There is another type of transitive adjectives that require double subjects--emotive adjectives: *mipta* 'be hateful', *cohta* 'be likable', or the like. Typically, in this type of emotive sentences, the present tense is used, with the outer subject 'I' (in a statement) or 'you' (in a question) unexpressed. Emotive sentences in the non-present tense have no such constraint on person.

(13) Emotive Adjectives

- a. *(Nay-ka) Yong-i mip- ta.*
 I- SM SM hateful -DCL
 'Yong is hateful/loathsome (to me).'
- b. *(Ney-ka) Mia-ka coh-uni?*
 you- SM SM likable-INT
 'Is Mia likable (to you)?'
- c. *Mia-nun Yong-i coh- ass- ta./ni?*
 TOP SM likable-PST-DCL/INT
 'Yong was likable to Mia. / Was Yong likable to Mia?'

These emotive adjectives are turned into emotive verbs by adding the auxiliary

hata: *mipta* 'be hateful' → *miwe-hata* 'hate'; *cohta* 'be likable' → *coha-hata* 'like'. The former are stative, while the latter are nonstative, as illustrated below.⁵⁹

- (14) a. (*Na-nun*) *Yong-i mipta*. (stative)
 I-TOP SM hateful
 'Yong is hateful/loathsome (to me).'
- b. *Na-nun Yong-ul miwe.hanta*. (nonstative)
 I-TOP OM hate
 'I hate Yong.'
- c. (*Na-nun*) *Mia-ka cohta*. (stative)
 I-TOP SM likable
 'Mia is likable (to me).'
- d. *Na-nun Mia-lul coha.hanta*. (nonstative)
 I-TOP OM like
 'I like Mia.'

Some emotive adjectives (e.g. *oylopta* 'be lonesome', *kipputa* 'be glad') are intransitive and descriptive; they have no additional subject nor constraints on person or tense, even though they can be turned into (intransitive) emotive verbs by adding *hata* (e.g. *oylowa-hata* 'manifest loneliness', *kippe-hata* 'evince gladness').

- (15) a. *Mia-nun oylowa-ss-ta*.
 TM lonely-PST-DCL
 'Mia was lonely.'
- b. *Mia-nun oylowa-hay-ss-ta*.
 TM lonely-do-PST-DCL
 'Mia manifested loneliness.'
- c. (**Nay-ka*) *Mia-ka oylopta*.
 SM SM lonely
 'Mia is lonely (*to me).'

There is another class of adjective requiring a locative phrase: *issta* 'exist/there be', *epsta* 'not.exist', *manhta* 'be plenty'. These are called existential adjectives and partially behave like verbs.⁶⁰ The locative phrase is treated as an oblique complement of location (C_L). The normal word order of the existential sentence is: locative phrase - subject - existential adjective (C_L-S-A).

- (16) Existential Sentence (locative phrase required): C_L-S-A
- a. *San- ey namwu-ka manhta*.
 mountain-at tree- SM many
 'There are many trees on the mountain.'

- b. *Cip- ey ton-i issta/epsta.*
 house-at money-SM exist/not.exist
 'There is (no) money at home. → We have (no) money.'⁶¹

5.1.2. Verbal Sentences

Different verb classes require different functional categories (O, O₁, C_s, C_o, etc.). We will look into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs with their respective grammatical functions. If the verb requires a complement, it is incomplete; otherwise, complete.

Intransitive verbs are either complete (with no complement) or incomplete (with a complement); their sentence patterns are respectively SV and SCV.

(17) Intransitive Sentence

- a. Complete: SV
 - *Ay-tul-i nol-ko issta.*
 child-PL-SM play-GER exist
 'The children are at play.'
 - *Pawi-ka wumcikinta.*
 rock-SM move
 'The rock moves.'
- b. Incomplete: SCV
 - *Elum-i mwul-i toynta.*
 ice-SM water-SM become
 'Ice becomes water.'
 - *Salam-I tol-lo pyenhayssta.*
 man-SM stone-to changed
 'The man changed to a stone.'

In the SCV pattern (17.b), change in the constituent order (i.e. SCV → CSV) brings about a change in meaning, as in the case of the copular sentence. Compare the following:

- (18) a. *Elum-i mwul-i toynta.*
 ice-SM water-SM become
 'Ice becomes water.'
- b. *Mwul-i elum-i toynta.*
 water-SM ice-SM become
 'Water becomes ice.'

Transitive verbs require an object--direct object. It is, however, not easy to define the notion of direct object strictly in formal terms. Generally, the direct

object of a verb is semantically the undergoer or the theme of an action and is formally marked with the accusative-case particle (*lul*), although this particle is frequently not realized on the surface. Besides, not all (*lul*-marked nominals are direct objects.

- (19) a. *Mia-ka Yong-ul salanghanta.*
 SM OM love
 'Mia loves Yong.'
 b. *Yong-un mayil TV-lul Ponta.*
 TOP everyday OM see
 'Yong watches TV every day.'

- (20) *Wuli-nun kwukyeng-ul kassta.*
 we-TOP sightseeing-OM went
 'We went sightseeing.'

In (20), *kwukyeng-ul* 'sightseeing' is not a semantic patient or theme; it is the purpose of going and is unable to undergo passivization to become the subject. The sentence (20) is intransitive, taking two nominal constituents. In (21), the a-sentence is normal but the b-sentence, in which both *Mia* and *chayk* 'book' are marked with (*lul*), is also well-formed with an additional focus on *Mia*.

- (21) a. *Na-nun Mia-eykey chayk-ul cwuessta.*
 TOP to book-OM gave
 'I gave Mia a book.'
 b. *Na-nun Mia-lul chayk-ul cwuessta.*
 TOP OM book-OM gave
 'I gave Mia a book.'

Even if *Mia* is marked with the particle *lul*, it may not be regarded as a direct object. It is not a semantic patient but a goal.

Passive verbs (e.g. *mekhita* 'eaten', *mwulita* 'bitten', and *caphita* 'captured') take an oblique object, an agent phrase NP-*ey(key)*.

- (22) *Yong-I kay-eykey mwulli-essta.*
 SM dog -by bitten-PST
 'Yong was bitten by a dog.'

Transitive verbs require an object, but it may not surface if recoverable from the discourse context.

(23) Transitive Sentence (an object required)

a. Complete: SOV

- *Na-nun ppang-ul cohahanta.*

I-TOP bread-OM like

'I like bread.'

- *Kein-i pawi-lul wumcikyesta.*

giant-SM rock-OM moved

'The giant moved the rock.'

b. Incomplete: SOCV

- *Wuli-nun ku. i- lul sichang-ulò ppopassta.*

we-TOP the-person-OM mayor-as elected

'We elected him mayor.'

- *Na-nun Yong-ul chencay-lo yekinta.*

I TOP OM genius-as regard

'I regard Yong as a genius.'

Ditransitive sentences, which take two objects, can be subgrouped into dative and causative. The case distinction is made by the meaning of the verb.

(24) Ditransitive Sentence (two objects): SOOV

a. Dative Verb (indirect object required)

Yong-i Yuna-eykey ton-ul cwuessta.

SM to money-OM gave

'Yong gave Yuna money.'

Mia-nun Yong-eykey pyenci-lul ponayssta.

TOP to letter-OM sent

'Mia sent Yong a letter.'

b. Causative Verb (a causee (indirect object) required)

Apeci-ka atul-eykey il-ul sikhi-essta.

father-SM son-to work-OM make.do-PST

'Father made his son do the work.'

Emma-ka ay-eykey wuyu-lul meki-essta.

mom SM baby-to milk-OM feed-PST

'Mom made the baby eat milk.'

The basic sentence patterns described so far can be summed up as follows.

(25) Basic Sentence Patterns

a. S-A	A=descriptive adj	<i>nophta</i>	'high'
b. S-C-A	A=copula	<i>ita</i>	'be'
c. S-S-A	A=transitive./emotive adj	<i>khuta</i>	'big', <i>sulphta</i> 'sad'
d. C-S-A	A=existential adj	<i>issta</i>	'exist'
e. S-V	V=vi	<i>ketta</i>	'walk'

f. S-C-V	V=incomplete vi	<i>toyta</i>	'become'
g. S-O-V	V=vt	<i>mekta</i>	'eat'
h. S-O-O-V	V=vtt	<i>cwuta</i>	'give'
	dative/causative	<i>mekita</i>	'feed'
i. S-O-C-V	V=incomplete vt	<i>yekita</i>	'consider'

5.1.3. Other Sentence Patterns

In addition, the following patterns may also be treated as basic: pseudo- (or oblique) intransitive sentences, multi-object sentences, and locative transitive sentences.

Pseudo-intransitive verbs are those intransitive verbs which take a (*l*)*ul*-marked NP. Such an object is limited to certain semantic roles: (1) path: *kil-ul ketta* 'walk along the road', (2) destination: *hakkyo-lul* (= *hakkyo-eyl* = *hakkyo-ey*) *kata* 'go to school', (3) purpose: *kwukyeng-ul* (= *kwukyeng-ul hale*) *kata* 'go sightseeing', (4) duration: *samil-ul ketta* 'walk for three days', (5) distance: *sip-mail-ul ketta* 'walk for 10 miles', (6) a body part: *pal-ul celta* 'limp (in a leg)'. Cognate objects are also included in this category: *cam(-ul) cata* 'sleep (one's sleep)', *kkwum(-ul) kkwuta* 'dream (a dream)', *chwum(-ul) chwuta* 'dance (a dance)', *kulim-ul kulita* 'draw a picture'.

Some transitive sentences have double-object NPs. The double object involves the body-part nouns, somewhat similar to the double-subject construction described with transitive and emotive adjectives above (cf. 5.1.1.2).

(26) *Yong-i Mia-lul phal-ul capassta.*

SM OM arm-OM held.

'Yong held Mia's arm./ Yong held Mia by the arm.'

Normally, a possessive phrase *Mia-uy phal* 'Mia's arm' is used instead of the double object <*Mia-lul phal-ul*>. There is no difference in meaning except for discourse focus.⁶²

Noun phrases with a classifier also show double object constructions.

(27) *Mia-ka os-ul twu pel-ul macchwuessta.*

SM OM two suit-OM ordered

'Mia ordered two suits of clothes.'

Some ditransitive sentences take two objects marked with the direct object particle (*l*)*ul*. The b-sentence in (28) is the normal pattern: Direct Object - Indirect Object.

- (28) a. *Yong-i ku kulim- ul Mia-lul cwuessta.* (Double Objects)
 SM the picture-OM OM gave.
 'Yong gave Mia the picture.'
- b. *Yong-I ku kulim-ul Mia-eykey cwuessta.*
 SM the picture-O_D O_I gave
 'Yong gave the picture to Mia.'

We may say that the particle (*l*)*ul* is substituting for some other particle (*uy*, *ey* or *eykey*) in order to give the attaching element focus or emphasis in the discourse.

There is a pattern of transitive verbs which require an oblique object of location (O_L). Such locative-transitive verbs include *nehta* 'put', *twuta* 'place', or these locative verbs used as auxiliaries (e.g. *V-e-nehta/twuta*.)

- (29) a. *Na-nun nayngcangko-ey maykcwu twu pyeng-ul neh-essta.*
 I TOP refrigerator-at bee r two bottle-OM put-PST
 'I put two bottles of beer into the refrigerator.'
- b. *Na-nun ku sangca-lul pang-ey twu-essta.*
 I-TOP the box-OM room-at put-PST
 'I put the box in the room.'
- c. *Yong-un congilul hyuci. thong-ey cipe.neh-essta.*
 TOP paper-OM waste.paper basket-in hold.put-PST
 'Yong put the paper into the wastepaperbasket.'

Some verbs, called middle verbs, syntactically behave as both transitive and intransitive: *wumcikita* 'move', *sicakhata* 'begin', *memchwuta* 'stop'.

(30) Middle Verbs: Intransitive and Transitive

a. *wumcikita* 'move'

- *Pawi-ka wumcikiessta.*

rock-SM moved

'The rock moved.'

- *Kein-i pawilul wumcikiessta.*

giant-SM rock-OM moved

'The giant moved the rock.'

b. *sicakhata* 'begin'

- *Kanguy-ka 9-si-ey sicakhanta.*

lecture-SM o'clock-at begin

'The lecture begins at 9.'

- *Wuli-nun kanguy-lul 9-si-ey sicakhanta.*

we-TOP lecture-OM o'clock-at begin

'We begin the lecture at 9 o'clock.'

Some verbs behave as transitive and ditransitive.

(31) Transitive and ditransitive

- *kaluchita* 'teach'

- a. *Mia-nun phiano-lul kaluchinta.* (S-O-V)
 TOP piano-OM teach
 'Mia teaches piano.'
- b. *Mia-nun ay-tul-lul kaluchinta.* (S-O-V)
 TOP child-PL-OM teach
 'Mia teaches children.'
- c. *Mia-nun ay-tul-eykey phiano-lul kaluchinta.* (S-O_I-O-V)
 TOP child-PL-O_I piano-O teach
 'Mia teaches piano to children.'
- d. *Mia-nun ay-tul-ul phiano-lul kaluchinta.* (S-O-O-V)
 TOP child-PL-OM piano-OM teach
 'Mia teaches children piano.'

The transitive verb *kaluchita* 'teach' behaves as transitive and ditransitive; in the latter case it takes not only indirect and direct objects (O_I-O) but double objects (O-O) as well.

In the verb phrase consisting of the auxiliary *-cwuta* 'give' and the main verb (intransitive or transitive), the number of arguments increases by one with the semantic role of goal or beneficiary.

(32) a. vi + *cwuta*

- *Nay-ka ay-tul-ul wihay nola-cwuessta.*
 I SM child-PL-OM for play-gave
 'I played for the children.'

b. vt + *cwuta*

- *Na-nun Mia-eykey kong-ul chaca-cwuessta.*
 I-TOP to ball-OM find-gave
 'I found the ball for Mia.'

To sum up, the sentence patterns presented above (25) can now be expanded as in the following table. Functional categories of sentence constituents are abbreviated: S (subject), O ((direct) object), O_I (indirect object), O_A (agentive object), C (complement) C_S (subject complement) C_O (object complement), C_L (locative complement), O_L (locative object), A (adjective), A_C (copula), V (verb).

(33) Sentence Patterns

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------|----------------|-----|--------------|---------|--------------------------|
| a. | S | C _S | COP | <i>ita</i> | 'be' | (copula) |
| b. | S | | A | <i>cohta</i> | 'good' | (descriptive adj) |
| c. | S | S | A | <i>cohta</i> | 'fond' | (transitive/emotive adj) |
| d. | C _L | S | A | <i>issta</i> | 'exist' | (existential adj) |
| e. | S | | V | <i>ketta</i> | 'walk' | (vi) |

f.	S	O _L		V	<i>ketta</i>	'walk'	(pseudo vi)
g.	S	O _A		V	<i>mekhita</i>	'be eaten'	(passive vi)
h.	S	C		V	<i>toyta</i>	'become'	(incomplete vi)
i.	S	O		V	<i>mekta</i>	'eat'	(vt)
j.	S	O	O	V	<i>kaluchita</i>	'teach'	(vtt)
k.	S	O _i	O	V	<i>cwuta</i>	'give'	(vtt)
l.	S	O	C _o	V	<i>ppopta</i>	'elect'	(incomplete vt)
m.	S	O _L	O	V	<i>nehta</i>	'put'	(locative vt)

5.2. Sentence Types

As described in the verbal inflection in Chapter 4, four major sentence types are distinguished by sentence enders: declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive. These sentence types formally come into being in fusion with sentence levels, which are the syntactic notion of speech levels in discourse. The formal distinction includes not only morphological but intonational features as well: e.g. rising (↑), falling (↓) (cf. 2.4).

Terms such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, propositive and exclamative are used in referring to grammatical categories and applied to the types of simple sentence. On the other hand, terms like statement, question, request, proposal, and exclamation are applied to the semantic, or better speech-act, status of an utterance. The distinctions between these two sets of terms will become clear in Chapter 7.

5.2.1. Declaratives

Declarative sentences end in the following sentence enders with the falling intonation contour: *-(su)pnita*, *-yo*, *-o*, *-ey*, *-e*, *-ta*. The unmarked speech act of the declarative is statement, assertion, or information-conveying. In the following illustrations showing three classes of sentence (copular, adjectival, and verbal), the declarative ender corresponding to each sentence level is glossed: FO/DCL (formal-declarative), PO/DCL (polite-declarative), BL/DCL (blunt-declarative), FA/DCL (familiar-declarative), IN/DCL (intimate-declarative), and PL/DCL (plain-declarative).

(34) Declaratives

a. Formal Level

- i. *Ce-nun Hankwuksalam i-pnita.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I-TOP Korean be-FO/DCL

- ii. *Ce-nun acwu kenkangha-pnita.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy -FO/DCL
- iii. *Ce-nun cal ca- pnita.* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep FO/DCL
- b. Polite Level
- i. *Ce-nun Hankwuksalam iyey-yo.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I Korean be PO/DCL
- ii. *Ce-nun acwu kenkanghay-yo.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy PO/DCL
- iii. *Ce-nun cal ca- yo.* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep PO/DCL
- c. Blunt Level
- i. *Na-nun Hankwuksalam i-o.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I Korean be-BL/DCL
- ii. *Na-nun acwu kenkangha-o.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy- BL/DCL
- iii. *Na-nun cal ca-o.* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep-BL/DCL
- d. Familiar Level
- i. *Na-nun Hankwuksalam i-ney.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I Korean be-FA/DCL
- ii. *Na-nun acwu kenkangha-ney.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy-FA/DCL
- iii. *Na-nun cal ca- ney.* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep FA/DCL
- e. Intimate Level
- i. *Na-nun Hankwuksalam-i-ya.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I Korean be-IN/DCL
- ii. *Na-nun acwu kenkangha-y.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy-IN/DCL
- iii. *Na-nun cal ca- [].* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep-IN/DCL
- f. Plain Level
- i. *Na-nun Hankwuksalam i-ta.* 'I am a Korean.'
 I Korean be-PL/DCL
- ii. *Na-nun acwu kenkangha-ta.* 'I am very healthy.'
 I very healthy-PL/DCL
- iii. *Na-nun cal ca- n- ta.* 'I sleep well.'
 I well sleep-PRS-PL/DCL

Notice that the two first-person pronominal forms *ce* and *na* are appropriately mapped to the sentence levels--the humble *ce* to the formal and polite level, the plain (non-honorific) *na* to the remaining levels. A violation of this sort of agreement renders the utterance pragmatically deviant or infelicitous.

As indirect speech acts in discourse, declarative sentences may convey requests instead of statements or assertions.

(35) Declaratives as Request

- a. *Pang-i chwuwe-yo.* 'The room is cold.' (→'Make the room warm.')
- room-SM cold-PL/DCL

5.2.2. *Interrogatives*

Interrogative sentences end in the following sentence enders: *-(su)pnikka? -yo?, -o?, -na?, -e?, -nya?* In addition, the *yes-no* interrogative has a rising terminal contour and the *wh*-interrogative a falling contour. The normal speech act of the interrogative is request for oral response, that is for information.

(36) Interrogatives

a. Formal Level

- Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-pnikka?* 'Does he sleep well?'
he-TOP well sleep(HON)-FO/INT

b. Polite Level

- Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-eyo?* 'Does he sleep well?'
well sleep(HON)-PO/INT

c. Intimate Level

- Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-e?* 'Does he sleep well?'
well sleep(HON)-IN/INT

d. Plain Level

- Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-nunya?* 'Does he sleep well?'
well sleep(HON)-PL/INT

Notice that since the subject referent is honoured by the speaker the verb has the honorific suffix *si* inserted or the honorific form *cwumwusita* 'sleep' is used instead of the plain *cata* 'sleep'. This is another pragmatically-triggered phenomenon of agreement (cf. 7.3).

The syntactic structure of *wh*-questions is the same as that of *yes-no* questions; the *wh*-words do not have to be in sentence (or clause) initial position. Besides, since the *wh*-words have both interrogative and indefinite meanings (e.g. *mwues* 'what, something'; *mwukwu* 'who, someone', sentences with *wh*-words are structurally ambiguous between the two types of interrogatives.

- (37) a. *Nwu-ka wass-supnikka?* 'Who came? /
who-SM came-FO/INT Did somebody come?'
b. *Ne-nun nwuku-lul cohaha-ni?* 'Who do you like? /

	you-TOP who-OM like-PL/INT	Do you like somebody?
c.	<i>Yong-un mwues-ul ha-ko-iss-ni?</i> what-OM do-GER-be-PL/INT	'What is Yong doing? / Is Yong doing something?'
d.	<i>Mia-nun encey tolao-pnikka?</i> when return-FO/INT	'When will Mia return? / Will Mia return someday?'
e.	<i>Emenim-un eti-ey ka-si-ess-ni?</i> mother where-to go-HON-PST-PL/INT	'Where did Mother go? / Did Mother go somewhere?'

The interrogative/indefinite words are either pronouns or adnouns (cf. 4.2.2).

(38) a. Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

- *nwukwu* 'who, someone'
- *mues* 'who, someone'
- *encey* 'what time, some time'
- *eti* 'what place, some place'

b. Interrogative/Indefinite Adnouns

- *mwusun* 'what, some' (as in *mwusun il* 'what/some event')
- *etten* 'what (kind of), some' (as in *etten il* 'what/some event')
- *enu* 'which, some' (as in *enu kes* 'which one, any one')

Encey 'what time, some time' and *eti* 'what place, some place' are used adverbially as 'when, some time (*somewhen)' and 'where, somewhere', respectively. The interrogative adverb *way* 'why' has no corresponding indefinite sense 'for some reason'. The manner adverb *ette-h-key* (< *ette-ha-key*) has both interrogative and indefinite senses ('in what way' and 'somehow').

(39) a.	<i>Mwusun il-i iss.ess-ni?</i> what/some event-SM be-PL/INT	'What happened? / Did anything happen?'
b.	<i>Etten salam-ul manna.ss-ni?</i> what man OM met-PL/INT	'What (kind of) man did you meet? / Did you meet somebody?'
c.	<i>Mia-lul encey manna-keyss-ni?</i> OM when meet- VOL-PL/INT	'When will you meet Mia? / Will you meet Mia some day?'
d.	<i>Ne-nun way Yong-ul ttayly.ess-ni?</i> TOP why OM beat-PL/INT	'Why did you beat Yong?'

Emphatic stress often separates the *wh*-question from the *yes-no* question, as contrasted in (40a) and (40b). A *wh*-word followed by the phrase (*i*)*n-ka* (COP-INT) denotes an indefinite sense (cf. (40c)).⁶³ If *wh*-words occur in declaratives or imperatives, they have only indefinite senses, as shown in (41).

(40) *Wh*- vs. *Yes-No* Question

a.	<i>NWU-ka wass-supnikka?</i> who-SM came-FO/INT	'Who came?'
----	----------------------------------------------------	-------------

- b. *Nwu-ka wass-supnikka?* 'Did somebody come?'
 someone-SM came-FO/INT
- c. *Nwukwu-nka-ka wass-supnikka?* 'Did somebody come?'
 someone-INT-SM came-FO/INT
- (41) a. *Nwu-ka wass-supnita.* 'Somebody came.'
 someone-SM came-FO/DCL
- b. *Nwukwu-lul ponay-la!* 'Send somebody.'
 someone-OM send-PL/IMP
- c. *Nwukwu-nka-lul ponay-la.* (= b)
 someone-INT-OM send-PL/IMP

In *wh*-interrogatives, *wh*-words can occur successively in a sentence. There is no restriction as to the ordering of *wh*-words since Korean *wh*-words are not required to appear sentence or clause initially as in English.

- (42) a. *Nwuka mwues-ul hay-ss-ni?*
 who what do-PST-INT
 'Who did what?'
 b. *Ne-nun Mia-lul encey eti-se cheum manna-ss-ni?*
 you-TOP OM when where-at first meet-PST-INT
 'When and where did you meet Mia first?'
 c. *Encey eti-se nwuka kulen mal-ul hay-ss-nya?*
 when where.at who such word-OM say-PST-INT
 '(lit.) when where who said such a thing?'
 → 'Who said such a thing? And when and where?'

In the speech levels where sentence types are morphologically nondistinct, such as the polite or intimate level, the distinction between the declarative and the *yes-no* or *wh*-interrogative may be made by intonation and stress, but ultimately it depends on the context.

- (43) a. *Nwu-ka wasseyo* ↓ 'Somebody came.'
 b. *NWU-ka wasseyo* ↑ 'Who came?'
 c. *Nwu-ka wasseyo* ↑ 'Did somebody come?'

In addition, we have indefinite pronominals used in declarative and interrogative sentences.

- (44) a. *Nwukwu-n-ka-ka wasseyo* ↓ 'Somebody came.'
 b. *Nwukwu-n-ka-ka wasseyo* ↑ 'Did somebody come?'

Various speech acts of the interrogatives, including rhetorical questions, interrogatives-as-requests and tag questions, will be described in Chapter 7.

5.2.3. Imperatives

Imperative sentences end in the following sentence enders: *-(su)psio!*, *-yo!*, *-o!*, *-key!*, *-e!*, *-(e)la!* They are constrained to verbal sentences, adjectives being unable to be formed into imperatives. The unmarked speech act is request, command, begging or the like. Normally, the second-person subject is suppressed.

(45) Imperatives

a. Formal level

Cal cwumwusi-psio! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep(HON)-FO/IMP

b. Polite level

Cal cwumwusi-yo! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep(HON)-PO/IMP

c. Blunt level

Cal ca-o! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep-BL/IMP

d. Familiar level

Cal ca-key! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep-FA/IMP

e. Intimate level

Cal ca- []! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep-IN/IMP

f. Plain level

Cal ca- la! 'Sleep well!'
well sleep PL/IMP

Notice again that the honorific form *cwumwusita* 'sleep' is used for the formal and polite levels, as the recoverable second-person subject referent is regarded as honourable by the speaker in contrast to the use of the plain *cata* 'sleep' for the rest of the sentence levels.

5.2.4. Propositions

Propositional sentences have the following sentence enders: *-(su)psita*, *-yo*, *-o*, *-sey*, *-ca*, *-e*, *-ca*. The ordinary speech act of the proposition is the speaker's proposal or suggestion that he and the addressee do something together. In this respect propositions may be regarded as a subtype of imperatives. Like imperatives, propositions are also limited to verbal sentences, adjectives being unable to be constructed into propositions.

(46) Propositions

a. Formal level

(*Wuli*) *ka-si-psita!* 'Let's go! / I propose that we go'
 we go-HON-FO/PRP

b. Polite level

(*Wuli*) *ka-yo!* 'Let's go!'
 we go-PO/PRP

c. Blunt level

(*Wuli*) *ka-o!* 'Let's go!'
 we go-BL/PRP

d. Familiar level

(*Wuli*) *ka-sey!* 'Let's go!'
 we go-FA/PRP

e. Intimate level

(*Wuli*) *ka- []!* 'Let's go!'
 we go-IN/PRP

f. Plain level

(*Wuli*) *ka-ca!* 'Let's go!'
 we go-PL/PRP

In propositive sentences, the first-person plural *wuli* 'we' is normally understood but it can surface. The plural *wuli* 'we' is either inclusive or exclusive: in the former sense the addressee is included, along with the speaker, in the proposed act; in the latter, the addressee is excluded from the proposed act, the speaker siding with others.

(47) a. Proposition (Inclusive 'we')

Wuli-ka ka-ca!
 we SM go PL/PRP
 'Let's go!'

b. Proposition (Exclusive 'we')

Wuli-ka ka-ca! Ne-nun cip-ey iss-ela!
 we-SM go-PL/PRP you-TOP house-at stay-PL/IMP
 'I suggest that we go. You stay at home.'

There is a propositive construction ending in *V/A-ta-ko ha-ca/psita* 'grant/concede that ...V/A'. Even if the sentence type is propositive, it carries the force of concession.

(48) a. *Tangsin-i olhta-ko ha-psita. Kulena ...*

you-SM right-QU say-PRP but
 'Granted that you are right, but ...'

- b. *Yong-uy mal-i kecis-i- la-ko ha-ca. Kulena ...*
 of word-SM lie-COP-DCL-QU say-PRP but
 'Let's assume that what Yong said is a lie. But ...'

5.2.5. Other Sentence Types

In addition to these four types of simple sentences, we may add the following as minor types: suspectives (*ci*-sentences), exclamatives (*kwun*-sentences) and promissories (*ma*-sentences).

5.2.5.1. Suspectives

Suspectively sentences end in *-ci* or its polite variant *-ci.yo*. The sentence level of the *ci*-sentence is intimate or plain; that of the *ci.yo*-sentence is polite. In the declarative, the suspective represents the speaker's suspectively or suppositive attitude denoting a statement qualified with parenthetical clauses like 'I suppose/suspect', 'I daresay', etc.; in the interrogative, it invites the addressee's confirmation or agreement qualified with 'don't you know?', 'wouldn't you say?', '*n'est-ce pas?*', etc.; in the imperative or the propositive, it conveys a casual request or proposal to the addressee, qualified with 'I suggest', 'I insist', 'I assure you', etc.

(49) Suppositive *ci*-sentences

a. Declarative

Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi- ci.
 he-TOP well sleep(HON)-SU
 'He sleeps well, I suppose.'

b. Interrogative

Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-ci?
 he-TOP well sleep(HON)-SU
 'Does he sleep well, I suspect? / He sleeps well, doesn't he?'

c. Imperative

Cwumwusi-ci-yo!
 sleep(HON)-SU-PO/IMP
 'Sleep, I suggest!'

d. Propositive

Ca- ci!
 sleep-SU
 'Let's sleep, I tell you!'

5.2.5.2. *Exclamatives*

Exclamative sentences end in *-kwun!* or one of its variants, *-kwun-yo!*, *-kwumen!*, *-kwulye!*, and *-kwuna!*. The meaning of the *kwun*-exclamative is exclamation, the speaker showing a sudden realization, confirmation, interest, surprise, delight or the like. There is no variant for the formal level. Unlike the declarative and other sentences of the major types, the *kwun*-exclamative sentence cannot be quoted with the quotative *ko*.

(50) Exclamative

- a. Polite Level: *-kwun-yo*
 Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-nun-kwunyo! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 he-TOP well sleep(HON)-PRS-PO/EXC
- b. Familiar Level: *-kwumen, -kwulye*
 Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-nun-kwumen! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 well sleep(HON)-PRS-PL/EXC
- c. Intimate Level: *-kwuna*
 Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-nun-kwuna! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 well sleep(HON)-PRS-IN/EXC
- d. Plain Level: *-kwun*
 Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-nun-kwun! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 well sleep(HON)-PRS-PL/EXC

The variant *kwulye* may be attached to the formal ending *-(s)upnita* or the familiar ending *-ney*.

(51) a. Formal (*pnita*) + *kwulye!*

Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-pnita-kwulye! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 well sleep(HON)-FO/DCL-EXC

b. Familiar (*ney*) + *kwulye*

Ku.i-nun cal cwumwusi-ney-kwulye! '(Well, I see) he sleeps well!
 sleep(HON)-FA/DCL-EXC

The exclamative *kwun* may be attached to the past *ess*, volitional *keyss*, retrospective *te*, or to the compound *ess-keyss*, *keyss-te* or the like.

- (52) a. *Ku il-i cal toy- ess-kwun.* '(I see) the work got done well!
 the work well become-PST-EXC
- b. *Ku il-i cal toy- keyss-kwun.* '(I see) the work will get done well!
 the work well become-VOL-EXC
- c. *Ku il-I cal toy- te-kwun.* '(Well, I saw) the work was done well!
 the work well become-RET-EXC

- d. *Ku il-i cal toy-ess-te-kwun.* '(Well, I saw) the work was done well!
 the work well become-PST-RET-EXC
- e. *Ku il-i cal toy-kyess-te-kwun.* '(Well, I saw) the work would be done
 the work well become-VOL-RET-EXC well!'

5.2.5.3. *Promissories*

Promissory sentences end in *-(u)ma* and its familiar-level variant *-(u)m-sey*; the *(u)ma* is the plain level form. There is no polite or formal level variant. Since a promissory sentence implies the speaker's promise or willingness for a future act, the subject of the *(u)ma*-sentence is confined to the first person, the predicate type is verbal (not adjectival or copular), and the status of the addressee relative to the speaker is non-honorific. This form may be analyzed as composed of the nominalizer *(u)m + a*. But it is treated here as an unanalyzed unit.

- (53) a. *(Nay-ka) nayil ka-ma.* 'I'll go tomorrow, I promise.'
 I-SM tomorrow go-PR
- b. *Wuli-ka ne-lul towa.cwu-ma.* 'We'll help you, I promise.'
 we-SM you-OM help.give-PR

In contrast to the promissory *(u)ma*-sentence, the sentence with the volitional *keyss* may be said to have more of intention or willingness than promise. Besides, the *keyss*-sentence is unlimited in terms of speech levels.

- (54) a. *Nay-ka ka-ma.* 'I promise that I'll go.'
 I-SM go-PR
- b. *Nay-ka ka-keyss-ta.* 'I intend to go.'
 I-SM go-VOL-PL/DCL
- c. *Cey-ka ka-keyss-supnita.* 'I'd like to go (, sir).'
 I-SM go-VOL-FO/DCL

The *(u)ma*-sentence, unlike the *kwun*-exclamative, can be quoted with the quotative *ko*. In this respect it is akin to the declarative and other major types of sentences.

- (55) a. *(U)ma*-promissory quoted
Nay-ka Mia-eykey kot ka-ma-ko malhayssta.
 I-SM to soon go-PR-QU said
 'I told/promised Mia that I would go soon.'
- b. Declarative quoted
Nay-ka Mia-eykey kot ka-kyess-ta-ko malhayssta.
 I-SM to soon go-VOL-SE-QU said

- 'I told Mia that I would go soon.'
- c. *Kwun*-exclamative (cannot be quoted indirectly with *ko*.)
 **Nay-ka Mia-eykey Yong-i wass- kwun-ko malhayssta.*
 SM to SM came-EX-QU said
 '*I told me that well (I see) Mia came!'

5.2.5.4. Irregular Sentences

There are some irregular classes of sentence. Verbal nouns of SK origin are often used as imperatives in both speech and writing.

- (56) a. *Ciphap!* 'Gather!'
 gathering
 b. *Haysan!* 'Dismiss!'
 dismiss
 c. *Chwulpal cwunpi!* 'Ready to start!'
 start preparation

In writing, especially in newspaper headlines, notices and advertisements, simple block messages are used; typically they are SK noun phrases in isolation or nominalized NK phrases.

- (57) a. *Cwucha-kumci* 'No parking!'
 parking ban
 b. *Cakep-cwung* 'Men at work'
 work middle
 c. *Sinip-sawen-mocip* 'Recruitment of new employees'
 new employee recruit
 d. *Manwen- salye* 'Thanks for full occupancy'
 full-packed gratitude
 e. *Iwus topki* 'Help your neighbours!'
 neighbour help

5.3. Semantic Roles

Two semantic roles, agent and theme (or patient), are normally assigned to subject and object, respectively. The role of experiencer is also realized as subject. Other grammatical functions are oblique objects and their semantic roles include location, direction, goal, source, instrument, and the like. These roles are denoted by a few adverbial particles: *ey* (location), *eyse* (source), *eykey* (goal), (*u*)*lo* (direction, instrument).

(58) Grammatical Function	Semantic Role	Grammatical Category	
Subject	Agent/Experiencer	NP- <i>i/ka</i>	(nominative marker)
Object	Patient/Theme	NP-(<i>l</i>) <i>ul</i>	(accusative marker)
Possessive	Possessor	NP- <i>uy</i>	(genitive marker)
Oblique Object			
Indirect	Goal	NP- <i>eykey</i>	(=PP)
Agentive	Agent	NP- <i>eykey</i>	(=PP)
Instrumental	Instrument	NP- <i>ulo/lo</i>	(=PP)
Locative	Location	NP- <i>ey</i>	(=PP)
Source	Source	NP- <i>eyse</i>	(=PP)
Comitative	Co-agent	NP- <i>kwa/wa</i>	(=PP)
Directional	Direction	NP- <i>ulo/lo</i>	(=PP)
Path	Path	NP- <i>ul/lul</i>	(=PP)

Examples of semantic roles correlated with the major grammatical functions are shown below.

- (59) a. *Yong-i Chel-ul ttaylinta.* 'Yong beats Chel.'
 S O beat
 Agent Patient
- b. *Yong-i Mia-lul coha.hanta.* 'Yong likes Mia.'
 S O like
 Experiencer Theme
- c. *Yong-i Mia-eykey kong-ul cwunta.* 'Yong gives a ball to Mia.'
 S O₁ ball-O give
 Agent Goal Theme
- d. *Cwi-ka koyangi-eykey mek-hi-essta.* 'The mouse was eaten by the cat.'
 mouse-S cat-AGT eat-PAS-PST
 Patient Agent
- e. *Yong-i yelsoy-lo mwun-ul yenta.* 'Yong opens the door with the key.'
 S key-INST door-O open
 Agent Instrument Theme
- f. *San-ey namwu-ka manhi issta.* 'There are lots of trees on the mountain.'
 mountain-LOC tree-S lot be
 Location Theme
- g. *Yong-un san-eyse naylyewassta.* 'Yong descended from the mountain.'
 TOP mountain-SO descended
 Agent Location
- h. *Yong-i Mia-wa nol-ko issta.* 'Yong is playing with Mia.'
 S COM play-ing-be
 Agent Co-agent
- i. *Wuli-nun chelto-lul(ttala) kelessta.* 'We walked along the railway.'
 TOP railway-PATH walked
 Agent Path

Pairs of verbs in converse relation (e.g. *sata* 'buy' vs. *palta* 'sell'; *cwuta* 'give' vs. *patta* 'receive') have the same source-goal relation but their agent role is different.

- (60) a. *A-ka B-eykey C-lul cwuessta.* 'A gave C to B.'
 S GO O gave
 | | |
 Source Goal Theme
 Agent
- b. *B-ka A-eykeyse C-lul patassta.* 'B received C from A.'
 S SO O received
 | | |
 Goal Source Theme
 Agent

5.4. Modification

There are two major types of modification: adnominal and adverbial. Adnominal modifiers are those adjuncts premodifying the nominal head. Adverbial modifiers are those premodifying the verbal head. One class of adverb modifies a sentence as a whole.

5.4.1. Adnominal Modifiers

Adnominal modifiers are adnouns at the word level, at times extended to adnominal phrases and clauses.

(61) Adnominal Modification

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------|--|
| | Modifier | Head | |
| | | | |
| a. | Adnoun | Noun | |
| b. | Adnoun Phrase | | |
| c. | Adnoun Clause (ADNZ) | | |

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| (62) | Adnominal Modifier | Head Noun | |
| a. | <i>ku</i>
DET | <i>sensayng</i>
teacher | 'the teacher' |
| b. | <i>say</i>
new | <i>chayk</i>
book | 'new book' |
| c. | <i>tases</i>
five | <i>haksayng</i>
students | 'five students' |

d.	<i>Mia-uy</i> of	<i>yenin</i> lover	'Mia's lover'
e.	<i>ku say</i> DET new	<i>chayk</i> book	'the new book'
f.	<i>nay hen</i> my used	<i>os</i> clothes	'my worn-out clothes'
g.	<i>nay-ka kuli-n</i> I-SM draw-ADNZ	<i>kulim</i> picture	'the picture (that) I drew'
h.	<i>acwu chincelha-n</i> very kind-ADNZ	<i>ku sonye</i> DET girl	'the girl who is very kind'

Clausal modifiers will be described in the next chapter (cf. 6.3.2).

5.4.2. Adverbial Modifiers

Adverbs, lexical or derived, premodify their head, a verb or an adjective. They also modify another adverb or sentence. They are also extended to adverb phrases, including adverbial particle phrases (NP + adverbial particle) and adverb clauses.

(63) Adverbial Modification

	Adverbial Modifier	Head (V, A, ADV, S)
a. Word level		
i. Lexical		
	<i>acwu</i>	'very'
	<i>maywu</i>	'very'
	<i>pelsse</i>	'already'
	<i>acik</i>	'yet'
ii. Derived		
	<i>coyong-hi</i>	'quietly'
	<i>sengsilha-kye</i>	'sincerely'
	<i>ecey</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>onul</i>	'today'
	<i>sasil</i>	'in fact'
	<i>pothong</i>	'normally'
	<i>chesccay</i>	'first'
b. Phrase level		
	<i>acwu cal</i>	'very well'
	<i>com te ppalli</i>	'a bit faster'
- Particle phrase		
	<i>na-eykey</i>	'to me'
	<i>cip-eyse</i>	'at home'
	<i>nayil-kkaci</i>	'until tomorrow'
	<i>nal-lo</i>	'day by day'

c. Clause level (ADVZ)		
	-ni(kka)	'because, as'
	-myen	'if'
	-ciman	'though'
	-to,-lato	'though'
	-key	'-ly, so as to'
	-tolok	'so as to'

The following are sample sentences involving adverbial modification. The clause-level adverbial modifiers will be treated in the next chapter (6.3.3), as they involve complex sentences.

