Korean Grammar

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H. B. LEE

This book is a reference grammar covering many aspects of modern standard Korean ranging from phonetics to syntax, and every effort has been made to describe as simply and concisely as possible the linguistic facts of Korean as it is spoken in Seoul, Korea.

The language is set out in a methodological and orderly manner, with many examples, and while the author has taken advantage of current linguistic theory and descriptive techniques, many of his technical terms are introduced with explanations and illustrations from English material for readers who are not familiar with the details of present-day linguistics.

The book will be useful not only to linguists in general and specialists in Korean but also to students and general readers who are interested in any aspect of the Korean language, now spoken by nearly 64 million people.

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Preface

This is a revised and modified version of my thesis 'A Study of Korean Syntax', which was submitted to the University of London for the Ph.D. degree in General Linguistics and Phonetics. Apart from the revision and modification of the original thesis to make it suitable as a reference grammar rather than a purely academic work, a change has also been made in the manner of presentation of Korean examples and materials: all Korean examples are given first in the Korean orthography, i.e. the one used in the Republic of Korea; this is followed by a phonemic transcription and, when necessary to clarify an otherwise ambiguous structure, a morphemic transcription.

This book has been designed to be a reference grammar covering all aspects of modern standard Korean, ranging from phonetics to syntax. While taking advantage of current linguistic theory and descriptive techniques, the author has made every effort to describe grammatical points as simply and concisely as possible, with plenty of examples. Many of the technical terms are introduced with explanations and illustrations from English material for those readers who are not assumed to be familiar with the details of modern linguistics. I only hope that the book will be useful not only to students and specialists in the Korean language and linguistics but also to linguists in general.

I would like to record here my profound gratitude to Professor R. H. Robins of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, and Professor W. E. Skillend of the Department of the Far East, in the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), for their continued help and guidance in the course of writing the thesis and later, in revising and recasting it in a format suitable for publication. I owe especial thanks to Professor Skillend for his warm friendship, and to Miss Diana Matias for the painstaking work which she has put into preparing the manuscript for publication.

The author also wishes to express his thanks to the Publications Committee of the School of Oriental and African Studies for accepting the manuscript of the book for publication and meeting the full cost of production. Finally, despite the inhibitions of oriental conventions, the author feels that mention should be made of the lasting debt that he owes to his wife, Justine, for the constant encouragement and assistance that she gave him during his student days in London.

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Hansol Hyun Bok Lee

Contents

Abbreviations

A	Adjunct
act.	active
Adj./adj.	Adjective/adjectival
adj.cl.	adjectival clause
adj.(rel.)ph.	adjectival relational phrase
Adv./adv.	Adverb/adverbial
adv.cl.	adverbial clause
adv.ph.	adverbial phrase
Ag.	Agent
aux.	auxiliary
ani.	animate
C	(i) Consonant in chapter II, *Phonetics and Phonology*
	(ii) Complement
c.	coordinator
caus.	causative
cl.	clause
comp.	compound
concat.	concatenating
conj.	conjunctive
d.	descriptive
decl.	declarative
deic.	deictic
deriv.	derived/derivational
end.	ending
Exp.	Expansion
f.cl./nf.cl.	final clause/non-final clause
fmtv.	formative
fut.	future
H	Head
hon.	honorific
imper.	imperative
ina.	inanimate
inflx.	inflectional
Interj./interj.	Interjection/interjectival
intr.	intransitive
md.	mood
mdf.	modifying

N/n	Noun/nominal
N.ani.	Animate noun
N.ina.	Inanimate noun
N.hon.	Honorific noun
N.num.	Numeral noun
N.n.ind.	Non-independent noun
N.pl.	Plain noun
N.Cl./n.cl.	Nominal Clause
NP	Nominal Phrase
Nuc./nuc.	Nucleus
num.	numeral
O	Object
p.	processive
pasv.	passive
Pcl./pcl.	Particle
ph.	phrase
pres.	present
prfx.	prefix
presump.	presumptive
progr.	progressive
prop.	propositive
Rel/rel.	relational
retros.	retrospective
S	Subject
Sat./sat.	Satellite
sfx.	suffix
St./st.	stem
sub.	subordinate
t.	tense
tr.	transitive
V/v.	(i) Vowel in chapter II, _Phonetics and Phonology_
	(ii) Verb/verbal
V.aux.	Auxiliary Verb
V.c.	Copula Verb
V.d.	Descriptive Verb
V.p.	Processive Verb
V.pl.	Plain Verb
V.hon.	Honorific Verb
V.intr.	Intransitive Verb
V.tr.	Transitive Verb
VP	Verbal Phrase
vc.	voice
Z/z	Sentence