(64) a. Head: verb

- Yuna-nun pap-ul chenchen-hi meknunta.	'Yuna eats slowly.'
meal-OM slowly eat	
- Yong-un pap-ul manhi meknunta.	'Yong eats a lot.'
meal-OM much eat	
- Ku.i-tul-un pelsse ttenassta.	'They have already left.'
he-PL-TOP already left	
- Yong-i Mia-lul cacwu mannanta.	'Yong meets Mia often.'
often meet	

b. Head: adjective

- Ku kkoch-i acwu yepputa.	'That flower is very beautiful.'
that flower-SM very beautiful	
- Yong-un yosay mwuchek pappta.	'Yong is very busy lately.'
TOP lately very busy	
- Ku chayk-un phek caymiissta.	'The book is fairly interesting.'
the book-TOP fairly interesting	

c. Head: adverb

- Com te mekela.	'Eat a little more.'
little more eat	
- Com te ppalli ilhayla.	'Work a little more quickly.'
litle more quickly work	

d. Head: sentence

- Hwaksilhi Yong-un nayil tolaonta.	'Surely Yong will return tomorrow.'
surely TOP tomorrow return	
- Solcikhi na-nun Yong-ul an cohahanta.	'Frankly, I don't like Yong.'
frankly I TOP OM not like	
- Ceypal ce-lul towa-cwusipsio.	'Please, help me.'
please me help-give	

In addition to the sentence adverbs, there are conjunctive adverbs which connect the preceding sentence to the sentence following. Depending on the

semantic roles, conjunctive adverbs may be divided into the following subclasses: listing, summative, appositive, resultative, inferential, contrastive, and transitional.⁶⁴

(65) Conjunctive Adverbs

a. Listing:

Enumerative: *chesccay* 'first', *twulccay* 'second', *wusen* 'first of all', *taum* 'next', *kkuthulo* 'finally, at last'

Additive: Equative: *machankacilo* 'likewise, similarly'

Reinforcing: *ttohan* 'also', *tewuk* 'furthermore, moreover', *thukhi* 'in particular', *selsangkasang* 'in addition', *kuppwun anila* 'not only...but', *mwuespotato* 'above all'

b. Summative: *yoyakhamyen* 'to sum up, in sum', *tohap* 'altogether', *tahayse* '(all) in all'

c. Appositive: *cuk* 'that is', *ilultheymyen* 'for example', *tasimalhay* 'in other words'

d. Resultative: *italase* 'therefore, thus', *mwullon* 'of course', *kyelkwacek-ulo* 'in conclusion'

e. Inferential: *kulemyen* 'if so, in that case', *kulehci anhumyen* 'otherwise'

f. Contrastive:

Reformulatory: *ohilye* 'rather', *chalali* 'rather'

Replacive: *panmyen-ey* 'on the other hand', *panyaylo* 'in opposition', *taysin* 'instead'

Concessive: *eccaysstten* 'anyway', *amwuthun* 'anyway', *kulena/kulechiman* 'but, although', *yeksi* 'for all that, yet'

g. Transitional:

Discoursal: *kulentey (maliya)* 'by the way'

Temporal: *kulenun tongan-ey* 'meantime', *ponsi* 'originally'

Adverb modifiers can occur multiply in a single sentence. The following sentence contains four time-related modifiers: time relation (*yosay-to* 'even these days'), time frequency (*cacwu* 'frequently'), time position (*ilyoil-ey* 'on Sundays'), and time duration (*pam nuc-key-kkaci* 'till late at night')

- (66) *Yong-un yosay-to cacwu ilyoil-ey pam nuc-key-kkaci Yenge-kongpwu-lul hanta.*
 TOP lately-even frequently Sunday-at night late-ADV-till English-study-OM do
 'Yong, even these days, frequently studies English till late at night on Sundays.'

The ordering of these time adverbs is relatively free, differing only in topic or focus in discourse. Two other possible orderings are given below. (For constituent ordering, see the next section.)

- (67) a. *Yosay-to cacwu Yong-un ilyoil-ey pam nuc-key-kkaci Yenge-kongpwu-lul hanta.*
 lately-even frequently TOP Sunday-on night late-ADV-till English-study-OM do

'Even these days, Yong frequently studies English till late at night on Sundays.'

- b. *Yosay-to ilyoil-ey pam nuc-key-kkaci cacwu Yong-un Yenge-kongpwu-lul hanta.*
 lately-even Sunday-on night late-ADV-till frequently-TOP English-study-OM do
 'Even these days, Yong frequently studies English till late at night on Sundays.'

5.5. Word Order

As the language has SOV order, the verb or adjective is the sentence final constituent. Other constituents are relatively free in positional ordering. However, there is a preferred constituent order when no constituent is highlighted for focus or contrast in a discourse.

(68) Constituent Ordering (unmarked)

Time	Place	Agent	Source	Goal	Instrument	Theme	Verb
		S		O ₁		O	
----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- -----							
NP-ey	NP-eyse	NP-ka	NP-eyse	NP-ey	NP-lo	NP-ul	V
at	at	SM	from	to	with	OM	

(69) a. *Ecey tosekwan-eyse Yong-i Mia-lul mannassta.*

yesterday	library-at	SM	OM	met
Time	Place	Agent	Theme	V

'Yong met Mia at the library yesterday.'

b. *Mayil hakkyo-eyse Yong-i chinkwu-eykey cenca.wuphyen-ul ponaynta.*

everyday	school-at	SM	friend-to	e-mail-OM	send
Time	Place	Agent	Goal	Theme	V

'Yong sends e-mail to a friend at school every day.'

c. *Mayil cip-eyse Yong-i khemphyuthe-lo kulim-ul kulinta.*

everyday	house-at	SM	computer-with	picture-OM	draw
Time	Place	Agent	Instrument	Theme	V

'Yong draws pictures with a computer at home every day.'

The following illustration shows a variety of word orders in a sentence. Except for the sentence-final verb the three constituents, the subject (agent), the object (theme) and the indirect object (goal) move around freely among

emselves without any noticeable change in truth-conditional meaning.

- (70) a. *Yong-i Mia-eykey kulim-yepse-lul ponayssta.*
 SM to picture-card-OM sent
 S O_i O V
- b. *Yong-i kulim-yepse-lul Mia-eykey ponayssta.*
 S O O_i V
- c. *Mia-eykey Yong-i kulim-yepse-lul ponayssta.*
 O_i S O V
- d. *Mia-eykey kulim-yepse-lul Yong-i ponayssta.*
 O_i O S V
- e. *Kulim-yepse-lul Yong-i Mia-eykey ponayssta.*
 O S O_i V
- f. *Kulim-yepse-lul Mia-eykey Yong-i ponayssta.*
 O O_i S V

'Yong sent a picture-postcard to Mia.'

Even though the verb (or the adjective) is the sentence-final element, one or more elements can be placed after it in a dialogue, in order to clarify the speaker's utterance by adding an at-first suppressed topic as an afterthought. This type of post-verbal construction, however, is not considered normal, widespread as it is in discourse. The postposed element may be treated as a sentence fragment of a second sentence as in (71.a), or as an element added to the end of the first sentence after a pause (--) as in (71.b). Such postposing is not allowed in English. One or more elements are placed post-verbally below.

- (71) a. *Yong-i Mia-eykey ponaysseyo. Kulim-yepse-lul.*
 SM to sent picture-card-OM
 S O_i V -- O
 'Yong sent [it] to Mia--the picture-postcard.'
- b. *Yong-i Mia-eykey ponaysseyo--kulim-yepse-lul.*
 SM to sent picture-card-OM
 S O_i V -- O
 'Yong sent [it] to Mia--the picture-postcard.'
- c. *Kulim-yepse-lul Mia-eykey ponaysseyo--Yong-i.*
 picture-card-OM to sent SM
 O O_i V -- S
 'The picture postcard, [he] sent to Mia -- (I mean) Yong.'
- d. *Kulim-yepse-lul ponaysseyo--Yong-i Mia-eykey.*
 picture-card-OM sent SM to
 O V -- S O_i
 '(lit.) Sent the picture-postcard--Yong to Mia.'

- e. *Ponaysseyo--Yong-i Mia-eykey kulim-yepse-lul*
 sent SM to picture-card-OM
 V -- S O_t O
 '(lit.) Sent--Yong to Mia a picture-postcard.'

In a sentence with an incomplete intransitive verb like *toyta* 'become', the order of its subject and complement, both marked with *i/ka*, cannot be switched (cf. 5.1.2 (18)).

- (72) a. *Yong-i kwahakca-ka toyesta.* 'Yong became a scientist.'
 SM scientist-SM became
 b. #*Kwahakca-ka Yong-i toyesta.* 'A scientist became Yong.'
 scientist-SM SM became

5.6. Negation

Negation is a semantic notion of denying or negating a statement or proposition. Syntactically, the negative sentence is distinct from the positive one. There are at least three types of syntactic negation in Korean, marked with a negative adverb (*ani* or *mos*) or a prohibitive verb (*malta*). Two types of lexical negation may as well be recognized: (1) negative NK words and (2) SK words with negative prefixes.

(73) Syntactic Negation

- a. *an(i)*-negation
 b. *malla*-negation
 c. *mos*-negation

(74) Lexical Negation

- a. Negative NK words
epsta 'non-exist' (vs. *issta* 'exist')
moluta 'not-know' (vs. *alta* 'know')
- b. Negative SK words (prefix)
 - *pwul-* 'un-, in-/im-/il-':
pwul-pep 'il-legal', *pwul-kanung* 'im-possible'
 - *pi-* 'un-':
pi-mincwucek 'un-democratic', *pi-hyensilcek* 'un-realistic'
 - *mwu-* 'non-, un-':
mwu-sosik 'no news', *mwu-in.to* 'no-man's island'
 - *mi-* 'un-':
mi-hon 'un-married', *mi-wanseng* 'in-complete'

Sentences with negative-prefixed words are syntactically positive; they can, however, be equivalently expressed in negative constructions without negative words.

(75) a. Lexical Negation

- *Mia-nun mi-honiya.*
un-married.
'Mia is unmarried.'
- *Kukes-un pi-mincwucek-ita.*
that un-democratic-be
'That is un-democratic.'

b. Syntactic Negation

- *Mia-nun kyelhonha-ci an-hasse.*
marry-SU not-AUX
'Mia is not married.'
- *Kukes-un mincwuceki ani-ta.*
that democratic not-SE
'That is not democratic.'

5.6.1. *ani-Negation*

The *ani*-negation has two forms: short and long. The short-form negation is formed by placing the negative adverb *an* (< *ani*) before a verb or an adjective; the long-form negation is formed by attaching the negative auxiliary <*ci an.hta* (< *ci ani + hata*)> to a verb or an adjective.⁶⁵ These two forms of negation are interchangeable.

(76) Short-form Negation

- a. *Mia-nun papo-ka ani-ta.* 'Mia is not a fool.'
TOP fool-SM not-SE
b. *Nalssi-ka an coh-ta.* 'The weather is not fine.'
weather-SM not good-SE
c. *Yong-un TV-lul an pwa-yo.* 'Yong doesn't watch TV.'
TOP OM not see-SE

(77) Long-form Negation

- a. *Mia-nun papo-i ci *an-h.ta.* (use the short form (76.a))
an-ha.yo? 'Mia is a fool, isn't she?'
TOP fool-be-SU not-AUX.SE
b. *Nalssi-ka coh-ci an-h.ta.* 'The weather is not good.'
weather-SM good-SU not-AUX.SE
c. *Yong-i TV-lul po-ci an-ha.yo.* 'Yong doesn't watch TV.'
SM OM see-SU not-AUX.SE

Note that the long-form negation of the copula *ita* (77.a) (*N-i ci an-ha.yo?*) is used as a tag question, not as the normal negation of the copular sentence. (For tag questions, see 7.2.2.)

The short-form negation is simpler in form but it is not preferred in multi- (three or more) syllable verbs or adjectives.

Furthermore, the short-form negation is usually not used with SK verbs (<VN-*hata*>) or SK adjectives (<AN-*hata*>). The negative *an* may be placed between a VN and *hata*, but not between an AN and *hata*. By contrast, the long-form negation has no such constraints.

(78) Negation: multi-syllable verbals

a. Short Form

?*I kkoch-un an alumptawa.yo.* (alumptap-: 3-syllable word)
 this flower-TOP not beautiful.SE
 'This flower is not beautiful.'

b. Long Form

I kkoch-un alumptap-ci an-ha.yo.
 SU not-AUX.SE
 'This flower is not beautiful.'

(79) Negation: AN-*hata*

a. Short Form

?*Yong-un an kenkang.ha-ta.*
 TOP not healthy-SE
 'Yong is not healthy.'

b. Long Form

Yong-un kenkang.ha-ci an-h.ta.
 TOP healthy-SU not-AUX.SE
 'Yong is not healthy.'

c. *AN-*an-hata*

**Yong-un kenkang an hata.*
 (meaning: 'Yong is not healthy.')

(80) Negation: VN-*hata* ⁶⁶

a. Short Form

?*Ku ilhayng-un acik an chwulpal.ha-yss.ta.*
 the group-TOP yet not depart PST.SE
 'The group hasn't departed yet.'

b. Long Form

Ku ilhayng-un acik chwulpal.ha-ci an-ha.ssta.
 the group-TOP yet depart-SU not AUX/PST
 'The group hasn't departed yet.'

c. VN-*an-hata*

Ku ilhayng-un acik chwulpal an ha-yss.ta.
 the group-TOP yet depart not do-PST.SE
 'The group hasn't departed yet.'

The *ani*-negation cannot be formed into imperative or propositive

sentences.

(81) Negation: imperative and propositive

a. Negative imperative (prohibitive)

- **Ka-ci an.ha-la!* 'Don't go!'

go-SU not.AUX-IMP

- **An ka-la*

b. Negative propositive

- **Ka-ci an.ha-ca!* 'Let's not go! / Don't let's go!'

go-SU not.AUX-PRP

- **An ka-ca!*

Instead, another type of negation, *malla*-negation is used for prohibition.

5.6.2. *malla*-Negation

For the negation of imperative and propositive sentences, the verb *malta* 'quit, stop' is used in its imperative or propositive form (*mal-la*, *mal-ca*) as auxiliary to the main verb with the suspensive *ci*: <V-*ci-mal-la/ca*>. It expresses a prohibitive request or proposal: 'Don't V!' or 'Let's not V!'. Imperative or propositive sentences are not formed with adjectives.

(82) a. *Ka-ci mal-la!* 'Don't go!'

go-SU stop-IMP

b. *Ka-ci mal-ca!* 'Let's not go!'

stop-PRP

(83) a. **Coh-ci-mal-la!* '*Don't be good!'

good

b. **Kenkangha-ci mal-ca!* '*Let's not be healthy!'

healthy

The intimate-level form of *malta* is *ma* and the polite form is *ma-yo* or *mal-a-yo*.

(84) a. *Ka-ci ma-[]!* 'Don't go!'

go-SU stop-IN/IMP

b. *Ka-ci ma- yo.* 'Don't go!'

la-yo 'PL/IMP-PO

go-SU stop-PO/IMP

PL/IMP-PO

5.6.3. *mos-Negation*

Another negative construction is *V-ci-mos-hata* (or its short form: *mos-V*). It conveys the sense of impossibility or inability. It is limited to verbs and no imperative or propositive form is allowed, as in the *ani*-negation.

- (85) a. *Ne-nun keki-ey ka-ci mos-hanta.* (Long) 'You can't go there.'
 you there-to go-SU not-AUX
 b. *Ne-nun keki-ey mos-kanta.* (Short) 'You can't go there.'
 you there-to neg-go
 c. *Ne-nun way ka-ci mos-hanunya?* (Long) 'Why can't you go?'
 you why go-SU not-AUX
 d. *Ne-nun way mos-ka-nunya?* (Short) 'Why can't you go?'
 you why not-go-INT
 e. **Ka-ci mos-ha-la!* (meaning: 'Don't go!')
 f. **Ka-ci mos-ha-ca!* (meaning: 'Let's not go!')

The *mos*-negation means roughly the same as the idiomatic construction $\langle V-I swu issta/epsta \rangle$ 'there is/isn't a way of V-ing' \rightarrow 'can/can't V'.

- (86) a. *Na-nun keki-ey ka-ci mos-hanta.* 'I can't go there.'
 I there-to go-SU not-AUX
 b. *Na-nun keki-ey ka-l swu epsta.* 'I can't go there.'
 I there-to go-ADNZ means be.not

5.6.4. *Other Types of Negation*

In addition to the three types of negation described above, there are some minor types of negation, idiomatic or lexical, including the constructions $\langle V-I swu epsta \rangle$ 'cannot V' and $\langle V/A-n kes-i anita \rangle$ 'it is not that ...V/A'. One involves the negative word *epsta* 'not-exist, there not-be' and the other the negative copula *anita* ($\langle ani ita \rangle$). Their positive forms are: $\langle V-I swu issta \rangle$ 'can V' and $\langle V/A-n kes-i-ta \rangle$ 'it is that ...V/A'.

- (87) a. *V/A-I swu epsta* 'can't V / can't be A'
 - *Na-nun ku il-ul ha-l-swu.eps-ta.*
 I-TOP the work-OM do-can't-SE
 'I can't do the work.'
 - *Wuli-nun sikan-nayey tolao-l-swu.eps-ess-ta.*
 we-TOP time-within return-can't-PST-SE
 'We could not come back in time.'

- b. V/A-*n kes-i anita* 'it is not that ... V/A'
 - *Wuli-ka ku.il-ul ha-n kes-i anita.*
 we the work-OM do-ADNZ fact-SM .not-be.SE
 '(lit.) It is not that we did the work.'
 → We didn't do the work.'
- *Wuli-ka ku.il-ul ha-n kes-i []].ta.*
 we the work-OM do-ADNZ fact-SM be.SE
 '(lit.) It is that we did the work.'
 → We did the work.'

The positive form <V/A-*l kes-i.ta*> 'it is that ... will V/A' is commonly used as a substitute for the future tense.

- (88) a. *Nayil pi-ka o-l kes.i.ta.*
 tomorrow rain-SM come-ADNZ fact.be.SE
 'It will rain tomorrow.'
- b. *Nayil pi-ka o-ci an-ul kes.i.ta.*
 tomorrow rain-SM come-SU not-ADNZ fact.be.SE
 'It will not rain tomorrow.'
- c. *Nayil pi-ka o- keyss.ta.*
 tomorrow rain-SM come-VOL.SE
 '(I predict that) it will rain tomorrow.'

There are some adverbs which carry negative-polarity senses: *pyello* 'particularity ...not', *amwu-to* 'anyone ...not', *amwu-tey-to* 'anywhere ...not', and *cenhye* 'totally ...not'. They are used with negative sentences only.⁶⁷

- (89) a. *Na-nun kukes-ul pyello cohaha-ci an.h.nunta.*
 I-TOP it-OM particularly like-SU not.AUX.SE
 'I don't particularly like it.'
- b. *Na-nun ku sasil-ul cenhye mollass.supnita.*
 I-TOP the fact-OM entirely not.knew.SE
 'I didn't know the fact at all.'
- c. *Mia-nun amwu-to an-mannassta.*
 anyone-also not-met.
 'Mia didn't meet anybody.'
- d. *Wuli-nun amwu.tey-to ka-ci an. h. ass. ta.*
 we-TOP anywhere-too go-SU not.AUX.PST.SE
 'We didn't go anywhere.'

The negative adverb *ani* 'not' is also used as a negative response to a question. It therefore corresponds to English *no* and contrasts in this use with *ung* 'yes'. However, whereas English *yes* and *no* reinforce the truth value of the

accompanying proposition, the Korean words confirm or deny the semantic content of what the questioner asked. This is why there is an apparent discrepancy between the Korean and English replies to the negative question in (90.b). *Ani* also has an exclamatory force of showing one's surprise at a state of affairs such as 'Why!', 'Dear me!' and the like.

- (90) a. - *Mia-ka tola.wass-ni?* 'Has Mia come back?'
 SM returned-PL/INT
 - *Ani, acik an tola.wass-e.* 'No, she hasn't come back yet.'
 no yet not returned-IN/DCL
 b. - *Mia-[] acik an tola.wass-ni?* 'Hasn't Mia come back yet?'
 yet not returned-PL/INT
 - *Ung, acik an tola.wass-e.* 'No, she hasn't come back yet.'
 yes yet not returned-IN/DCL
 - *Ani, pelsse tola.wass-e.* 'Yes, she has already come back.'
 no already returned-IN/DCL
- (91) The speaker's surprise
 a. *Ani, ikey nwukwu-ya?* 'My Goodness! Who is this?'
 no this (subj) who-PL/INT
 b. *Ani, mwusun il iss.ess-e?* 'Dear me! What happened?'
 no what event was-IN/INT

5.6.5. *The Scope of Negation*

In a negative sentence with no particular element focused or contrasted, what is negated is the statement (or the proposition) expressed by the sentence. Otherwise, it is the focused or contrasted element(s).

The negative sentence (92.a), with no focused or contrasted element, is interpreted as 'It is not the case that Mia gave the book to Yong.'--the negation of the proposition 'Mia gave the book to Yong.' The negative construction <V-*n kes-i anita*> 'it is not (the case) that ...V', treated above, usually carries this meaning of sentence negation.

(92) Sentence Negation

- a. *Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul cwu-ci- an-ha.ss-ta.*
 SM to the book-OM give-SU- not-AUX-PST-SE
 'Mia didn't give the book to Yong.'
- b. = *Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul cwu-n kes-i ani.ta.*
 SM to the book-OM give-ADNZ fact-SM not-be.SE
 'It is not (the case) that Mia gave the book to Yong.'

In focused versions of the above negative sentence, with a focused element given as in the following examples (in capital letters), the negative force interacts with this element of focus; accordingly, even though the focused element is negated, the sentence as a whole carries an implication of an affirmative statement with a replaced focus.

(93) a. *Mia-ka YONG-EYKEY ku chayk-ul cwu-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.*

SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE

'Mia didn't give the book TO YONG.'

Implication: 'but she gave it to someone else.'

b. *Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku CHAYK-ul cwu-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.*

SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE

'Mia didn't give the BOOK to Yong.'

Implication: 'but she gave something else to him.'

c. *MIA-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul cwu-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.*

SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE

'MIA didn't give the book to Yong.'

Implication: 'but someone else gave it to him.'

d. *Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul CWU-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.*

SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE

'Mia didn't GIVE the book to Yong.'

Implication: 'but she lent it to him.'

When the negative sentence contains a quantified element, its interaction with negative force determines the scope of negation. When *ta* 'all' (universal quantifier) interacts with the negative *ani*, in either long- or short-form constructions, the sentence is ambiguous.

(94) a. *Ta o-ci an-h-ass-ta.* 'Everyone didn't come.'

all come-SU not-AUX-PST-SE

i. No one came.

ii. Not all came. (= Some came.)

b. *Ta an wass-ta.*

all not came-SE

(= a)

i. No one came.

ii. Not all came. (= Some came.)

Even though the above negative sentences are inherently ambiguous, we tend to get the first reading; this may be due to the surface linear order (quantifier ('all') - negative), the universal quantifier thus having the wide scope over the negative (operator) *ani*.

If the topic particle (*n*)*un* comes between *ci* and negative phrase *an.ha.ssta*

in (95.a), however, the sentence gives the second reading (ii) only; likewise, when the particle is placed after *ta* 'all', (a) and (b) are no longer ambiguous; both have the second reading only.

- (95) a. *Ta o- ci-nun an-ha-ss-ta.* 'It's not that everyone came.
all come-SU-TOP not-AUX-PST-SE = Some didn't come.'
b. *Ta-nun o-ci an-ha-ss-ta.* 'It's not all that came. = Some came.'
all-TOP come-SU not-AUX-PST-SE
c. *Ta-nun an wass-ta.* (= b) 'Some came.'
all-TOP not came-SE

The discourse-function particles *to* 'also', *man* 'only' *mace* 'even', and the like, when attached to a noun phrase or a particle phrase, make the whole phrase a focused element and their interaction with the negative force gives rise to the implication associated with such focalizers.

- (96) a. *Mia-to an ka-ss-ta.*
also not go-PST-SE
'Mia didn't go, either.'
Implication: 'There is someone else who didn't go.'
b. *Mia-man an ka-ss-ta.*
only not go-PST-SE
'Only Mia didn't go.'
Implication: 'Everyone else went.'
c. *Mia-mace an ka-ss-ta.*
even not go-PST-SE
'Even Mia didn't go.'
Implication: Implication (a) + Mia is the least likely person not to go.

The indefinite *amwu* 'some/any-one', with the conjunctive focalizer *to* 'also' attached to (that is, *<amwu-to>*) gives rise to the interpretation of total negation in construction with a negative adverb (*ani* or *mos*) or verb (*malta*). It occurs only in negative sentences.

- (97) a. *Amwu-to an w-ass-ta.* 'No one came.'
any-also not came-SE
- **Amwu-to wass-ta*
b. *Ta an wa-ss-ta.* (= 94.b) 'Everyone didn't come.'
i. (= a) ii. Not all came.

5.6.6. *Double Negation*

Two negative phrases may occur in a simple sentence in the form of (1) <*an-V/A-ci-anhta*>, (2) <*V/A-ci-anh-ci-anhta*>, (3) <*mos- V-ci-anhta*>, (4) <*V-ci-mos-ha-ci-anhta*>. The second negative phrase must be a long-form negative, the doubly negated sentence is positive in meaning.

In the following double negative sentence, the short-long sequence (98.a) is preferred to the long-long one (98.b).

(98) a. Short-Long: *an-V/A-ci an-h-ta*

'it is not that do/be not V/A'

→ 'it is that ...V/A'

- *Kipwun-i an coh-ci an-ha-yo.*

mood-SM not good-SU not-AUX-SE

'(lit.) It is not that my mood is not good.

→ I don't feel bad.'

b. Long-Long: *V/A-ci an-h-ci an-h-ta*

'it is not that do/be not V/A'

→ 'it is that ...V/A'

- *Kipwun-i coh-ci an-h-ci an-ha-yo.*

mood-SM good-SU not-AUX-SU not-AUX-SE

' = (a). I don't feel bad.'

(99) a. Short-Long: *mos-V-ci an-h-ta*

'It's not that ... cannot V.'

- *Yong-i mos- o- ci an-ha-yo.*

SM cannot-come-SU not-AUX-SE

'(lit.) It is not that Yong cannot come. → It is that Yong can come.

→ Yong can come.'

b. Long-Long: *V-ci mos-ha-ci an-h-ta*

'It's not that ... cannot V.'

- *Yong-i o-ci mos-ha-ci an-ha-yo.*

SM come-SU cannot-AUX-SU not-AUX-SE

'(lit.) It is not that Yong cannot come. → It is that Yong can come.

→ Yong can come.'

The long-form negative <*V-ci anhta*> is also formed into tag questions. As a tag question, the meaning of the sentence in double-negative form remains negative and the tag is invariably in the present tense with an interrogative ending: *anh-supnikka?*, *anha(yo)?*, or *anhni?*.

(100) a. Normal double negation

Mia-nun koki-lul an mek-ci an-h-supnita.

TOP meat-OM not eat-SU not-AUX-FO/DCL

'(lit.) It's not that Mia doesn't eat meat. → Mia eats meat.'

b. Tag question

Mia-nun koki-lul , an mek-ci an-h-supnikka?
 OP meat-OM not eat-SU not-AUX-FO/INT
 'Mia doesn't eat meat, does she?'

The b-sentence type above may be interpreted as normal double negation, even though that is a secondary reading. The tense of the tag question is regulated in the main body of the clause, while that of the tag part stays tenseless.

(101) Tag Questions

- a. *Nalssi-ka coh-ass-ci an-h-a?*
 weather-SM good-PST-SU not-AUX-IN/INT
 'The weather was fine, wasn't it?'
- b. *Nalssi-ka an coh-ass-ci an-h-a?*
 weather-SM not good-PST-SU not-AUX-IN/INT
 'The weather wasn't fine, was it?'

The normal negative question, unlike the tag question (101.b), may have the past tense in the second negative phrase (e.g. *anh-ass-e(yo)?*, *anh-ass-ni?*); by contrast, the main body of the clause remains tenseless.

(102) Normal Negative Questions

Nalssi-ka coh-ci an-h-ass-ni?
 weather-SM good-SU not-AUX-PST-IN/INT
 'Wasn't the weather fine?'

The negative question, whether it is in long or short form, generally shows the speaker's leaning toward affirmation of the content in the main body of the clause. In this respect, the speech act of the negative question is similar to that of the tag question. We will come back to the tag question in 7.2.1.

5.7. Passives and Causatives

As we surveyed in 4.3, there are small classes of passive and causative verbs, derived from verb or adjective roots. In addition, there are some other types of passive verbs and non-morphological causative constructions.

Passivization and causativization are two syntactic processes diametrically opposite to each other in terms of transitivity; one is intransitivizing, the other ditransitivizing.

(103) Transitivity

Passivize	\leftarrow		\rightarrow	Causativize
intransitive		transitive		ditransitive
<i>mek-hi-ta</i>		<i>mek-ta</i>		<i>mek-i-ta</i>
be eaten		eat		feed
<i>po-i-ta</i>		<i>po-ta</i>		<i>po-i-ta</i>
be visible		see		show

The two transitive verbs *mekta* 'eat' and *pota* 'see' reveal the way the passive and causative are morphologically derived from transitive verbs, even though such Janus-faced transitive verbs are few.

5.7.1. *Passives*

Passive sentences, when regarded as related to the active counterparts, may be defined syntactically as those sentences whose subject NP is the active counterpart's object NP with the semantic role of patient (or recipient); the subject of the active sentence may appear as an agentive object PP marked with *eykey/hanthey/ey-uyhay* 'by'.

(104) Passive:	S[PAT]	(NP- <i>eykey/hanthey</i>)	V[PAS]
Active:	S[AGT]	O[PAT]	Vt

Depending on the makeup of passive verbs, which correspond to relevant transitive verbs in the active sentence, the following three types of passive may be set up: suffixal passives, *cita-* 'become' passives and *toyta-* 'become' passives. Besides, there are some verbs with inherently passive meanings.

5.7.1.1. *Suffixal Passives*

Passive verbs containing a passive suffix (its variants: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*), which also forms lexical causative verbs (cf. 5.7.2.1), yield passive sentences.

(105) Passive Verbs (cf. 4.3)

a. <i>-i</i> :	<i>po.i.ta</i>	'be seen; visible',	<i>ssah.i.ta</i>	'be piled'
b. <i>-hi</i> :	<i>mek.hi.ta</i>	'be eaten',	<i>cap.hi.ta</i>	'be caught'
c. <i>-li</i> :	<i>mwu.lli.ta</i>	'be bitten',	<i>phal.li.ta</i>	'be sold'
d. <i>-ki</i> :	<i>kam.ki.ta</i>	'be wound',	<i>kkunh.ki.ta</i>	'be cut'

- (106) a. *Pwunge twu mali-ka koyangi-eykey mek.hi-ess-ta.*
 fish two CL-SM cat-by eaten-PST-SE
 'Two fish were eaten by the cat.'
- b. *Nwun-i manhi ssah.i-ess-ta.*
 snow-SM lot piled-PST-SE
 'Snow was piled up a lot.'
- c. *Koyangi-ka cwi-eykey mwul.li-ess-ta.*
 cat-SM rat-by bitten-PST-SE
 'The cat was bitten by the rat.'
- d. *Kapcaki cenki-ka kkunh.ki-ess-ta.*
 suddenly electricity-SM cut-PST-SE
 'Suddenly, the electricity was cut off.'

The active counterparts are listed below. Their meanings are the same as those of the passive sentences, although the passives are not treated as derived from the actives, nor the other way around.

(107) Active Counterparts

- a. *Koyangi-ka pwunge twu mali-lul mek-ess-ta.*
 cat-SM fish two CL-OM eat-PST-SE
 'The cat ate two fish.'
- b. *Nwukwunka-ka nwun-ul manhi ssah-ass-ta.*
 someone-SM snow-OM lot pile-PST-SE
 'Somebody piled up lots of snow.'
- c. *Cwi-ka koyangi-lul mwul-ess-ta.*
 rat-SM cat-OM bite-PST-SE
 'The rat bit the cat.'
- d. *Kapcaki nwukwunka-ka cenki-lul kkunh-ess-ta.*
 suddenly someone-SM electricity-OM cut-PST-SE
 'Suddenly, someone cut off the electricity.'

5.7.1.2. *cita*-Passive

The auxiliary verb *cita* 'become' is always bound to a main verb or an adjective. The meaning of *cita* is inchoative and its function is inchoativization, that is, converting adjectives to verbs.

- | (108) | Adjective | aux. con | aux. v | → | Verb |
|-------|------------------------------|----------|-----------|---|------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>tep-</i>
'warm' | <i>e</i> | <i>ci</i> | → | <i>tew-e-ci-</i>
'become warm' |
| b. | <i>noph-</i>
'high' | <i>a</i> | <i>ci</i> | → | <i>noph-a-ci-</i>
'become high' |
| c. | <i>yongkamha-</i>
'brave' | <i>y</i> | <i>ci</i> | → | <i>yongkamha-y-ci-</i>
'become brave' |

The *cita*-auxiliary can be attached to a subclass of ditransitive verb so as to form passive verbs such as *cwue-cita* 'be given', *allie-cita* 'be known', *palkhie-cita* 'be clarified'.

(109) *cita*-Passive

Passive:	S[PAT]	(NP- <i>eykey/hanthey</i>)	Vtt + <i>e-cita</i>
			
Active:	S[AGT]	O[PAT]	Vtt

(110)	Ditransitive	aux. con	aux. v	→	Passive Verb
	a. <i>palkhi-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ci</i>		<i>palkhi-e-ci-</i>
	'clarify'				'be clarified'
	b. <i>alli-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ci</i>		<i>allie-ci-</i>
	'inform'				'be known'
	c. <i>cwu-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ci</i>		<i>cwu-e-ci-</i>
	'give'				'be given'

The ditransitive verbs *palkhita* 'clarify' and *allita* 'inform' are verbs derived by the morphological process of lexical causativization (cf. 5.7.2): *palk* 'clear' + causative *-hi*; *al* 'know' + causative *-li*.

(111)	Root	→	Causativize	→	Passivize
	a. <i>palk-</i> (adj)		<i>palk-hi</i> (vt)		<i>palk-hi-e-ci</i>
	'clear'		'clarify'		'become clarified'
	b. <i>al-</i> (vt)		<i>al-li</i> (vt)		<i>al-li-e-ci</i>
	'know'		'inform'		'become informed'

- (112) a. *Ku.uy sain-i seysang-ey palkhie-ci-ess-ta.*
 his death.cause-SM world-to clarify-AUX-PST-SE
 'The cause of his death became known to the world.'
- b. *Manhun mwuncey-ka wuli-eykey cwue-ci-ess-ta.*
 many problem-SM we-to give-AUX-PST-SE
 'Many problems were given to us.'
- c. *Ku sacil-i CIA-ey.uyhay seysang-ey allie-ci-ess-ta.*
 the fact-SM by world-to inform-AUX-PST-SE
 'The fact became known to the world through the CIA.'

The active counterparts of the passive sentences in (112) are given in (113), respectively:

- (113) a. *Ku.uy sain-ul seysang-ey palk-hi-ess-ta.*
 his death.cause-OM world-to clarify-PST-SE

'They made the cause of his death known to the world.'

- b. *Manhun mwuncey-lul wuli-eykey cwu-ess-ta.*
 many problem-OM we-to give-PST-SE

'They gave us many problems.'

- c. *CIA-ka ku sasil-ul seysang-ey alli-ess-ta.*
 SM the fact-OM world-to inform-PST-SE

'The CIA let the fact be known to the world.'

The causative verbs which accept the inchoative auxiliary *cita* include NK words: *maykita* 'grade' → *maykie-cita* 'get graded'; *mathkita* 'entrust' → *mathki.e-cita* 'become entrusted'. SK verbs (VN-*hata*) cannot take *cita*; instead, such verbs can replace *hata* with another inchoative verb *toyta* 'become' to yield a third type of passive voice: *phakyeon-hata* 'send' → *phakyeon-toyta* (**phakeyon-hay-cita*).⁶⁸ But SK adjectives with *hata*, like ordinary NK adjectives, can have *cita* attached to them: *kenkang.ha.y-cita* 'become healthy', *yongkam.ha.y-cita* 'become brave').

5.7.1.3. *toyta*-Passive

Another subclass of passive is the passive construction composed of an SK verbal noun with inchoative *toyta*- (SK-*toyta*) verbs, whose active counterpart is an SK transitive verbal noun with *hata* (SK-*hata*). Only transitive SK-*hata* verbs can have the passive SK-*toyta*.

(114) *toyta*-Passive

Passive:	S[PAT]	(NP-eykey/hanthey)	SK- <i>toyta</i>
	X		
Active:	S[AGT]	O[PAT]	SK- <i>hata</i>

- (115) a. *Kim Nam-Swun-i sicang-ulo senchwul-toy-ess-ta.*
 SM mayor-as elect-become-PST-SE
 'Kim Nam-Swun was elected mayor.'

- b. *DNA-uy yenkwu-ka wanseng-toy-ess-ta.*
 of research-SM complete-become-PST-SE
 'The research on DNA was completed.'

- c. *Ku nayyong-i kongkay-toy-ess-ta.*
 the content-SM make public-become-PST-SE
 'The content was made public.'

The active counterparts of (115) are shown below.

- (116) a. *Kim Nam-Swun-ul sicang-ulo senchwul-ha-yess-ta.*
 OM mayor-as elect-do-PST-SE
 'They elected Kim Nam-Swun mayor.'
- b. *DNA-uy yenkwu-lul wanseng-ha-yess-ta.*
 of research-OM complete-do-PST-SE
 'They completed the research on DNA.'
- c. *Ku nayyong-ul kongkay. ha-yess-ta.*
 the content-OM make.public-PST-SE
 'They made the content public.'

In addition to these three classes of passive, there are some individual words with inherently passive meanings. They include: *macta* 'get struck', *ipta* 'suffer, undergo', *tang-hata* 'suffer, be afflicted with', and *patta* 'receive'. The subject of these verbs has the semantic role of patient, not that of agent.

- (117) a. *Ku ttay Yong-un sangche-lul ipessta.*
 that time TOP injury-OM received
 'At that time Yong got injured.'
- b. *Cicin-ey swu sipman myeng-i phihay-lul ipessta.*⁶⁹
 quake-by several 100,000 CL-SM damage-OM suffered
 'Hundreds of thousands of people suffered damage through the quake.'
- c. *Nwukwunka-ka yuthan- ey macassta.*
 someone-SM stray.bullet-by struck
 'Somebody got struck by a stray bullet.'
- d. *Ce cip-i tonan-ul tanghaysseyo.*
 that house-SM robbery-OM suffered
 'That house was robbed.'
- e. *Ku mal-ey Mia-nun khun thakyek-ul patasseyo.*
 the word-by SM big blow-OM received
 'Mia received a big blow by that word.'

The passive verbs *ipta* 'suffer' and *macta* 'get struck' have causative forms *ip-hi-ta* 'make-suffer' and *mac-hi-ta* 'make-hit'. Accordingly, these sentences may be ascribed to the first type of Korean passives. But their lexical meanings are inherently passive, and they are used along with other passive verbs (e.g. *tanghata* and *patta*) to constitute lexically, not syntactically, oriented passives.

5.7.2. Causatives

There are two types of causative sentences: lexical and syntactic. Lexical causatives include verbs with causative suffixes as well as inherently causative words (e.g. *sikhita* 'cause-to-do'). The causative verb is either transitive or

ditransitive; if transitive, it has a subject-agent; if ditransitive, it has a subject-causer, an indirect-causee, and an object-patient (or theme). The causee is the (direct) agent and the causer an indirect agent. The syntactic causative has the form <V-*key/tolok-hata*>, where the pro-verb *hata* has the sense of 'doing'.

(118) Causative (ditransitive)

S	O ₁	O	V	
Causer	Causee	Patient/Theme		
A- <i>ka</i>	B- <i>eykey</i>	C- <i>lul</i>	V[suffix]	- Lexical
			V- <i>key hata</i>	- Syntactic
'A causes B to do (V) C.'				

5.7.2.1. Lexical Causatives

Morphologically derived causative verbs are, like lexical passive verbs, closed and nonproductive. The causative suffix is attached to the stem of a verb or an adjective. The following are the variants of the causative morpheme with sample verbs.

(119) Causative Verbs (cf. 4.3)

a. -i:	<i>mek.i-</i> 'feed'	<i>po.i-</i> 'show'
b. -hi:	<i>ilk.hi-</i> 'make-read'	<i>noph.hi-</i> 'heighten'
c. -li:	<i>al.li-</i> 'inform'	<i>wul.li-</i> 'make-weep'
d. -ki:	<i>wus.ki-</i> 'make-laugh'	<i>pes.ki-</i> '(vt) undress'
e. -wu:	<i>pi.wu-</i> '(vt) empty'	<i>ci.wu-</i> 'make-carry'
f. -chwu:	<i>nac.chwu-</i> 'lower'	<i>nuc.chwu-</i> 'make-late, loosen'
g. -kwu:	<i>tot.kwu-</i> 'make-higher'	<i>sos.kwu-</i> 'raise'

- (120) a. *Emeni-nun aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta.*
 mother-TOP baby-to milk-OM eat-CAU-PST-SE
 'Mother made the baby drink milk.'
- b. *Apeci-nun atul-eykey hanmwun-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*
 father-TOP son-to Classical Chinese-OM read-CAU-PST-SE
 'Father made his son read Classical Chinese.'
- c. *Yong-I ku il-ul sensayngnim-kkey al-li-ess-ta.*
 SM the event-OM teacher-to know-CAU-PST-SE
 'Yong informed the teacher of it.'
- d. *Sensayngnim-i ay.tul-ul wus-ki-si-ess-ta.*
 teacher-SM children-OM laugh-CAU-HON-PST-SE
 'The teacher made the children laugh.'
- e. *Yong-un pyek-uy nakse-lul ci-wu-ess-ta.*
 TOP wall-of scribbling-OM disappear-CAU-PST-SE
 'Yong erased the scribbling on the wall.'

- f. *Kulayse wuli-nun kicwun-ul nac-chwu-ess-ta.*
 so we-TOP standard-OM low-CAU-PST-SE
 'So we lowered the standard.'
- g. *Ankyeng tos-wu-lul tot-kwu-ela.*
 eyeglass degree-OM rise-CAU-SE
 'Make your glasses stronger.'

5.7.2.2. Syntactic Causatives

Syntactic causatives take the form $\langle V\text{-key/tolok-hata} \rangle$ 'do so as to V; cause-V',⁷⁰ and they are productive and cover adjectives as well: $\langle A\text{-key/tolok-hata} \rangle$ 'do so as to be A'. We call *key* and *tolok* adverbative (ADVT) and projective (PROJ) respectively (· la Martin). Here the verb *hata* 'do, make' is treated as a main verb. Alternatively, we may treat it as an auxiliary verb so that the entire string $\langle V\text{-key-hata} \rangle$ is formed into a verb phrase. Since the causative meaning is obtained with other causative verbs such as *mantulta* 'make' ($\langle V\text{-key/tolok mantulta} \rangle$ 'make something/someone V'), *hata* and *mantulta* are treated as main verbs here. Those lexical (or short-form) causatives above may be replaced with the syntactic (or long-form) causatives.⁷¹ The meanings of the lexical and syntactic causatives are contextually variable: generally, the short-form causation is direct and the long-form indirect.

In the two sentences below, one with the lexical causative *cwuk.ita* 'kill' means that its subject referent is the agent, whereas the other with the syntactic causative *cwuk-key-hata* 'cause to die' means that he is the causer, not the agent.⁷²

- (121) a. *Ku salam-i namca tases-myeng-ul cwuk-i-ess-ta.*
 the person-SM man five CL-OM die-CAU-PST-SE
 'He killed five men.'
- b. *Ku salam-i namca tases-myeng-ul cwuk-key-hay-ss-ta.*
 the person-SM man five-CL-OM die-ADV do-PST-SE
 'He caused five men to die.'

The examples of lexical causatives given in 5.7.2.1 are now contrasted with their syntactic counterparts.

- (122) a. *Emeni-nun aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-key-ha-yess-ta.*
 mother-TOP baby-to milk-OM eat-ADV-do-PST-SE
 'Mother made the baby drink milk.'
- b. *Apeci-nun atul-eykey hanmwun-ul ilk-key-ha-yess-ta.*
 father-TOP son-to Classical Chinese-OM read-CAU-do-PST-SE
 'Father made his son read Classical Chinese.'

- c. *Yong-i sensayngnim-kkey ku il-ul a- si-key hay-ss-ta.*
 SM teacher- to the event-OM know-HON-ADV do-PST-SE
 'Yong made the teacher know it.'
- d. *Sensayngnim-i ay.tul-ul wus-key mantu-si- ess- ta.*
 teacher-SM children-OM laugh-ADVT make-HON-PST-SE
 'The teacher made the children laugh.'
- e. *Yong-un pyek-uy nakse-lul ci- wu- key ha-yess-ta.*
 TOP wall-of scribbling-OM disappear-CAU-ADVT do-PST-SE
 'Yong made the scribbling on the wall disappear.'
- f. *Kulayse wuli-nun kicwun-ul nac-key ha-yss-ta.*
 so we-TOP standard-OM low-ADVT do-PST-SE
 'So we made the standard low.'
- g. *#Ankyeng .toswu-lul tot-key- hay-la.*
 eyeglasses. degree-OM rise-ADVT-do-SE

NB: the root *tot-* 'rise' (unlike the causative *tot.kwu-* 'raise') is not used in this context.

5.8. TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood)

Tense, aspect and mood (TAM, in short) are grammatical categories realized formally in the verbal structure, either morphologically or syntactically. Semantically, they all have something to do with time; in addition, mood is concerned with the speaker's volition and mental attitude in the present or future or retrospection in the past. In Korean, tense and mood are formed by verbal suffixes and aspect by the verbal phrase <V + auxiliary>. Aspect refers to a grammatical category which emphasizes the various phases of the verbal action centering around the temporal distribution of an action or state, rather than its location in time.⁷³ Tense and aspect are so closely related to time that their distinction is often felt little more than a terminological convenience.

In the sequence of verb inflection tense and mood occupy five positions, as presented in 4.3.2. Syntactically, two aspects are recognized in this book: the progressive <V-*ko issta*> and the perfective <V-*e issta*>.⁷⁴

(123) Korean TAM

- a. Tense
- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------|
| Present | -(<i>nu</i>)n, [] |
| Past | -(<i>e</i>)ss, - <i>ass</i> , - <i>yss</i> |
| Past-past | -(<i>e</i>)ss- <i>ess</i> |
- b. Mood
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Volitional | - <i>keyss</i> |
| Retrospective | - <i>te</i> |
- c. Aspect

Progressive	V-ko-issta
Perfective	V-e-issta

5.8.1. Tense

The grammatical notion of tense is language specific, while the notion of time is language universal. Three tense forms are distinguished on the basis of verb inflections: present⁷⁵ (*-(mu)n*, []), past (*-ess*; its variants *ass/ss*) and past-past (*-ess-ess*). The verbal suffix *keyss*, which is similar in meaning to the English 'will' and often regarded as the future-tense suffix, is treated as the suffix of volitional mood. The volitional *kyess* and the construction *<l kes-ita>* are used to express future time.

5.8.1.1. Present Tense

The present tense is formed with *-(mu)n* or zero ([]) for verbs and zero for adjectives. It indicates events or states pertaining not only to the present but to the future as well. It is also used to denote atemporal propositions ('eternal truths'), habitual and repetitive events. A performative speech act is also expressed in the present.⁷⁶ The present tense is also used in referring to a future event or state in reported dependent clauses. Typically, adjectival (copular) sentences are stative, while verbal ones are dynamic. The following list shows some typical uses of the present tense. Often temporal (punctual, durational, or repetitive) modifiers help to clarify the meanings of the tense.

(124) Present Tense

a. State present

- *Cikwu-nun twungkul-ta.* 'The earth is round.'
earth-TOP round-SE
- *Yong-un kwunin-i-ta.* 'Yong is a soldier.'
TOP soldier-be-SE
- *Yong-un yongkamha-ta.* 'Yong is brave.'
TOP brave-SE

b. Habitual present

- *Wuli-nun may.cwu han-pen manna-n-ta.* 'We meet once a week.'
we-TOP every.week one-time meet-PRS-SE
- *Na-nun mayil 6-si-ey ilena-n-ta.* 'I get up at 6 every day.'
I-TOP everyday o'clock-at rise-PRS-SE
- *Ku.i-nun pap-ul manhi mek-nun-ta.* 'He eats a lot.'

- he-TOP meal-OM lot eat-PRS-SE
- c. Event present
 - *Yeki-ey congilul neh-nun-ta.* 'I put the paper here.'
 here-to paper-OM put-PRS-SE
- d. Referring to the future
 - *Mia-ka nayil Yengkwuk-ulo ttena-n-ta.* 'Mia leaves for England tomorrow.'
 tomorrow England-to leave-PRS-SE
 - *Mia-ka kot 18-sal-i toy-n-ta.* 'Mia will become 18 years old next year.'
 soon year-SM become-PRS-SE
- e. Referring to the past
 - *Kuttay ilen mal-ul ha-n-ta.* 'He then said like this.'
 that time like-this word-OM say-PRS-SE
- f. Referring to the past and future (in embedded clauses)
 - *Mia-nun na-eykey nalssi-ka coh-ta ko malhaysse-yo*
 TOP I-to weather-SM good-SE QU said-SE
 'Mia told me that the weather was fine.'
 - *Nayil tolao. si-n-ta-ko cenhayss-supnita.*
 tomorrow return.HON-PRS-SE-QU conveyed-SE
 'I conveyed that you would return tomorrow.'
- g. Performative
 - *Na-nun cinsim.ulo sakwaha-n-ta.* 'I sincerely apologize.'
 I-TOP sincerely apologize-PRS-SN
 - *Na-nun ku il-ul yaksokha-n-ta.* 'I promise it.'
 I-TOP the event-OM promise-PRS-SE

For ongoing events and resulting states in the present, the progressive form <V-ko-*issta*> is used (cf. 5.8.2.1).

5.8.1.2. Past Tense

The past tense is formed by the suffix *-ess* (variants: *-ss*, *-ass*) attached to a verb/adjective: <V/A-*ess*>. The form *-ess* historically is a contraction of the infinitive *e* and *iss* 'exist' (*e-iss* → *ess*). Some verbs retain the <*e-iss*> form and the construction <V-*e-isssta*> is described here as perfective aspect (cf. 5.8.3).

(125) Past Tense: V/A-*ess*

Entry	STEM-PST	STEM-HON-PST
a. <i>pota</i> 'see'	<i>po-ass</i>	<i>po-si-ess</i>
b. <i>mekta</i> 'eat'	<i>mek-ess</i>	<i>capswusi-ess</i>
c. <i>hata</i> 'do'	<i>ha-yss</i>	<i>ha-si-ess</i>

The past tense indicates a definite and completed event or state which took

place in the past and also a past event or state still having some bearing upon the present time, somewhat comparable to the present perfect form of English. In this respect, the Korean past form may be described as having a dual function of tense and aspect. As in the present tense, temporal (punctual, durational, or repetitive) modifiers help to clarify the meaning of the past tense together with the stative or dynamic property of the verb.

(126) Past Tense

a. State past

- *Na-nun ku ttay yel-sal-i-ess-eyo.*

I TOP that time 10-years-be-PST-SE

'I was 10 years old then.'

- *Ku kkoch-un alumtaw-ass-eyo.*

the flower-TOP beautiful-PST-SE

'The flower was beautiful.'

- *Tangsi na-nun Yengkwuk-ey iss-ess-ta.*

then I-TOP England-at stay-PST-SE

'I was in England at that time.'

b. Event past

- *Ku ttay cong-i wulli-ess-eyo.*

that time bell-SM ring-PST-SE

'The bell rang at that time.'

- *Ecey na-nun yenghwa-kwukeyng-ul ka-ss-eyo.*

yesterday I-TOP movie-seeing-OM go-PST-SE

'I went to the cinema yesterday.'

c. Habitual past

- *May.il ku salam-ul manna-le ka-ss-supnita.*

every.day the man-OM to-meet go-PST-SE

'I went to meet him every day.'

- *Cong-i 5-pwun tongan wulli-ess-ta.*

bell-SM minute during ring-PST-SE

'The bell rang for five minutes.'

d. State/event leading up to the present

- *Yong-i w.ass-eyo.*

SM come.PST-SE

'Yong has come.'

Implication: Yong is still here.

The usual implication of (126.d) is that Yong is still here. Similarly, the following sentence with the verb *kata* 'go', implies that Yong is away and not here.

(127) *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ss-eyo.*

SM to go-PST-SE

'Yong has gone to LA.'

Implication: He is away. → He is not here.

In English, the present perfect form, in contrast to the simple past tense, denotes a situation leading up to the present as a consequence of a past event or state. But the use of the present perfective is banned when the sentence is modified with definite time adverbs such as 'five years ago'; thus the distinction once made

between the past and the present perfect in English disappears in this case.

- (128) a. *Yong-i o-nyen-cen-ey LA-ey w-ass-eyo.*
 SM 5-year-ago-at to come-PST-SE
 'Yong came to LA five years ago.'
 Implication: He is still at LA.⁷⁷
- b. *Yong-i LA-ey o-nyen-cen-ey ka-ss-eyo.*
 SM to 5-year-ago-at go-PST-SE
 'Yong went to LA 5 years ago.'
 Implication: He is away. → He is not here.

When modified with a frequentative time adverb, however, sentences (129) are devoid of such implications.

- (129) a. *Yong-i yele-pen LA-ey w-ass-eyo.*
 SM many time to come-PST-SE
 'Yong came/has come to LA many times.'
- b. *Yong-i LA-ey yele-pen ka-ss-eyo.*
 SM to many-time go-PST-SE
 'Yong went /has been to LA many times.'

5.8.1.3. Past-Past Tense

The past-past tense is formed by the double use of the past suffix *-ess*, that is: *ess-ess*. The past-past tense denotes an event or a state remoter or more definitely completed than that of the past, somewhat resembling the past-perfect in English (*it had happened/been*). It implies some experience in the past, prior to some reference time in the past.

(130) Past-Past Tense

- a. State prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen- ey ku.i-nun paykmancangca-i-ess-ess-eyo.
 the before-at he-TOP millionaire- be-PST-PST-SE
 'He had been a millionaire earlier.'

- b. Event prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen-ey pelse cong-i wulli-ess-ess-eyo.
 the before-at already bell-SM ring-PST-PST-SE
 'Earlier the bell had already rung.'

- c. Habitual event prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen-ey cong-i yele-pen wulli-ess-ess-eyo.
 the before-at bell-SM many-time ring-PST-PST-SE
 'Earlier the bell had rung many times.'

The past-past tense is most commonly used with the verbs 'come' and 'go', which carry implications contrastive to those of the past tense.

- (131) a. *Yong-i w-ass-ess-eyo.*
 SM come-PST-PST-SE
 'Yong had been here (but left).'
 Implication: Yong was not here. → Yong is not here.
- b. *Yong-i w-ass-eyo.* (i) 'Yong came.'
 SM come-PST-SE (ii) 'Yong has come.'
 Implication: He is still here.

In (131.a) the reference time is past and Yong's visit was prior to that, implying that he was not here at the reference time, which further implies that he is not here at the speech time. By contrast, in (131.b) the reference time may be either the same past time (as in (131.a)) or it may overlap with the speech time; in the latter case, it carries the same implication as the English present perfect, namely, that Yong is still here.

Similar observations can be made with the verb *kata* 'go'.

- (132) a. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ss-ess-eyo.* 'Yong had been to LA (but came back).'
 SM to go-ST-PST-SE Implication: Yong was not there.
 → He is not there.
- b. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ss-eyo.* (1) 'Yong went to LA.'
 SM to go-PST-SE (2) 'Yong has gone to LA.'
 Implication: Yong is still there.

5.8.2. Aspect

The two aspects, progressive and perfective (or resultative) are formed respectively by $\langle V\text{-}ko\ issta \rangle$ and $\langle V\text{-}e\ issta \rangle$. The progressive aspect is productive; by contrast, however, the perfective aspect is limited to certain subclasses of stative verb (e.g. *nwupta* 'lie', *ancta* 'sit').

The progressive aspect denotes incomplete (progressive or imperfective) actions, while the perfective aspect denotes completed (resultative or perfective) aspect. There are a number of aspectual verbs or auxiliaries (e.g. *sicakhata* 'begin', *machita* 'finish', *toyta* 'change'; *-cita* 'become'; *-pelita* 'discard'), which may be described as forming a subsystem of Korean aspect.⁷⁸ The aspectual system adopted here is motivated syntactically--not lexically or morphologically--and delimits the form to: (1) $\langle V + \text{gerundive } ko + issta \rangle$ (similar to the English: *be V-ing*); (2) $\langle V + \text{infinitive } e + issta \rangle$ (remotely similar to the English: *be V-ed*).

5.8.2.1. *Progressive Aspect*

The progressive aspect mainly denotes an action or a state in progress at a given time, the action or the state being either temporary or permanent. With stative verbs, the progressive aspect denotes temporary duration⁷⁹ and the simple tense implies permanence. With nonstative (dynamic) verbs, the progressive conveys that an event is in a state of duration and has not come to an end.

(133) Progressive: State (as contrasted with the simple tense)

- | | | |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. <i>Mia-nun Yong-ul salangha-ko iss-ta.</i> | 'Mia loves Yong./ Mia is in love with Yong.' | |
| TOP OM love ing be-SE | | [temporary] |
| b. <i>Mia-nun Yong-ul salangha-n-ta.</i> | 'Mia loves Yong.' | [permanent] |
| TOP OM love-PRS-SE | | |
| c. <i>Na-nun kukes-ul sayngkakha-ko iss-e.</i> | 'I am thinking about it.' | [temporary] |
| I-TOP it think-ing be-SE | | |
| d. <i>Na-nun kuleh.key sayngkakha-y.</i> | 'I think so.' | [permanent] |
| I TOP so think-SE | | |
| e. <i>Wuli-nun tosi-ey sal-ko-iss-ta.</i> | 'We are living in a city.' | [temporary] |
| we-TOP city-at live-ing-be-SE | | |
| f. <i>Wuli-nun tosi-ey sa-n-ta.</i> | 'We live in a city.' | [permanent] |
| we-TOP city-at live-PRS-SE | | |

Notice that in the case of the English stative verb 'live', as shown in (133.e,f) above, both progressive and simple (nonprogressive) present forms are allowed.

(134) Event (as contrasted with the simple tense)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. <i>Simphan-i hokak-ul pwul-ko-iss-ta.</i> | 'The referee is blowing the whistle.' | |
| referee whistle blow-ing-be-SE | | [durative] |
| b. <i>Simphan-i hoka-ul pwun-ta.</i> | 'The referee blows the whistle.' | |
| referee whistle blow-SE | | [instantaneous] |

The a-sentence suggests a continuous or repeated blowing of the whistle.

(135) Habit (repetitive)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>Mayil Mia-nun ilki-lul ssu-ko-isse.</i> | 'Mia is writing a diary every day.' | |
| everyday diary-OM write-ing-be | | [temporary habit] |
| b. <i>Mayil Mia-nun ilki-lul sse.</i> | 'Mia writes a diary every day.' | |
| everyday diary-OM write | | [permanent habit] |
| c. <i>Pi-ka il-cwuil-tongan o-ko-iss-eyo.</i> | 'It's been raining for one week.' | |
| wind-SM 1-week-for come-ing-be-SE | | [temporary habit] |
| d. <i>Yosay mayil pi-ka wa-yo.</i> | 'It rains every day lately.' | |
| lately everyday rain-SM come-SE | | [permanent habit] |

The progressive aspect of verbs of 'wearing'--wearing clothes/hat/shoes/belt)⁸⁰ may denote both ongoing (incomplete) action and resultant state.

(136) Ongoing Action vs. Resultant State

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>Mia-nun yeppu-n moca-lul ssu-ko-iss-ta.</i>
pretty-ADNZ hat-OM wear-ing-be-SE | |
| i. 'Mia is putting on a pretty hat.' | [ongoing action] |
| ii. 'Mia is wearing a pretty hat.' | [resultant state] |
| b. <i>Yong-un ppalkan thai-lul may-ko-iss-ta.</i>
red tie-OM wear-ing-be-SE | |
| i. 'Yong is putting on a red tie.' | [ongoing action] |
| ii. 'Yong is wearing a red tie.' | [resultant state] |
| c. <i>Yong-un naikhi sinpal-ul sin-ko-issta.</i>
NIKE shoes-OM wear-ing-be | |
| i. 'Yong is putting on NIKE shoes.' | [ongoing action] |
| ii. 'Yong is wearing NIKE shoes.' | [resultant] |

With specific time adverbs the ambiguities between action and state may disappear.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (137) a. <i>Ilkos-si-ey Mia-nun os-ul ipnunta.</i>
7-o'clock-at clothes-OM wear
'Mia puts on clothes at 7.' | [single event] |
| b. <i>(Yosay) Mia-nun ppalkan os-ul ipe-yo.</i>
lately red clothes wear-SE
'(Lately) Mia wears a red dress.' | [permanent habit] |
| c. <i>Yosay Mia-nun ppalkan os-ul ip-ko-iss-eyo.</i>
lately red clothes wear-ing-be-SE
'Mia is wearing a red dress these days.' | [temporary habit] |
| d. <i>Cikum Mia-nun os-ul ip-ko-iss-eyo.</i>
now clothes-OM wear-ko-ing-SE | |
| i. 'Mia is putting on her clothes now.' | [ongoing action] |
| ii. 'Mia is wearing clothes now.' | [resultant state] |

Even with the adverb *cikum* 'now', (137.d) is ambiguous: ongoing action or resultant state. When it is followed by (i) *kuleni kitaliseyyo* 'so, wait.' or (ii) *pes-ko-iss-ci-anha-yo* 'not undressed/naked', the meaning becomes clear.

5.8.2.2. Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect has the form: <V + e + *issta*>. It is not productive; it is applicable only to a limited number of intransitive verbs (e.g. *ancta* 'sit', *seta*

'stand', *nwupta* 'lie' or passive verbs (e.g. *alli.ecita* 'be known', *cwue.cita* 'be given', *palphyo.toyta* 'be announced').

The perfective <V-e-issta> denotes continuation of a state resulting from the completion of an action. Historically, most of the verbs in construction with '-e issta' were turned into the past tense <V-ess-> (<V-e-iss->). Only those intransitive verbs mentioned above retain both forms: the past tense <V-ess-> and the perfective progressive <V-e-iss->.

(138) Perfective vs. Past

Entry	Perfective	Past
a. <i>mekta</i> 'eat'	: * <i>mek-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>mek-ess-ta</i>
<i>cata</i> 'sleep'	: * <i>ca-[]-iss-ta</i>	<i>ca-ssta</i>
<i>salanghata</i> 'love'	: * <i>salanghay-iss-ta</i>	<i>salangha-yss-ta</i>
b. <i>seta</i> 'stand'	: <i>se-[]-iss-ta</i>	<i>se-ss-ta</i>
<i>ancta</i> 'sit'	: <i>anc-a-iss-ta</i>	<i>anc-ass-ta</i>
<i>nwupta</i> 'lie'	: <i>nwuw-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>nwuw-ess-ta</i>
c. <i>mek.hita</i>	: <i>mekhi-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>mekhi-ess-ta</i>
'be eaten'		
<i>cwue.cita</i>	: <i>cwueci-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>cwueci-ess-ta</i>
'be given'		
<i>allie.cita</i>	: <i>allieci-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>allieci-ess-ta</i>
'be known'		
<i>palphyo.tyota</i>	: <i>palphytoy-e-iss-ta</i>	<i>palphytoy-ess-ta</i>
'be announced'		
d. <i>kata</i> 'go'	: <i>ka-[]-iss-ta</i>	<i>ka-ss-ta</i>
<i>ota</i> 'come'	: <i>o-a-iss-ta</i>	<i>o-ass-ta</i>

- (139) a. *Manhun kongcang-i se-[]-issta.*
 many factory-SM stand-INF-be
 'Many factories are standing.'
- b. *Mia-ka uyca-ey anc-a- issta.*
 SM chair-at sit-INF-be
 'Mia is sitting on the chair.'
- c. *Kulim-I pyek-ey kel.li-e-issta.*
 picture-SM wall-at hang-INF be
 'The picture is hanging on the wall.'
- d. *Ku sasil-i seysang-ey allieci-e-issta.*
 the fact-SM world-at known-INF-be
 'The fact is known to the world.'
- e. *Ku kyelkwa-ka hakswulci-ey palphyo.toy-e-issta.*
 the result-SM journal-at announced-INF-be
 'The result is published in the journal.'
- f. *Yong-i yeki-ey w-a-iss-eyo.*

SM here-at come-INF-be-
'Yong has come./ Yong is here.'

The perfective aspect, when compared with the progressive aspect, basically denotes a resulting state, while the latter an ongoing action.

- (140) a. *Manhun kenmwul-i sintosi-ey tule.se-[] iss-ta.*
many building-SM new.town-at stand-INF-be-SE
'Many buildings are standing in the new town.'
- b. *Manhun kenmwul-i sintosi-ey tule.se-ko iss-ta.*
many building-SM new.town-at stand-ing be-SE
'Many buildings are under construction/being built in the new town.'

The verb *salta* 'live, reside' has two aspect forms in use, each with a different sense.

- (141) a. *Ku salam-un acik sal-a-iss-ta.*
the man-TOP still live-INF-be-SE
'He is still living/alive.'
- b. *Ku salam-un acik LA-ey sal-ko-iss-ta.*
the man-TOP still at live-ing-be-SE
'He is still living/residing in LA.'

The two aspects, perfective and progressive, may further be illustrated along with the three tenses--present, past and past-past.

- (142) a. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ko iss-eyo.* [Progressive Present]
to go-ing be-SE
'Yong is going to LA. /
Yong is on his way to LA.'
- b. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-[]-iss-eyo.* [Perfective Present]
to go-INF-be-SE
'Yong is in LA.'
- c. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ss-eyo.* [Past]
go-PST-SE
'Yong went to LA.'
Implication: he is still there.'
- d. *Yongi (nayil/haymata) LA-ey ka-yo.* [Present]
tomorrow/every year to go-SE
i. 'Yong goes to LA (tomorrow).' - future event
ii. 'Yong goes to LA (every year).' - habitual event
- e. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ss-ess-eyo.* [Past-Past]
'Yong had been to LA.'
Implication: he has been to LA.

- f. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-ko iss-ess-eyo.* [Progressive Past]
 to go-ing-PST-SE
 'Yong was going to LA.'
- g. *Yong-i LA-ey ka-[]-iss-ess--eyo.* [Perfective Past]
 to go-INF-be-PST-SE
 'Yong was in LA.'

5.8.2.3. Aspectual Verbs

Some verbs which are inherently aspectual can be attached to verbs as auxiliaries, thus adding inchoative, perfective, or progressive meanings to the main verbs. Such verbs include *kata* 'go', *ota* 'come', *sicakhata* 'begin', *pelita* 'discard', *twuta* 'put', *nakata* 'proceed', and the like. The bound verb *cita* 'become', which was treated as one of the passive-voice forming verbs (cf. 5.7.1.2), is also an inchoative auxiliary, converting stative adjectives to dynamic verbs.

- (143) a. *Il-i cal toye-ka-nta.*
 work well become-go-SE
 'The work gets done well.'
- b. *Yong-i nolay-lul pwulu-ki sicakhay-ss-ta.*
 song-OM sing-NOMZ begin-PST-SE
 'Yong began to sing.'
- c. *Mia-nun tanpen-ey sakwa twu-kay-lul mek-e- peli-ess-ta.*
 once-at apple two-unit-OM eat-INF discard-PST-SE
 'Mia ate up two apples at once.'
- d. *Nalssi-ka tewe-ci-ess-ta.*
 weather-SM warm-become-PST-SE
 'The weather became warm.'

5.8.3. Mood

Two types of mood--volitional and retrospective--may be set up for the category of mood. The volitional mood is realized by *keyss* and the retrospective by *te* (and its variants).

5.8.3.1. Volitional Mood

The volitional mood marker *keyss*, which is historically a contraction of *kes* 'fact' and *iss* 'exist' (*keyss* < *kes iss*), denotes the speaker's (or the addressee's, in interrogatives) volition, intention, or prediction in the future. Semantically, the volitional *keyss* is akin to the English modal 'will'. For simple futurity, the periphrastic construction < V/A-*l kes-ita* > 'it will be that' is used (cf. 5.8.1).

The volitional *keyss* is attached to the past and past-past tenses as well as to the stem (and the honorific *si*) of a verb/adjective.

(144) Stem (-*si*) - *keyss*

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. <i>Nay-ka cikum ka-keyss-ta.</i>
I-SM now go-VOL-SE | 'I will go now.' |
| b. <i>Ney-ka cikum ka-keyss-nya?</i>
you-SM now go-VOL-SE | 'Will you go?' |
| c. <i>Kim sensayng.nim-i ka-si- keyss-ta.</i>
teacher SM go-HON-VOL-SE | '(I predict) Teacher Kim will go.' |
| d. <i>Nayil pi-ka o-keyss-ta.</i>
tomorrow rain-SM come-VOL-SE | 'It will rain tomorrow.' |
| e. <i>Ku ay-nun com keyulu-keyss-ta.</i>
the child bit lazy-VOL-SE | '(I guess) he is a bit lazy.' |

For the third person subject, the *keyss*-modal form denotes the speaker's mental attitude towards a probable fact, in addition to simple prediction. So (144.c) above may be rendered as: 'I predict/guess/know that Teacher Kim will probably go'. When used with a verb of knowing, it gives an effect of softening the statement by suggesting probability.

- (145) a. *Ce-nun molu- keyss-eyo.*
TOP not-know-VOL-SE
'I wouldn't know./ I ' don't think I know.'
- a'. *Ce-nun molla-yo.*
'I don't know.'
- b. *Sensayngnim-un ku saken-ul a- si-keyss-supnikka?*
teacher the event-OM know-HON-VOL-SE
'Do you (think you) know it?'
- b'. *Sensayngnim-un ku saken-ul a- si- pnikka?*
teacher the event-OM know-HON-SE
'Do you know it, Teacher?'

The past volitional form <V-*ess-keyss-ta*> denotes an event or a state which was probably the case in the past. For all three persons, as in the case of the present volitional V-*keyss*, the form <V-*ess-keyss-ta*> denotes the speaker's realization or strong prediction of a probable fact in the past. Similarly, the past-past volitional form <V-*ess-ess-keyss-ta*> denotes an event/state which was probably the case at some earlier time in the past.

(146) Volitional Past

- a. *Pi-ka manhi wa-ss-keyss-ta.*
rain-SM lot come-PST-VOL-SE

- (150) *Cheum poyp-keyss-supnita.*
 first see- VOL-SE
 '(lit.) I see you for the first time.
 → How do you do?'

5.8.3.2. *Retrospective Mood*

The retrospective mood marker *-te* can cooccur with tense or volitional mood (*keyss*) but not with the present tense (*nu*)*n*. The following forms are used: *V-te-*, *V-ess-te*, *V-ess-ess-te*, *V-keyss-te*, *V-ess-keyss-te*, *V-ess-ess-keyss-te-*. The plain-level declarative-ending is *la* (in place of *ta*) after the retrospective *te*.

The retrospective mood denotes the speaker's experience or observation in retrospect. In interrogative sentences the experience or observation reported in retrospect is that of the addressee's. The morphologically manifested retrospective (or reportive) mood is quite unique as a grammatical category.

- (151) a. *Ku.kos-un acwu chwup-te-la.*
 that-place-TM very cold-RET-SE
 '(I recall) the place was very cold.'
- b. *Ku phathi-ey manhun salam-I wass- te- la.*
 the party-at many person-SM came-RET-SE
 '(I recall/witnessed) there were lots of people at the party.'
- c. *Nwuka kulen mal-ul ha-te-nya?*
 who such word say-RET-SE
 'Who (do you recall) said such a thing?'

Since what is reported or recalled is the speaker's observation/experience, it is unnatural to have a first person subject in a declarative (or a second person subject in an interrogative sentence).⁸¹

- (152) a. *#Na-nun kil-ka-ey nwuw-e-iss-te-la.*
 I-TOP road-side-at lie-INF-be-RET-SE
 'I was lying on the roadside, I recall/I observed.'
- b. *#Ney-ka pap-ul mek-ko-iss-te-nya?*
 you-SM food-OM eat-GER-be-RET-SE
 'Were you eating, do you recall?'

More examples of retrospective sentences in combination with various tenses or the volitional *keyss* are given below.

- (153) a. *V-te-la*
 - *Ku.kos-ey amwu-to eps-te-la.* 'There was nobody, I recall.'
 there-at anybody-to not.be-RET-SE

- *Yong-i ca- ko iss-te-la.* 'Yong was sleeping, I recall.'
 sleep-ing-be-RET-SE
- b. *V-ess-te-la*
 - *Ta-tul wass-tey-yo.* 'Everyone had already come, I saw.'
 all-PLU came-RET-SE
- c. *V-ess-ess-te-la*
 (This form is unusual or rare in speech; and the emphatic in writing in place of the past retrospective <V-ess-tela>.)
- d. *V-keyss-te-la*
 - *Amwu-to eps- keyss-te-la* 'No one would be there, I observed.'
 anyone-also not.exist-VOL-RET-SE
 - *Ta o-keyss-te-la.* 'Everyone would come, I observed.'
 all come-VOL-RET-SE
- e. *V-ess-keyss-te-la*
 - *Ta wass-keyss-te-la.*
 '(From what I observed) everyone will have come or everyone probably came.'
- f. *V-ess-ess-keyss-te-la*
 (This form is unusual or rare in speech; and in writing, it is more emphatic than <V-ess-keyss-te-la>.)

The retrospective mood may also be used after normal sentence endings in the form: <V-ta-ko-(mal) ha-te-la/nya>, which is contracted to <V-ta-te-la/nya/(declarative/interrogative)>, each denoting 'It is reported/they say that ... V' (in declarative) or 'Did they say ... V?'

- (154) a. *Mia-ka hapkyekhay-ss-ta-te-la.* 'They said, I recall, Mia passed the exam.'
 SM pass- PST-SE-RET-SE
- b. *Mia-ka hapkyekhay-ss-ta-te-nya?* 'Did they say Mia passed the exam, do you recall?'
 SM pass-PST-SE-RET-SE
- c. *Nwuka hapkyekhay-ss-ta-te-nya?* 'Who did they say passed the exam, do you recall?'
 who pass-PST-SE-RET-SE
- d. *Na-poko ka-la-te-la.* 'They told me to go, I recall.'
 I to go-IMP-RET-SE
- e. *Wuli-poko ka-ca-te-la.* 'They told us to go with them, I recall.'
 we to go-PRP-RET-SE

The uncontracted sentences of (154) are respectively as follows:

- (155) a. *Mia-ka hapkyekhayssta-ko ha-te-la.* 'They said, I recall, Mia passed the exam.'
 passed- QU say-RET-SE
- b. *Mia-ka hapkyekhayssta-ko ha-te-nya?* 'Did they say Mia passed the exam do you recall?'
 passed- QU say-RET-SE
- c. *Nwuka hapkyekhayssta-ko ha-te-nya?* 'Who did they say passed the exam, do you recall?'
 who passed- QU say-RET-SE
- d. *Na-poko ka-la-ko ha-te-la.* 'They told me to go, I recall.'

- I to go-IMP-QU say-RET-SE
e. *Wuli-poko ka-ca-ko ha-te-la?* 'They told us to go with them, I recall.'
we to go-PRP-QU say-RET-SE

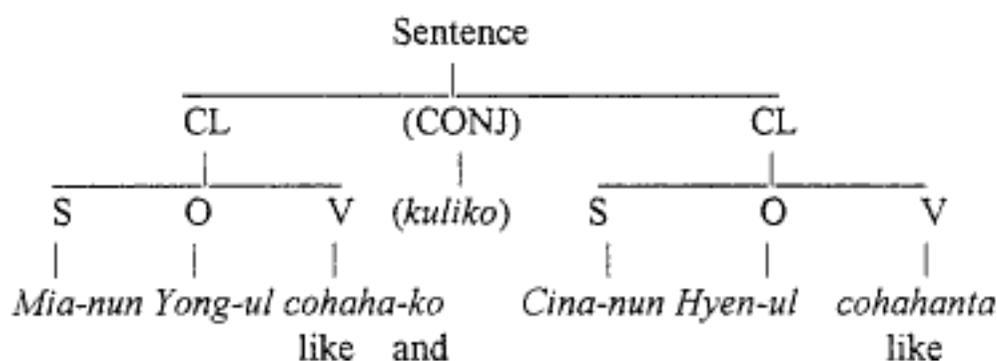
These sentences are complex, each consisting of a main clause and an indirectly quoted subordinate clause. The expanded sentence is the topic of the next chapter.

6. Extended Sentences

A sentence consisting of more than one clause is called an extended sentence. The extended sentence is either compound, complex or mixed. A compound sentence consists of two or more coordinate clauses, connected by a conjunctive ending and an optional conjunctive particle. A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one subordinate clause, which is a constituent of the main clause. The subordinate clause functions as adverbial, adnominal or nominal--that is, it is an adverb clause, an adnoun clause or a noun clause. By combining compound and complex sentences we get a mixed sentence--structurally complex and compound. A single sentence can be expanded at length by 'mixing' subordination and coordination.

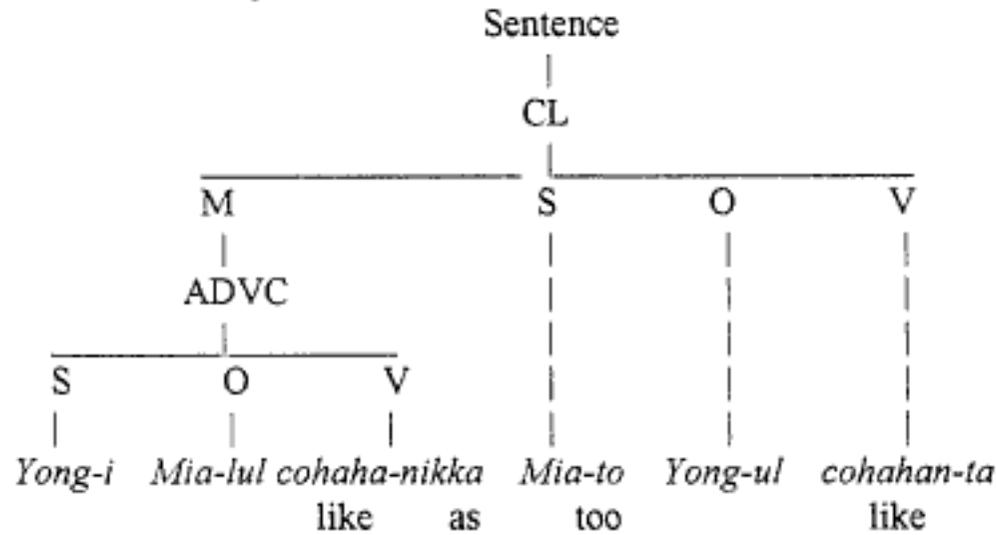
We first look into the structures of coordination and subordination with examples and tree diagrams.

(1) Coordination: Compound Sentence



'Mia likes Yong and Cina likes Hyen.'

(2) Subordination: Complex Sentence



'As Yong likes Mia, Mia likes Yong, too.'

Sentence (1) consists of two S-O-V clauses conjoined by the conjunctive particle *kuliko*.⁸² In (2), the adverb clause (ADVC) is a subordinate clause functioning as a modifier (M) of the main clause.

We will describe coordination and subordination (6.1), followed by compound sentences (6.2), complex sentences (6.3), and mixed sentences (6.4).

6.1. Coordination and Subordination

There are two types of coordination: conjunctive and disjunctive. Conjunctive coordination is formed by an inflectional suffix such as *-ko* 'and' or a conjunctive particle such as *kuliko* 'and'; the disjunctive coordination by a suffix like *-(ke)na* or a particle such as *animyen* 'or, if not'.

Semantically, it is often hard to tell whether the linking of two or more clauses is coordinate or subordinate. Syntactically, however, we may set up three criteria: reversability, insertability, and enumerability.

In coordination, the relation between the two (or more) units may be reversed without a change in truth-conditional meaning.

- (3) Clause A + CONJ + Clause B + ...
 ||
 Clause B + CONJ + Clause A + ...

- (4) a. *San-un noph-ko (kuliko) pata-nun kiph-ta.*
 mountain-TOP high-and (and) sea-TOP deep-SE
 'The mountain is high and the sea is deep.'

- b. *Pata-nun kiph-ko (kuliko) san- un noph-ta.*
 sea-TOP deep-and (and) mountain-TOP high-SE
 'The sea is deep and the mountain is high.'

Reversing the order of the two conjuncts in (4) brings about no change in meaning.

In (5) below, the content meanings of the a- and b-sentences are the same, even though their implications are substantially different. The a-sentence implies the event expressed in the first conjunct, namely Mia's marriage, precedes the event in the b-sentence, namely Mia's pregnancy; the b-sentence implies the order of the two events is in reverse. The truth-conditional meanings are the same but the pragmatic meanings are different.

- (5) a. *Mia-nun kyelhonha-ko ay- lul pay-ss-ta.*
 TOP marry- and baby-OM bear-PST-SE
 'Mia got married and became pregnant.'
 b. *Mia-nun ay-lul pay-ko kyelhonha-yss-ta.*
 TOP baby-OM bear-and marry-PST-SE
 'Mia became pregnant and got married.'

A subordinate clause can be inserted into another clause but a coordinate clause cannot. As the following illustration shows, the two clauses in the sentence *Yong-un kananhako Mia-nun Yong-ul cohahanta* 'Yong is poor and Mia likes Yong.' can be reversed, but it is not possible for one clause to be inserted into the other.

- (6) a. *Yong-un kananha-ko (kuliko) Mia-nun Yong-ul cohahan-ta.*
 TOP poor-and and TOP OM like-SE
 'Yong is poor and Mia likes Yong.'
 b. *Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaha-ko Yong-un kananha-ta.*
 like-and poor-SE
 'Mia likes Yong and Yong is poor.'
 c. **Mia-nun, Yong-un kananha-ko, Yong-ul cohaha-nta.*
 '*Mia, Yong is poor and, likes Yong.'

A disjunctive sentence connected with *kena* 'or' is coordinate in terms of reversability and insertability.

- (7) a. *Yong-i kananha-kena Mia-ka pwu.ca- i- ta.*
 poor-or rich.person- COP-SE
 'Yong is poor or Mia is rich.'
 b. *Mia-ka pwuca- i-kena, Yong-i kananha-ta.*
 rich.person-COP-or poor- SE

'Mia is rich or Yong is poor.'

c. **Mia-ka, Yong-i kananha-kena, pwuca-i-ta.*

'*Mia, Yong is poor or, is rich.'

The contrastive/concessive ending *-ciman*, which may be glossed as 'but' or 'though', appears to be either coordinate or subordinate, as illustrated in (8).

(8) a. *Yong-un kananha-ciman Mia-nun Yong-ul cohahanta.*

poor-but/though like

i. Yong is poor but Mia likes him.

ii. Though Yong is poor, Mia likes him.

b. *Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yong-un kananhata.*

like but/though poor

i. Mia likes Yong but Yong is poor.

ii. Though Mia likes Yong, he is poor.

The order of the two clauses in (8.a) can be reversed (as in (8.b)) and one clause can also be inserted into another as in (9.b). Accordingly, the contrastive/concessive construction with the ending *-ciman* is a subordinate, not a coordinate, construction.

(9) a. *Mia-nun, Yong-i kananha-ciman, Yong-ul cohahanta.*

poor-though like

'Mia, though Yong is poor, likes him (=Yong).'

b. *Yong-un, Mia-ka (Yong-ul) cohaha-ciman, kananhata.*

like-though poor

'Yong, though Mia likes him(=Yong), is poor.'

In coordination, clauses can be multiplied without limit either conjunctively or disjunctively or both; by contrast, in subordination, the subordinate clauses cannot be repeated. So a *ciman*-clause, which is described as subordinate above, cannot be used repeatedly, as shown below.

(10) **Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yuna-to Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yong-un*

like-though too like-though

cohaha-ci anhnunta.

like-SU not

'*Though Mia likes Yong, though Yuna likes Yong, Yong doesn't like them.'

However, if the two *ciman*-clauses are interpreted as coordinate to each other in (10), the resultant sentence is well-formed.

6.2. Compound Sentences

There are two types of coordination, as stated briefly at the outset of this chapter, when we confine coordination to the clausal level.⁸³ (1) a coordinate ending (-*ko* 'and', -*kena* 'or', etc.) and (2) a coordinate ending plus conjunctive particle (*kuliko* 'and', *animyen* 'or', etc.). The second type of coordination is doubly conjunctive or disjunctive; redundantly marked as it is, the conjunctive or disjunctive connection is doubly emphasized.

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| (18) a. Conjunctive: | <i>S-ko</i> | 'S and S' |
| | <i>S-ko, kuliko S</i> | 'S and S' |
| b. Disjunctive: | <i>S-kena</i> | 'S or S' |
| | <i>S-kena, animyen S</i> | 'S or S' |

6.2.1. Conjunctive Coordination

The verbal suffix *taka* 'while' also functions as a conjunctive coordinator in addition to the typical -*ko/kuliko* 'and'.

- (19) a. *Palam-i pwul-ess-ko pi-to manhi o- ass-ta.*
 wind blow-PST-and rain-also lot come-PST-SE
 'The wind blew and it rained a lot.'
- b. *Pi-ka o-taka, nwun-i o-taka, palam-i pwu-n.ta.*
 rain come-and.then snow-SM come-and.then wind-SM blow-SE
 'It rains a while, it snows a while, and then the wind blows a while.'
- (20) a. *Palam-i pwul-ess-ko, kuliko pi-to manhi o- ass-ta.*
 blow-PST-and and rain-also lot come-PST-SE
 'The wind blew, and it rained a lot.'
- b. *Pi-ka o-taka, nwun-i o-taka, kuletaka palam-i pwu-n.ta.*
 rain come-and snow-SM come-and and wind blow-SE
 'It rains a while, it snows a while, and then the wind blows.'

The ending -*ko(se)* or -*ko.na.se* 'and then', which indicates a temporal sequence, is a subordinate ending as the clause containing these endings can be inserted into a clause. These conjunctors connect verb clauses and not adjective clauses.

- (21) a. *Apeci-ka tolakasi- KO(NA)SE, Mia-nun mikwuk-ulo ttenass-ta.*
 father-SM die(HON)-and then America-to left-SE
 'Mia's father died and then she left for America.'

- b. *Mia-nun, apeci-ka tolakasi-KO(NA)SE, mikwuk-ulo ttenass-ta.*
 father-SM die(HON)-and then America-to left-SE
 'Mia, after her father died, left for America.'

- (22) **Mia-nun cengcikha-KO(NA)SE, sengsilhay-ss-ta.*
 honest-and then sincere-PST-SE
 '*Mia was honest and then sincere.'