Symbols and notations

/ /	phonemic transcription
[ ]	(i) phonetic transcription
	(ii) translation fill-in
( )	optional, e.g. (S)P → P or SP
→	rewrite
*	hypothetical or unreal form
+	plus juncture within a transcribed passage (addition sign elsewhere)
,	tentative juncture within a transcribed passage (comma elsewhere)
.	terminal juncture in a transcribed passage (period elsewhere)
/:/	Quantity (length) in chapter II, _Phonetics and Phonology_, and in a transcribed passage
V/C-form	Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form
a/ʌ	Form selected by vowel harmony
ˈ	stress marker in chapter II, _Phonetics and Phonology_
ˇˋˆ	tone markers
space in transcribed passages	(i) stress group boundary in phonemic transcription, e.g. /nɛˈnala soˈsig/
	(ii) word boundary in morphophonemic transcription, e.g. _nɛ nala sosig_

I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

No one knows for certain how long Korean has been spoken and we have yet to see the results of historico-comparative studies on the origin of the Korean language and its early development prior to the fifteenth century. However, from what record we have in Chinese, we can assume that the Koreans tried to express themselves by Chinese characters as early as some time between the first and fourth century A.D. (Seungbog Cho 1967, Hŭisŭng Yi 1955).

There have been several conflicting theories as to the origin of Korean and its affinity to other languages. The Indo-European theory (Eckardt 1966, Aalto 1947) and the Dravidian theory (Hulbert 1906) are considered to be hardly convincing. The Altaic theory (Ramstedt 1949, 1957–66) now seems to be most widely accepted, and the Korean language is therefore classified as a member of the Altaic family along with Tungus, Manchu, Mongolian and Turkish (Sungnyŏng Yi 1954). Moreover, Panghan Kim (1983) and Kimun Yi (1972), the two leading Korean specialists working in the field of historico-comparative linguistics, seem to share to a great extent the view put forward by Ramstedt. Like other Altaic languages, Korean is predominantly aggluti-native in morphological formations. However, there are some scholars who do not readily approve of the Altaic theory (Poppe 1955).

There is yet another theory which attempts to relate Korean and Japanese (Kono 1944, Ono 1955, Lewin 1976). H. A. Gleason seems to recognize the Korean language as forming a separate language family when he states that 'Korean comprises the Korean family and is somewhat distantly related to the Japanese family' (Gleason 1961, pp. 468, 479). Korean and Japanese, whose affinity has long been disputed, are strikingly alike in overall grammatical and syntactic patterns rather than in lexis. Martin (1966) has presented some lexical evidence relating Korean to Japanese.

The Korean language is spoken today by nearly 64 million Koreans, of whom about 60 million live in the Korean peninsula and the remaining 4 million abroad, mainly in China, Japan, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. It is the official language in Korea as well as the medium of education from kinder-garten to university level, and of all cultural activities including the press and broadcasting.

1.2. WRITING SYSTEM

Koreans relied mainly on the Chinese writing system until the 15th century A.D. when they came to have their own alphabet. Although it is not known exactly when the Koreans began to borrow Chinese characters, it is now generally acknowledged to have been between the first and fourth centuries. Apart from using Chinese as a foreign language, the Koreans employed the Chinese characters in two different ways. First, they were used to represent, or rather transcribe, Korean syllables which were phonetically similar to the characters used, i.e., as phonetic symbols. Secondly, they were used to represent Korean morphemes or words which had translation equivalence to the original reference of the characters or Chinese loanwords. These two methods were often combined within a word, especially an inflectional word such as verb, of which the stem was represented by the semantically equivalent Chinese morphemes and the suffix(es) by the phonetically equivalent Chinese characters.