6.2.2. Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination is formed by a disjunctive verb ending (*-kena/tunci/na* 'or') or by a disjunctive ending plus a disjunctive discourse particle--*animyen* 'if not', *ttonun* 'or', *kulehci anhumyen* 'if not so', or the like.

- (23) a. *Palam-i pwul-kena nwun-i manhi o-l.kes.i-ta.*
 wind blow-or snow lot come-will-SE
 'The wind will blow or it will snow a lot.'
- b. *Palam-i pwul-kena, animyen/ttonun nwun-i manhi o-l.kes.i-ta.*
 wind blow-or or snow lot come-will-SE
 'The wind will blow or it will snow a lot.'

Disjunctive coordination can also be expressed by juxtaposition of two or more interrogative sentences.

- (24) a. *Pi-ka o- nunya nwun-i o-nunya?*
 rain come-PL/INT snow come-PL/INT
 'Is it raining or snowing?'
- b. *Mia-ka ka-ss-nunya Yuna-ka ka-ss-nunya?*
 go-PST-PL/INT go-PST-PL/INT
 'Did Mia go? Or did Yong go?'
- c. *Mia-ka ka-yo Yong-i ka-yo?*
 go-PO/INT go-PO/INT
 'Is Mia going or is Yong going?'

Disjunction by juxtaposing interrogative sentences may be regarded as composed of two or more independent interrogative sentences with a pause in between. Each disjunctive clause has rising intonation.

- (25) a. *Pi-ka o-nunya ~ nwun-i o-nunya ↑* (With no pause; one sentence)
 b. *Pi-ka o-nunya ↑ ## Nwun-i o-nunya ↑* (With a pause; two sentences)
 c. *Pi-ka o-nunya ↑ ## Animyen nwun-i o-nunya ↑* (two sentences)

- a'. 'Is it raining or is it snowing?'
 b'. 'Is it raining? Is it snowing?'
 c'. 'Is it raining? Or is it snowing?'

Indirect questions with the suspensive marker *ci* (originally, a bound noun) can be juxtaposed, forming disjunctive coordination. There is no rising intonation marked at the end of the dependent interrogative clause. The disjunctive discourse particle *animyen/tonun* 'or' can be placed between the dependent interrogative clauses.

- (26) a. *Mia-ka ka-ss-nun-ci Yong-i ka-ss-nun-ci na-nun molunta.*
 go-PST-ADNZ-SU go-PST-ADNZ-SU I-TOP not.know
 'I don't know whether Mia went or Yong went.'
 b. *Pi-ka o- nun-ci animyen nwun-i o-nun-ci na-nun molunta.*
 rain come-ADNZ-SU or snow come-ADNZ-SU I-TOP not.know
 'I don't know whether it is raining or snowing.'

6.3. Complex Sentences

Three types of subordinate clauses may be mentioned: nominal, adnominal, and adverbial, which correspond to the three form classes--noun, adnoun, and adverb. The noun clause functions as subject, object, and subject- or object-complement; the adnoun clause functions as a nominal modifier and the adverb clause as a verbal modifier.

Although the subordinate clauses precede the main clause in the normal construction, it is quite common in a discourse for the subordinate clause to come after the main verb. Such postposing gives a discourse effect of clarification, addition, contrast or the like.

- (27) a. Unmarked: SOV

Wuli-nun ku.i-ka an tolaonta-nun kes-ul al- ko iss-eyo.
 we he-SM not return-ADNZ fact-OM know-GER be-SE
 'We know (the fact) that he won't return.'

- b. Marked: SVO

Wuli-nun al- ko iss-eyo--ku.i-ka an tolaonta-nun kes-ul.
 we know-GER be he not return-ADNZ fact-OM
 'We know it--(that) he won't return.'

In the example above, the object (O) is clausal--an adnoun clause with the head noun *kes* 'fact/thing'. (27.b), where the object is in post-verbal position, may be considered not a proper type of Korean sentence, even if it is acceptable as a

well-formed utterance. Alternatively, however, we may analyze (27.b) as a sentence (SVO) by extending the grammatical notion of a single sentence, or even as two sentences (SV##O). We will come back to this sort of construction in the next chapter.

- (28) *Wuli-nun al-ko isseyo.## Ku.i-ka an tolaonta-nun kes-ul.*
 we know-GER be he not return-ADNZ fact-OM
 '(lit.) We know. That he won't return.
 → We know he won't return. = He won't return, we know.'

Now we will look into the three major types of subordinate clause: nominal, adnominal and adverbial.

6.3.1. *Noun Clauses*

Noun clauses may be classified into several formally distinct subclasses including: (1) the *ki/(u)m*-nominalizer noun clause, analogous to the English gerund or infinitive construction; (2) the quotative *ko* noun clause, functioning as the object of a verb of saying/thinking, corresponding to the English *that*-clause, (3) the bound noun *kes* ('fact, thing') with its modifying clause, similar to the English factive *that*-clause; (4) the suspensive or dependent interrogative *ci* ('whether') clause. The third type of noun clause may also be headed, in addition to *kes* 'fact, thing', by bound nouns like *cwul* 'method' and *swu* 'way, means', forming idiomatic phrases like <V-*l cwul-anta*> 'know how to V', <V-*l swu issta*> 'can V', and <V-*l swu epsta*> 'cannot V'.

The *ki* and *(u)m* nominalizers, attached to a certain verbal or adjectival stem, have derived 'frozen' nouns: e.g. *po-* 'see' → *po-ki* 'sample'; *el-* 'freeze' → *el-um* 'ice' (cf. 4.1). The *ki* nominalizer is frequently formed into the construction <V-*ki swipta/elyepta*> 'it is easy/difficult to V'. The *(u)m* nominalizer carries a formal or written flavour with matrix verbs like *cungmyenghata* 'certify' and *phanmyenghata* 'prove'.

(29) Nominalizer *ki*:

- a. *Nayil pi-ka o-ki (-ka) swipta.*
 tomorrow rain come-NOMZ (-SM) easy
 'It is likely that it will rain tomorrow.'
- b. *Yekise il.cali-lul kwuha-ki-ka elyepta.*
 here work.site-OM find- NOMZ-SM difficult
 'It is difficult to find a job here.'

(30) Nominalizer (*u*)*m*:

- a. *Ku phikoin-i kyelpaykha-m-i cungmyentoy-ess-ta.*
 the defendant innocent-NOMZ-SM prove-PST-SE
 'It has been proved that the defendant is innocent.'
- b. *Ku kes-i sasil-i- m- ul hwaksinha-pnita.*
 the thing fact-COP-NOMZ-OM convince-SE
 'I am convinced that it is a fact.'

(31) Quotative *ko* 'that'

- a. *Na-nun Mia-ka cengcikha-ta- ko sayngkakha.n-ta.*
 I honest-SE QU think-SE
 'I think that Mia is honest.'
- b. *Yong-i- yuli.chang-ul kkay-ss-ta- ko Mia-ka molhay-ss-e.yo.*
 window break-PST-SE-QU say-PST-SE
 'Mia said that Yong broke the window.'

(32) ...*n/l kes* '(thing/fact) that ...'

- a. *Wuli-nun Mia-ka tolao-n kes-ul molu- ko iss-ess-ta.*
 we return-ADNZ fact not.know-GER-be-PST-SE
 'We didn't know that Mia had come back.'
- b. *Wuli-nun Mia-ka tolao-l kes-ul al-ko iss-ess-ta.*
 we return-ADNZ fact know-GER-be-PST-SE
 'We knew that Mia would come back.'

(33) Suspective *ci* 'whether'

- a. *Na-nun Mia-ka tolawass-nun-ci molu.n-ta.*
 I returned-ADNZ-SU not.know-SE
 'I don't know whether Mia came back.'
- b. *Nwu-ka hay-ss- nun-ci na-nun al-ayo.*
 who do-PST-ADNZ-SU I know-SE
 'I know who did it.'

While the quotative particle *ko* 'that' can quote all the major types of sentence indirectly as the object of a verb of saying, other quotative particles (*lako/hako* 'that') quote the utterance directly.

(34) Indirect Quotation

a. Indirect statement

- *Cikum-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-i-la-ko Yong-un mit- ko iss-ta.*
 now globalization-of age-COP-SE-QU believe-GER be-SE
 'Yong believes that now is the age of globalization.'

b. Indirect question

- *Yong-i ka-ss-nunya-ko Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE
 'Mia asked Yuna if Yong had gone.'

- *Nwuka ka-ss-nunya-ko Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 who go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE
 'Mia asked Yuna who had gone.'

c. Indirect request

- *Tasi o-ci malla-ko Mia-ka Yong-eykey yokwuhay-ss-ta.*
 again come-SU-stop-QU to request-PST-SE
 'Mia requested Yong not to come again.'

d. Indirect proposal

- *Kathi ka-ca-ko Yong-i Mia-eykey ceyanhay-ss-ta.*
 together go-PRP-QU to propose-PST-SE
 'Yong proposed to Mia that they go together.'

(35) Direct Quotation

a. Direct statement

- *"Cikum-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-i-ta." lako/hako Yong-un malhayssta.*
 now globalization-of age-COP-SE QU said
 'Yong said, "Now is the age of globalization."'

b. Direct question

- *"Yong-i ka-ss-nunya?" hako Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 go-PST-INT QU to ask-PST-SE
 'Mia said to Yuna, "Did Yong go?"'

- *"Nwuka-ka-ss-nunya?" Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 who go-PST-INT to ask-PST-SE
 'Mia asked Yuna, "Who has gone?"'

c. Direct request

- *"Tasi o-ci ma!" hako Mia-ka Yong-eykey malhay-ss-ta.*
 again come-don't QU to say-PST-SE
 'Mia told Yong, "Don't come again!"'

d. Direct proposal

- *"Kathi ka-ca!" hako Yong-i Mia-eykey malhay-ss-ta.*
 together go-PRP QU to say-PST-SE
 'Yong said to Mia, "Let's go."'

Noun clauses function as subject, object or complement, as illustrated in the following examples.

(36) a. Subject

b. Direct object

c. Oblique object

- d. Subject complement
- e. Object complement

- (37) a. *Nwuka ka-nunya-ka mwuncey-i-ta.*
 who go-INT-SM problem-COP-SE
 'Who(ever) goes is the problem.'
- b. *Nwuka ka-ss-nun- ci ce-nun molu-pnita.*
 who go-PST-ADNZ-SU I not.know-SE
 'I don't know who went.'
- c. *Ku haykyel-un nwuka keki-ey ka-nunya-ey talli-e- iss-ta.*
 the solution who there-at go-INT-at depend-INF-be-SE
 'The solution depends on who goes there.'
- d. *Mwuncey-nun nwuka keki-ey ka-nunya-i-pnita.*
 problem who there-at go-INT-COP-SE
 'The question is who goes there.'
- e. *Na-nun Yong-ul kyelpaykhata-ko sayngkakha.n-ta.*
 I innocent-QU think-SE
 'I consider Yong to be innocent.'

6.3.2. Adnoun Clauses

Adnoun clauses are made up of verbal or adjectival sentences with an adnominalizing ending (*-(n)un*, *-ten*, or *-(u)l*), which behaves somewhat similarly to the English relative pronouns *that*, *which*, and *who*. The form of the adnominalizers indicates the tense of the adnoun clause; the forms of the present and past tense are not identical between verbs and adjectives.

(38) Adnoun Clause: Adnominalizers and Tense

Adjective	Verb
a. Present: <i>-(u)n</i>	<i>-(n)un</i>
<i>khi-ka khu-n sonyen</i>	<i>ppall-i khu-nun namwu</i>
'boy who is tall	'tree which grows fast
→ tall boy'	→ fast-growing tree'
b. Past: x	<i>-(u)n</i>
	<i>ppall-i khu-n namwu</i>
	'tree which grew fast'
c. Retrospective: <i>-ten</i> ⁸⁴	<i>-ten</i>
<i>khi-ka khu-ten sonyen</i>	<i>ppall-i khu-ten namwu</i>
'boy who (I observed) was tall'	'tree which (I observed) grew fast'
<i>khi-ka khe-ss-ten sonyen</i>	<i>ppall-i khe-ss-ten namwu</i>
'boy who I observed had been tall'	'tree which (I observed) had grown fast'

d. Future: <i>-(u)l</i>	<i>-(u)l</i>
<i>khi-ka khu-l sonyen</i>	<i>ppall-i khu-l namwu</i>
'boy who will be tall'	'tree which will grow fast'

Notice that the present tense form of adjectives and the past tense form of verbs are identical: *-(u)n*.

The adnoun clause, like an adnoun phrase or adnoun, modifies the following head noun. There are two types of adnominal modification, depending on the structural relation between the adnoun clause and the head noun: (1) the head noun is a constituent of the adnominal clause; (2) the head noun is not its constituent. To distinguish these two types, we will call one a relative clause, the other an appositive clause.

6.3.2.1. *Relative Clauses*

The Korean relative clause is a premodifier and it restricts or qualifies the following head of the noun phrase ('postcedent' in contrast to the 'antecedent' of the English relative-clause construction). The postcedent must be a constituent (subject, object, adjunct, etc.) of the relative clause.

(39) a. Copula Clause [postcedent: subject]

Kim-paksa-ka koa- i- ten ku ay- lul khiw-ess-ta.
 doctor-SM orphan-COP ADNZ the child-OM raise-PST-SE
 'Dr. Kim raised the child who was an orphan.'

b. Adjective Clause [postcedent: subject]

Wuli-pan-ey-nun khi.khun haksayng-i manh-ayo.
 we class-at-TOP tall student-SM many-SE
 '(lit.) Students who are tall are many in our class.
 → There are many tall students in our class.'

c. i. Verb Clause [postcedent: subject]

Hankwuk-ul pangmwunha-nun salam-i nul- ko iss-ta.
 Korea-OM visit-ADNZ man-SM increase-ing be-SE
 'Those who visit Korea are increasing.'

ii. Verb Clause [postcedent: object]

Yong-i pangmwunha-n nala-nun Yengkwuk-kwa Phulangsui-ess-ta.
 visit-ADNZ country-TOP England-and France-COP-PST-SE
 'The countries that Yong visited were England and France.'

iii. Verb Clause [postcedent: indirect object]

Mia-ka pyenci-lul ponay-n i-nun Tokil kwahakca- i-ess-ta.
 letter-OM send-ADNZ man-TOP Germany scientist-COP-PST-SE
 'The man whom Mia sent mail was a German scientist.'

iv. Verb Clause [postcedent: time adjunct]

Cicin-l ilena-n sikan-un ilun acim- i- ess- ta.
 quake-SM occur-ADNZ time-TOP early morning-COP-PST-SE
 'The time when the quake occurred was the early morning.'

v. Verb Clause [postcedent: place adjunct]

Wuli-ka chacaka-n tey-nun Tayyeng.pakmwulkwan-i-ess-ta.
 we visist-ADNZ place-TOP British Museum- COP-PST-SE.
 'The place we visited was the British Museum.'

The time noun *ttay* 'time' or *hwu* 'after-time' (or *taum* 'next') premodified by a relative clause with the adnominalizer *-l* or *-n*, respectively, functions as a time adverb clause.

- (40) a. Rel Cl [*-l*] + *ttay* + *ey* 'at the time that ... → when ...'
 time at
 b. Rel Cl [*-n*] + *hwu/taum* + *ey* 'after/next that ... → after...'
 after/next at

- (41) a. *Taum wuli-ka manna-l ttay-ey kukes-ul kkok kaci.ko.o-si-psio.*
 next we-SM meet-ADNZ time-at it-OM surely bring-HON-FO/IMP
 'At the time that we meet next, bring it without fail.
 = When we meet next, bring it without fail.'
 b. *Yong-i tochakha-yss-ul ttay(-ey) keki-ey amwu-to eps-ess-ta.*
 arrive-PST-ADNZ time (at) there-at anybody-too not.be-PST-SE
 'When Yong arrived, nobody was there.'
 c. *Yong-i tochakha-l ttay keki-ey amwu-to eps- ul.kes.i-ta.*
 arrive-ADNZ time there anybody-too not.be-will- SE
 'When Yong arrives, there will be no one there.'
 d. *Yong-i tochakhan hwu/taum- ey ku il-ul kyelclengha-psita.*
 after/next-at the work-OM decide-FO/PRP
 'Let's decide it after Yong arrives.'

6.3.2.2. *Appositive Clauses*

An appositive clause modifies the head noun, which takes no part in it and is appositional to the whole clause. Subtypes of appositive clause include the following: general (nonreportive), reportive, sensory, and bound-noun appositions.

The general type of apposition has the same set of adnominalizers as that of a relative clause and it is construed as a reduction of the reportive apposition with a clause ending in *<V/A-ta/la (-ko ha) nun>* 'that is (said) that ... V/A'.

(42) General

- a. *Hyeng-i censaha- n sosik-ul Yong-un tul-ess-ta.*
 brother killed.in.action-ADNZ news-OM hear-PST-SE
 'Yong heard the news that his brother was killed in action.'
- b. *Hyeng-i sal-a-iss-nun sasil-ul Yong-un molu- ko iss.ta.*
 brother live-INF-ADNZ fact-OM not.know-GER be-SE
 'Yong doesn't know the fact that his brother is alive.'

(43) Reportive

- a. *Hyeng-i censahay-ass.ta (-ko ha)-nun sosik-ul Yong-i tul-ess-ta.*
 brother killed.in.action (QU say)-ADNZ news-OM hear-PST-SE
 '= (42.a) 'Yong heard the news that his brother was killed in action.'
- b. *Hyeng-i sal-a-iss(ta)- nun sasil-ul Yong-un molu- ko iss-ta.*
 brother live-INF-be(SE)-ADNZ fact-OM not.know-GER be-SE
 '= (42.b) 'Yong doesn't know (the fact) that his brother is alive.'

The sensory type of appositive clause involves sensory (and perceptual) nouns like *soli* 'sound', *naymsay* 'smell', *kwangkyeng* 'scene', and the like. English has no similar structure in English.⁸⁵

(44) Sensory

- a. *Sayngsen-ul kwupnun naymsay-ka na-nun coh-ta.*
 fish grill-ADNZ smell I-TOP fond-SE
 '(lit.) I like the smell that someone grills fish.
 I like the fish-grilling smell.'
 → 'I like the smell of grilling fish.'
- b. *Mwul-i hulu-nun soli-ka tulli-e- o.n-ta.*
 water flow-ADNZ sound-SM hear-INF-come-SE
 '(lit.) I hear the sound that water flows.
 I hear the water-flowing sound.'
 → 'I hear the sound of flowing water.'
- c. *Sasum-i cinaka-n huncek-i toche-ey iss-ta.*
 deer-SM pass-ADNZ trace-SM everywhere be-SE
 '(lit.) The trace that a deer has passed is everywhere.'
 → 'The tracks of a deer are everywhere.'

With an adnoun clause modifying a bound noun *kes* 'fact/thing', the whole nominal expression denotes either an abstract fact '(the fact) that ..', as described briefly in 6.3.1 (see (32)) or a concrete object 'the thing that ...'. The two uses of the bound noun *kes* modified by adnoun clauses are shown below.

(45) a. Bound Noun: *kes* 'fact'

- *Nay-ka Mia-lul manna-n kes-i chenman tahyang i-ta.*

- b. Noun-oriented:
 i. Noun Clause (+ N) + adv. particle
 ii. Adnoun Clause + N + adv. particle

- (50) a. *Palam-i pwu-nikka, te chwupta.*
 wind blow-ADVZ more cold
 'It is colder, because the wind blows.'
 b. *Palam-i pwul-ki ttaymwun-ey te chwupta.*
 wind blow-NOMZ cause- at more cold
 'It is colder because the wind blows.'
 c. *Pap-ul mek-ul ttay-ey soli-lul nay-ci ma.*
 meal eat-ADNZ time-at sound make-SU don't
 'Don't make noise when you eat.'

The two adverbial clauses (in 50.a,b) are identical in their causal meaning.⁸⁶

- (51) Adverb Clause
- | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|
| | Subordinator |
| a. | ... V/A- V-ending |
| b. | ... V/A- <i>ki</i> (+ N) + particle |
| c. | ... V/A- N + particle |

- (52) a. *palam-i pwu -nikka* 'because the wind blows...'
 b. *palam-i pwu.l -ki.ttaymwun.ey* 'because the wind blows...'
 c. *palam-i pwu.l -ttay.ey* 'when the wind blows...'

The commonly used noun-oriented adverb clauses include those endings in *-ki.wihaye* 'in order that', *-ki.ttaymwun.ey* 'because', *-ki.cen.ey* 'before', *-n.taum.ey* 'after', *-n.hwu.ey* 'after', *-l ttay-ey* 'when' and *-l/n.tongan.ey* 'while'.

Semantic roles of the adverb clauses may be classified into: (1) time, (2) place, (3) cause and reason, (4) condition, (5) concession, (6) contrast, (7) circumstance, (8) result, (9) purpose and intention, (10) proportion, and (11) comparison. According to these semantic roles, the adverb clauses are explained below, each with a comprehensive list of subordinators.

6.3.3.1. Time

Adverb clauses of time are formed by the following clausal endings. Most of the temporal subordinators are restricted to nonpast adverb clauses, as indicated in parentheses. Temporal distinctions are fine-grained by the nominal subordinators, which contain time nouns like *ttay* 'time', *cek* 'occasion', *hwu* 'post-time', *cen* 'prior-time' and *taum* 'next'. Of these time nouns only *cen* 'prior-time' is formed

with the nominalizer *ki* and the rest with the adnominalizer *-l* or *-n*.

(53) a. Verbal subordinators

<i>-ko(se)</i>	'and then'	(no past tense)
<i>-ko.na.se</i>	'after V-ing'	(no past tense)
<i>-e</i>	'and'	(no past tense)
<i>-ca(maca)</i>	'as soon as'	(no past tense)
<i>-(u)myense</i>	'while'	(no past tense)

b. Nominal subordinators

<i>-l ttay.ey</i>	'when'	
<i>-l cek-ey</i>	'when'	
<i>-l mwulyep-(ey)</i>	'around the time when'	
<i>-l/n tongan(-ey)</i>	'while, during'	(no past tense)
<i>-l ttay kkaci</i>	'until'	(no past tense)
<i>-l ttay.nun enceyna</i>	'whenever'	(no past tense)
<i>-n cuksi</i>	'immediately (when)'	(no past tense)
<i>-n hwu-ey</i>	'after'	(no past tense)
<i>-n cikhwu.ey</i>	'immediately after'	(no past tense)
<i>-n twi-ey</i>	'after'	(no past tense)
<i>-n han</i>	'as long as'	(no past tense)
<i>-n taum-(ey)</i>	'after'	(no past tense)
<i>-ki cen-ey</i>	'before'	(no past tense)

(54) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-ko(se)* 'and then'

Yong-i ttena-ko(se) Mia-ka wassta.
 leave and-then came
 'Yong left and then Mia came.'

b. *-ko.na.se* 'after' = *n taum-ey* 'after'

Cencayng-i kkuthna-konase, pholo-ka sekpang.toy-ess-ta.
 war end-after POW released-PST-SE
 'After the war ended, the prisoners of war were released.'

c. *-ca(maca)* 'as soon as'

Mia-nun cenhwa-lul pat-ca.maca naka-ss-ta.
 TOP phone receive-as.soon.as go.out-PST-SE
 'As soon as she received a phone call, Mia went out.'

d. *-(u)myense* 'while'

Palam-i pwul-myense, pi-ka o-ko-issta.
 wind blow-while rain come-GER-be
 'While the wind is blowing, it is raining.'

(55) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *-l ttay(ey)/-l cek-ey* 'when' [The *-ey* in *cek-ey* cannot be suppressed.]

Yong-i tochakhay-ss-ul ttay(-ey), keki.ey amwu-to eps- ess-ta.
 arrive-PST-ADNZ time-at there anybody-too not.exist-PST-SE

'When Yong arrived, nobody was there.'

b. *-l/n mwulyep-(ey)* 'at the time, when'

Tayhak-ey tani-ten mwulyep-ey na-nun ku.i.lul al-key toy-ess-ta.
college-to attend-ADNZ time-at I him know-ADVT become-PST-SE
'At the time I went to college, I got to know him.'

c. *-l/n tongan(-ey)* 'while, during'

Ilha-nun tongan, TV-lul po-myen an toy-nta.
work-ADNZ duration see-if not become-SE
'While you are at work, you must not watch TV.'

d. *-l ttay kkaci* 'until'

Emenim-i tolao-si-l ttay kkaci, kkay-e iss-ca.
mother return-HON-ADNZ time until awake-INF-be-PRP
'Let's stay awake until Mother returns.'

e. *-l ttay.nun.encey-na/lato* 'whenever'

O- ko-siph- ul- ttay-nun enceyna wa!
come-GER-desirous-ADNZ time anytime come
'Come, whenever you want to come!'

f. *-n cuksi* 'immediately (when)'

Pyenci-lul pat-nun cuksi, hakkyo-ey nao- sipsio.
letter receive-ADNZ-immediate.time school-to come.out-SE
'Immediately upon receiving the letter, come to the school.'

g. *-n hwu.ey /-n twi.ey* 'after'

Yong-un hakkyo-lul colepha-n hwu.ey kyelhonhay-ss-eyo.
school graduate after marry-PST-SE
'After he graduated from school, Yong got married.'

h. *-n taum-(ey)* 'after'

Sey.swuha-n.taum.ey pap-ul mek-ela!
wash.hand-after meal-OM eat-IMP
'Eat the meal after you wash your hands!'

i. *-n cikhwu.ey* 'immediately after'

Ku-nun chulkam cikhwu-ey unhayng-ul thel-ess-ta.
he out.of.prison immediately-after bank-OM rob-PST-SE
'He robbed a bank immediately after getting out of the prison.'

j. *-n han* 'as long as'

Nay-ka sal-a-iss-nun.han ku-nom-ul celtaylo yongse mos.hay.
I live-INF-be-as.long.as the.guy absolutely forgive cannot
'As long as I live, I can never forgive him.'

k. *-ki cen-ey* 'before'

Pulaun-ssi-nun Hankwuk-ey o-ki.cen.ey, Cwungkwuk-ey sal-ass-eyo.
Brown-Mr Korea -to come-before China -at live-PST-SE
'Before he came to Korea, Mr. Brown lived in China.'

6.3.3.2. *Place*

Adverb clauses of place are all introduced by a few noun-oriented subordinators: *-l/n kos-ey*, *-l/n tey-ey* 'in the place where', and *-n tey-nun eti-sena* 'wherever'.

(56) Nominal Subordinators

- a. *-l/n kos-ey* 'in the place where'
- b. *-l/n tey-ey* 'in the place where'
- c. *-n tey-nun eti-sena* 'wherever'

(57) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

- a. *-l/n kos-ey(se)* 'in the place where'
Ttus-i iss-nun- kos.ey kil-i iss-ta.
 will exist-ADNZ place-at way be-SE
 'Where there is a will, there is a way.'
- b. *-l/n tey-ey(se)* 'in the place where'
Ku kos-un wuli-ka chaca.ka-n tey-ey.se isip-li ttele.ci.e iss-ta.
 the place we visit.go-ADNZ place-from 20-mile detached be-SE
 'The place was 20 miles away from where we visited.'
- c. *-n tey-nun etisena* 'wherever'
Ku pwun-i ka-nun tey-nun eti.sena hwanyeng-ul pat.ass-ta.
 the person go-ADNZ place-TOP wherever welcome-OM received-SE
 'Wherever he went, he was welcomed.'

Many temporal subordinators, including *-ki.cen.ey* 'before', *-n taum.ey* 'after', have a locative meaning in the description of scenes, particularly when the scenes are described dynamically in terms of movement from one place to another. Notice that the English subordinators (e.g. 'before' and 'after') also have locative meanings.

- (58) a. *Sakeli-ey o-ki.cen.ey oyn-ccok-ey nophun kenmwul-i poi-l.kes.ita.*
 junction-to come-before left-side-at high building visible-will
 'Before you come to the junction, you will see a tall building on the left.'
- b. *Ku tali-kkaci o-n.taum-ey, olun.ccok-ulo tol-la.*
 the bridge-until come-next-at right side-to turn-IMP
 'After you come to the bridge, turn to the right.'

6.3.3.3. *Cause and Reason*

Adverb clauses of cause and reason are introduced by several verbal and nominal subordinators.

(59) a. Verbal Subordinators

<i>-e(se)</i>	'because, on account of'	(no past tense)
<i>-ni(kka)</i>	'because, as, since'	
<i>-mulo</i>	'as'	
<i>-ila(se)</i>	'because' [literary; copula clause]	(no past tense)

b. Nominal Subordinators

<i>-n kkataalk-ey</i>	'because'	(no past tense)
<i>-n ko-lo</i>	'for the reason that'	(no past tense)
<i>-n palam-ey</i>	'as, because'	(no past tense)
<i>-n thas-ulo</i>	'due to'	(no past tense)
<i>-nun pa</i>	'as'	
<i>-ki (ttaymwun)-ey</i>	'for (the reason that)'	
<i>-(u)m-ulo</i>	'because'	
<i>-ta-nun iyu-lo</i>	'for the reason that'	
<i>-n kes-ulo poa</i>	'as I infer from the fact that'	

(60) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-e(se)* 'because, on account of'

Ecey nwun-i wa-se, kil-i mikkulep-ta.
 yesterday snow come-because road slippery-SE
 'As it snowed yesterday, the road is slippery.'

b. *-ni(kka)* 'because, as, since'

Nwun-i nayli-ko iss-unikka, pakk-eyse nol-ca!
 snow fall-GER be-because outside-at play-PRP
 'As it is snowing, let's play outside.'

c. *-mulo* 'as'

Ku.tul-i chelshwuhay-ess-umulo, wuli-nun maul-lo tola.wa- ss-ta.
 they withdraw-PST-because we village-to come.back-PST-SE
 'As they withdrew, we returned to the village.'

d. *-ila(se)* 'because' [literary; copula clause]

Ku salam-un kwunin-ila.se, myenglyeng-ey pokconghay-ya.ha.n-ta.
 the person soldier-COP-because order-to obey- must-SE
 'As he is a soldier, he must obey the order.'

(61) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *-n kkataalk-ey* 'because'

Na-nun kenkangha-n.kkataalk.ey yak-ul an mek.nun-ta.
 I healthy-because medicine not eat-SE
 'Because I am healthy, I take no medicine.'

b. *-n ko-lo* 'for the reason that' [literary]

I nala-nun mincwu.kwukka-in kolo minuy-ka concwung-toy-ko-issta.
 this nation democratic country-as people's will respected-GER-be
 'As this nation is a democratic country, people's will is being respected.'

c. *-n palam-ey* 'as, because'

Swuipphum-i ssotaci.e tule.o-nun.palam.ey epkey-ka yatanita.

- imported-goods rush-in enter-because business-circle clamorous
'As imported goods rush in, the business circle is all in commotion.'
- d. *-n thas-ulo* 'for the reason that, due to the fault that'
Kananha-n thas-ulo ku.tul-un ay.tul-ul hakkyo-ey mos.ponay-nta.
poor-ADNZ-fault-by they children school-to not.send-SE
'They cannot send children to school, because they are poor.'
- e. *-nun pa* 'as, so'
Na-nun ku il-ey kwanhay.se amwukes-to molu-nun.pa, te isang
I the event-at about anything-too not.know-so more above
mwut-ci ma-sio.
ask-SU-don't-SE
'As I know nothing about it, so don't ask me any more.'
- f. *-ki (ttaymwun)-ey* 'for (the reason that), so'
Ka-l kil-i mel-ki-ey, wuli-nun ilccik chwulpalhay-ss-ta.
go-ADNZ road distant-NOMZ-by we early start-PST-SE
'We had a long way to go, so we started early.'
- g. *-(u)m-ulo* 'because'
Pi-ka manhi wa-ss-um.ulo nongpwu.tul-un ansimhay-ss-ta.
rain lot come-PST-because farmer.PLU feel.at.ease-PST-SE
'Because it rained a lot, the farmers felt at ease.'
- h. *-ta-nun iyu-lo* 'for the reason that'
Phipwu.sayk-i taluta-nun iyu-lo chapyel-ul hayse.nun an.toynta.
skin.colour different reason-for discrimination do must.not
'There should not be any discrimination for the reason that the colour of
the skin is different.'
- i. *-n kes-ulo poa* 'inferring from the fact that'
Mwun-i tathie-iss-nun kes-ulo poa, amwuto eps.nun kes.kathta.
door closed-be-ADNZ fact-with seeing anyone absent be-like
'Judging from the fact that the door is closed, nobody seems to be there.'

As a parenthetical expression, the verbal subordinator *ta siphi* 'as' is used with cognitive or perceptual verbs.

- (62) a. *A-si-ta- siph-i, ce-nun paywu-n-kes-i pwucokha-pnita.*
know-HON-SE seem-ADV I learn-ADNZ-fact-SM .lack-SE
'As you know, I have little learning.'
- b. *Po-ta-siph-i, wuli-nun kwulme.cwuk-ul cikyeng-ita.*
see-SE-seem-ADV we starve.to.death-ADNZ situation-COP
'As you see, we are almost starved to death.'

6.3.3.4. Condition

There are two types of condition: neutral and hypothetical. Neutral conditions leave unresolved the question of the fulfilment or nonfulfilment of the condition;

hypothetical conditions, on the other hand, convey the speaker's belief that the condition will not, is not, or was not fulfilled. The statement made with a strong hypothetical condition is, therefore, a counterfactual statement.

Clauses of condition are formed by verbal subordinators: *-myen* 'if', *-ta/la-myen* 'if', *-eya* 'if only', *-ketun* 'provided that', and *-takanun* 'if keep doing/being'. The subordinator *ta/la myen* is an abbreviation of < *ta/la* (declarative sentence ender) + *ko* (quotative) + (*mal*)*ha-* 'say') *myen* 'if'>. This subordinator is more hypothetical than *-myen*. The *ketun*-clause is used with a matrix clause of request, proposal, or promise. Nominal subordinators are formed: < appositive clause + N + *ulo/haey*>. The head noun includes *coken* 'condition', *kaceng* 'assumption', *cencey* 'presupposition', or the like. The nominal subordinator *-nun han* 'as long as' is used for a conditional clause as well as for a time clause (cf. 6.3.3.1).

(63) a. Verbal subordinators

<i>-myen</i>	'if'
<i>-ta/la-myen</i>	'if'
<i>-eya</i>	'if only'
<i>-ketun</i>	'provided that'
<i>-takanun</i>	'if...keep doing/being'

b. Nominal Subordinators

<i>-ta/la-nun coken ulo/haey</i>	'on the condition that'
<i>-ta/la-nun kaceng-haey</i>	'on the assumption that'

(64) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-myen* 'if'

Yong-i chamkaha-myen, na-nun an ha-keyss-ta.
 participate-if I not do-VOL-SE
 'If Yong takes part in it, I won't.'

b. *-ta/la-myen* 'if'

Ku kes-i sasil-i-la-myen, ne-nun etteh.key ha-keyss-nya?
 the fact fact-COP-SE-if you how do-VOL-INT
 'If that is a fact, what will you do?'

c. *-(e)ya* 'if only'

Yong-i chamkahay-ya na-to ha-keyss-ta.
 participate-if.only I-too do-VOL-SE
 'If only Yong takes part in it, so will I.'

d. *-ketun* 'provided that'

Yong-i o-ketun, ttena-la!
 come-if, leave-IMP
 'Leave, if Yong comes.'

**Yong-i o-ketun na-nun ka-nta.*

come-if I go-DCL
Yong-i o-ketun na-nun ka-keyss.ta [promise]

come-if I go-VOL-DCL

'If Yong comes, I will go.'

e. *-takanun* 'if...keep doing/being'

Ileh.key ilha-takanun, il.chwuil-ey ta kkuthmachi-keyss-ta.

like-this work-if one.week-at all complete- VOL-SE

'If you keep working like this, you will finish it all in a week.'

(65) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *-ta/la-nun coken ulo/haey* 'on the condition that'

Ku.i-lul phwul.e.cwunta-nun coken-ulo, selyu-ey semyengha-kyess-o.

he set.free- ADNZ condition-with document-to sign- VOL-SE

'I will sign the document on the condition that you set him free.'

b. *-ta/la-nun kacengha-ye* 'on the assumption that'

I an-i chaythak.toynta-nun kaceng-haye, yenkwu.pi-lul sinchengha-nta.

this plan accept.become-ADNZ assumption-under research.fund request-SE

'On the assumption that this proposal be accepted. we request a research fund.'

A counterfactual statement is often made in the form of: <...(past)-*myen*>, <...(past)-*l-the-i-n-tey*> 'if...(past), it would be expected to do/be (have done/been ..., but ...)'. The retrospective *tela-myen* clause is commonly used as counterfactual.

(66) Counterfactual

a. Subordinator: *-myen*

Ku.ttay ney-ka Mia-lul manna-ss-umyen, coh-ass-ul-the-in-ntey.

then you meet-PST-if good-PST-ADNZ-plan-recall

'It would have been nice if you had met Mia then.'

b. Subordinator: *-(te)la.myen* [more common]

Ku.ttay ney-ka Mia-lul manna-ss-tela.myen, coh-ass-ul-they-ntey.

then you meet-PST-if good-PST-ADNZ-plan-recall

'It would have been nice if you had met Mia then.'

The subordinator *(e)ya* 'if only' is related to the frozen predicate <V/A-*ya hanta*> 'must (be) V(/A)'.
 (67) a. *Wuli-nun yelsi-ey chwulpalhay-ya, etwup.ki-cen.ey tochakha.l swu.issta.*

we 10-'oclock-at start-if-only dark.NOMZ-before arrive can

'We can arrive before dark only if we depart at 10 o'clock.'

b. *Wuli-nun pam yelsi-kkaci-nun tola.wa-ya.ha.n-ta.*

we night 10-o'clock-by return- must- SE

'We must return by 10 at night.'

6.3.3.5. *Concession*

Adverb clauses of concession are mainly introduced by *-(e)to* 'although', *-ciman* 'although'. Other subordinators used for concession are: *-telato* 'even though', *-(u)lcilato* 'even though', *-(u)lmangceng* 'although', *-(u)lcienceng* 'even if', *-(u)lcintay* 'provided that', *-toy* 'although', *-ta(ko)hayse* 'even if', *-kemul* 'although'.

Many of the concessive subordinators are interchangeable. A general rule of thumb is 'the longer the form, the more emphatic the content'. As in the conditional clauses above, concessive clauses can be hypothetical as well. The *telato* subordinator is more hypothetical than the *(e)to* subordinator.

(68) Verbal Subordinators

<i>-(e)to</i>	'although, no matter...'
<i>-telato</i>	'even though'
<i>-ciman</i>	'although'
<i>-(l)lcilato</i>	'even if'
<i>-(u)lmangceng</i>	'although'
<i>-(u)lcienceng</i>	'even if'
<i>-n han(i-iss-eto)</i>	'even if'
<i>-n han(i-iss-eto)</i>	'even if'
<i>-(u)lcintay</i>	'provided that' [rhetorical]
<i>-tey-to pwulkwuha-ko</i>	'despite the fact that'
<i>-toy</i>	'though' [literal]
<i>-ta(ko)(hayse)</i>	'(even) as'

(69) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-(e)to* 'although, no matter...'

Etten il-I iss-eto, na-nun kkok tola.o-keyss-ta.
 any event be-though I surely return-VOL-SE
 'Whatever happens, I will return without fail.'

b. *-telato* 'even though'

Yong-i na-lul chaca.o-telato, na-nun an manna-keyss-ta.
 I find.come-even-though I not meet.VOL-SE
 'Even if Yong comes to see me, I won't meet him.'

c. *-ciman* 'although'

Ku ay-nun kongpwu-lul manhi hay-ss-ciman, pwulhapkyekhay-ss-ta.
 the child-TOP study-OM lot do-PST-although fail- PST-SE
 'Although the child studied a lot, he failed in the exam.'

d. *-(l)lcilato* 'even if'

Nay-ka tasi mos o-lcilato ne-lul nul sayngkakha-ko iss-keyss-ta.
 I again not come-though you always think-GER be-VOL-SE
 'I'll be thinking of you always, even if I cannot come again.'

e. *-(u)lmangceng* 'although'

Nay-ka tasi mos o-lmangceng, i kos-ul nul kiekha-ko iss-keyss-ta.

I again not come-though this place always remember-GER be-VOL-SE
'Even if I cannot come again, I'll always remember this place.'

f. *-(u)lciceng* 'even if'

Na-nun, cwuk-ul.ciceng, ku il-ey chanseng-mos-ha-keyss-o.

I die-even-though the work-at consent-not-do-VOL-SE
'I wouldn't consent to it, even if I die.'

g. *-n han(i-iss-eto)* 'even if'

Na-nun cwuk-nun han-i.isse.to, ku il-ey tonguyha-ci mos.ha-nta.

I die-even-if the work-to agree-SU cannot-SE
'I wouldn't agree to it, even if I die.'

h. *-(u)lcintay* 'provided that' [literary]

I il-to mos ha-lcintay, ecci nala il-ul ha-l.swu.iss-keyss.so?

this work-too not do-even if how country work do- can-VOL-SE
'How could we do the work of the nation, if we can't do this?'

-tey- to pwulkwuha-ko 'despite the fact that'

Nalssi-ka nappun-tey.to.pwulkwuha.ko, w.a.cwu-si-e kamsaha-pnita.

weather bad-despite.the.fact.that come.give-HON-as thank-SE
'I thank you for your coming over here despite the bad weather.'

i. *-toy* 'though' [literary]

Na-nun cikum ttena-toy, pantusi tola.o.li-ta.

I now leave-though surely return.will-SE
'I'll surely return, though I leave now.'

j. *-ta(ko)(hayse)* '(even) as'

Ney-ka ku kes-ul panhwanha-ntako, mwucoy-ka toy-l.swu.epsta.

you the thing return-although innocence become-cannot
'You cannot become innocent, even if you return it.'

The subordinator *(e)to* 'although' is commonly used in the frozen form of *<eto + toyta/cohta>* 'may'.

(70) a. *Ne.huy.tul-un naka-to.toy.nta.*

you.PUL go.out-may-SE

'You may go out.'

b. *Yelepwun-un icye i.kos-ul naka.si.eto.coh-supnita.*

all.of.you now this.place go.out-HON-may-SE

'You may now go out of this place.'

6.3.3.6. Contrast

Adverb clauses of contrast are introduced by noun subordinators *-n panmyen-ey* 'whereas', *-n kes-kwa-nun tal.li* 'different from', *-n kes-kwa-nun taycocek-ulo* 'in contrast to', and other phrases with a noun of contrast. Contrastive clauses are also introduced by the coordinate ending *-(u)na* 'but' or the concessive *-ciman*

'though'. There is often a mixture of contrast and concession. In addition, the following verbal subordinators may be counted as concessive: *-keniwa* 'besides', *-nuni pota* 'rather than' and *-kenul* 'although'.

(71) a. Verbal subordinators:

<i>-keniwa</i>	'as well as, besides'	
<i>-nuni pota</i>	'rather than'	
<i>-kenul</i>	'whereas'	[literary]

b. Nominal subordinators

<i>-n panmyen-ey</i>	'whereas'
<i>-n kes-kwa-nun taycocek-ulo</i>	'in contrast to'

(72) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-keniwa* 'as well as, besides'

Yong-un kongpwu-to cal ha-keniwa wuntong-to cal hanta.
 study-too well do-besides sports-too well do
 'Yong studies well but also he is good at sports.'

b. *-nuni pota* 'rather than'

Cip-eyse ku chinkwu-lul kitali-nuni pota nay-ka chacaka-keyssta.
 house-at the friend wait-rather-than I visit-will
 'I'll call on him rather than waiting for the friend at home.'

c. *-kenul* 'whereas' [literary]

Salam-i ta checa-lul twu-ess-kenul, na hollo eps-tota.
 person all wife.son have-PST-although I alone not.be-SE
 'Whereas every man has wife and children, I alone have none.'

(73) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *-n panmyen-ey* 'whereas'

Ku ay-nun chakhan panmyen-ey, meli-ka cohci anh-ta.
 the child virtuous whereas head good not-SE
 'While the child is kindhearted, he is not bright.'

b. *-n kes-kwa-nun taycocek-ulo* 'in contrast to'

Ku.i-ka malha-n kes-kwa-nun taycocek.ulo, ku.uy hayngtong-un kechil-ess-ta.
 he say-ADNZ fact-with contrastively his action rough-PST-SE
 'In contrast to what he said, what he did was rough.'

The noun of contrast, *panmyen* 'other side' or *hanphyen* 'one hand', is also commonly used in sentence-initial position as a conjunctive adverb.

(74) a. *Ku pan.myen-ey, ku ay-nun meli-ka coh-ci an-ha.*

the other-side the child head good-SU not-ST
 'On the other hand, the child is not bright.'

b. *Hanphyen, na-nun Mikwuk-ul ttena-ki- lo kyelsimhay-ss-ta.*

one.hand I America leave-NOMZ-as decide-PST-SE
 'On the other hand, I decided to leave America.'

6.3.3.7. *Circumstance*

An adverb clause of circumstance describes some process or state, subordinate to the following process or state. They are introduced by verbal subordinators (*nula(ko)* 'in the process of' and *nuni* 'rather than') and nominal subordinators (*nuntey* 'in the process of', *nun pa* 'as a consequence' and *l/n kyengwu-ey* 'in case')

(75) a. Verbal subordinators

- nula(ko)* 'in (the process of) doing'
 -*nuni* 'rather than'

b. Nominal Subordinators

- nuntey(ey)* 'in (the process of) doing'
 -*l/n kyengwu-ey* 'in case'

(76) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. -*nula(ko)* 'in (the process of) doing'

Yeki-kkaci o-nula swuko-ka manh-ass-kwun!
 here-till come-in-process trouble many-PST-EXC
 'Indeed you had lots of trouble trying to get over here.'

b. -*nuni* 'rather than'

Ile.h-key sa-nuni cwuk.nun kes-i nas-keyss-ta.
 like-this live-rather.than die.ADVZ thing better-will-SE
 'It would be better to die rather than live like this.'

(77) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *nun tey(ey)* 'in (the process of) doing'

Ku il-ul wanssengha-nun.tey.ey o-nyen kelli-ess-ta.
 the work complete-in.the.process.of five-year take-PST-SE
 'It took five years to complete the work.'

b. -*l/n kyengwu-ey* 'in case'

Yong-i mos ka.l kyengwu-ey ney-ka taysin ka-kela!
 not go.in.case you instead go-IMP
 'In case Yong cannot go, you go in his place.'

6.3.3.8. *Result*

Adverb clauses of result are introduced by verbal subordinators -*key(kkum)* 'so that', -*tolok* 'so that'. They are interchangeable.

(78) Verbal Subordinators

- key(kkum)* so that'
 -*tolok* to the extent that, so that'

(79) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. *-key(kkum)* 'so that'

Pwukhan salam-i cal sal-key, wuli-nun ku.tul-ul towu-l yonguy-ka
 North Korea people well live-so.that we they- help-ADNZ readiness
iss-ta.
 be-SE

'We are ready to help North Koreans so that they can live well.'

b. *-tolok* 'to the extent that, so that'

Wuli ilhayng-i pwukhan-ul pangmwunha-l.swu.iss-tolok hyepcohay- cwu-sipsio.
 we group North Korea visit-can-so.that cooperate- give-SE

'Please cooperate with us so that our group can visit North Korea.'

Recall that *-key* and *-tolok* are also used in construction with *hata* to form the phrasal causatives <V/A-*key/tolok hata*> (cf. 5.4.2). The phrasal construction is distinct from the clausal construction; the phrasal causatives can have an object noun phrase, as well as a subject noun phrase.

(80) a. Phrasal causatives

i. *Yong-un Mia-lul o-key/tolok hay-ss-ta.*
 come-so.as.to do-PST-SE

'Yong caused Mia to come.'

ii. *Yong-un Mia-eykey o-key/tolok hay-ss-ta.*⁸⁷
 to come-so.as.to do-PST-SE

'Yong caused Mia to come (voluntarily).'

b. Adverb clauses of result

Mia-ka o-key/tolok Yong-un choysen-ul ta hay-ss-ta.
 come-so.as.to best-OM all do-PST-SE

'Yong did his best so that Mia could come.'

In the phrasal causative above, Mia is normally marked by an accusative particle *-(l)ul* or by a dative particle *-eykey*. In the adverb clause of result, the *key/tolok*-clause is an adjunct and as such it modifies the following matrix clause.

6.3.3.9. *Purpose and Intention*

Adverb clauses of purpose are introduced by the verbal subordinator *-(u)le* 'in order that, for the purpose of' or by the nominal subordinators *-ki wihaye* 'for the purpose of' and *-l mokcek-ulo* 'for the purpose of'. Clauses of intention are introduced by the verbal subordinator *-lyeko* 'intending to' or *-koca* 'intending to' or by the nominal subordinators *-l sayngkak/uyto-lo* 'with the thought/intention of'.

Both the purpose (or intention) clause and the matrix clause are verbal and not adjectival.

(81) a. Verbal subordinators

- (u)le* 'to, in order to, for the purpose of'
 -*lyeko* 'intending to'
 -*koca* 'intending to'

b. Nominal subordinators

- ki wiha-ye* 'for the purpose of'
 -*l mokcek-ulo* 'for the purpose of'
 -*l sayngkak/uyto-ulo* 'intending to'

(82) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. -*(u)le* 'in order that, for the purpose of'

Wuli-nun sin.kiswul-ul paywu-le i.kos-ey wass-supnita.
 we new.technology learn-in.order.to here-to came-SE

'We came here in order to learn new technology.'

b. -*lyeko* 'intending to'

Na-nun khemphyuthe-lul cenkongha-lyeko CMU-ey ip.hakhay-ss-ta.
 I computer major-intending.to to enter.school-PST-SE

'Intending to major in computing, I entered CMU.'

c. -*koca* 'intending to'

Yong-un Seyksuphie-lul yenkwuha-koca Oksuphotu tayhak-ey wassta.
 Shakespeare research-intending-to Oxford univ -to came

'Intending to do research on Shakespeare, Yong came to Oxford University.'

6.3.3.10. *Proportion*

Adverb clauses of proportion are introduced by the nominal subordinator -*(u)m-ey ttala* 'in proportion to'.

(83) Nominal Subordinator

-*(u)m-ey ttala* 'according as, in proportion to'

(84) *Salam-un ton-ul pel-key toy- m.ey.ttala, kkakcengi-ka toy- ki swip-ta.*
 person money earn-ADVT become-in.proportion.to miser-SM become-NOMZ easy-SE
 'Man is likely to become miserly in proportion to his earning money.'

6.3.3.11. *Comparison*

Adverb clauses of comparison and similarity are introduced by the verbal subordinators -*mankhum* 'as ... (as)' and -*l swulok* 'to the extent that' or the

nominal subordinators *-n kes kathi* 'similar to, like', *-n kes chelem* 'as, like', *-n kes pota* '(rather) than', *-l/n mankhum/manchi* 'as much as' and *-l/n cengto-lo* 'to the degree that'.

(85) a. Verbal subordinator

-l-swulok 'to the extent that'

b. Nominal Subordinators

-n kes-chelem 'as, like'

-n kes-kathi 'as, like'

-n kes-pota 'than, rather than'

-l/n-mankhum 'as many/much as'

-l/n-manchi 'as many/much as'

-l/n-cengto-lo 'to the degree that'

(86) Examples: Verbal Subordinator

-l-swulok 'to the extent that'

Ku chayk-un ilk.ul.swulok te caymi.iss.nta.

the book read-increasingly more interesting-SE

'The more I read this book, the more it is interesting.'

(87) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. *-n kes-kathi* 'as, like'

Yong-i Mia-lul cohaha-nun.kes-kathi, Mia-to Yong-ul cohaha-nta.

like-as too like-SE

'Mia also likes Yong as Yong likes Mia.'

b. *-n kes-chelem* 'as, like'

Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun.kes.chelem ne-to na-lul salangha-ni?

I you love-as you-too me love-INT

'Do you love me as I love you?'

c. *-n kes-pota* '(rather) than'

Ney-ka na-lul salangha-nun.kes.pota nay-ka ne-lul te salangha-nta.

you me love-than I you more love-SE

'I love you more than you love me.'

d. *-l/n-mankhum* 'as many/much as'

Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun.mankhum amwu-to ne-lul salangha-ci an.h.nunta.

I you love-as.much.as anyone-too you love-SU not-SE

'Nobody loves you as much as I love you.'

e. *-l/n-manchi* (= *-l/n-mankhum*) 'as many/much as'

Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun.manchi amwu-to ne-lul salangha-ci an.h.nun-ta.

I you love-as.much.as anyone-too you love-SU not-SE

'Nobody loves you as much as I love you.'

Given in (88) below are some general expressions of comparison with *mankhum/manchi* 'as many/much as' and the degree adverbs *te* 'more' and *tel* 'less'

- 'Yong loves Mia more than Cina.'
 i. 'Y loves M more than he loves C.'
 ii. 'Y loves M more than C loves her.'

The comparative sentences in (90.b) can equivalently be expressed with superlative constructions.

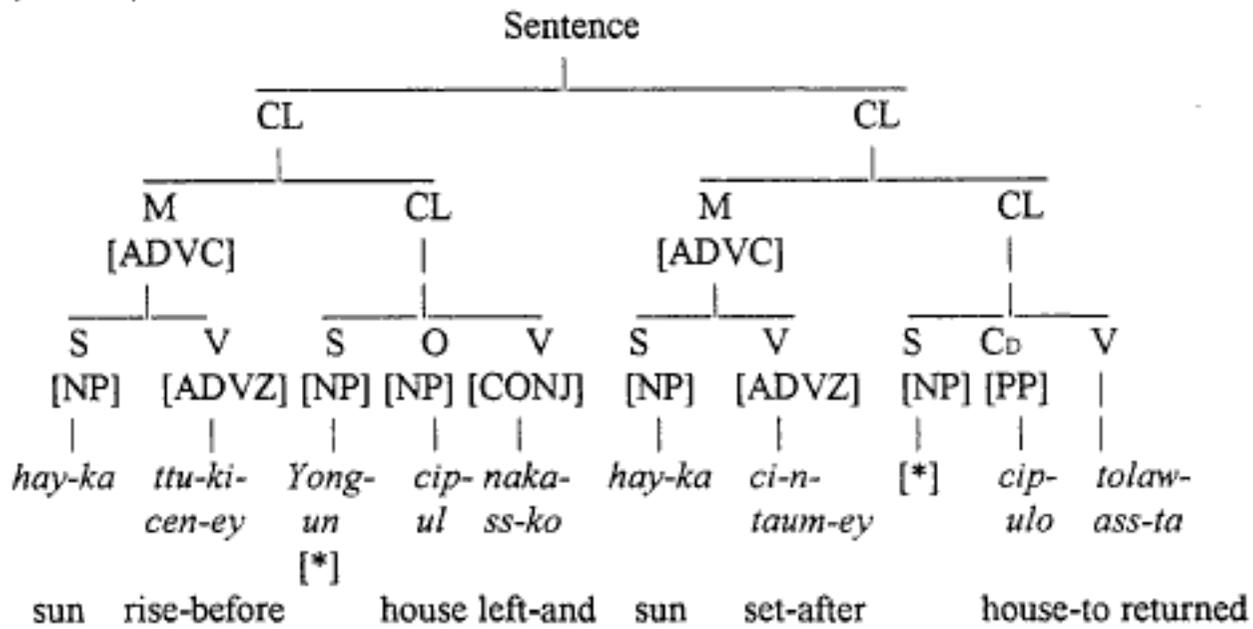
- (91) *Yong-i Mia-lul nwukwu-pota.to te salanghanta.*
 anyone than more love
 'Yong loves Mia more than anybody.'
 = *Yong-i Mia-lul ceyil salanghanta.* (= 89.c)
 most love
 'Yong loves Mia most.'

6.4. Mixed Sentences

A single sentence may be expanded at length by mixing coordination and subordination. A subordinate clause is a constituent of a superordinate clause, which in turn may be subordinate or coordinate to another clause and the sentence structure may be built up or expanded.

We will consider several types of mixed sentence with examples below: (1) two subordinate clauses stacked in a superordinate main clause; (2) one subordinate clause with two coordinated main clauses; (3) two coordinated clauses, each containing a subordinate clause.

- (92) a. *Mia-ka Yong-ul cohaha-nikka, Yong-to Mia-lul cohahanta-ko Cina-nun*
malha.yss.ta.
 like-as too like-QU
 said
 'Cina said that Yong also likes Mia as she likes him.'
- b. *Han.panto-ka haypang.toy-ko.nase, nam.han-ey-nun minchukwukka-ka seywe.ci-ko,*
 Korean.peninsula liberate-after south.Korea-in- democratic.nation established-and
pwukhan-ey-nun kongsan- kwukka-ka seywe.ci.ess-ta.
 north.Korea-in communist nation established-SE
 'After the Korean Peninsula was liberated, a democratic country was established in South Korea and a communist country in North Korea.'
- c. *Hay-ka ttu-ki.cen.ey Yong-un cip-ul na.ka-ss-ko hay-ka ci.n.taum.ey cip-ulo*
 sun rise-before house go.out-PST-and sun set-after house-to
tolawass-ta.
 returned-SE
 'Yong left home before the sun was up and he came home after the sun was down.'

(95) (cf. 92.c)⁸⁹

NB: The identical tags ([*]) indicate coreference.

So far we have examined adverbial subordinate clauses and a quotative nominal clause in a mixed sentence. Now we will examine a mixed sentence containing also adnominal subordinate clauses with two main clauses in coordination.

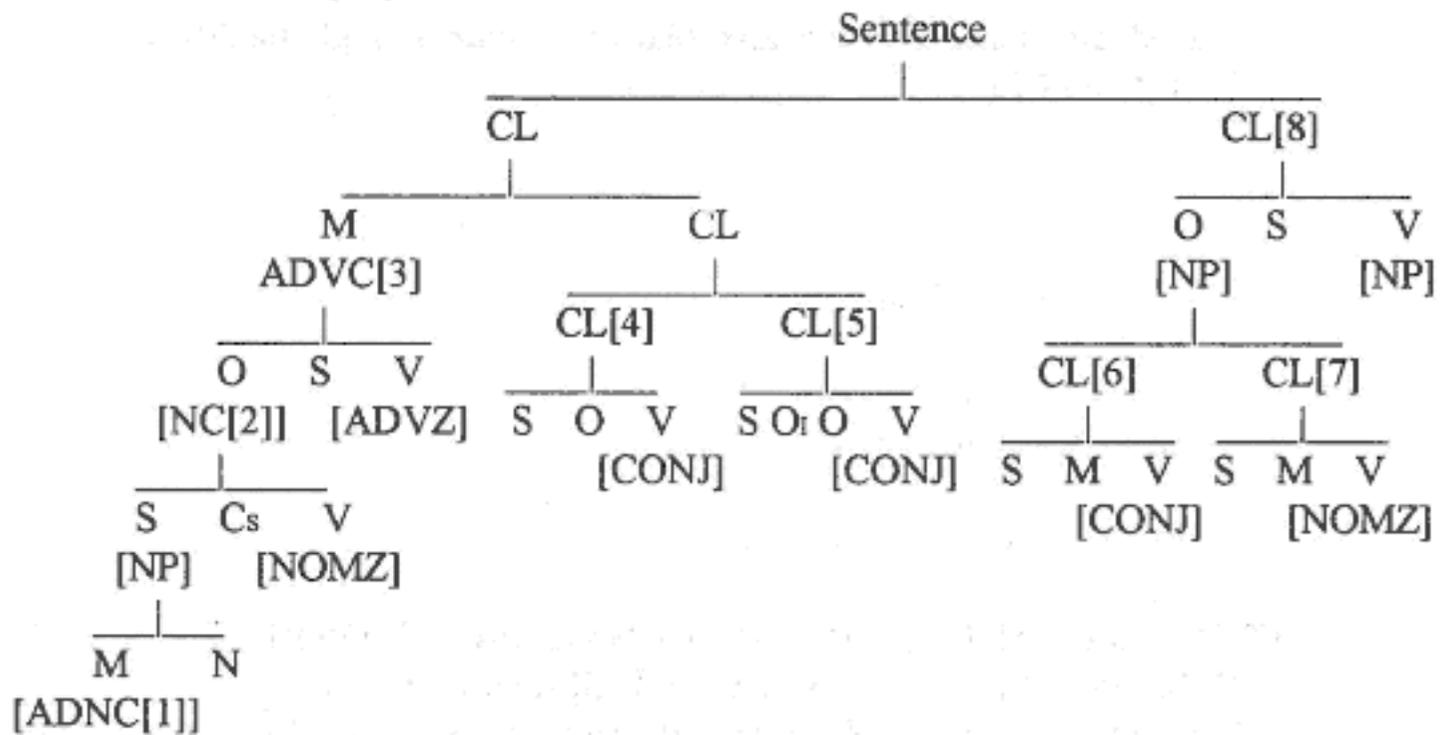
- (96) Chel-un ku ttay mana-n yeca-ka yupwunye- i- m- ul
 the time meet-ADNZ woman married.woman COP-NOMZ-OM
 al- ass-ciman, Chel-un kunye-lul salangha-ko kwuhon-ul hay-ss-ko
 know-PST-though her love- and proposal do-PST-and
 ku.nye-to machimnay ihon-ul ha-ko Chel-kwa kyelhonha-kilo kyelsimhay-ss-ta.
 she-too at-last divorce do-and with marry-so.as.to decide-PST-SE
 'Even though he knew that the woman he met then was married, Chel loved her and proposed to her and she decided at last to get divorced and marry him.'

The sentence consists of eight clauses (CL[1] - CL[8]). Its clausal structures are presented below, with a pruned tree diagram.

(97) a. Sentence Structure (SS)

CL[1] Chel-un ku ttay manna-n	(ADNC: ADNZ -n)
CL[2] yeca-ka yupwunye-i-m-ul	(NC: NOMZ -m)
CL[3] (Chel-un) al-ass-ciman	(ADVC: ADVZ -ciman)
CL[4] Chel-un kunye-lul salangha-ko	(CL: CONJ -ko)
CL[5] (Chel-un) kwuhon-ul ha-yss-ko	(CL: CONJ -ko)
CL[6] ku.nye-to machimnay ihon-ul ha-ko	(CL: CONJ -ko)
CL[7] Chel-kwa kyelhonha-ki.lo	(NC: NOMZ -ki.lo)
CL[8] (kunye-nun) kyelsimhay-ss-ta.	(CL)

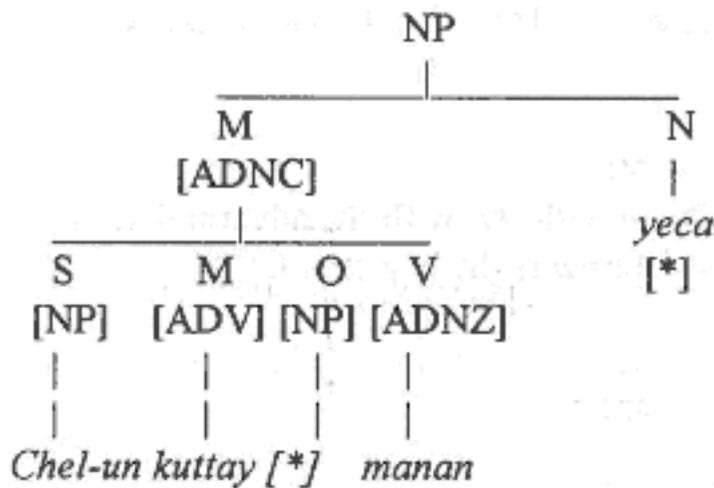
b. Tree Structure (TS)



A clause-by-clause view of the above tree structure is provided, with further commentary.

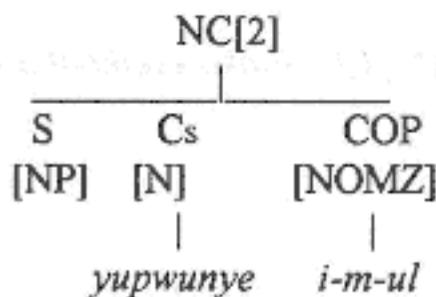
(98) a. CL[1]: M-N

The adnoun clause modifies an N, which is its object.



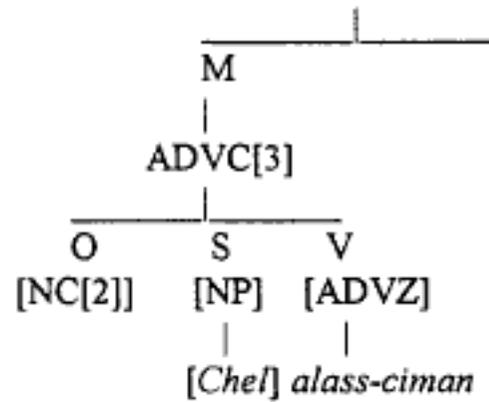
b. CL[2]: S-Cs-COP

The copula clause is nominalized and is the object of CL[3].



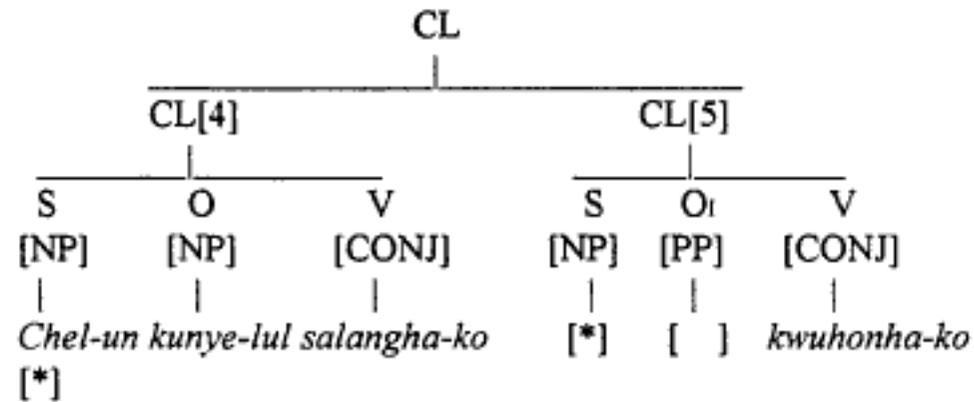
c. CL[3]: O-S-V

The adverb clause with the adverbializer *-ciman* 'though' modifies CL [4] and CL[5].



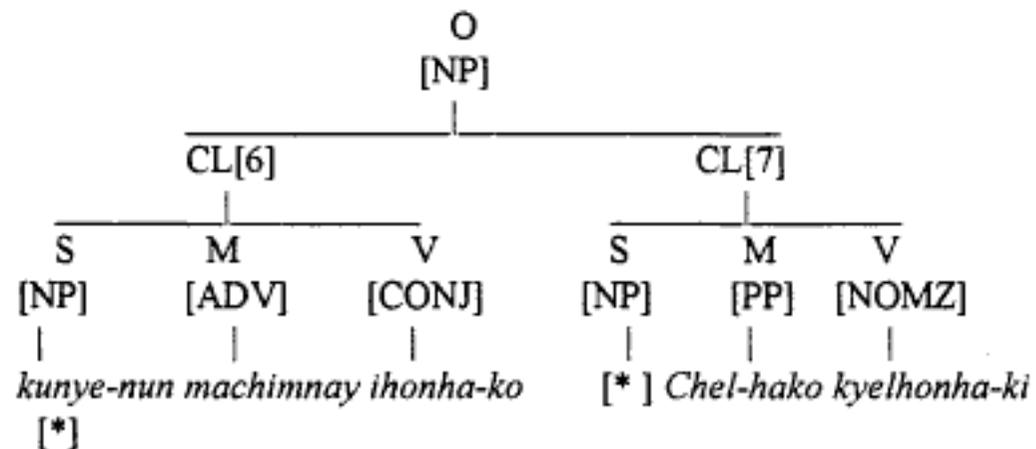
d. CL[4] and CL[5]: [S-O-V[CONJ]]-CONJ-[S-O-O-V[CONJ]]

CL[4] and CL[5] are coordinate; in CL[5] *kwuhonhata* 'propose' takes an indirect object; the subject NP of CL[5] is *Chel*.



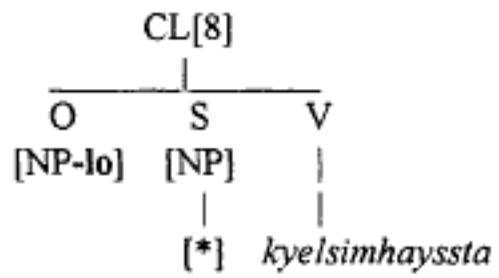
e. CL[6] and CL[7]: [S-M-V]-[S-M-V]

CL[6] and CL[7] are nominalized with *-ki*; with the adverbial particle *lo* attached, the whole subtree is the object of CL[8].



f. CL[8]: O-S-V

The missing subject is *kunye* in CL[5] and CL[6]; the verb *kyelsimhata* 'decide' takes the nominalized <V/A-*ki.lo*> as object.



7. Discourse

Going beyond sentences, this chapter views some concepts of discourse in Korean, including speech acts, honorification, topic-focus articulation, reference and ellipsis. At the end of the chapter a short dialogue and a passage from a literary essay are presented and their structures analyzed.

7.1. From Sentence to Discourse

A discourse is composed of a string of utterances with a single discourse topic. It is not a syntactic unit but rather a semantic and even a pragmatic one. A well-formed discourse is coherent semantically and cohesive structurally. A discourse (D) may be divided into discourse segments (DSs), each consisting of one or more utterances with a single topic. An utterance (U), which is a constituent unit of a discourse, may be defined as a sentence (S) with context (C). Put differently, a sentence is an utterance without context.

$$(1) \begin{aligned} D &= DS_1, DS_2, \dots \\ DS &= U_1, U_2, \dots \end{aligned}$$

$$(2) \begin{aligned} U &= S + C \\ S &= U - C \end{aligned}$$

Characteristic of spontaneous speech rather than of a deliberately written text, utterances in a discourse are simple and juxtaposed without connectives, or they are loosely connected with discourse particles like *kuliko* 'and', *kulentey* 'then', and *kulena* 'but'. The semantic linkage between the juxtaposed sentences, however, is often vague; it is made explicit by a conjunctive or a subordinator.

Each sentence type is mapped into an unmarked, and then a marked, speech-act type below, with representative verbs and sample sentences. When the default and indirect meanings cannot be distinguished (as in tag questions) the meaning in use is given under the heading 'unmarked/indirect'.

(6)	Sentence Type	Speech-act Type	
		[unmarked]	[marked/indirect]
	a. Declarative S	assert, inform	request
	b. <i>kyess</i> -S	predict	promise
	c. Interrogative S	question	request
	d. Imperative S	request	
	e. Propositive S	propose	request
	f. Tag-Q		[unmarked/indirect] seek confirmation
	g. Rhetorical Q		assert (polarity-opposite)
	h. Echo Q		repeat
(7)	a. <i>Pang-i chwupta.</i> room cold	[unmarked]	'The room is cold.' (assertion)
		[indirect]	'Make the room warm.' (request)
	b. <i>Na-nun kot ttena-keyss-ta.</i> I soon leave-VOL-DCL	[unmarked]	'I intend to leave soon.'
		[indirect]	'I promise you to leave soon.' (promise)
	c. <i>Nayil o-l.swu.iss-ni?</i> tomorrow come-can-INT	[unmarked]	'Can you come tomorrow?' (question)
		[indirect]	'Come tomorrow.' (request)
	d. <i>Naka-la!</i> go.out-SE	[unmarked]	'Get out!' (request)
	e. <i>Naka-psita.</i> go.out-SE	[unmarked]	'Let's get out.' (proposal)
		[indirect]	'Let me out.' (request)
	f. <i>Mia-ka wass-ci anh-a?</i> came-SU not-INT	[unmarked/ indirect]	'Mia came, didn't she?' (confirmation-seeking)
	g. <i>Nwuka ala-yo?</i> who know-INT	[unmarked/ indirect]	'Who knows?' → Nobody knows! (assertion)
	h. <i>Mia-ka wassta-ko?</i> came-QU	[unmarked/ indirect]	'Did you say Mia came?' (repetition)

Some nonstandard uses of interrogative sentences, namely interrogatives as requests, tag questions and rhetorical questions are described below as typical cases of indirect speech acts widely known in many languages.

7.2.1. Interrogatives as Requests

Interrogative sentences are very often used as a polite way of expressing a request to the hearer rather than to seek information. Such a request is made in an interrogative sentence whose verbal ending is in the form: <V-*l.swu iss.nun.ya?*> 'Can you V for me?', or in the form: <V-*e cwu-l.swu.issmunya?*> 'Can you V for me', or <V-*e cwu-keyss.nun.ya?*> 'Will you V for me?'. The subject of the interrogative is second person; the interrogative suffix varies, depending on the speech level: *-munya* (plain level), *-(s)upnikka?* (formal level), *-(e)yo?* (polite level), etc.

(8) Interrogatives as Requests

- a. *-l. swu. iss-ni?* 'Can you ...?'
ADNZ.means.be-INT
Ne unhayng-ey tanye.o-l.swu.iss-ni? 'Can you go to the bank?'
you bank-to go.around-can? → (I request you) go to the bank.'
- b. *-e.cwu-l.swu.iss-nya?* 'Can you...for me?'
INF.give-ADNZ.means.be-INT
Ku il com hay.cwu-l.swu.iss-ni? 'Can you do the work for me?'
the work bit do.give-can? → (I request you) do the work me.'
- c. *-e.cwu.kyess-ni?* 'Will you...for me?'
INF.give.will.INT
Ne kot o.a.cwu.keyss-ni? 'Will you come at once?'
you soon come.give.will.INT → (I request you) come at once.'

Even when interrogative sentences are interpreted as conveying an indirect speech act of request, their unmarked speech act of seeking oral response is normally also involved since the hearer, in compliance with the request, gives an oral response as well--positively or negatively.

The term request has been used here as a cover term for the speech-act type of directives, which may be identified with a list of hierarchically ordered speech-act verbs (<strong,... weak>).

(9) Directives:

- < *myenglyenghata* 'order',
cisihata 'direct',
yokwuhata 'request',
kanchenghata 'beseech',
aywenhata 'beg', ... >

7.2.2. *Tag Questions*

Tag questions are used to express the speaker's seeking confirmation or agreement rather than asking for information. There are several formally distinct tag questions in Korean,⁹² each consisting of a tag appended to a statement. We will take up two common types of tag question here: (1) <-*ci-an.ha?*> 'isn't it?' (2) <-*ci-an.kulay?*> 'isn't it so?'. The tag is usually a contracted form of a question; the statement ends in the suspensive *-ci*. A third type of tag question is <... *kulehci?*> '... is it so?'.
 We take up the type-1 tag question first. Let us call the statement part of the tag question the 'body' and the remainder the 'tag'.

(10) Tag Questions

Body	Tag	
.... <i>-ci</i>	- <i>an-h-a.(yo)?</i>	'isn't it?/aren't they?/...'
SU	<i>an-h-ni?</i>	
	<i>an-h-supnikka?</i>	
	not-be-INT	

The first type of tag question is syntactically identical to the long-form negation (cf. 5.8.1.) <-*ci anhta*>, except that the tense in the tag part of the type-1 tag question is invariably nonpast; by contrast, the tense in the *ci*-clause of the long-form negation is nonpast.⁹³

(11) Tag question vs. Long-form negative question

	Body	Tag
a. Tag Q	... <i>-ci</i>	nonpast?
b. Long-form Neg Q	nonpast <i>-ci</i>	...

(12) Examples: *-ci anh-a?* '..., isn't it?'

- a. *Pi-ka manhi o. ass-ci anh-a?/anh-supnikka?*
 rain lot come.PST-SU not-INT
 'It rained a lot, didn't it?'
- b. *Pi-ka an wass-ci anh-a?/anh-supnikka?*
 not not-INT
 'It didn't rain a lot, did it?'
- c. *Hyen-un kwunin-i- ess-ci anh-ayo?/anh-supnikka?*
 soldier-COP-PST-SU not-INT
 'Hyen was a soldier, wasn't he?'
- d. *Ku.i-nun pwul.haynghay-ss-ci an-h.a?*
 he un.happy- PST-SU not-be-INT
 'He was unhappy, wasn't he?'

The tense in the body of all the questions above is past and that in the tag is nonpast. The tag ends invariably in a negative form (e.g. *an.h.ta* 'not'), akin to the French tag *n'est-ce-pas?* 'isn't it?' but unlike the English counterpart. Notice that in (12.b) the body, as well as the tag, is negative in form, whereas in English tag formation polarity in the tag and the body is normally opposite.

The normal long-form negative questions corresponding to those in (12) are given below.

(13) Examples: Long-form negative question: *-ci an.h(-ass)-e?*

- a. *Pi-ka manhi o- ci anh-a?/anh-ass-e?*
rain lot come-SU not-INT not-PST-INT
'Doesn't/Didn't it rain a lot?'
b. *Pi-ka an o-ci anh-a?/anh-ass-e?*
not not-INT/not-PST-INT
'Isn't it/Wasn't it that it doesn't/didn't rain?'
c. *Hyen-un kwunin-i- ci anh.a.yo?/an.h.-ass-eyo?*
soldier-COP-SU not-INT/not-PST-INT
'Isn't/Wasn't Hyen a soldier?'
d. *Ku.i-nun pwul.hayngaha-ci anh-a?/an-ass-e?*
he un.happy-SU not-INT/not-PST-INT
'Isn't/Wasn't he unhappy?'

When the body and the tag are both in the nonpast tense, the tag and long-form negative questions turn out to be identical. Since the negative question is conducive or biased as to the speaker's attitude to the statement in the body, the long-form negative question may be considered a type of tag question in Korean.

The second type of tag question is a combination of two sentences: a statement and a contracted question. The proform *kule.hata* 'so-be' is the typical proform used for anaphoric reference (cf. 7.5.1), referring to a preceding event or state. The two sentences may be described as forming a single sentence with a nonfalling (comma) pause between the body and the tag. The statement has its own declarative ending, including the suspensive *-ci*. Besides the short form *an-kulay?*, the long form *kule.h.ci-anh-a?* 'so-not-be' is also used. As a tag, however, the short form is more commonly used.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (14) | Body | Tag | |
| | Declarative S-ending | <i>-ci,an-kulay?</i>
(<- <i>an-kule-hay?</i>)
not-so-be
<i>-kule.h.ci-anh.a?</i>
so-not-be | '..., isn't it so?' |

The *an-kulay* 'isn't-it-so' tag, with its variants (*an-kule.h.ni?*/*an-kuleh.supnikka?*/...), can be tensed both in the tag and in the body, even if the nonpast tag is preferred. The function of this tag question is also to show that the speaker invites confirmation of or agreement to the preceding statement.

(15) Examples: ..., *an-kulay?* '..., isn't it so/right?'

- a. *Pi-ka manhi o. ass-e, an-kulay?*
rain lot come.PST-SE not-so.be?
'It rained a lot, isn't it (so/right)?'
- b. *Pi-ka an w.ass-ci, an-kulay?*
rain not come.PST-SU not-so.be?
'It didn't rain, isn't it (so/right)?'
- c. *Hyen-i kwunin-i- ess-ci-yo, an-kule.h-supnikka?*
soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE not-so.be-INT
'Hyen was a soldier, isn't it (so/right)?'
- d. *Ku.i-nun pwulhaynghay-ss-ci, an-kule.h-na?*
he unhappy- PST-SU not-so.be-INT?
'He was unhappy, isn't it (so/right)?'

The type-2 tag can have a past-tense form.

- (16) a. *Pi-ka manhi o. ass-e, an-kulay-ss-ni?*
rain lot come.PST-SE not-so- PST-INT
'It rained a lot, wasn't it (so/right)?'
- b. *Pi-ka an o. ass-ci, an-kulay-ss-ni?*
rain not come-PST-SU not-so- PST-INT
'It didn't rain, wasn't it so/right?'
- c. *Hyen-i kwunin-i-ess-ci-yo, an-kulay-ss-supnikka?*
soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE not-so-PST-INT
'Hyen was a soldier, wasn't he (so)?'
- d. *Ku.i-nun pwulhaynghay-ss-ci, an-kulay-ss-na?*
he unhappy- PST-SU not-so-PST-INT
'He was unhappy, wasn't he (so)?'

A third type of tag question has the *kule-h-ci?* (< *kule-ha-ci?*?) 'so-be-it?' and the polite form <*kule-h-ci-yo?*>. The statement in the body has a declarative ending including *-ci*. Like the *an.kulay* tag, it is also based on the anaphoric proform *kule-hata* 'so-be', and can be treated as consisting of two sentences--the statement and the tag.

- (17)
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Body | Tag | |
| Declarative S-ending _J . | <i>kule.h-ci?</i> | '... _J . is it so?' |
| | so-SU | |

(18) Examples

- a. *Pi-ka o .ass-ci, kule.h-ci?*
rain come.PST-SU so.be-SU
'It rained, isn't it so?'
- b. *Pi-ka an o. ass-e. Kule.h-ci?*
not come-PST-SE, so.be-SU
'It didn't rain. Isn't it so?'
- c. *Hyen-i kwunin-i- ess-ci-yo. Kule.h-ci-yo?*
soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE so.be-SU-PO
'Hyen was a soldier. Is it right?'
- d. *Kui-nun pwulhaynghay-ss-ci. Kule.h-ci?*
he unhappy- PST-SU so.be-SU
'He was unhappy. Isn't it so?'

Intonation plays a significant role in the *anha*-tag question. If the terminal contour is rising, it shows the speaker's request for verification, expecting the hearer to indicate the truth or falsity of the proposition in the statement. The tag with the falling or level contour, on the other hand, invites the confirmation of the statement and has the force of an assertion rather than of a question.

- (19) a. *Pi-ka o. ass-ci an-h-a ↑*
rain come.PST-SU not-be-SE
'It rained, didn't it ↑'
- b. *Pi-ka o. ass-ci anha ↓ →*
rain come.PST-SU not-be-SE
'It rained, didn't it ↓'

7.2.3. *Rhetorical Utterances*

The best-known type of rhetorical expression is rhetorical questions. Another type, less known but rhetorical nonetheless, is what is called rhetorical conditional statements.

The rhetorical question is interrogative in structure but it invites a polarity-opposite assertion. A positive rhetorical *yes-no* question implies a strong negative assertion and a negative question a strong positive one (S.-J. Chang 1982).

(20) Positive Q → Negative Assertion

- a. *Mia-ka a- pnikka?* → *Mia-ka molu- pnita.*
know-FO/INT not.know-FO/DCL
'Does Mia know?' 'Mia doesn't know.'
- b. *Yong-i o- l.swu.issna-yo?* → *Yong-i o- l.swu.epse-yo.*

come can-PO/INT
'Can Yong come?'

come cannot-PO/DCL
'Yong cannot come.'

(21) Negative Q → Positive Assertion

a. *Nay-ka an-kula-yss-ni?* → *Nay-ka kula-yss-ci.*
I not so-PST-INT I so-PST-SU
'Didn't I tell you so?' 'I told you so.'

b. *Tap-i pwunmyengha-ci anha?* → *Tap-i pwunmyengha-ta.*
answer clear-SU not answer clear-DCL
'Isn't the answer clear?' 'The answer is clear.'

Some rhetorical *wh*-questions are used as frozen expressions. The positive rhetorical *wh*-question carries the force of a negative assertion; conversely, the less common negative rhetorical *wh*-question has the force of a positive assertion.

(22) Positive WH-Q → Negative assertion

a. *Nwuka al. a?* → *Amwu- to moll. a.*
who know.INT anybody-too not-know-DCL
'Who knows?' 'Nobody knows.'

b. *Ney-ka encey kulay-ss- ni?* → *Ney-ka kul.ay-n cek eps.e.*
you when so.say-PST-INT you so.say.ADNZ case not.be-DCL
'When did you say so?' 'You never said that.'

(23) Negative WH-Q → Positive Assertion

a. *Kukes-ul nwuka molla-yo?* → *Nwukwu-na ta al. ko. iss-eyo.*
that who not.know-INT anyone-or all know.GER.be-DCL
'Who doesn't know?' 'Everybody knows.'

b. *Nay-ka way moll. a?* → *Na.n al. ko. iss-ta.*
I why not.know-INT I.TOP know.GER be-DCL
'Why don't I know?' → 'Of course, I know.'

The rhetorical conditional statement, for all its appearance of expressing a neutral condition, only makes an assertion strong. The conditional clause is introduced by the subordinator *myen* 'if' and the assertion is derived from the conditional clause. When the proposition made in the main clause is absurd, the proposition in the conditional clause is negative in meaning.

(24) a. *Ku chinkwu-ka hapkyekha-myen, ne-nun taythonglyeng-iya.*

the friend pass if you president
'If he passes the exam, you are President.'

Implication: You are not President, so he will never pass the exam.

b. *Ku chinkwu-ka hapkyekha-myen, hay-ka se.ccok-eyse ttu-keyss-ta.*
the friend pass if sun west from rise-will-SE
'If he passes the exam, the sun would rise in the west.'

Implication: The sun never rises in the west, so he'll never pass the exam.

The use of this type of conditional sentence may be derived from logical inferences, and is thus applicable to many languages.

7.2.4. *Echo Utterances*

Echo utterances are a unique type of utterance in discourse; they are basically repetitive--a partial or the whole repetition of an earlier utterance expressed in the form of a question or a statement. The echo question indicates the speaker's request for confirmation or clarification of the addressee's earlier utterance, whereas the echo statement indicates confirmation or clarification of the speaker's earlier utterance. Echo sentences are structurally distinct in that they end in the quotative particle *ko* 'that'.⁹⁴ In addition to the syntactic marker of the sentence-final quotative *ko*, the echo question has the terminal contour of a rising (↑) or high-rising (↑) intonation, whereas the echo statement has that of a falling (↓) intonation.

The following dialogues between A and B may illustrate the way echo questions and statements are used.

- (25) A: *Na-nun Mia-ka coh-a.* 'I like Mia.'
 I like-DCL
 B: *Ne-nun Mia-ka coh-ta- ko? ↑* '(Did you say) You like Mia?'
 you like-DCL-QU
 A: *Na-nun Mia-ka coh-ta- ko. ↓* '(I said) I like Mia.'
 I like-DCL-QU
- (26) A: *Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya?* 'Did Mia come back?'
 return-PST-PL/INT
 B: *Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya- ko? ↑* 'Did Mia come back ? ↑ (Did you say?)'
 return-PST-PL/INT-QU
 A: *Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya-ko ↓* '(I said) Did Mia come back? ↓'
 QU
- (27) A: *Nayil ttena-la.* 'Leave tomorrow!'
 tomorrow leave-PL/IMP
 B: *Nayil ttena- la- ko? ↑* 'Leave tomorrow? ↑ (Did you say?)'
 tomorrow leave-PL/IMP-QU
 A: *Nayil ttena-la- ko. ↓* 'Leave tomorrow! (I said.)'
 leave-PL/IMP-QU

The echo question can also be in the form of a *wh*-question for clarification.

- (28) A: *I os-un o-man-wen-i.ya.* 'This dress costs 50,000 wen.'

(32) Examples

a. Declarative ending (-*ta/-la*) + *ko*

- *Yong-i Mia-ka tola.w.ass-ta-ko malhay-ss-ta.*
 return- PST-DCL-QU say-PST-SE

'Yong said that Mia had returned.'

- *Cikum-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-(i-) la-ko Yong-un malhay-ss-ta.*
 now TOP globalization-of age-(COP-)SE-QU say-PST-SE

'Yong said that now is the age of globalization.'

b. Interrogative ending (-*(nu)nya*) + *ko*

- *Yong-i ka-ss-nunya-ko Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE

'Mia asked Yuna if Yong had gone.'

- *Nwuka ka-ss-nunya-ko Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.*
 who go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE

'Mia asked Yuna who had gone.'

c. Imperative ending (-*la*) + *ko*

Tasi o- ci malla-ko Mia-ka Yong-eykey yokwuhay-ss-ta.
 again come-SU don't-QU to request-PST-SE

'Mia requested Yong not to come again.'

d. Propositive ending (-*ca*) + *ko*

Kathi ka-ca-ko Yong-i Mia-eykey ceyanhay-ss-ta.
 together go-PRP-QU to propose-PST-SE

'Yong proposed to Mia that they go together.'

In addition to the general form of indirect quotations illustrated above, there are some subtypes of reported speech widespread in discourse. We will take up two: (1) the reported speech ending in the quotative *ko* 'that'; (2) the reported speech ending in a contracted form of <the reported clause ending *ta/la/... + ko + hata* 'say'>. The first subtype structurally resembles echo utterances. The second subtype is realized in contracted forms including *-tay* (<*-ta ko hay*>), *-lay* (<*-la ko hay*>), and *-tatela* (<*-ta-ko-hatela*>), which may be rendered as 'it is said that .../ they say that ...'.

In the following examples (33), B's answer represents the first subtype of reported speech ending in *-ko(yo)*.

(33) Reported Speech: *-ko*

a. A: *Ku salam.tul-i mwe- la-ko hay-ss-ni?*
 the people what-(COP-)DCL-QU say-PST-INT
 'What did they say?'

B: *Hyen-i tolaw-ass-ta-ko-yo.*
 return-PST-DCL-QU-PO
 '(They said that) Hyen returned.'

- b. A: *Ku salam.tul-i mwe- la-ko ha-te.y?*
 the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-RETR-INT
 'What did they say, (you recall)?'
 B: *Hyen-i tolaw-ass-nunya-ko-yo.*
 return-PST-INT-QU-PO
 '(They asked whether) Hyen returned.'
- c. A: *Ku salam.tul-i mwe- la-ko hay-ss-ni?*
 the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-PST-INT
 'What did they say, (you recall)?'
 B: *Na-poko tola.ka-la-ko-yo.*
 I to return-IMP-QU-PO
 'They told me to return.'
- d. A: *Ku salam.tul-i mwe- la-ko ha-te.y?*
 the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-RETR-INT
 'What did they say, do you recall?'
 B: *Wuli-poko kathi il-ha-ca-ko-yo.*
 we to together work-PRP-QU-PO
 'They told us to work together.'

As an illustration of the second subtype of reported speech <*ta/la..+ko + hata*> 'it is said that...', four major sentence types of sentence are reported along with the three speech levels-- intimate, plain, and formal.

(34) Reported speech: *-ko hanta* (-QU say) 'it is said that -)

S-type \ S-level		S-level		
		Intimate	Plain	Formal
a. Declarative:	Long	<i>ta/la-ko-hay</i>	<i>ta/la-ko-hanta</i>	<i>ta/la-ko-ha.pnita</i>
	↓			
	Short	<i>tay/lay</i>	<i>tanta/lanta</i>	<i>tapnita/la.pnita</i>
		'They say that ...'		
b. Interrogative:	Long	<i>nyay-ko-hay</i>	<i>nyay-ko-hanta</i>	<i>nyay-ko-ha.pnita</i>
	↓			
	Short	<i>nyay</i>	<i>nyayntanta</i>	<i>nyaypnita</i>
		'They ask <i>wh-</i> ...'		
c. Imperative:	Long	<i>la-ko-hay</i>	<i>la-ko-hanta</i>	<i>la-ko-hapnita</i>
	↓			
	Short	<i>lay</i>	<i>lantanta</i>	<i>laypnita</i>
		'They request that ...'		
d. Propositive:	Long	<i>ca-ko-hay</i>	<i>ca-ko-hanta</i>	<i>ca-ko-hapnita</i>
	↓			
	Short	<i>cay</i>	<i>cayntanta</i>	<i>caypnita</i>
		'They propose that ...'		

- (35) Examples: i. *-tay/nyay/lay/cay*
 ii. *-tanta/nyaynta/lanta/canta*
- a. i. Hyen-i tola.wa-ss- tay-yo.
 return- PST-DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 ii. Hyen-i tola.wa- ss- tan-ta.
 return- PST-DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 'Hyen returned (, they say).'
- b. i. Hyen-un kwunin-i-lay-yo.
 soldier-COP-DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 ii. Hyen-un kwunin-i-lan-ta.
 soldier-COP-DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 'Hyen is a soldier (, they say).'
- c. i. Nwu.ka wass- nyay-yo.
 who came-INT(.QU.say)-SE
 ii. Nwuka wass-nyayn-ta.
 who came-INT(.QU.say)-SE
 'They ask me who came (, they say).'
- d. i. Na-poko tola.ka-lay-yo.
 I to return-IMP(.QU.say)-SE
 ii. Na-poko tola.ka-layn-ta.
 I to return- IMP(.QU.say)-SE
 'They tell me to go back.'
- e. i. Wuli-poko kathi ka-cay-yo.'
 we-to together go-PRP(.QU.say)-SE
 ii. Wuli-poko kathi ka-cayn-ta.'
 we-to together go-PRP(.QU.say)-SE
 'They tell me that we should go with them.'

The reporting verb *hata* 'say' is in the present tense, which indicates that the reporting is concurrent to the speech time in the discourse. The reporting time can be in the past as well; the verb of saying is *hayssta* 'they said; it was said' instead of *hanta* 'they say'.

- (36) Intimate level : *ko hay.ss.e* (< QU say.PST.SE> 'it was said that -) → *taysse*
 Polite level : *ko hay.ss.e.yo* → *taysseyo*
 Plain level : *ko hay.ss.ta* → *tayssta*
 Formal level : *ko hay.supnita* → *taypnita*

- (37) Examples: *-tay.ss.e(yo)/ta*
 'It was said ...'
- a. Hyen-i tolaon-tay- ss-e.
 return-DCL(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 '(They told me) Hyen would return.'

- b. *Hyen-un kwunin-i- lay- ss-e.*
 soldier-COP-DCL(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 '(They said) Hyen was a soldier.'
- c. *Nwuka o- nunyay- ess-eyo.*
 who come-INT(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 '(They asked) Who would come?'
- d. *Na-poko tola.ka-lay- ss-supnita.*
 I-to return-IMP(.QU.say)-PST-FO/DCL
 'They told me to go back.'
- e. *Wuli-poko kathi ka-cay- ss-supnita.*
 we-to together go-PRP(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 'They told me that we should go with them.'

In the reported speech the reporter is usually unspecified and a general term like *kutul* 'they' is understood to be the reporter. However, the unexpressed reporter can also be identified with the subject of the reported clause, particularly when the reported clause is declarative, thus giving rise to two readings, as illustrated below.

- (38) a. *Yong-i ne-lul cohahan-ta- y.*
 you like- DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 i. 'They say Yong likes you.'
 ii. 'Yong says he (= Yong) likes you.'
- b. *Mia-ka Yong-eykey phyenci-lul ponay-ss-ta- y.*
 to letter send-PST-DCL(.QU.say)-SE
 i. 'They say Mia sent a letter to Yong.'
 ii. 'Mia says she (= Mia) sent a letter to Yong.'

When the reported clause is imperative or propositive, the surface subject is the reporter, not the unspecified 'they'.

- (39) a. *Yong-i na-poko ka-lay- ss- e.*
 I to go-IMP(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 'Yong told me to go.'
- b. *Yong-i wuli-poko ka-cay- ss- e.*
 we to go-PROP(.QU.say)-PST-SE
 'Yong told us that we should go with him (=Yong).'

The reported speech in the form of *ta.y* (*ta-ko-ha.nta* <DCL-QU-say-DCL> 'it is said that...') may be put into the retrospective mood: *ta.te.la* (*ta-ko-ha-te-la* <DCL-QU-say-RET-DCL> 'I observed/I recall that it was said ...') and the interrogative form: *tatenya* (*ta-ko-ha-te-nya?* <DCL-QU-say-RET-INT> 'do

you recall it was said that ...?'). Here the reported clause is limited to the declarative.

(40) Examples: *tate.la / tate.nya*

- a. *Yong-i an on- ta. te. la.*
not come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.DCL
'They said Yong won't come, I recall.'
- b. *Yong-i an on- ta. te. nya?*
not come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.INT
'Did they say Yong won't come, do you recall?'
- c. *Yong-i encey on- ta. te. nya?*
when come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.INT
'When did they say Yong would come, do you recall?'

As in the *ko-hanta* reported speech, the reporter in the retrospective (*-tatela*) speech may also be the subject of the reported clause and the reporter is usually suppressed. So the examples in (40) are each given a second reading (ii), as appended in (41).

- (41) a. *Yong-i an on- ta. te. la.*
not come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.DCL
i. 'They said Yong won't come, I recall.'
ii. 'Yong said he (=Yong) won't come, I recall.'
- b. *Yong-i an on- ta. te. nya?*
not come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.INT
i. 'Did they say Yong won't come, do you recall?'
ii. 'Did Yong say he (=Yong) won't come, do you recall?'
- c. *Yong-i encey on- ta. te. nya?*
when come-DCL(.QU.say).RET.INT
i. 'When did they say Yong would come, do you recall?'
ii. 'When did Yong say he (=Yong) would come, do you recall?'

7.3. Honorification

The speaker-hearer interplay and their relation with the subject (and object) referent are grammaticalized in Korean. This is generally known as honorification. It is viewed as consisting of three subsystems: (1) speech (or discourse) levels, based on the interplay between the speaker and the hearer, (2) subject honorification, based on the interplay between the speaker and the subject referent, and (3) object honorification, based on the interplay between the

speaker and the indirect-object referent. The speech level is structurally manifested in the form of sentence enders (SE) and the subject honorification in the honorific suffix *si* and certain lexical items. Object honorification is marginal in that it is formed by only a handful lexical items. Honorification is an integral part of Korean grammar, imbued in the cognitive system of the language users. It is simply impossible to think of Korean discourse free from the system of honorification.

The underlying principle of honorification is self-lowering: the speaker lowers him/her-self. Here the self was once extended to include the speaker's ingroup.⁹⁵

7.3.1. *Speech Levels*

About half a dozen speech levels are recognized in current Korean. The appropriate use of speech levels is speaker-oriented: the speaker's relative status with the hearer and degree of solidarity with the hearer are major factors determining the speech level in discourse. Violation of speech levels in discourse, however, is not the same as that of rules of grammar; it is a matter of inappropriateness rather than grammatical ill-formedness.

Six speech levels, characterized by sentence endings, are reintroduced below with reference to the four basic sentence types (cf. 4.3.1).⁹⁶

(42)	Speech Level	Sentence Type			
		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
High	Formal	<i>(su)pnita</i>	<i>(su)pnikka?</i>	<i>(u)psio</i>	<i>(u)psita</i>
	Polite	<i>(e)yo</i>	<i>(e)yo?</i>	<i>(e)yo</i>	<i>(e)yo</i>
Mid	Blunt	<i>so</i>	<i>so?</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>
	Familiar	<i>ney</i>	<i>na?</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>sey</i>
Low	Intimate	<i>e</i>	<i>e?</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
	Plain	<i>ta</i>	<i>(nu)nya?</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ca</i>

These six levels are divided roughly into three levels--high, mid and low. The two mid-levels, blunt and familiar, are a little archaic and used mostly by elderly people, and as such they may eventually fade out. The formal level, often interchangeable with the polite level, may also disappear in the long run. The intimate and plain levels, both nonpolite, are interchangeable. The plain level, however, is commonly used in writing of various sorts, including newspaper articles, editorials, theses, diaries, or the like. So it would seem not too far-fetched to assume that three speech levels will continue to be prominent: the polite and intimate levels for speaking and the plain level for writing.

(43) Speech Levels		Declarative
Speaking: Polite		<i>yo</i>
	Nonpolite: Intimate	<i>e</i>
Writing:	Plain	<i>ta</i>

In the following exposition and illustration, however, the formal level is treated together with the polite level as constituting an honorific speech level. Under the non-honorific level are two sublevels: plain and intimate. For ease of reference, we may use the term honorific for both polite and formal, and non-honorific for both plain and intimate.

(44) Speech Levels
Honorific: Formal
Polite
Non-honorific: Intimate
Plain

The honorific level is used unilaterally by the low to the high status (Low \rightarrow High) in terms of the vertical axis of power/status; it is used bilaterally between the unacquainted or those whose relationship is not solid (A $\leftarrow x \rightarrow$ B). Once solidarity is tightly established, the honorific level may turn into the nonhonorific one. Put differently, the non-honorific level is used unilaterally by the high to the low status (High \rightarrow Low); it is used bilaterally between friends or those whose relationship is solid (A $\leftarrow 0 \rightarrow$ B).

(45) a. Power/Status

High:	mother	teacher	senior	officer
Low:	son	student	junior	private

b. Solidarity

Tight:	friends	(A $\leftarrow 0 \rightarrow$ B)
Loose:	unacquainted	(A $\leftarrow x \rightarrow$ B)

(46) a. Honorific Level:

i. High	ii. Unacquainted
↑	A $\leftarrow x \rightarrow$ B
Low	

b. Non-honorific Level

i. High	ii. Friends
↓	A $\leftarrow 0 \rightarrow$ B
Low	

- (47) a. (Mother to Son): Non-honorific
Ne pap mek-ess-ni?
 you meal eat-PST-IN/INT
 'Have you eaten?'
- b. (Son to Mother): Honorific
Emeni siksaha-si-ess-eyo?
 mother eat HON-PST-PO/INT
 'Have you eaten, Mom?'
- c. (Teacher to Student): Non-honorific
Nay-ka ney-key I chayk-ul cwu-keyss-ta.
 I you-to this book-OM give-VOL-PL/DCL
 'I'll give this book to you.'
- d. (Student to Teacher): Honorific
Cey-ka sensayng.nim-kkey I chyak-ul tuli-keyss-supnita.
 I-SM teacher.HON to this book- give-VOL-FO/DCL
 'I'll give this book to you.'
- e. (Between the unacquainted): Honorific
 A: *Cey-ka Cina-uy aypi⁹⁷ -i-pnita.*
 I-SM of father(-HON) COP-FO/DCL
 'I'm Cina's father.'
 B: *Cheum poyp.keyss-supnita.*
 first see(HON).VOL-FO/DCL
 '(lit.) I see you for the first time.
 → 'How do you do?'
- f. (Between friends): Non-honorific
 A: *Yosay caymi-ka ette.ni?*
 lately interest-SM how.IN/INT
 'How is everything these days?'
 B: *Kuce kulay.*
 just so.IN/DCL
 'Just so and so.'

The speech level between husband and wife has been traditionally unilateral in that the husband uses the non-honorific and the wife the honorific, but nowadays couples tend to use the same speech level--the plain (mostly by young couples) or the honorific (mostly by elderly ones).

7.3.2. Subject Honorification

In a discourse, when the referent of the subject is honoured by the speaker, the feature 'honorific' [HON] is spread, so to speak, over the whole sentence, demanding honorific lexical items, if any, and insertion of the honorific suffix *si* into the predicate. The 'honorific' lexical items include the following.

(48)	Honorific (HON)	Plain	
a. Verb	<i>capwusita, tusita</i> <i>cwumwusita</i> <i>keysita</i> <i>tolakasita</i>	<i>mekta</i> <i>cata</i> <i>issta</i> <i>cwukta</i>	'eat' 'sleep' 'exist' 'die'
b. Noun	<i>cinci</i> <i>conham, sengham</i> <i>cwunchwu, yensey</i> <i>apenim</i> <i>malssum</i>	<i>pap</i> <i>ilum</i> <i>nai</i> <i>apeci</i> <i>mal</i>	'meal' 'name' 'age' 'father' 'word, speech'
c. Particle	<i>kkeyse</i> <i>kkey</i>	<i>i/ka</i> <i>eykey</i>	subject marker (indirect) object marker

(49) Examples: Honorific Subject

a. (Mia to Yong)

Halapeci- kkeyse cinci-lul tusi- ko keysi.n-ta.
grandfather-SM(HON) meal-OM eat(HON)-ing be(HON)-PL/DCL
'Grandfather is eating.'

b. (Mia to Yong)

Halmeni- kkeyse-nun cwumwusi-ko- keysi- pnita.
grandmother-SM(HON)-TOP sleep(HON)-ing-be(HON)-FO/DCL
'Grandmother is sleeping.'

- Compared with nonhonorific subject

a'. (Mia to Yong)

Hyen-i pap mek-ko iss-ta. 'Hyen is eating.'
meal eat-ing be-PL/DCL

b'. *Cina-ka ca- ko iss-ta.* 'Cina is sleeping.'
sleep-ing be-PL/DCL

Notice that the honorific utterances (49.a,b) are much longer than the nonhonorific ones. A general rule: the longer the form, the more polite the expression.

When the grandfather says to Mia (in 50.a) 'I am eating', the subject 'I' can never have an honorific verb or honorific *-si*; this is due to the self-lowering principle: 'The speaker lowers him/her-self.'

(50) a. (Grandfather to Mia)

##Nay-ka cinci-lul tu -si- ko keysi-nta.
I meal eat-HON-ing be[HON]-PL/DCL
Meaning: 'I am eating.'

7.3.3. Object Honorification

When the referent of the indirect (or direct) object is someone to be honoured by the speaker, certain self-lowering (or condescending) lexical items are used in place of the plain ones. These words are condescending in that the speaker lowers him/her-self by using them, rather than honoring the object referent. Such words include the first-person pronoun *ce* 'I' or *ce.huy* 'we'. We can honour a person by using either honorific or condescending terms or both.

(51) Self-lowering Words

a. Pronouns:

1st person: *ce* 'I', *ce.huy* 'we'
 epithet : *so.in* (lit. 'little man'), *so.sayng* (lit. 'little birth') 'I'
so.nye (lit. 'little woman') 'I' (female)
mwunhasayng (lit. 'pupil') 'I'

b. Verb:

tulita 'give' (plain: *cwuta*)
poypa 'see' (plain: *pota*)
yeccwupta 'say' (plain: *malhata*)
malssum.tulita 'say' (plain: *malhata*)

c. Noun:

aypi 'father' (plain: *apeci*; honorific: *apec.nim*)
eymi 'mother' (plain: *emeni*; honorific: *eme.nim*)

(52) a. (Mia to Grandfather)

Cey-ka sensayngnim-kkey kukes-ul tuli-ess-supnita.
 I- teacher- to(HON) it give-PST-FO/DCL
 'I gave it to the teacher.'

b. (Mother to Mia)

Ney-ka halapeci-kkey malssum.tuly.e-la.
 you-SM grandfather-to(HON) word.give-PL?IMP
 'You tell Grandpa.'

c. (Mia to Yong)

Nay-ka sensyang.nim-ul chaca.poyp-keyss-ta.
 I SM teacher.HON-OM find.see(HON)-VOL-PL/DCL
 'I will visit the teacher.'

It would be inappropriate or infelicitous to use the plain predicate forms in (52): *cwu.ess.ta* 'gave', *malhayla* 'say', *chaca.po.keyssta* 'will visit', since the indirect object (in 52.a,b) or the direct object (in 52.c) is someone the speaker honours.

The following illustration shows different ways in which honorific or non-honorific expressions are used, depending on who speaks to whom and who is the object referent mentioned.

(53) Discourse Participants⁹⁸

A = Mia (girl; 8th grader), B = Mia's mother, C = Mia's grandmother

a. (A to B)

i. *Emma, nay-ka ike halmeni-hanthey kacta.tuli-l.kkey.*
 this grandmother-to take.give-will-IN

ii. *Emma, cey-ka ike halmeni-kkey kacta.tuli-keyss-supnita.*
 I this grandmother-to(HON) take.give-will- FO
 'Mom, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

b. (B to A)

Mia-ya, nay-ka ike halmeni-kkey kacta.tuli-keyss-ta.
 VOC I this grandmother-to(HON) take.give- will-PL
 'Mia, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

c. (A to C)

Halmeni, cey-ka ike emma-hanthey kacta.tuli-l.kkey-yo.
 grandmother I this mother-to take.give- will-PO
 'Grandmother, I'll take this to Mother.'

d. (C to A)

Mia-ya, nay-ka ike ney eyimi-hanthey kacta.cwu-keyss-ta.
 VOL I SM this your mother-to take.give-will-PL
 'Mia, I'll take this to your mother.'

e. (B to C)

Emenim, cey-ka ike Mia-eykey kacta.cwu-l.kkey-yo.
 mother I-SM this to take.give-will-PO
 'Mother, I'll take this to Mia.'

f. (C to B)

Emem, nay-ka ike Mia-eykey kacta.cwu-keyss.ta.
 mother I-SM this to take.give-will-PL/DCL
 'I'll take this to Mia.'

Contentwise, all the sentences in (53) mean the same: 'x will take this to y.' What is different is what x and y stand for and their relative status. In (a), Mia can talk to her mother either in the plain level (53.a) to show a close affinity between them, or she can use the formal level to show her respect. But the mixing of the honorific and non-honorific levels in a single sentence would make the utterance inappropriate.⁹⁹

In contrast to (53), the following are all inappropriate (#)--some more so, as indicated with ##.

(54) a. (A to B)

i. #*Emma, nay-ka ike halmeni-hanthey kacta.cwu.kkey.*
 this grandmother-to take.give-will-IN
 'Mom, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

NB: A → C: *kacta.tuli-* (#*kacta.cwu-*)

- ii. #*Emma*, *cey-ka ike halmeni-kkey kacta.tuli-l.kkey.*
 I this grandmother-to take.give-will-PO
 'Mom, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

NB: A → C: *cey-ka ... -kkey.yo* (#*cey-ka ... -kkey*)

b. (B to A)

#*Mia-ya*, *nay-ka ike halmeni-kkey kacta.cwu-kkey.*
 VOC I this grandmother-to take.give-will-PL
 'Mia, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

NB: B → C: *kacta/tuli-* (#*kacta.cwu-*)

c. (A to C)

#*Halmeni*, *nay-ka ike emma-hanthey kacta.cwu-kkey-yo.*
 grandmother I this mother-to take.give-will-PO
 'Grandmother, I'll take this to Mother.'

NB: A → B: *kacta.tuli-* (#*kacta.cwu-*)

d. (C to A)

#*Mia-ya*, *nay-ka ike ney eyimi-hanthey kacta.tulil-key-ta.*
 I SM this your mother-to take.give-will-PL
 'Mia, I'll this to your mother.'

NB: C → B: *kacta.cwu-* (#*kacta.twuli-*)

e. (B to C)

##*Emenim*, *nay-ka ike Mia-eykey kacta.tuli-lkkey-yo.*
 mother I-SM this to take.give-will-PO
 'Mother, I'll take this to Mia.'

NB: *cey-ka ... kacta.cwu-* (#*cey-ka ... #-tuli-*)

f. (C to B)

##*Emem*, *cey-ka ike Mia-eykey kacta.tuli-keyss.ta.*
 mother I this to take.give-will-PL
 'I'll take this to Mia.'

NB: C → B: *nay-ka ... kacta.cwu-* (#*cey-ka ... #-tuli-*).

Emem 'mother' is an appropriate form as a vocative indirectly referring to B (as Mia's **mother**, rather than as C's **daughter**)

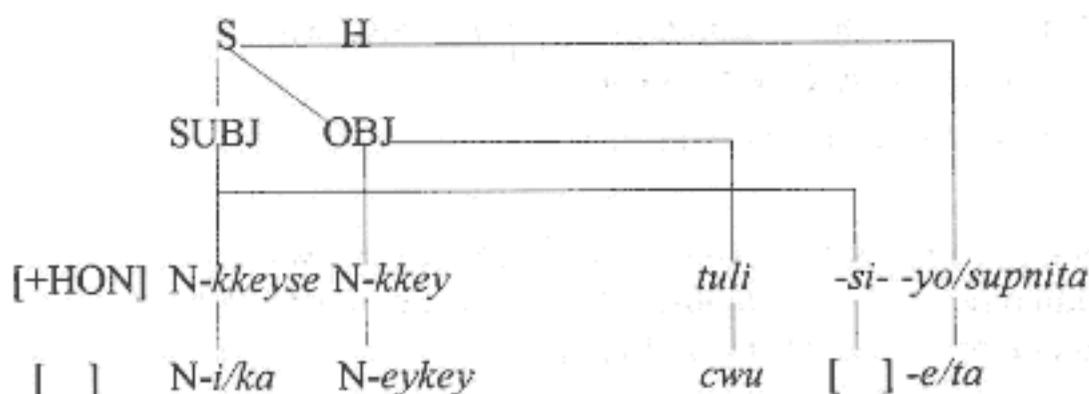
The honorific system of Korean is an interaction of all the major facets of grammar=lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics. Furthermore, a proper understanding of it requires pragmatics, the actual use of language in both social and psychological settings.

The system of honorification may be summed up roughly in a diagram as follows.

(55) Honorification

Interplay

S(peaker)-H(earer): Speech Level (-yo, -(s)upnita)

Subject: SM: *kkeyse*Honorific *si*Object: OM: *kkey*Self-lowering words: *tulita, poypta,...*

7.4. Topic and Focus

Topic and focus are viewed here as discourse functions complementary to each other, both dealing with the flow of discourse information with respect to whether it is given/known or new/unknown.¹⁰⁰ Topic is what is being talked about or what is presupposed or understood as given by the speaker. It can be a discourse topic in the domain of a discourse as a whole or it is a sentence topic. It is commonly realized as a phrase carrying the so-called topic marker (*n*)*un* in sentence-initial position. Focus, on the other hand, is the carrier of new information and often appears as a string containing the intonation center (Chomsky 1971) or a *wh*-word or a string which replaces the *wh*-word. It is also realized syntactically as a predicate in the (pseudo-) cleft construction, in which the presupposed clause is the topic-subject.

The topic-focus information, known as TFA (topic-focus articulation) in the Prague School, may be interpreted as something suprasegmental and superimposed on a string of utterances. With multiple occurrences of both topic and focus in a sentence, the topic is regarded as constituting a list and the focus a set. Members of the topic-list are ordered along the scale of topicality, identifiable as the surface linear order--more prominent (left) to less prominent (right); members of the focus-set are unordered.¹⁰¹

- (56) TOPIC = $\langle t_1, t_2, \dots \rangle$
 FOCUS = $\{f_1, f_2, \dots\}$

and object, the two kinds of function interact in an intricate way, whose proper understanding rests on a discourse sequence, not on isolated sentences.

The following is an illustration of double-topic, as well as double-subject, constructions with the often-cited sentence: *Khokkili-nun kho-ka kilta*. 'The elephant has a long nose.' In the right column, a discourse context (a preceding question in a question-answer exchange) is provided.

- (59) a. *Khokkili-ka kho-ka kilta.*
 elephant-SM nose-SM long
 | | |
 f₁ f₂ t
 'It is the elephant that has
 a long nose.'
- % In answer to: *Mwues-i eti-ka ki-nya?*
 'What part of what is long?'
- b. *Khokkili-nun kho-nun kilta.*
 TOP TOP
 | | |
 t₁ t₂ f
 'Speaking of elephants, their
 nose is long.'
- % In answer to: *Khokkili-nun kho-nun ettenya?*
 'What about the elephant's nose?'
- c. *Khokkili-nun kho-ka kilta.*
 TOP SM
 | | |
 t₁ f t₂
 'Speaking of elephants,
 what is long is their nose.'
- % In answer to: *Khokkili-nun mwues-i ki-nya?*
 'As for elephants, what is long with them?'
- d. *Khokkili-ka kho-nun kilta.*
 SM TOP
 | | |
 f t₁ t₂
 'Speaking of noses,
 the elephant has a long one.'
- % In answer to: *Mwues-i kho-nun ki-nya?*
 'Speaking of a nose, what has a long one?'
- e. *Kho-nun khokkili-nun kilta.*
 TOP TOP
 | | |
 t₁ t₂ f
 'Speaking of noses, the elephant,
 in contrast to others, has a long one'
- % In answer to: *Kho-nun khokkili-nun ettay?*
 'How is the elephant's nose?'
- f. *Kho-nun khokkili-ka kilta.*
 TOP SM
 | | |
 t₁ f t₂
 'Speaking of noses, it is the
 elephant that has a long one.'
- % In answer to: *Kho-nun mwues-i ki-nya?*
 'As for noses, what has a long nose?'

g. *Kho-ka khokkili-nun kilta.*

SM	TOP	
f	t ₁	t ₂

'Speaking of an elephant,
what is long is its nose.'

% In answer to: *Mwues-i khokkili-nun ki-nya?*
'What is long, speaking of an elephant?'

h. *Kho-ka khokkili-ka kilta.*

SM	SM	
f ₁	f ₂	t

'What's long is the nose,
the elephant's nose.'

% In answer to: *Mwues-i eti-ka ki-nya?*
(Scrambling of (59.a))

As we observed above, sentences in isolation are simply impossible to earmark for TFA. The sentence (60) may get different topic-focus assignments, depending on the topic-focus alignment of the preceding questions, as in (61).

(60) *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

SM	OM	beat.PST-SE
----	----	-------------

'Hyen beat Yong.'

(61) a. A: *Mwusun il-i issessni?*

what	event-SM	was
f ₁	f ₂	f ₃

'What happened?'

B: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

(Focus: the whole string)

SM	OM	beat
f ₁	f ₂	f ₃

'Hyen beat Yong.'

b. A: *Hyen-i nwukwu-lul ttayli.ess.nya?*

SM	who-OM	beat
t ₁	f	t ₂

'What did Hyen beat?'

B: *Hyen-un Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

(Focus: *Yong*)

TOP	OM	beat
t ₁	f	t ₂

'Hyen beat Yong.'

c. A: *Nwu-ka Yong-ul ttayli.ess.nya?*

who-SM	OM	beat
f	t ₁	t ₂

'Who beat Yong?'

B: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

(Focus: *Hyen*)

f	t ₁	t ₂
---	----------------	----------------

'Hyen beat Yong.'

d. A: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ettehkye hayss.nya?*

SM OM how did
 t₁ t₂ f₁ f₂
 'What did Hyen do to Yong?'

B: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

(Focus: *ttayli.ess.eyo* 'beat')

SM OM beat
 t₁ t₂ f
 'Hyen beat Yong.'

7.5. Discourse Reference

Two types of reference are distinguished in discourse: anaphoric (or cataphoric) and deictic. The basic formal device for reference is a class of pronouns known as determiners: proximal *i* 'this', mesial *ku* 'that', distal *ce* 'yonder' and indefinite *enu/etten* 'some'. For deictic reference, these determiners are used relative to the coordination of the speaker (S) and the hearer (H). For anaphoric reference, the mesial *ku* 'the' is the unmarked term and the proximal *i* 'this' is used mainly for cataphoric reference.

(62) Reference:

Deictic: S-H Coordination

<i>i-</i>	'this'	:	referent close to S
<i>ku-</i>	'that'	:	referent close to H
<i>ce-</i>	'yonder'	:	referent distal from S and H
<i>enu-/etten-</i>	'some'	:	referent indefinite/unknown

Anaphoric:	<i>ku-</i>	'the'
	<i>i-</i>	'the (very)'

Cataphoric	<i>i-</i>	'this'
------------	-----------	--------

Discourse-deictic conjunctive particles are formed with *kule.ha-* 'do/be so') and inflectional suffixes: e.g. *kuliko* (< *kule.ha* + *ko*) 'and', *kulena* (< *kule.ha* + *na*) 'but', *kulemyen* 'then' and *kulenikka* 'because' (cf. 4.7.1.4).

In contrast to the *ku*-series, the *i*-series (*i* + *lena/lenikka/lemyen/...*) impart a sense of imminence.

(63) a. **Ku** *ttay cong-i wulli.ess.eyo.*
 the time bell-SM rang
 'The bell rang then.'

b. **I** *ttay cong-i wulli.es.eyo.*
 this time bell rang

'At that very moment the bell rang.'

The *i*-series is also used for cataphoric reference, to which we will return in the next section along with anaphoric reference.

7.5.1. Anaphoric Reference

Anaphoric reference is a type of discourse reference--the coreferring relation between an antecedent and an anaphor. The anaphor is realized in a pronoun, a reflexive, a pro-verb, or a zero anaphor. The zero anaphor is the unmarked discourse reference in Korean, whereas the pronominal anaphor is the unmarked one in English. In addition to the backward-referring anaphoric reference, there is a forward-referring type of discourse reference: cataphoric reference--that is, the referring relation between a cataphor and a 'postcedent'.

In the following utterances, which are made up of three sentences (S1, S2 and S3), S2 contains a pronominal anaphor in (64.a), a reflexive in (64.b) and a zero anaphor in (64.c). S3 contains a zero subject and an example of cataphoric reference.

(64)	S-1	S-2	S-3
a.	<i>Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo.</i>	<i>Ku.ay-nun molun.tayyo.</i>	<i>Kuliko [] ilaysseyo...</i>
	to asked	she not.know.say	and said.like.this
b.	<i>Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo.</i>	<i>Caki-nun molun.tayyo.</i>	<i>Kuliko [] ilaysseyo...</i>
		self not.know.say	and said.like.this
c.	<i>Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo.</i>	[] <i>molun.tayyo.</i>	<i>Kuliko [] ilaysseyo...</i>
		not.know.say	and said.like.this

(a,b,c:

S-1 S-2 S-3

'I asked Mia. *She* said *she* doesn't know. And *she* said *this* ...')

Out of the three formally distinct examples of discourse reference in S-2 above, the zero anaphor (64.c) is the unmarked one. The use of the reflexive *caki* in (64.b) shows the speaker's empathy¹⁰² with Mia, whereas in the use of the zero or pronominal form *ku.ay* 'the kid' in (64.c) and (64.a), respectively, Mia is empathy-free.

7.5.2. *Ellipsis*

Ellipsis is an extension of zero anaphora from the perspective of reference. It is a way of keeping a discourse cohesive by suppressing or omitting redundant information. In this section, elliptical constructions, except for zero pronominals, are confined to sentence-level ellipsis, including *yes-no* answers in a dialogue.

In conversation, a speaker normally uses elliptical, often fragmentary, sentences when responding to, commenting on, or questioning previous sentences spoken by another speaker. Ellipsis avoids repetition, highlighting focal elements on the surface. What is suppressed may be recovered from the context and its structure reconstructed by way of copying and modifying the previous sentences.

(65) A: *Nwuka ne-lul ponay.ss.ni?*
 who you sent
 'Who sent you?'

B: *Sensaynim.i.yo.*
 teacher
 → *Sensaynnim-i [na-lul ponaysse] yo*
 'The teacher (sent me).'

(66) A: *Na-nun ka-keyss.ta.*
 I-TOP go-VOL-SE
 'I'll go.'

B: *Way?*
 why
 → *Way [ne-nun kanunya?]*
 'Why (do you want to go)?'

(67) *Cwuso-nun? Cenhwa.penho-nun?*
 address-TOP telephone.number-TOP
 'Your address? Your telephone number?'

As given in the last example above, elements of an utterance which may be recovered readily from the discourse context are omitted. Such utterances appear incomplete on the surface. In grammatical description, such utterances may be reconstructed into complete sentences. But what pronominal form is to be supplied in (67.a) is not obvious; what matters here is to interpret correctly what the suppressed referent is.

In (68.a) both the subject and the object of the two-place predicate *alta* 'know' are suppressed and they are recoverable from the discourse situation: the subject 'I' and the object 'it'. In (68.b), the subject *ce-nun* is contrasted with

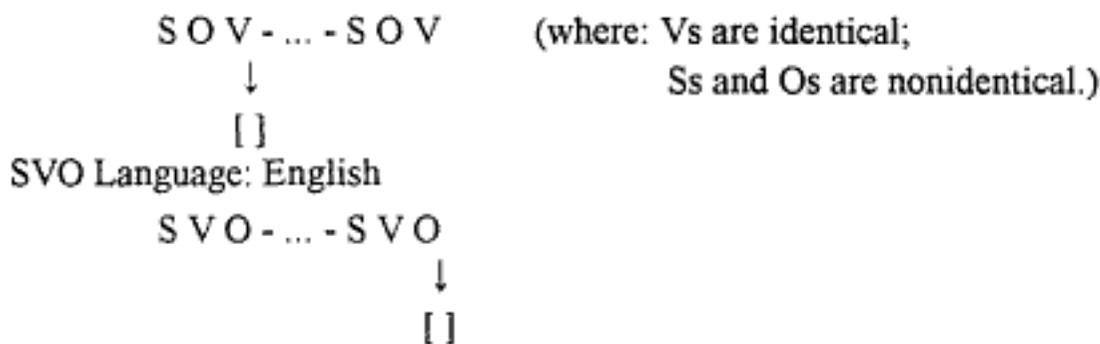
other individuals in the context; in (68.c), *cey-ka* is highlighted as focus.

- (68) a. *Al- ko iss.supnita.*
 know-ing be.FO/DCL
 'I know (it).'
- b. *Ce-nun al- ko iss.supnita.*
 I-TOP know-ing be.FO/DCL
 '(As for me/as contrasted to others), I know (it).'
- c. *Cey-ka al. ko iss.supnita.*
 I-SM know-ing be.FO/DCL
 'I know (it). (in answer to 'Who knows it?')

Delimited in this way, the subject cannot be omitted in (68.b,c).

One of the common types of ellipsis is 'gapping', whereby an identical predicate(s) in a coordinate sentence may be omitted from all but the last conjunct. In SVO languages like English, by contrast, an identical predicate(s) in a coordinate sentence may be omitted from all but the first conjunct.

- (69) SOV Language: Korean



- (70) *Yong-un sakwa-lul, Hyen-un pay-lul, Mia-nun kyul-ul cohahanta.*

apple pear orange like
 'Yong likes apples, and Hyen pears, and Mia oranges.'

- (71) *Mica-nun Yengkwuk-ulo, (kuliko) Yuna-nun Phulangsu-lo, (kuliko) Mia-nun Tokil-*

England-toward and France-toward and Germany
lo ttenassta.
 toward left
 'Mica left for England, and Yuna for France, and Mia for Germany.'

In the gapped utterance the conjunctive particle *kuliko* 'and' (or *kulena* 'but') is optional; if it is present, the utterance has more of a spoken flavour. The non-identical remnant in one conjunct is parallel to that in another.

- (72) a. *Mia-nun Yong-eykey panci-lul, kuliko*
 TOP to ring-OM and
 || || ||
Yuna-nun Hyen-eykey sikey-lul cwuessta.
 TOP to watch-OM gave
 'Mia gave a ring to Yong and Yuna a watch to Hyen.'
- b. *Mia-nun Yong-eykey, kuliko*
 TOP to and
 || ||
Yuna-nun Hyen-eykey sikey-lul cwuessta.
 TOP to watch-OM gave
 'Mia gave a watch to Yong and Yuna to Hyen.'
- c. *Yong-eykey Mia-ka panci-lul kuliko*
 to SM ring-OM and
 || ||
Yuna-ka sikey-lul cwuessta.
 SM watch OM gave
 'To Yong, Mia gave a ring and Yuna a watch.'

In addition to the process of gapping, coreference in predicates across sentence and speaker boundaries is often reduced to the pro-predicate form *kule.hata* 'be/do so'.

- (73) a. A: *Mia-ya, ney-ka mwul epcilyessni?*
 VOC you water spilt
 'Did you spill the water?'
 B: *Ney, cey-ka kulay.ss.eyo.*
 yes I did.so
 'Yes, I did.'
- b. A: *Ne chwup.ni?*
 you cold
 'Are you cold?'
 B: i. *Ney, chwueyo.*
 yes cold
 'Yes, I am.'
 ii. *Kul.ay-yo.*
 so.be-PO
 'Yes.'
- c. A: *Wuli cikum ttena.lkka?*
 we now leave.will
 'Shall we leave now?'
 B: *Ney, ku.lay-yo.*
 yes so.do-PO
 'Yes, let's do so.'

Another type of ellipsis involves the repetition of a coreferential predicate by way of deleting everything else recoverable from the context.

- (74) A: *Yong-un chinkwu.tul-hako yeyceng-taylo yelum-ey Yulep.yehayng-ul ttenassni?*
 friend.PLU-with schedule-as summer-in Europe. travel-OM left
 'Did Yong leave for a European tour with his friends in the summer, as he had planned?'
- B: *Ttenasse.*
 left
 'Yes, he left (for the European tour with his friends in the summer, as he had planned).'

7.6. Discourse Analysis

Two types of discourse are analyzed: a short dialogue and a passage from a literary essay. One is typical of spoken discourse and the other of written discourse.

7.6.1. Dialogue

The following is a dialogue between the teacher, Mr Kim and two of his middle-school students, Yong and Hyen.

(75) Dialogue

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| U1: Kim-sensayng | : <i>Nwuka Mia-lul cohahani?</i>
who OM like | 'Who likes Mia?' |
| U2: Yong | : <i>Cey-ka.yo, sensayng.nim.</i>
I-SM.PO teacher | 'I (do), sir.' |
| U3: Kim-sensayng | : <i>Mia-nun nwukwu-lul cohahani?</i>
TOP who-OM like | 'Who does Mia like?' |
| U4: Yong | : <i>Ce-lul.yo.</i>
I-OM | '(She likes) me.' |
| U5: Hyen | : <i>Ce-nun an cohahayyo.</i>
I-TOP not like | (a) 'She doesn't like me.'
(b) 'I don't like her.' |
| U6: | : <i>Kulehciman, Yuna-nun</i>
but
<i>cohahayyo.</i>
like | (a) 'But Yuna likes me.'
(b) 'But I like Yuna.'
(c) 'But Mia likes Yuna.' |

In this discourse situation there are two distinct speech levels: the plain level used by Mr Kim and the polite level used by Yong and Hyen. We will analyze each utterance, adding some comments, paying particular attention to the

candidate; if we picked (b) in S5, then the b-reading will be the natural sequel, with the contrastive conjunctive particle *kulehciman* 'but'. The c-reading, which retains the same topic in zero form, might be rejected on the grounds that liking should not be between the same sex (although there is no such taboo in Korean society).¹⁰⁴ After all, it depends on the speaker Hyen--his intention. What the speaker has in mind, however, should be made transparent to the interlocutor so that (s)he can infer the referent with the least effort.

7.6.2. *Literary Essay*

A short passage from a literary essay *Pom* 'spring' by Pi Chon-Deuk (Pi 1989) is analyzed below. The passage consists of five sentences (S1-S5). After presenting the text with interlineal glosses and a translation, a structural analysis is attempted in the form of tree diagrams.

(81) *Pom* 'spring'

- S1. *Celmum-un enceyna hankyelkathi alumtapta.*
youth always constantly beautiful
- S2. *Cinaka.n nal-uy ayin-eykeyse.nun hwanmyel-ul nukkye-to mwukwuna*
bygone day's lover-from disillusionment feel-though anyone
ilhepeli.n celm.um-ey.nun anthakkaw.un milyen-ul kacnunta.
lost youth-to annoying regret have
- S3. *Nai-lul mek.umyen celm.ess.ul ttay-uy choco-wa pennoy-lul haythalha-ko maum-i*
age eat.if young time-of impatience anguish deliver-and mind
kala.anc.nun.ta-ko hanta.
calm- QU say
- S4. *i 'maum-uy anceng'-ila.nun kes-un mwukilyek-ulo.pwuthe o.nun motun*
this mind-of quiet-COP-ADNZ thing enervation-from come.ADNZ every
samwul-ey.tayha.n mwukwansim-ul malha.nun kes-ita.
thing-about indifference-OM say-ADNZ fact-COP
- S5. *Mwutie.ci. n ciseng-kwa twunhay.ci.n kamswuseng-ey.tayhha.n sulphu.n*
dull.become.ADNZ intellect-and blunt.become.ADNZ sensibility-about sad
wian- uy mal-ita.
consolation-of word-COP

'Youth is beautiful as ever. While everyone feels disillusionment for his bygone lover, he has a lingering attachment to his lost youth. When we get old, we are delivered from the anxiety and anguish of youthful days and have our mind calmed down, they say. This "peace of the mind" is nothing but indifference to everything coming from inertia; it is a word of sad consolation to the intellect and sensibility which have turned dull and blunt.'

(82) Analysis

DT (discourse type), REF (referent), SA (speech act), SL (speech level),
 SS (sentence structure), ST (sentence type), TS (tree structure)

DT: literary essay

S1-S5

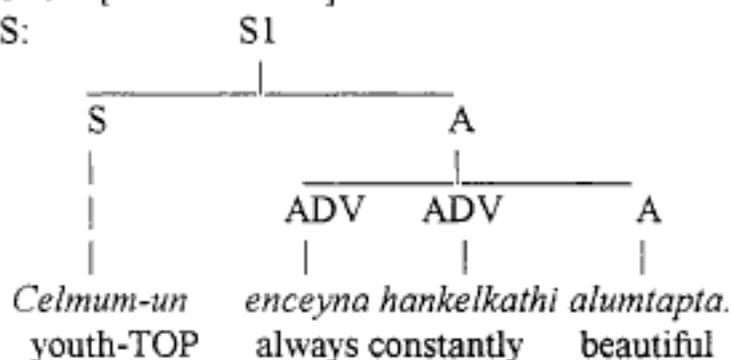
S1. SL: plain

ST: declarative

SA: assertive

SS: S-A[ADV-ADV-A]

TS:



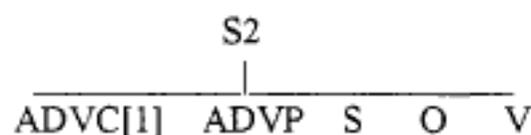
S2. SL: plain

ST: declarative

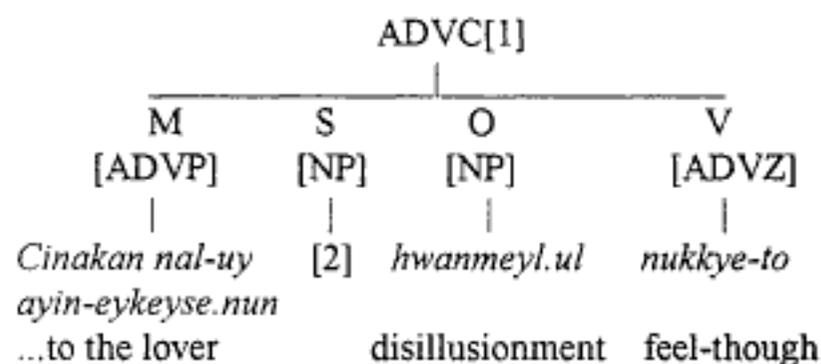
SA: assertive

SS: ADVC[ADV-S-O-V[ADVZ]]-ADV-S-O-V

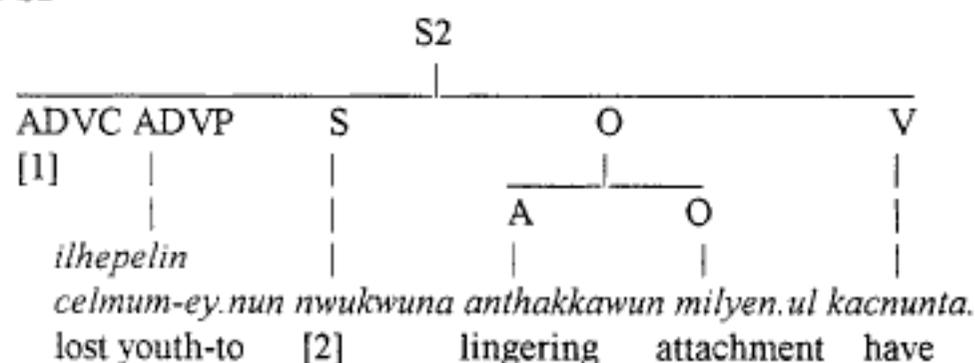
TS:



a. ADVC[1]

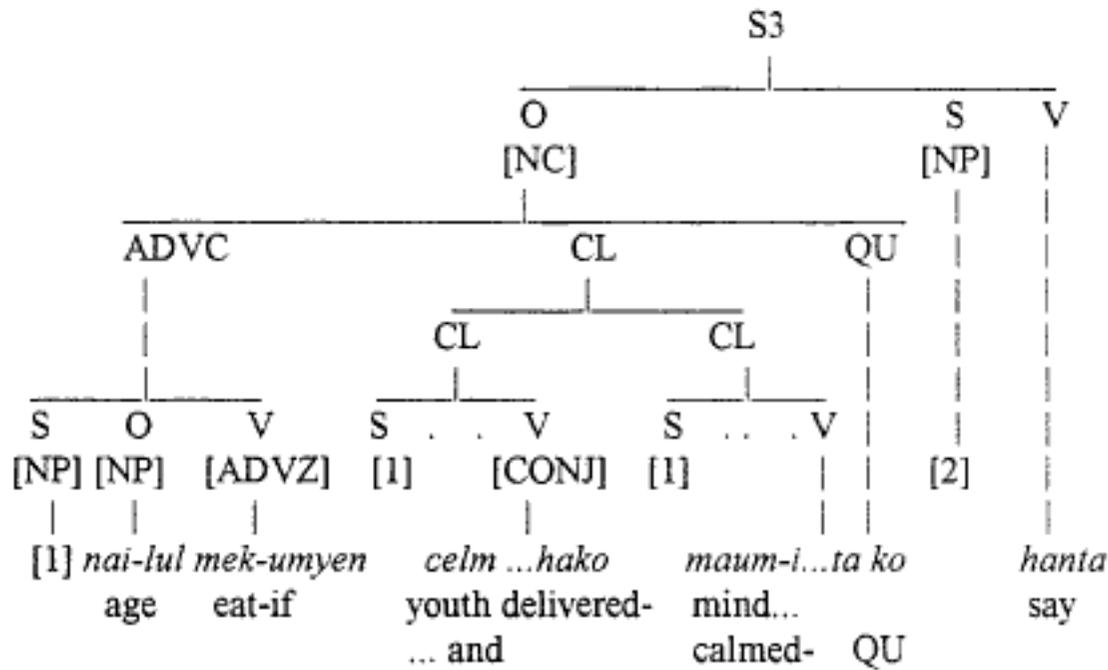


b. S2



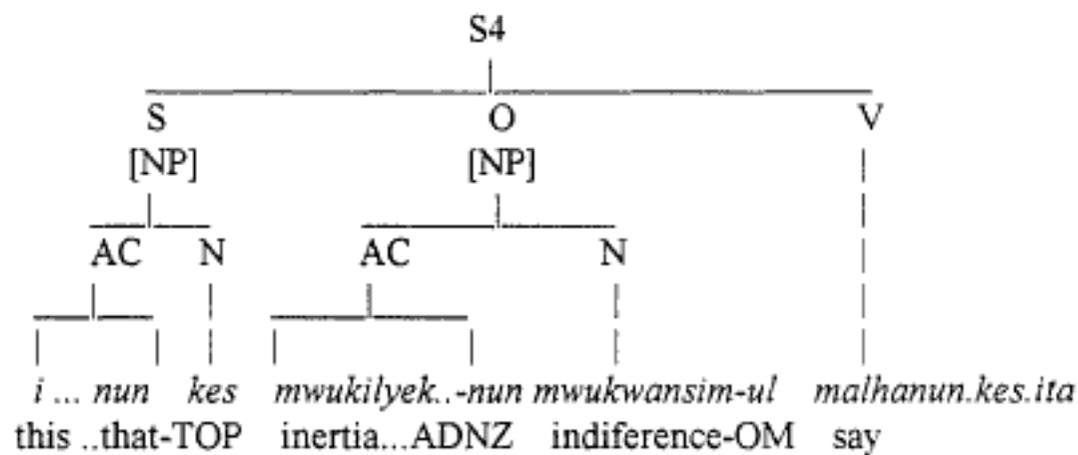
REF: [2] *nwukwuna* 'everyone'

- S3. SL: plain level
 ST: declarative
 SA: assertive
 SS: O[NC[ADVC-CL[CL[CONJ]-CL]-QU]]-S-V
 TS:

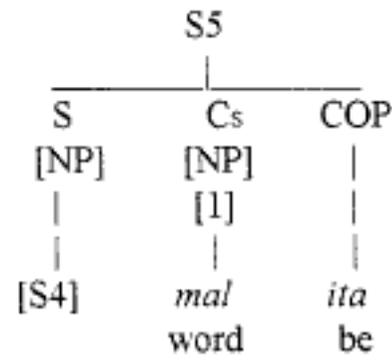


- REF: [1] general 'we'
 [2] general 'they'

- S4. SL: plain
 ST: declarative
 SA: assertive
 SP: S[AC-N]-O[AC-N]-V
 TS:¹⁰⁵

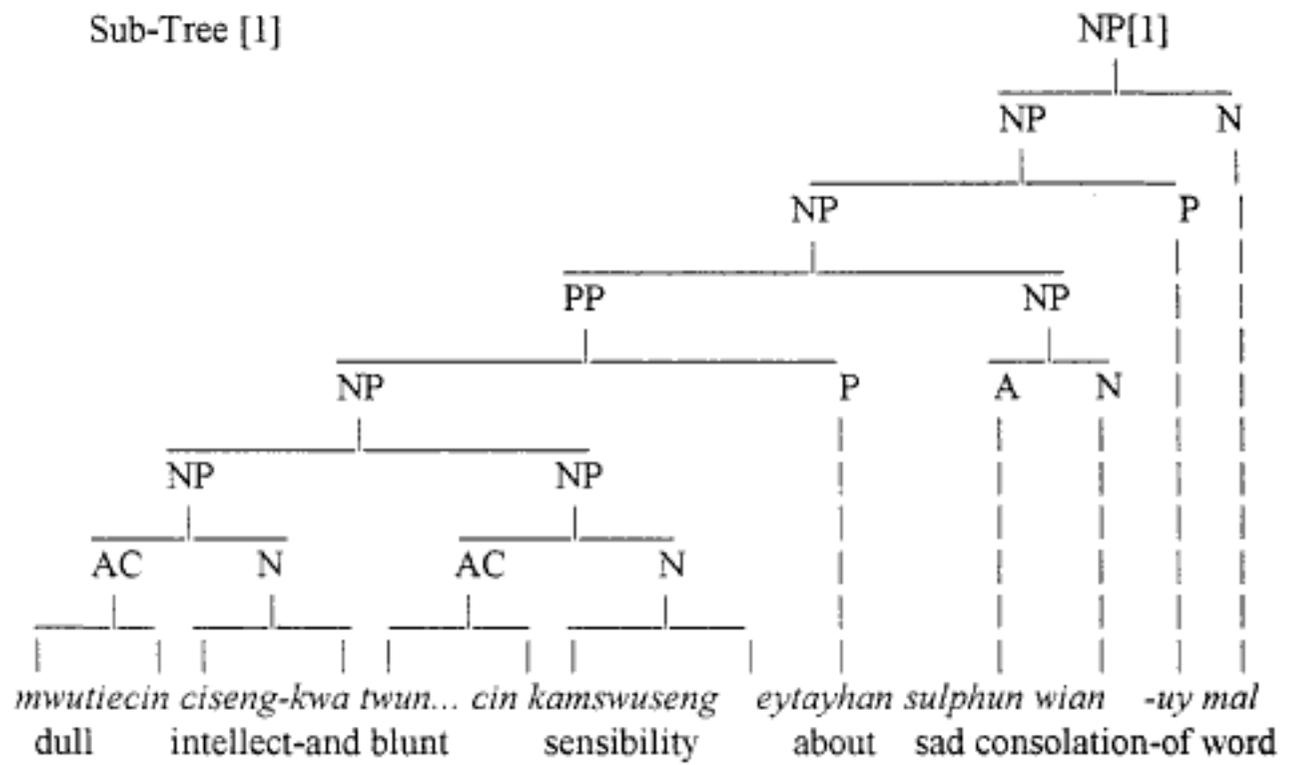


- S5. SL : plain
 ST: declarative
 SA: assertive
 SS : [S4]-Cs[NP[1]]-COP
 TS: subject NP is S4; subject complement (Cs) is the whole NP tagged as [1]



REF: [S4] (the content of S4)

Sub-Tree [1]



Appendix¹⁰⁶

Text	1. <i>Swuswukkeykki</i>	'Puzzles'
	2. <i>Kewul</i>	'The Mirror'
	3. <i>Hwanghuy Cengsung</i>	'Minister Hwang Huy'
	4. <i>Tankwun Iyaki</i>	'Tale of Tankwun'
	5. <i>Hankul</i>	'The Korean Alphabet'
	6. <i>Cwu.uy Kito</i>	'Lord's Prayer'

1. *Swuswukkeykki* 'Puzzles'

Sensayng: *Onul.un swuswukkeykki.lul phwul.e.po.lkka.yo?*
 teacher today.TOP puzzle. OM solve.INF.try.INT.PO
Mwuncey.lul nay. l. they.ni al.a. mac.hi.e.pwa.yo.
 problem.OM produce.ADNZ. plan.as find.INF. hit INF. try. PO
Achim.ey.nun ney pal.lo, nac.ey.nun twu pal.lo, cenyek.ey.nun sey
 morning.at.TOP four leg.with noon.at.TOP two leg.with evening.at.TOP three
pal.lo ket. nun kes.un mwues.i. lkka.yo?
 leg.with walk.ADNZ thing.TOP what.COP.INT.PO

Hanako: *A, ce kuke ala.yo. Salam. i. ci.yo?*
 ah I that know.PO person.COP.SU.PO

NB: *kuke* < *ku kes* 'the thing, it/that'

Sensayng: *Nemwu swiw.ess. kwun.yo. Kulem i.pen.ey.n com elyew.un kel.lo*
 teacher too easy .PST.EXC.PO then this.time.at.TOP bit difficult.ADNZ thing.with
hana nay.keysse.yo. Ama machi. ki himtul. kel. yo
 one produce.will.PO perhaps hit. NOMZ difficult.maybe.PO
Mek.ko siph. ci anha.to nwukwuna mek.eya. ha.nun kes. un
 eat.GER.desirous.SU not.though everyone eat.must.ADNZ thing.TOP

mweci.yo?

what.COP.SU.PO

NB: *kulem* < *kule.myen* 'then'; *-ey.n* < *-ey.nun*; *kel.lo* < *kes.ulo*; *mweci.yo* < *mwue i.ci.yo*

Barbara: Hoksi 'pap' ani.nka.yo? Nwukwutun.ci mek.eya sa.nikka.yo.
perhaps meal not.INT.PO whoever eat..only.if live.as. PO

Sensayng: 'Pap' i anila 'nai' i.yey.yo. Nulk. nun kel Hankwuk
meal.SM not.COP age.COP.PO. grow.old.ADNZ fact/OM Korea
salam.tul.un nai.lul mek.nunta.ko malhay.yo.
person.PLU.TOP age.OM eat. SE. QU say. PO

NB: *kel* < *kes.ul* 'thing/fact/event.OM'

Mike: Cham caymi.iss.nun phyohyen. i kwun.yo. Sensayngnim, i.pen.ey.n
indeed interesting expression.COP.EXC.PO teacher this.time.at.TOP
cehuy.ka nay. lkey. yo.
we produce.will. PO

'Trwungttwungha.myen ttwungttwungha.l.swulok kapyew.e.ci .nun key
fat. if fat. the.more light.INF.SU.ADNZ.thing

mwen. ci a. sey. yo?
what. SU know.HON.PO

NB: *key* < *kes.i*; *mwen* < *mwues.in* 'what.COP'

Sensayng: Kulssey.yo. Kwulum.i.nka?
well. PO cloud.COP.INT

Barbara: Coysongha.pnita.man, i.pen. ey.n sensanyng.nim.i thulli.si esse.yo.
sorry. SE. though this.time.at.TOP teacher.HON.SM wrong.HON.PST.PO
Phwungsen. iey.yo.
balloon.COP.PO

NB: *ey.n* < *ey.nun*

Hanako: Ce.to hana nay.l.key.yo. Haswuk.cip acwumeni.hantheyse tul.un
I.too one produce.will.PO boarding.house aunt. from hear.ADNZ
ke.ntey.yo. 'Ssu ki. nun ssu. ciman
thing.COP.EXC.PO. write/use/wear.NOMZ.TOP write/use/wear.though
ilk.ci mos.ha .nun kes. un mwues.i.lkka.yo?
read.SU unable.ADNZ thing.TOP what. COP.INT.PO

NB: *ke.ntey* < *kes.i.n.tey*; *ssuta* 'write, use, put on (headgear)' (lexically ambiguous)

Mike: Swiw.un kes kathu.ntey elyep. kwun.yo. Kukey. mwe.ci.yo?
easy.ADNZ thing seem.but difficult.EXC.PO that.SM what.SU.PO

NB: *kukey* < *kukes.i* 'that.SM'

Hanako: Moca.lay.yo. 'moca.lul ssunta' ko ha.ci. anh.ayo?
hat.COP.PO hat.OM wear QU say.SU not.PO

NB: *moca.lay.yo* < *moca.la.ko.hay.yo* '(she says) it is a hat'

Sensayng: *Nala.mata caymi.iss.nun swuswukkeykki.ka manh.ul the.y.ntey*
country.each interesting.ADNZ puzzle. SM many.expected.to.and
han salam.ssik tol.a. ka.mye iyakiha.nun key ettay.yo?
one person.each turn.INF.go.and talk. ADNZ thing how.be.PO

NB: *ettay.yo < ette.hay.yo* 'How is it?, How about?'

- Teacher: Shall we try to solve puzzles today?. I'll give you one. So you try to get a right answer. It walks in four legs in the morning, two legs at noon and three legs in the evening. What is it?
- Hanako: Ah, that I know. It is a 'man', isn't it?
- Teacher: It was too easy! Now I'll give you a slightly harder one this time. Perhaps it must be difficult to hit the right mark. 'Nobody wants to eat it but everyone must eat it? What is it?'
- Barbara: Perhaps, it is food--isn't it? Because we can live only if we eat food.
- Teacher: No, it isn't food--it is 'age'. Koreans say 'eating age', which means growing old.
- Mike: It is really an interesting expression. This time we'll give you puzzles, sir. "The fatter, the lighter." What is it?
- Teacher: Well--a cloud, is it?
- Barbara: Sorry. You are wrong this time. It's a balloon.
- Hanako: I'll give you a puzzle, too. I heard it from my landlady. It is something you can 'ssuta' but you can't write it. What will it be?
- Mike: Sounds easy. But it is hard. What is it?
- Hanako: It is a hat, she says. You say 'moca.lul 'ssuta' (*put on a hat*), don't you?
- Teacher: Every country may have plenty of interesting puzzles. How about everyone taking turns and giving a talk on puzzles?

2. *Kewul* 'The Mirror'

Ttay: *yeysnal. kewul.i mwues.inci acik al. ci mos.ha.ten ttay*
time long-time-ago mirror.SM what.COP.SU yet know.SU unable. ADNZ time

Kos : *Seoul.uy sicang, sikol.cip*
place of market country. house

Nao.nun salam.tul: *nongpwu, nongpwu.uy apeci, nongpwu.uy anay, nongpwu.uy emeni,*
appear.ADNZ person.PLU farmer of father of wife of mother

kakey.cwuin
store.owner

Cangmyen 1 (sicang.uy etten kakye aph)
scene market.of some store front

Nongpwu: *Acessi. yeki i tongkulan mwulken.i mwues.i.pnikka? I.ttay.kkaci*
farmer uncle here this round thing.SM what.COP.INT this time till
po.ci mos.ha.n isangha.n kes. i. kwun.yo.
see.SU unable.ADNZ strange.ADNZ thing.COP.EXC.PO

Kakeycwuin: *A, ike.yo? Acwu sinkiha.n mwulken.i.ci.yo. Ikes.un mwulken.ul*
storekeeper ah this.PO very novel.ADNZ thing.COP.SU.PO this.SM thing.OM
ttokkathi pichwue.cwu.nun kewul.ila.nun ke.pnita. Cengmal
just.the.same reflect.give.ADNZ mirror.COP.ADNZ thing.SE indeed
caymi.iss.nun mwulken.i. ci.yo.
interesting.ADNZ stuff. COP.SU.PO

NB: *ike.yo < ikes.i.yo; ke.pnita < kes.i.pnita*

Nongpwu: *Kewul.i.yo? Eti com po.psita. (Cwuin.ulo.pwuthe kewul.ul pat.a*
mirror.COP.PO well bit look.PRP owner.with.from mirror.OM receive
tul.ko caseyi tulyetapo.taka kkamccak nolla.mye) ani, i
hold.and in.detail look.at.and suddenly surprise.and dear.me this
sok.ey weyn namca.ka iss.ney.yo. I salam.i nwukwu.pnikka?
inside.at what.kind.of male.SM exist.DCL.PO this person.SM who.INT

NB: *weyn < way.in 'that is how'*

Kakeycwuin: *Ku salam.i palo tangsin.i.yo. Tangsin.uy elkwul.i kuleh.key sayngki.ess.eyo.*
the person.SM just you.COP.PO you. 's face.SM so look. PST.PO
Tangsin.uy elkwul.ul iss.nun kutaylo poy.e cwu. n kes.i. yo.
your face.OM as.it.is show.INF.give.ADNZ fact.COP.PO

Nongpwu: *Cham sinkiha.n mwulken.i.kwun.yo. Accessi. I kewul.i elma*
indeed novel.ADNZ stuff.COP.EXC.PO uncle this mirror.SM how.much
ci.yo? I kewul.ul cey.ka sa.keyss.supnita. (Nongpwu.nun kewul.ul
SU.PO this mirror.OM I buy.will.DCL farmer.TOP mirror.OM
santa.).
buy

Kakeycwuin: *Cosimhay.se cal tul.ko ka.sey.yo.*
carefully well hold.and go.HON.PO

Nongpwu: *Komap.supnita. (Cip.ulo tola.ka.nta.)*
thank.you house.toward return.SE

Time: a long time ago, when people didn't know what a mirror was.

Place: a marketplace in Seoul and a village house.

Characters: farmer, father, mother, wife, and storekeeper.

Scene 1. (in front of a store in the market)

Farmer: What is this round stuff? It's a strange thing I've never seen up to now.

Storekeeper: This one? Yes, it's a very novel thing. It reflects objects exactly as they are. It is called a mirror. It really is an interesting object.

Farmer: Mirror? Let me take a look at it. (Taking the mirror from the storekeeper, he looks at it closely and suddenly gets startled.) Why! There is some man inside. Who is this man?

Storekeeper: That man is just you. Your face is like that. It shows your face exactly as it is.

Farmer: It is indeed a novel object. How much is this mirror? I'll buy it.
(The farmer buys the mirror.)

Storekeeper: Take it with you carefully.

Farmer: Thanks. (He returns home.)

Cangmyen 2 (Cip, anpang). *Anay.ka camca.ko iss.ta. Nongpwu.nun anay.ka ca.*
scene house main.room wife.SN sleep.GER be.SE farmer.TOP wife.SM sleep.
ko iss.nun.ci hwakinha.nta. Nongpwu.nun cangnong sok.ey swumky.e twu. n
GER be.ADNZ-SU make.sure.SE farmer.TOP cabinet.inside.at hide.INF.put.ADNZ
kewul.ul kkenay tulyetaponta.)
mirror.OM take.out look.into.SE

Nongpwu: *Ike cengmal sinkiha.n il. i. ya. Nay elkwul.ul po. l. swu.*
farmer this indeed novel.ADNZ event COP.SE my face.OM look.ADNZ means
iss.ta. ni. (honca wus. e. pon.ta)
exist.SE.as alone laugh.INF try.SE

NB: *ike < ikes*

Anay: *Yepo! Tangsin cikum mwe.ha.ko isse.yo? Tangsin.un nay.ka ca. nun*
wife dear you now what.do.ing be.PO you.TOP I.SM sleep.ADNZ
cwul al. ass.ci.yo? Yocum tangsin.i nal.mata ku.kes. ul po. ko
how.to know.PST.SU.PO lately you.SM day each the thing.OM look.and
honca coha.hay.se onul.un nay.ka ca. nun chek. ha.ko iss.ess.eyo.
alone like.as today.TOP I.SM sleep.ADNZ pretence.do.ing be.PST.PO
Totaychey kukey mweyey.yo? Na.to com pop.si.ta. (Anay.nun kewul.ul
on.earth that what.COP.PO I.too bit look.PRP wife.TOP mirror.OM
ppayas.ulye ha.nta)
snatch.to do.SE

Nongpwu: *An tway.yo. Ike.n an tway.yo. Kkayci.ki swiwu.ni cosimhay.*
not.become.PO this.TOP not.become.PO. break.NOMZ easy.as careful

ya.hay.yo.
must.PO

Anay: (Kewul.ul ppayas.a tulyetapo.ko) *Ani, ike.n celm.un yeca*
mirror.OM snatch.and look.into.and my! this.TOP young.ADNZ woman
ani.yey.yo? Tangsin Seoul ka.ss.ta o.teni yeca.lul hana
not.be.PO you go.PST.SE come.then woman.OM one
teyli.ko wass.kwun.yo. Kuliko.nun I sok. ey swumki.e noh.ko
bring.GER came.EXC.PO and.TOP this inside.at hide.INF put.and
nay.ka eps. ul ttay po. ko iss.ess.kwun.yo. Aiko ile.l
I.SM not.exist.ADNZ time look.ing be.PST.EXC.PO oh.my this.ADNZ
swu. ka! (Anay.nun wul.myense kewul.ul tul.ko siemeni pang.
means.SM wife/TOP cry. ing mirror.OM hold.and mother-in-law room
ulo ttwi.e. kan.ta)
toward run.INF.go.SE

Emeni! ikes com po.sey.yo! Kulssey ce salam.i cinan.pen.ey Seoul.ey ka.ss.ta
mother this bit look.HON.PO well that person.SM last.time.at to go.PST.SE
o. teni celm. un chep.ul hana teyli.ko wass.eyo. Ku
come.then young.ADNZ concubine.OM one bring.GER came.PO that
yeca.ka palo i sok. ey swum.e iss.eyo. Com po.sey.yo, emeni.
woman.SM exactly this inside.at hide.INF be.PO bit look.HON.PO mother

Siemeni: *Mwe.la.ko? Chep.ila.ko? Eti po.ca. (Siemeni. nun*
mother-in-law what.SE.QU concubine.COP.SE.QU well look.PRP mother-in-law.TOP
meynuli. lo.pwuthe ppayas.a pon.ta) Ani ikey weyn
daughter-in-law. from snatch.INF look.SE oh.my this.SM what.sort.of
il.i.nya? Ne.n nwukwu.nya? Ese nao.ci mos.hay? Aikwu
event.COP.INT you.TOP who.INT promptly come.out.SU can't dear.me
ikel ecce.na? Yay.ya. Ike.n ney namphyen.uy chep. i anila
this.OM how.INT child.VOC this.TOP your husband.of concubine COP not
ney siapeci.uy chep. i.lo. kwuna. (Siemeni. nun ca.ko
your father-in-law.of concubine.COP.EXC mother-in-law.TOP sleep.ing
iss.nun siapeci.lul kkaywu.mye) Yepo, tasngsin, ettehkey toy.n
be-ADNZ father-in-law.OM wake.while dear you how become..ADNZ
il. i.ey.yo? Tangsin na mollay weyn nulk.un yeca. lul cip.ey
event.COP.PO you I secretly what.sort.of old.ADNZ woman.OM house.at
teylie.ta noh.ass.eyo? Nwukwu.yey.yo? Encey teyli.ko wass.eyo?
bring.and put.PST.PO who.COP.PO when bring.GER came.PO
Ppalli malhay.yo
quickly say.PO

NB: *ikey < ikes.i; nen < ne-nun; ikel < ikes.ul; iken < ikes.un; yay < i ay 'this child'*

Siapeci: *Mwe.la.ko? Nay.ka chep. ul teyli. ko wass.ta.ko? Eti com*
father-in-law what.COP.QU I.SM concubine.OM bring.GER came.SE.QU well bit

po.psita. (Siapeci. nun kewul.ul pon.ta) *Ani! Yepo. Ike.n*
 look.PRP father-in-law.TOP mirror.OM look.SE oh.my dear this.TOP
weyn nulk.un yengkam ani..o? Tangsin encey.pwuthe na molu.key
 what.sort.of old.ADNZ old.man not.BL you when.from I secret.ly
I yengkam.ul manna.ss.so? Eppen nom.i. o?
 this old.man.OM meet.PST.BL what.sort.of guy.COP.BL

Anay: *Ani.yey.yo. Ape.nim ku.key ani.yey.yo. Ku sok.ey.nun*
 not.COP.PO father.HOM the.thing.SM not.COP.PO the inside.at.TOP
mos.sayngki.n celm. un yeca.ka hana iss.ess.eyo.
 ugly. ADNZ young.ADNZ woman.SM one exist.PST.PO

NB: *ku.key < ku.kes.i*

Siemeni: *Celmu.n yeca. la. ni. Aniya. Pwunmyeng.hi nulk.un yeca. ka*
 young.ADNZ woman.COP.as not.COP clear.ly old.ADNZ woman.SM
na.hanthey soli.lul cill.ess.e.
 I. to sound.OM yell.PST.IN

Siapeci: *Ani ikey weyn il.i.ya? (Motwu selo kewul.ul*
 dear.me this what.sort.of event.COP.IN all each.other mirror.OM
ppayas.ulye hanta. Kewul.i ttang.ey ttele.ci. e kkayci.nta.)
 snatch.as.to do.SE mirror.SM ground.at fall.become.INF.break.SE

Nongpwu: *Ahyu. Icey kewul.ul po.l.swu.eps.key toy. ess.kwuna. Ku*
 good.grief now mirror.OM look.can.not.so.that become.PST.EXC the
akkaw.un kes.ul kkay.ss. uni (Chencenhi, him.eps.i) ike.n seysang
 precious.ADNZ thing.OM break.PST.so slowly feeble.ly this.TOP world
motun kes. ul iss.nun.taylo po.y.e cwu.nun kewul. ila. nun
 all thing.OM exist. as.it.is show.INF give.ADNZ mirror.COP.ADNZ
ke. yey.yo. Apeci.ka po.si. myen apeci.uy elkwul, emeni.ka
 thing.COP.PO father.SM look.HON.if father.of face mother.SM
po.si. myen emeni.uy elkwul, kuliko tangsin.i po.myen tangsin.uy elkwul.i
 look.HON.if mother.of face and you.SM look.if your face.SM
po.i.nun, sinkiha.n mwulken.i.yey.yo. I.cey kkaycy.e pely. ess. uni
 visible.ADNZ novel.ADNZ thing.COP.PO now break.INF discard.PST.so
wuli.nun amwu. kes.to po.l swu. eps.key toy. ess.eyo.
 we.TOP any .thing.too look.can.not.so.that become.PST.PO

NB: *ike.n < ikes.un*

Siapeci,
Siameni, (Kokay.lul kkuteki.mye) *wuli.nun kulen kes.to molu. ko.*
Anay: head.OM nod.while we.TOP such thing.too not.know.GER

Scene 2. (*house, the main room*) The wife is sleeping. The farmer makes sure his wife is asleep. He takes out the mirror from the cabinet and looks at it.)

Farmer: It is indeed a strange thing. I can look at my own face! (*He grins*)

Wife: Dear, what are you doing now? Lately, you take a look at that thing every day and you look happy all alone. So today I pretended I was asleep. What on earth is that thing? Let me take a look at it, too. (*Wife tries to snatch it away from him*)

Farmer: No, you can't. Don't do it! It'll break. Be careful.

Wife: (*Snatching the mirror, she looks at it*) Dear me, this is a young woman, isn't it? You brought a woman back from Seoul. Then you hid her inside and were looking at her when I was not around. How dare you ...! (*Crying and holding the mirror, wife dashes to Mother-in-law's room*)

Mother! Look at this! He brought home a young mistress from Seoul. She's been hiding in it. Take a look at it, Mother.

Mother-in-Law: What? A mistress--did you say? Let me see. (*Mother-in-law snatches it from Daughter-in-law and takes a look*) My! What is this? Who are you? Come out right away, will you? My! What can I do? It's not your husband's mistress. It's your Father's mistress. (*Mother-in-law wakes up Father-in-law*)

Dear, what's the matter with you? You brought home an old dame and keep her here in secret. Who is she? When did you bring her? Answer me.

Father-in-Law: What did you say? I brought a mistress? Let me take a look at her. (*Father-in-law looks at the mirror*). My Goodness! This is an old man, isn't he? Since when have you been meeting this old man in secret? Who is this guy?

Wife: No. It's not that, Father. There was an ugly young woman inside.

Mother-in-law: A young woman? No, surely It's an old woman who yelled at me.

Father-in-Law: Well, well, what happened? (*Everyone tries to get hold of the mirror. The mirror falls down onto the floor and breaks into pieces.*)

Farmer: Oh Gosh. I can't look at the mirror any more. The rare thing has broken! (*Slowly and feebly*) This is what they call 'mirror'. It shows everything in the world exactly as it is. If Father looks at it, it shows Father's face, if Mother looks at it, it shows Mother's face and if you do, it shows your face. It is a unique thing. Now it's broken, we can see nothing.

Father-in-law:

Mother-in-law

Wife (*Nodding*) How ignorant we are!

3. *Hwang Huy Cengsung* ‘Minister Hwang Huy’

Enu pom.nal- i.ess.supnita. Celmun senpi han salam-i tul.kil- ul ka.ko
 some spring.day- be.PST.SE young scholar one person-SM field.road-OM go.GER
iss.ess.supnita. Senpi.nun mal.tongmwu.ka epse. se com simsimhay.ess.supnita.
 be.PST.SE. scholar.TOP talk.friend.SM not.existant.as bit bored. PST.SE
Kulayse camsi kelum.ul memchwu.ko cwuwi. lul twulle.po. ass.supnita.
 so awhile walking.OM stop. and surrounding.OM look.around. PST.SE
Ku ttay, so twu mali.lo path.ul ka.nun nongpwu.ka po.y. ess.supnita.
 the time cow two CL.with field.OM plough.ADNZ farmer. SM visible PST.SE
Han mali.nun nwule.n so, tto han mali.nun kemun so. i. ess. supnita.
 one CL.TOP yellow.ADNZ cow another one CL.ADNZ black cow.be.PST.SE
Senpi.nun nongpwu.eykey khun soli.lo mwul.ess.supnita.
 scholar.TOP farmer. to loud voice.with ask.PST.SE

“*Yeposio, ku twu mali cwung.eyse enu so. ka il. ul te cal ha.pnikka?*”
 hey the two CL middle.from which cow.SM work.OM more well do.SE

I mal. ul tul. un nongpwu.nun senpi.ka se iss.nun kos. ulo takao. ass.-
 this word.OM hear.ADNZ farmer.TOP scholar.SM stand be.ADNZ place.to approach.PST.
supnita.
 SE

‘*Weyn il. i.lkka?*’
 what.sort.of work.be.SE

Senpi.nun nongpwu.uy hayngtong.ul isangha.key yeki. ess.supnita.
 scholar.TOP farmer. of deed. OM strange.ly consider.PST.SE

Kulentey te isangha.n il. i sayangki.ess.supnita. Takao. n nongpwu.ka
 but more strange.ADNZ event.SM occur. PST.SE approach.ADNZ farmer. SM
senpi. uy kwi.ey tay. ko ilehkey malha.nun kes. i. ess. supnita
 scholar.of ear.to touch.and like.this say.ADNZ fact.be.PST.SE

“*Nwule.n so. ka te cal ha.pnita.*”
 yellow.ADNZ cow.SM more well do.SE

Senpi.nun ki. ka makhi.ess.supnita.
 scholar.TOP spirit.SM clog.PST.SE

“*Ani, kulen kes.ul mwel kwi.eyta tay.ko soksakinta.n mal.i.pnikka?*”
 why such thing.OM what ear.to touch.and whisper.ADNZ word.be.SE

NB: *mwel* < *mwues.ul* ‘what.OM’

Kuleca nongpwu.nun malhay.ss.supnita.
 then farmer.TOP say. PST.SE

“*Kem.un so.ka tul.umyen sewunhay.ha.lkka.pwa kulay.yo.*
 black.ADNZ cow.SM hear.if sorry.feel. INT.seeming so.be.PO

Salam..to caki.ka nam. pota mos.hata.nun mal.ul tul.umyen sewunha.ci
 person.too self.SM other.than inferior.ADNZ word.OM hear.if sorry.SU
anh.keyss.supnikka?"
 not.will.SE

Kuliko ilha.ten path.ulo tol.a. ka.ss.supnita. Senpi.nun nongpwu.uy
 then work.ADNZ field.towards turn.INF.go.PST.SE scholar.TOP farmer.of
twis mosup. ul pala.po.ass.supnita. Cecello kokay.ka swuky.e. ci. ess. supnita.
 back appearance.OM look.at.PST.SE of.itself head.SM lower.INF.become.PST.SE
Senpi.nun il.sayng tongan ku nongpwu.uy mal.ul maum sok.ey kancikha.ko,
 scholar.TOP whole.life duration the farmer. of word.OM mind inside.at keep. and
talun salam.uy calmos.ul hampwulo malha.ci anh.ass.supnita. Enceyna salam.tul .ul
 other person.of fault.OM carelessly say.SU not.PST-SE always people.OM
nekulep.key tayha.yess.supnita. I senpi.ka palo nacwung.ey yumyengha.n
 generous.ly treat.PST.SE this scholar.SM exactly later famous.ADNZ
cengsung.i toy. n Hwang Huy sensayng.i. ess. supnita.
 minister.SM.become.ADNZ teacher.COP.PST.SE

'It was a spring day. A young scholar was walking along a field path. He was a bit weary as there was no one to talk with. So he stopped walking awhile and looked around.

Then he saw a farmer ploughing the soil with two cows. One cow was yellow and the other was black.'

The scholar asked the farmer in a loud voice.

"Hey there! Which one of the two cows does the work better?"

The farmer, hearing what the scholar said, came towards where the scholar was standing.

'What's the matter?'

The scholar thought the farmer's deed strange.

Then a stranger thing took place. The farmer, coming closer to the scholar, whispered to his ear:

"The yellow cow works better."

The scholar was taken aback.

"Why! Why are you whispering to me?"

Then the farmer said:

"It was because the black cow might feel sorry if he heard what I'd said. A man would also feel sorry if he heard he is inferior to others, wouldn't he?"

Then he returned to the field where he had been working. The scholar looked at the figure of the farmer from behind. The scholar's head became lowered by itself.

Throughout his life the scholar kept the farmer's word in mind and he never spoke ill of others indiscriminately. He always treated people generously. This scholar was Hwang Huy the Teacher, who later became a famous Minister of State.'

4. *Tankwun Iyaki* ‘The Tale of Tankwun’

Yeysnal hanul nala. ey Hwanin.ila. nun hanul.uy imkum.i iss. ess. ta.
 old.day heaven country.at COP.ADNZ heaven.of king.SM exist.PST.SE
Hwanin.eykey.nun Hwanwung.ila..nun hwullyungha.ko ttokttokha.n atul.i iss. ess. ta.
 to.TOP COP.ADNZ excellent.and bright.ADNZ son.SM exist.PST.SE
Hwanwung.un hanul nala.eyse.to hayngpokha.ki. nun hay.ss. ciman ttang.ey
 TOP heaven country.at.too happy. NOMZ.TOP be. PST.though earth.at
naylyeo.ko siphe. hay.ss. ta. Apeci Hwanin.un atul.eykey ttang.ul tasuli.tolok
 descend.and desirous.do.PST.SE father TOP son.to earth.OM rule.so.that
helakha.yess.ta. Kuliko ttang.ul cal tasuli.ki wihay pi, kulum, palam.kwa puha
 permit PST.SE and earth.OM well rule.NOMZ.for rain cloud wind.and subordinate
3 chen. myeng.ul teyli.ko naylyeka.key hay.ss.ta. Ttang.ulo naylyeo. n
 thousand.CL.OM take.and descend .ADVT do..PST.SE earth.towards descend.ADNZ
Hwanwung.un Payktwu.san.ey maul.ul mantul.ko paykseng.ul mo. a tasuli.ki
 TOP Mt.at village.OM make.and people.OM gather.INF rule.NOMZ
sicakhay.ss.ta.
 begin. PST.SE

I. ttay Hwanwung.I sa.nun kos.eyse kuli mel.ci anh.un kos.ey
 this time SM live.ADNZ place.from so far.SU not.ADNZ place.at
holangi han mali.wa kom han mali.ka sai coh.key sal.ko iss.ess.ta. Kutul.un
 tiger one CL. and bear one CL.SM relation good.ADVT live.GER be-PST.SE they.TOP
salam. i toy. nun kes.i sowen.i.ess.ta. Kulayse kutul.un Hwanwung.eykey
 person.SM become.ADNZ fact.SM wish.COP.PST.SE so they.TOP to
chaca.ka salam. i toy. key hay. tal. la. ko pwuthakhay.ss.ta.
 visit.and person.SM become.ADVT do.give.IMP.QU request. PST.SE
Hwanwung.un ssswuk.kwa manul.ul cwu.myense taum.kwa kathi malhay.ss.ta.
 TOP wormwood.and garlic.OM give.while next.like say.PST.SE
'Ikes.ul mek.ko payk.il tongan etwuw.un kwul sok.eyse mom.kwa maum.ul
 this.OM eat.and 100.day duration dark.ADNZ cave inside.at body.and mind.OM
kkayttusha.key hanta.myen salam.i toy. l swu iss. ul kes. i. ta.'
 clean.ly do.if person.SM become.ADNZ means exist.ADNZ fact.COP.SE
Holangi.nun paykoph.um. ul cham.ci mosha.ko 20 il man.ey kwul.eyse na.wass.ko
 tiger.TOP hungry.NOMZ.OM endure.SU unable.and day just.at cave.from came.out. and
kom.un payk.il man.ey yeypun yeca.lo tasi thayena.ss.ta. Salam.i toy .n kom-
 bear.TOP 100.day just.at pretty woman.as again born.PST.SE person.SM become.ADNZ bear-
akassi.wa Hwanwung.i kyelhonha.ye thayena.n ai ka Tankwun--Hankwuk.ul seywu. n
 girl.and SM marry.and born.ADNZ child.SM Korea OM build.ADNZ
seyw.un ches imkum--i. ta. Tankwun.un te sal.ki coh. un kos. ul
 build.ADNZ first king COP.SE. TOP more live.NOMZ good.ADNZ place.OM
chac.a Payktwusan alay.lo naylyewa.se ku kos. ey nala. lul seywu.ko

search.and below.towards descend. and. the place.at country.OM build.and
coyongha.n acim. uy nala--'Co.sen' i. la. ko pwull.ess.ta.
 calm.ADNZ morning. of land Korea COP.SE.QU call.PST.SE

'A long time ago, there was a king called 'Hwanin' in the Kingdom of Heaven. Hwanin had a fine and bright son called Hwanwung. Hwanwung was happy in heaven but he wanted to come down to the earth. His father Hwanin permitted his son to rule the earth. And he let him take along rain, cloud and 3,000 subjects so that he could rule the earth well. Hwanwung, coming down to the earth, built a village on Mt. Payktwu, gathered people, and began ruling.

At that time, in a place not far from where Hwanwung resided were a tiger and a bear living together in a friendly relation. They had a wish to become human. So they came to see Hwanwung and asked him to make them human. Hwanwung, giving them some worm-wood and garlic, said to them:

"Eat these and keep your mind and body clean in a dark cave for one hundred days. And then you may be able to become human."

The tiger couldn't stand hunger and came out of the cave after 20 days; the bear, after a hundred days, got reborn as a beautiful girl. The bear-girl, who became human, married Hwanwung and the child born was Tankwun, the first king that built Korea. Looking for a better place to live in, Tankwun moved down to the foot of Mt. Payktwu, where he founded a nation and called it 'Cosen'--the Land of Morning Calm.'

5. *Hankul* 'The Korean Alphabet'

15 seyki. kaci Hankwuk.ey.nun kulca.ka hanca. pakkey eps.ess.ta. Hanca.uy
 century.till Korea. at.TOP letter.SMChinese.character except not.exist.PST.SE of
solli.lul pilli.e mal.ul cek.nun 'Itwu'. la.nun kulca.ka iss.
 sound.OM borrow.INF word.OM write.ADNZ (COP).SE.ADNZ letter.SM exist.

ki. nun hay.ss.ciman ku kes.to swunswuha.n Hankwuk.uy kulca.nun ani.ess. ta.
 NOMZ.TOP do.PST.though that. too pure.ADNZ Korea. of letter.TOP not.PST.SE

Hanca.nun kulca. swu.ka maywu manhul ppwun anila elyewe.se paykseng. tul. i
 TOP letter.number.SM very many only not difficult.as common.people.PLU. SM
swip.key paywu.l.swu.ka eps.ess.ta. Tto Itwu.nun malha.koca.ha.nun kes. ul ceytaylo
 easi.ly learn. can not.PST.SE and TOP say.want.do. ADNZ fact.OM correctly
cek.ul swu.ka eps.ese mopsi pwulphyenhay.ss.ta. Ilen elyewum.kwa pwulphyen.i kot Hankul.ul
 write.can.SM not.as very inconvenient.PST.SE such difficulty.and inconvenience just OM
mantul.key toy.n tongki. i. ess. ta. Hankul.un Sejong Tay.wang..kwa yeje
 make.ADVT become.ADNZ motivation.COP.PST.SE TOP great.king.and many
hakca.tul.uy nolyek.ulo ilwu. e. ci. ess. ta. Ku tangsi hanca mwunhwa.lul
 scholar.PLU.of effort.with accomplish.become.PST.SE the time Chinese.character culture.OM
cwungyoha.key sayngkakha.te.n myech.myech hakca.tul.un simha.key pantayha.ki. to

important.ly think.RETR.ADNZ some scholar.PLU.TOP firmly oppose.NOMZ.too
hay.ss.ta. Kulena kulen pantay.eyto pwulkwuha.ko kutul.uy yenkwu. nun keysok.toy-
 do.PST.SE but such opposition.to despite and they.of research.TOP continue.
.ess. ko machimnay hwullyungha.n kulca cheycey.ka changcey.toy.ess.ta
 PST and at.last excellent.ADNZ letter system.SM create. PAS.PST.SE
Hankul.un ssu. ki swip.ko, ilk. ki, swip.ko paywu. ki swip.ta
 TOP write.NOMZ easy.and read.NOMZ easy.and learn.NOMZ easy.SE
Hankul.uy moum.un hanul (·), ttang (—), salam (|).uy moyang.ul po.ko mantul.ess.ko,
 of vowel.TOP heaven earth man of shape.OM see.and make.PST.and
caum. un ipswul (□), i (^), hye (ㄴ), mok.kwumeng (○) tung.uy moyang.ul. po.ko
 consonant.TOP lip tooth tongue nect.hole etc. of shape.OM see.and
mantul.ess.ta
 make.PST.SE

1446 nyen.ey Sejong Tay.wang.i Hankul.uy ceyceng.ul panphoha.ye 'paykseng.
 year.at great.king.SM of making.OM promulgate.and commoner
eykey palun soli. lul paywu.tolok' (hwunmin. cengum)' ha.yess.ta. Ileh.key.haye
 to right sound.OM learn.so.that (teaching.people.right.sound) do.PST.SE doing.like.this
Hankwuk.in.un seykey.eyse cengmal calangha.l swu iss.nun kulca cheycey.lul
 Korean.people.TOP world.at truly proud.ADNZ can.ADNZ letter system.OM
kaci. key. toy.ess. ta. Hay.mata, si wel kwu il--'Hankul Nal'.ey Hankul.uy
 possess.ADVT. became.SE year.each 10 month 9 day day.at of
ceyceng.i cenkwukcek.ulo kinyem. toy. ko.iss.ta.
 making.SM nation.wide commemorate.become.ing.be.SE

'Up to the 15th century there was no writing system in Korea except Hanca (Chinese character). Even though there were letters called 'Itwu', which transcribed words by borrowing the sounds of Hanca, they were not genuine Korean letters.

Hanca were not only numerous but also so difficult that the common people could not learn them easily. *Itwu* was also very inconvenient as it was unable to represent correctly what one wanted to say. Such difficulties and inconvenience indeed motivated the making of Hankul. Hankul was made by the effort of Great King Sejong and many scholars. Some scholars, who then regarded the Chinese culture as important, were strongly opposed to it. Despite such opposition, however, their research continued and at last an excellent writing system was created.

Hankul is easy to write, easy to read and easy to learn. The vowels of Hankul were modeled on the shapes of heaven (·), earth (—) and man (|) and the consonants on the shapes of lips (□), teeth (^), tongue (ㄴ), throat (○), and the like.

In 1446, King Sejong promulgated the making of Hankul, which is meant to have 'the common people learn the right sounds' (*hwunmin.cengum*). Thus the Korean people have come to possess a writing system, which they can be truly proud of in the world. Every year, the making of Hankul is nationally commemorated on the Hankul Day--October 9.'

6. *Cwu.uy Kito*

'Lord's Prayer'

Hanul.ey keysi.n wuli apeci
 heaven.at exist (HON).ADNZ our father
apeci.uy ilum.i kelwuk.hi pichna.si.mye
 father.of name.SM glorious.ly shine.HON.and
ku nala.ka imha. si. mye
 the nation.SM come.HON.and
apeci.uy ttus.i hanul. eyse.wa kathi
 father.of will.SM heaven. at. with same
ttang.eyse.to ilwue.ci.sose!
 earth.at.too accomplish.become.SE
Onul wuli.eykey ilyongha.l yangsik.ul cwu.si.ko,
 today we.to daily.use.ADNZ food.OM give.HON.and
wuli.eykey calmoshan i. lul wuli.ka yongseha.tus.i
 we.to wrong.do.ADNZ person.OM we.SM forgive. as
weli coy.lul yongseha.si.ko,
 our sin.OM forgive.HON.and
wuli.lul yuhok.ey ppaci.ci mal.key ha.si.ko
 we.OM temptation.at fall.SU not.so.that. do.HON.and
ak. eyse kwuha.sose.
 evil.from save.SE

NB: *ilwue.ci.sose* = *ilwue.ci.sipsio* 'be-achieved.IMP'; *kwuha.so.se* = *kwuha.sipsio* 'save.IMP';
 -*sose*: a more formal and honored form of imperative than -*psio* 'FO/IMP' (cf. p.191).

'Our Fahter, who art in heaven,
 hallowed be thy name;
 thy kingdom come;
 thy will be done on earth
 as it is in heaven.
 Give us this day our daily bread
 and forgive us our trespasses
 as we forgive those who trespass against us;
 and lead us not into temptation,
 but deliver us from evil.'

Notes

- 1 Speakers of Korean as native language: total 69.7 million (as of 1993; source: the National Academy of the Korean Language)
Distribution: South Korea 43 (million)
North Korea 22
Overseas 4.7 (China 1.92; U.S.A. 1.42; Japan 0.68; Russia 0.46; elsewhere 0.22)
- 2 Linking Korean to the Altaic family was pioneered by G. J. Ramstedt, N. Poppe, S. E. Martin, K.-M. Lee among others. There is also a 'south' theory which attempts to relate Korean and Japanese to the Malayo-Polynesian language family on the basis of common features like the honorification system and pitch accents. These features are absent in Altaic languages, but common to the Malayo-Polynesian family (S. Ohno 1970). For a brief account on the origin of Korean, see C.-W. Kim (1983) and S.-O. Yi (1983).
- 3 The Silla vernacular handed down to us in the writing of Chinese scripts is called *Hyangga* 'Silla Song'.
- 4 Three fricatives (/β/, /z/, /h/) and one vowel (/ɒ/) disappeared from Modern Korean; four vowels (/e/, /æ/, /ü/, /ö/) were added to it.
- 5 The major dialects in Korea are:
 - a. South Korea
 - Seoul Dialect: called 'standard', spoken in and around the capital Seoul and Kyengki Province, taught at school and used by mass media.
 - Kangwen Dialect: Mid-East
 - Chwungcheng Dialect: Central
 - Kyengsang Dialect: South-East
 - Cenla Dialect: South-West
 - Ceycwu Dialect: Ceycwu Island
 - b. North Korea
 - Phyengan Dialect: spoken in and around Pyengyang, the capital of North Korea.
 - Hamkyeng Dialect: North-East
 - Hwanghay Dialect: Mid-West

- 6 Prior to the grammatical studies by the native scholars were some grammar books written by missionaries, including Ross (1877), Gale (1894, 1916), which are reprinted in Kim et al. (1988).
- 7 Beginning with Seok Choong Song (1967) and Soon-Ham Park (1967), more than one hundred Ph. D's on generative grammar have been produced (at the time of writing), mostly in the U. S. A.
- 8 In North Korea the use of Hanca was banned in 1949 in all walks of life not only at school but in the mass media as well. In 1953, the teaching of Hanca was partly restored; the total number of Hanca is delimited to 1,000 characters (Y.-K. Ko 1994).
- 9 Here vowel/consonant refers to the vowel/consonant letter, not sound.
- 10 For syllable-initial consonants, a dummy symbol <ㅇ>, identical to the syllable-final nasal consonant <ㅇ> (/ŋ/) is used. The dummy <ㅇ> is assigned no Roman letter.
- 11 Notice that <ㅏ> and <ㅑ> are regarded as basic vowel letters, though they are formed of: <ㅣ> + <ㅏ> = <ㅏ>; <ㅣ> + <ㅑ> = <ㅑ>. Furthermore, <ㅣ> and <ㅓ> behave like glides <y> and <w>, respectively.
- 12 Note that simple letters <ㄷ(ḥ)>, <ㅋ(kh)>, <ㅌ(th)> and <ㅍ(ph)> are each given a two-letter shape in the Romanization: <h> indicates aspiration; likewise, <ㅊ(kk)>, <ㅌ(tt)>, <ㅍ(pp)>, <ㅍ(ss)> and <ㅍ(cc)> in geminate forms each indicates tensing (or glottalization). In phonology, these aspirated or tense consonants are each analyzed as unitary.
- 13 As shown in (5.g), certain diphthongs, when combined with the semi-vowel <y> or <w>, are written in two parts--one at the bottom, the other on the right of the block: <ㅓㅣ> (soy)> 'iron', <ㅓㅣ> (way)> 'why', <ㅓㅣ> (twi)> 'behind'.
- 14 In North Korea, three stages (or periods) are recognized for the spelling problem: i. Unified System Period (1945-54), ii. the Spelling Period (1954-66) and iii. Cultural Language Period (1966 onward) (cf. M.-S. Kim 1985:129).
- 15 The modern use of spaces probably began with *Toklip Sinmwun* 'Independence Newspaper 1' (1896). It was practiced by the pioneer of Korean grammar Si-Kyeng Cwu (1907).
- 16 In most dialects, the high front round / ü / and the mid front round / ö / are non-existent; they are replaced by /wi/ and /we/, respectively. Some dialects fail to distinguish /e/ and /æ/. For <ㅓㅣ> (<ay>) the open mid vowel /e/ may be assigned in lieu of /æ/. In this book, however, the latter is chosen so as to fill in the low front slot.
- 17 The diphthong represented by letter <ㅓㅣ> (uy) >, however, has dialectal and positional variations: [i], [i̠], [i] or [e]. In the first case, we have a third semivowel (on-glide: high back spread /^h/).
- 18 The Hankul vowel letter <ㅓ> (<yey>) is nondistinct from <ㅓ> (<ey>) after a consonant (except for <ㅎ> (<h>); its phonemic value is /e/.

- 19 The lax obstruents are voiced after /m, n, l/ as well: [+voiced] __ V
tampay → *tambay* 'tobacco'; *pantal* → *pandal* 'half moon'; *talkyal* → *talgyal* 'egg'
- 20 The breakdown of the Korean vocabulary in the two comprehensive dictionaries in South Korea is as follows. (Proper names (of persons and places) are included in the figures.)

	<i>Hankul Hakhoy's</i> (1992)	<i>Kumseng's</i> (1992)
Total entries	406,291	345,041
NK words	112,343	128,178
SK words	179,147	195,234
Ratio (approximately)		
NK words	33%	32%
SK words	52%	49%
EK (European-Korean) words	?	7%
Mixed words (e.g. NK + SK; SK + EK) ?		12%

- 21 The two words, *hwa.yong* 'linguistic pragmatics' and *hwa.hayng* 'speech act' are not entered in Korean dictionaries, even though they are used by linguists.
- 22 The homonym, as used here, covers both homophonic (e.g. *sight*, *cite* and *site*) as well as homographic (e.g. *bank*₁ and *bank*₂) in English.
- 23 The word 'computer' is translated as *cen.san.ki* but very few would use it. The days of borrowing by translation (such as 'telephone' and 'telescope' respectively as *cen.hwa* (lit. electricity-talk) and *mang.wen.kyeng* (lit. distance-viewing-mirror), seem to have gone for good.
- 24 These loanwords, translated semantically (cf. 11.a) or pseudo-semantically (cf. 11.b,c), are borrowings from Japanese: *boo.en.kyoo* (望遠鏡) 'telescope'; *denwa* (電話) 'telephone', *denpoo* (電報) 'telegram'. *Television* is curtailed to *terebe* in Japanese; *theyleypi* is also used in Korean along with *theyleypicyen* and *thiipii* 'TV'.
- 25 In the mass media, some VIPs' initials are used in Roman letters: *YS* (*Kim Yong Sam*), *DJ* (*Kim Dae Jung*), *JP* (*Kim Jong-Pil*).
- 26 The two-character word *chayk.sang* (冊 'book' + 床 'table' → 'desk'), as well as its constituents, is regarded as native. Note that an SK word for 'book' is *se.cek* (書籍).
- 27 Since *mayng* 'blind' is bound, *khem.mayng* as a whole may be analyzed as a single word. In order to include this and similar words as compounds we may have to redefine compounding as consisting of one free and one or more bound forms.
- 28 The general tendency of sound symbolism associated with the magnitude of a vowel is that the optimal vowel [a] (• la Jakobson 1942) expresses an affected meaning of being 'large-strong-heavy-slow', whereas the high-front vowel [i] expresses that of being 'small-weak-light-fast'. Aside from the correlate with each vowel's acoustic formant and its shape and size in the resonance chamber, Sapir's (1929) experiment with nonsense words *mal* and *mil* may evoke an association with the Latinate *maximum* and *minimum* in many European languages. What is remarkable about the Korean sound symbolism is that it is partially counter to this general tendency. Notice that in (24) the

affected meaning of being 'smaller-weaker-lighter-faster' (light isotope) is conveyed by the mid vowel [o], not by the higher vowel [i] or [ɨ].

- 29 The number of word classes varies around eight (traditional) to ten classes: e.g. S.-K. Cwu (1910): (9 classes) noun, adjective, verb, particle, conjunctor, article, adverb, interjector, sentence ender; H.-P. Choi (1937): (10 classes) noun, pronoun, numeral, verb, adjective, copula, determiner, adverb, interjector, and particle.
- 30 *Tul* may be added to a person's name to indicate the person and his/her group: *Mia-tul* 'Mia and her company/group'; by contrast, in English, *Marys* stands for two or more persons named *Mary*.
- 31 It is somewhat similar to the use of the second person pronouns *tu* and *vous* in French or *du* and *Sie* in German. Japanese has a similar honorific system of personal pronouns.
- 32 The speaker's self-lowering or condescending is an indirect way of honouring the addressee.
- 33 The form (*i/ku/ce* + epithet) is for a deictic use. For anaphoric reference, the mesial *ku* is used with an epithet as the unmarked determiner; the proximal *i* is used to imply the speaker's proximity or empathy to the epithet; the distal *ce* is not used anaphorically.
- 34 *Caki*, originally a reflexive pronoun, has been used lately (post-1950) as a second person pronoun between intimate persons such as husband and wife or lovers.
- 35 Other epithets for human reference include: *elusin* 'honoured elder', *elun* 'adult' and *noin* 'aged person'. The following are bound nouns: *pwun* 'honoured person', *i* 'person', *saykki* 'idiot; son of a bitch (American English)'.
- 36 For a pragmatic reason the pejorative *yo*, *ko* and *co* are not used with the honorific person proform *pwun* or *i*: **yo-pwun/i*, **ko-pwun/i*, **co-pwun/i*.
- 37 *Enu* is unspecific and *etten* is specific, somewhat comparable to the English 'some' and 'certain'.
- 38 Note that *ce* has two pronominal senses: i. the first-person pronoun (self-lowering); ii. a third-person reflexive pronoun. Likewise, its plural *cehuy(tul)*.
- 39 *Tangsin* is also used as a second person pronominal form. As reflexive it is used for an estimable person like one's grandparents; *caki* is also used as a second-person pronoun.
- 40 Martin (1954) uses 'processive' and 'descriptive' verbs for verbs and adjectives, respectively; in Martin (1992), however, terms 'verb' and 'adjective' are also used for classificatory purposes.
- 41 The seven sequence positions postulated here are different from those in Martin (1992:245-6): Status-Tense-Tense-Tense-Style-Aspect-Mood. Our first tense category, present, stands for present/future, realized by zero ([]) or *(nu)n*. Martin's third tense (future: *keyss*) is treated here as volitional mood (Mood1); our Mood2 is that of retrospection, which in his analysis is included in the aspect category. His style and aspect are absent in our analysis. The term aspect is reserved in this book for constructions like <V-*ko issta*> and <V-*e issta*>, progressive and perfective aspects, respectively (cf. 5.8.2). The category 'sentence modulator' assigned to the final position here is what Martin calls 'mood'; it extensively covers not only sentence type and level,

but shifting of clause types--nominalizing, adnominalizing, adverbializing, and clause or auxiliary linking as well.

- 42 The X-marked position indicates the non-occurrence of the suffix; the unmarked position is optional as to the occurrence of the suffix. The form in parentheses is an phonologically conditioned variant.
- 43 This position, called aspect position (Martin 1992:246), may be analyzed as including the processive *-(nu)n*, which is a feature differentiating a verb from an adjective.
- 44 The speech-act function of the sentence-final *-ci* is the speaker's weakening or reduction of assertive or intentive force to suspective or suggestive one, casually seeking agreement or confirmation of a statement, a question, a proposal or a request. See 7.2 for further illustration on speech acts.
- 45 Of the two nominalizers: *-(u)m* and *ki*, the former is used to represent relatively more abstract entities than the latter, somewhat similar to the English infinitive (*to*) and gerundive (*-ing*) nominals, respectively (e.g. *to smoke* vs. *smoking*). Besides these syntactic and productive nominalized words, there are derived (or fossilized) nouns with the *-(u)m* or *-ki* nominalizer: *sey.m* 'calculation', *po.ki* 'example', analogous to the English *findings*, *savings*, etc. (S.-J. Chang 1966; Shim 1982).
- 46 The terms 'infinitive' and 'gerund' are those used by Martin (1954, 1992). He also uses these for his Japanese grammar (Martin 1975/88) (the infinitive *i* (for consonant verbs) or zero (for vowel verbs) and the gerund *te*). Somewhat misleading as they are, with no direct correspondence with their use in English, these terms are adopted here as they are widely known in the structural grammar of Japanese. The suspective morpheme *-ci*, which is unknown in Japanese grammar, is also from Martin. The morphemes *-e*, *-ko*, and *-ci* are called 'complementizers' by some generative grammarians.
- 47 Historically, the form $\langle V-e-iss \rangle$ has turned into the past tense form: $\langle V-ess \rangle$ ($\langle V-e-iss \rangle$). Only a small subclass of intransitive verbs and certain *cita*-passive verbs (cf. 5.7.1.2) retain the form $\langle V-e-iss \rangle$ along with the past tense form: *anc-* (stem) 'sit': *anc-ass* 'sat' vs. *anc-a-iss* 'be sitting'; *alli.e-ci-ess* 'was known' vs. *al.li.e.ci-e-iss* 'is (being) known'.
- 48 In the list, *cita* 'become' and *siphta* 'likely' are auxiliaries, not functioning as main verbals: *cita* is an auxiliary verb and *siphta* an auxiliary adjective.
- 49 Some auxiliary, or compounding, verbs are also called 'serial verbs' (S. Lee 1992, Chung 1993, Jo 1993).
- 50 The proto verb *hata* in construction with a verbal noun (VN-*hata*) is also called 'light verb' (H.-D. Ahn 1988).
- 51 Imperatives with nonstative adjectives like 'honest' and 'brave' are acceptable in English (*Be honest!*, *Be brave!*); in Korean, they may be rejected, or accepted as a contraction: of *cengcik.hi* 'honest.ly' + *hay* 'Do' ('Do honestly') (\rightarrow *Cengcikhay!* 'Be honest!')
- 52 When attached to pronouns, the possessive marker *uy* is contracted or suppressed: e.g.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| i. <i>na</i> + <i>uy</i> \rightarrow <i>nay</i> | ii. <i>ne</i> + <i>uy</i> \rightarrow <i>ney</i> |
| I of my | you of your |

ii. *ce* + *uy* → *cey* iii. *wuli* + *uy* → *wuli*

I of (humble) we of our

- 53 There are hundreds of onomatopoeic adverbs of this sort.
- 54 Since 'case' is a grammatical term used for declensional endings of nouns in languages like Latin or Russian, its use for Korean nouns with no declensions is simply unfounded even though we may use the term 'case' particle (or marker) as a convenient cover term for the grammatical-function particles like *i/ka* (subject marker) and *ul/lul* (object marker).
- 55 These discourse-function particles are known as delimiters (I.-S. Yang 1972), focus particles (Martin 1992), special or auxiliary particles. Particles like 'only' and 'ecen' are also called 'focalizers' in Europe (Sgall 1991, Atlas 1991).
- 56 The comitative and conjunctive particles (*k)wa* and *hako* 'with/and' are identical in form in Korean; they are distinct in English: *with* vs. *and*. They are semantically related: 'A and B' vs. 'A with B'. The < *-eyta ...-eyta* > form is also used conjunctively.
Sikey-eyta moca-eyta, cikap-eyta ta thel-li-ess-eyo.
 watch-and hat-and wallet-and all rob-PAS-PST-SE
 'Watches, and hats, and wallets--everything was robbed.'
- 57 In generative grammar, S consists of Subject NP and Predicate VP: $S \rightarrow NP + VP$. Elements other than the subject NP constitute a VP in this sense.
- 58 This is the mode of analysis expressed in Martin (1992:336). The subject or object of a sentence is an adverbial adjunct in his grammar of Korean.
- 59 The semantic role of the subject 'I' of the Korean emotive verbs in (14.b,d) may be described as *nonstative* experiencer in distinction to the *stative* experiencer role of the subject 'I' of the emotive adjectives in (14.a,c). Unlike Korean, whose emotive adjectives are regularly turned into emotive verbs by attaching *hata* to their stems, English has no uniform morphological process of forming emotive verbs from emotive adjectives or the other way around (e.g. *hate* - *hateable* - *hateful*; *like* - *lik(e)able* - **likeful*; *loath* - *loathe* - **loatheable* - *loathsome* - *loathful*; *love* - *lov(e)able* - **loveful*). If the subject referents of 'hate' and 'like' are treated as stative experiencers, then these verbs, rather than adjectives 'hateful' and 'likable', may be used for the Korean emotive adjectives in (14.a,c); for the Korean emotive verbs in (14.b,d) we may then use some paraphrastic expressions such as 'evince (or manifest) hatred/liking towards' so as to 'externalize an internal feeling' (Yeon 1994). Alternatively, we may use 'hate' and 'like' for both Korean emotive verbs and adjectives, surmising that such English emotive verbs are simply insensitive to a distinction between stative and nonstative experiencing.
 The object 'me' in (i) can be treated as a stative and the subject 'I' in (ii) a nonstative experiencer. (The semantic role of 'John' is dubbed *stimulus* (cf. Dowty 1991:579).)
 i. John pleases *me*.
 ii. I like John.
- 60 The existential predicate *issta* 'exist' is a hybrid of an adjective and a verb; it cannot form progressive aspect *-ko issta*; it can form imperative sentences if the subject is an animate noun; it cannot have the present-tense suffix *-(nu)n*, which can occur as a verbal, not

adjectival, adnominalizer.

- i. *Cip-ey cha-ka *iss-ko-issta.*
house-at car-SM
- ii. **eps-ko-issta.*
- iii. *Cip-ey (ne-nun/*cha-ka) iss-ela!* 'Stay home!'
- iv. *Cip-ey cha-ka iss-(/*nun)-ta.* 'There is a car in the house.'
- v. *Cip-ey cha-ka iss-nun/*un salam* 'the man who has a car'
ADNZ person

It is treated as constituting a subclass of adjective along with pure adjectives like *manhta* 'many/much' (cf. 4.4.2).

61 In Korean, the existential sentence (i) is preferred to the possessive sentence (ii).

- i. *Na-eykey/nun cip-i issta.*
at/TOP house-SM be
'(lit.) There is a house at me.'
- ii. *Na-nun cip-ul kaci-ko issta.*
I-TOP house-OM have-GER be
'I have a house.'

62 The *Mia* in the double object construction may have an additional discourse focus, while the *Mia* in the possessive may not. Compare this with the double subject construction:

- i. *Mia-ka phal-I kilta.*
SM arm SM long
'It is Mia who has long arms.'

Mia, in this construction, may have focus when contrasted to the possessive *Mia-uy phal* 'Mia's arms' in

- ii. *Mia-uy phal-i kilta.* 'Mia's arms are long.'

63 The construction $\langle nwukwu-(i)-nka-ka \rangle$ (who - (COP) - INT - SM) is similar to the Japanese indefinite/interrogative pronoun phrases: *dare-ka-ga* 'someone' vs. *dare-ga* 'who'. The nominative form *nwu.ka* is shortening of *nwukwu + ka*.

64 This classification is based on the seven conjunctive roles in Quirk et al. (1985:634-6).

65 The *hata* in '*ani + hata*' is an auxiliary, which stands for proto-action or proto-state ('do' or 'be' in English); *ani-ha.ta* is normally shortened to *an.h.ta*.

66 In this VN-*hata* construction, VN, as an object, may have the object marker (*lul*), the *hata* thus behaving as a main verb (cf. 80.c).

- i. *yenkwu* (vn. 'research'): *yenkwu-hanta* 'do-research' ↔
yenkwu-lul hanta 'do research' → *yenkwu-lul an hanta* 'not do research'
→ *yenkwu an hanta* 'not do research'.

67 Notice that the English polarity-sensitive words such as *hardly*, *rarely*, *scarcely*, and *seldom* are inherently negative and are used in positive, not negative, sentences.

- i. *Yong hardly/rarely likes anybody.*

Such positive sentences may be rendered into Korean by using the negative-polarity word *pyello* in negative sentences.

- ii. *Yong-un pyello cohaha-nun salam-i epsta.*
 particularly like-ADNZ person-SM not.exist
 '= (i)'

- 68 If it is a one-character SK noun (e.g. *cen* in *cen-hata* 'convey'), the SK verb (e.g. *cen-hata*) may have *-cita* attached to it (*cen.hata* 'convey' → *cen.hay-cita* 'be conveyed'), instead of *-toyta* (**cen-toyta*).
- 69 The noun *phihay* 'suffering, damage' is a passive noun; the prefix *phi-* is similar to the English suffix *'-ee'* in meaning. The active prefix is *ka-*, similar to the English agentive *'-er/or'*: *ka-hay-ca* 'one who afflicts damage' vs. *phi-hay-ca* 'one who suffers damage'. The passive nominal *phi-hay* 'suffering damage' is often (carelessly) used with a passive verb *ipta* 'suffer, receive' (e.g. *phihay-lul ipta* 'suffer (suffering) damage'--doubly passive!--as against *hay-lul ipta* 'suffer damage').
- 70 Martin (1992) calls *-key* adverbative and *-tolok* projective.
- 71 The lexical (short) and syntactic (long) causatives are comparable to the English causatives: lexical (e.g. *deep-en*, *broad-en*, *light-en*) and syntactic (e.g. *make something deep/broad/light*).
- 72 Even the short causative denotes indirectness; in the following example, Hitler is a causer but not a direct killer, as we know.
- Hithulle-nun swu-payk man-uy yuthayin-ul cwuk.i-ess-ta.*
 TOP several million-of Jew-OM die-CAU-PST-SE
 'Hitler killed millions of Jews.'
- 73 Aspect, unlike tense, is not a deictic category; it is not relative to the time of utterance (Lyons 1968:315).
- 74 As noted earlier (cf. Note 41), the terms aspect and mood we adopt here are quite different from those by Martin (1952, 1992): his retrospective aspects belong to our mood category, his mood is similar to our sentence modulator and his future tense (*keyss*) is our volitional mood.
- 75 Tradition and familiarity favor the retention of the term 'present' in place of 'nonpast'.
- 76 The performative sentence is a type of sentence--with a performative verb in the present tense and a first person subject, whose utterance is itself performing an act indicated by the performative verb--promising, apologizing, naming, awarding, etc. (Austin (1961).
- 77 Conversational implicature (à la Grice) is cancellable. The utterance 'John came.' (implicature: he is here) can be followed by 'But he left the same day,' thus cancelling the implicature 'John is here'.
- 78 The following phrasal constructions may be called aspectual:
- i. *V-ko issta* 'be'
 ii. *V-e issta* 'be' / *V-e pelita* 'discard' / *V-e twuta* 'place'
 V-e kata 'go' / *V-e ota* 'come' / ...;
 iii. *V-ki sicakhata* 'begin V-ing'

In English, the verb phrase 'get V-ing' is aspectual and may be classified as a subtype of progressive aspect.

79 In English the state progressive is ungrammatical: **We are owning a house in the country*; **John is loving Mary*. It may be explained in part by way of regarding stative verb meanings as inimical to the notion that some thing is in progress. Formally, Korean has no such constraint. However, some stative verbs (e.g. *issta* 'stay, exist'; its honorific form *keysita*) do not allow progressive forms: **iss-ko issta*. **keysi-ko issta* 'be staying'. We treated this as an existential *adjective* (cf. 4.4.1).

80 In Korean, verbs for clothes are different from those for footwear, headgear or the like; by contrast, in English the same verb *wear* (stative) or *put on* (dynamic) is used uniformly. Japanese (J. in short) is similar to Korean in this respect.

<i>ipta</i> 'wear/put-on (clothes)'	(J. <i>kiru</i>)
<i>sinta</i> 'wear/put-on (shoes)'	(J. <i>haku</i>)
<i>ssuta</i> 'wear/put-on (a hat)'	(J. <i>kaburu</i>)
	(glasses)'
	(J. <i>kakeru</i>)
<i>kkita</i> 'wear/put-on (a ring)'	(J. <i>hameru</i>)
<i>mayta</i> 'wear/put-on (a tie)'	(J. <i>suru</i>)

81 In a situation where the speaker watches a video-tape in which his earlier event/state is displayed, it is perfectly natural for him to make a report by using a retrospective sentence:

Nay-ka kil-ka-ey nwue-iss-te-la.
 I road side-at lie-INF-be-RET-SE
 'I was lying on the roadside, I observed.'

82 In (1), the two clauses are conjoined doubly; in addition to the particle *kuliko* 'and', the first conjunct has the conjunctive ending *-ko* 'and'.

83 Non-clausal coordination includes the following (cf. 4.7.1.4):

i. Nominal:	NP- <i>wa/hako/lang</i> NP ...	(NP and NP)
	NP- <i>na</i> NP ...	(NP or NP)
	NP- <i>kuliko/animyen</i> ...	(NP and/or NP)
iii. Verbal/Adjectival:	V/A- <i>ko/kena</i> V/A ...	(V/A and/or V/A)
	V/A- <i>ko/kena kuliko/kulena</i> ...	(V/A and/or V/A)
iv. Particle:	PP- <i>wa/na</i> PP ...	(PP and/or P P)

Discourse coordination consists of a sentence followed by a sentential discourse particle *kuliko* 'and', *kulena* 'but', *animyen* 'or', etc.

v. S. *Kuliko* S. ...
Kulena
Animyen

84 The retrospective *-ten-* may be cut into *-t-* (retrospective) and *-un-* (modifier); similarly, the future adnominalizer *-(u)l* can be treated as a single suffix rather than the composite *<-ul-* (prospective aspect) + zero ([]) (Martin 1992:246).

85 Japanese has similar sensory appositive clauses.

sakana-o yai- te- iru nioi (=44.a) 'fish-grilling smell'
 fish-OM grill-GER be smell
 'smell coming from grilling fish'

- 86 In a strict sense, the noun-oriented adverbial clause should be dealt with as an extended adverb phrase; instead, it is described as clausal by way of treating the phrase < N + adverbial particle) as an unanalyzed adverbial unit.
- 87 Although the two causative sentences in (80.a) are truth-conditionally nondistinct, the one marked with the dative *eykey* implies Mia's voluntary coming, whereas the other marked with the accusative implies Mia's involuntary coming.
- 88 In the tree structure of (92.a), the embedded quotative clause with *ko* behaves as a noun clause, so the higher node is marked as NC (noun clause).
- 89 The time adverbials <-*ki-cen-ey*> 'before (the time when)' and <-*n taum-ey*> 'after (the time when)' are treated as unitary adverbializers (cf. nominal subordinators in .3.3.1), and are marked as 'ADVZ' under the V node.
- 90 Comparable to this postposing is the preposing of clausal constituents in English: *Why she came I don't know.* (vs. *I don't know why she came.*)
- 91 Although the question of what types of speech act and how many of them there are in a language is indeterminate, the description made here is based on S.-J. Chang (1987), where seven speech-act types are presented: assertives, rogatives, directives, exercitives, commissives, expressives and reportives.
- 92 The description of Korean tag questions is based on S.-J. Chang (1985); see also I.-S. Yang (1993).
- 93 For some speakers there is no constraint of delimiting the tense of the body to nonpast.
- 94 Echo questions, in many languages, take the form of indirect questions, marked by a complementizer or connective, in clause-final position--as with French *si* 'if' and German *ob* 'whether'--or in clause-final position--as with Japanese *to* 'that'. Middle English used *that* for echo questions and indirect questions alike (Jespersen 1924:304).
- 95 The self-demeaning principle traditionally extends over to the speaker's own family, including his/her spouse and parents as well, but it is no longer felt binding by contemporaries. In contrast, the concept of ingroup is fundamental to the self-lowering principle of the Japanese honorification system.
- 96 The terms for speech levels come from Martin (1954, 1992) with some modifications. Martin's casual (polite) styles, with ending *-ci* and *-ciyo* are not treated as independent levels, for they are taken to stand for a speech act of supposition/suspicion as against assertion, command, or proposal. What is dubbed 'blunt' here is called 'authoritative' (or semi-formal) by Martin. On top of the six levels posited in this book we may add an extremely formal and antiquated level characterized by the imperative ending *-opsose* (vs. the formal *-psio*), which is widespread in prayers. The exclamatory (or 'apperceptive' by Martin) *kwun*, *kwun.yo*, *kwuman*, and the promissory (*u*)*ma* are regarded here as minor sentence types.
- 97 *Aypi* 'father' is marked [-HON], indicating it is a self-lowering word in contrast to the plain *apeci* or the honorific *apenim* (cf. 51c). Along with the plain *apeci* or the pronoun *na* 'I', father may use *aypi* as a first-person epithet when speaking to his son.

i. (Ney) *aypi(uy) mal-ul tul-ela.*

your father 's word-OM listen-SE

'Listen to what I say.'

ii. *Nay mal- ul tul-ela.*

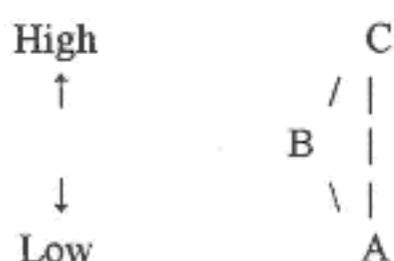
my word-OM listen-SE

' = i'

Notice that in (53.d) the grandmother uses *eymy* 'mother' (in place of the plain *emeni*) when talking to Mia and referring to her (=Mia's) mother.

- 98 The relative low-high status among A, B and C may be diagrammed in the following way:

A = Mia, B = Mia's mother, C = Mia's grandmother.



- 99 It would be ungrammatical to say in German or French, **Sie bist...* (vs. *du bist...*) or **tu êtes...* (vs. *vous êtes...*). In Korean, (i) is much more deviant than (ii), each violating a pragmatic agreement between the pronominal subject and the verbal speech level.
- i. ##*cey-ka ... -ita* 'I am ...'
 I COP
- ii. ##*nay-ka ... -ipnita* 'I am ...'
 I COP
- 100 In Europe, topic and focus, also known as TFA (topic-focus articulation), have been explored initially by Prague School linguists (cf. Firbas 1964, Daneš 1974, Hajičová and Sgall 1975,) along with such discourse-functional notions as theme and rheme, CD (communicative dynamism and FSP (functional sentence perspective); in America, topic and comment have been used by Structuralists (Hockett 1958). What is often confusing and disturbing is the use of two terms, theme and topic: many grammarians keep them almost interchangeable, favouring one term over the other--for instance, Halliday (1985) opts the former and Kuno (1987) the latter; some keep them distinct (cf. Dik (1978)).
- 101 For the description of topic and focus as complementary to each other, see S.-J. Chang (1993) and Hajičová et al. (1995).
- 102 Kuno (1987:206) defines empathy as 'the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence.'
- 103 The polite particle *yo* may float around, capable of occurring not only after the inflectional ending but after any major constituent, so as to conform with the polite level of speech.
- 104 If it were loving, rather than liking, the preferred reading would be the heterosexual loving, that is loving between Mia and Yong or Mia and Hyen.

- 105 The verb phrase, <V-*nun-kes-ita*> 'it is the case that V' is analyzed as phrasal, not clausal, for simplicity.
- 106 The reading materials (Texts 1-5) in the appendix are adapted from *Korean 3* (Language Research Institute, Seoul National University, 1994).

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- The author's name in brackets ([]) is in the Yale Romanization.

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