1.2.1. *The Korean Alphabet*

Since Korean and Chinese were very different from each other in grammatical and phonological structure, as they are today, the use of the Chinese writing system as a means of transcribing Korean must have been most inadequate as well as inconvenient. Inadequate or not, however, this practice went on until 1446 A.D., when Sejong /sejoŋ/, the fourth king of the Yi Dynasty, promulgated 'Hunminjŏngŭm' */hunminɟʌŋim/*,[1] a newly-created Korean alphabet of 28 letters, to the nation. The king, who was a distinguished linguist himself, actually completed the alphabet in 1443 A.D. after years of research in collaboration with a group of eight scholars, but he tested it for three years before making it public. In his preface to Hunminjŏngŭm, the king stated as the reason for devising a new alphabet the inadequacy and inconvenience of the Chinese characters as a writing system for the Korean language. Hence the name 'Hunminjŏngŭm', which means literally 'The right sounds to teach the nation'.

Hunminjŏngŭm was unique in many respects and it certainly deserves to be more widely known and understood. First, it was based on the articulatory phonetic theory. That is to say, the shape of the basic letters was modelled on the actual shape of the articulatory organs involved in pronouncing the sounds represented by the letters. For instance, the letter ㄱ [g̈ or k] represents the velar sound since it resembles the shape of the tongue blocking the 'throat'; the letter ㄴ [n] represents the lingual sound or dental/alveolar sound in modern terminology since it resembles the tongue touching 'the upper jaw', i.e., upper teeth or teeth ridge; and the letter ㅁ [m] represents the labial sound since it resembles the shape of the lips, etc. In this manner the

[1] Cf. Minsu Kim, *Chuhae hunminjŏngŭm* ('Hunminjŏngŭm Annotated'), 1957.

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five basic letters were established and the twelve remaining consonant letters were derived by adding to each of the five basic letters one or more additional stroke or symbol which indicated other phonologically relevant phonetic features or different manners of articulation at homorganic points of articulation. The eleven vowel letters were likewise formulated on the basis of phonetic observations, of which three letters, · [ʌ or ɔ], ― [ɨ or ɯ] and ㅣ [i] were taken as basic and the eight remaining vowel letters were derived by different combinations of the three basic letters. (The first of these three basic letters has been discarded in the modern orthography.)

Secondly, Hunminjŏngŭm, although formulated on a purely phonetic basis, was a phonemic alphabet in its actual application. And there is sufficient evidence (e.g. the recognition of three positions, initial, medial and final, in the syllable and the statements concerning the distribution of sounds at the three positions of a syllable, etc.) that the king had completed some kind of preliminary phonological analysis of Korean according to a phonemic principle not far removed from that of modern linguistics, even though he did not actually use the term 'Phoneme' as against 'Phone' or 'Sound'.[1]

The third characteristic of Hunminjŏngŭm is found in the spelling principle decreed by the king, according to which letters were to be combined, in accordance with the prescribed rule, into syllable blocks and not in a linear succession as in European languages. In other words, graphemes were, and still are, arranged syllabically in such a way that each syllable has a distinct geometrical shape. For instance, syllables like /mag/ 'curtain' and /nun/ 'eye' would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

/mag/ $\begin{smallmatrix} ma \\ g \end{smallmatrix}$: 막 < ㅁ = m, ㅏ = a, ㄱ = g

/nun/ $\begin{smallmatrix} n \\ u \\ n \end{smallmatrix}$: 눈 < ㄴ = n, ㅜ = u, ㄴ = n

With the three characteristics of Hunminjŏngŭm taken into consideration, the Korean alphabet of the fifteenth century may be defined as *a phonemic alphabet based on phonetic principles and spelt syllabically*.

1.2.2. *The Present Alphabet*

The present Korean alphabet of 24 letters or graphemes is essentially the same as that of the fifteenth century, except that (i) four graphemes,[2] owing to the change in the phonological system, are obsolete, (ii) the shape of some graphemes has very slightly changed, and (iii) most important of all, the

[1] Cf. Kimun Yi, *Kugŏ p'yogipŏbŭi yŏksajŏk yŏn'gu* ('An Historical Study of Korean Spelling'), 1963.
[2] Ung Hŏ, *Kugŏ ŭmunnon* ('Korean Phonology', revised ed.), 1968, pp. 285. See pp. 285–316 for further details of these letters and their phonetic values.

present spelling principle is morphemic (since the formulation in 1933 of 'The Unified Spelling System' by the Korean Language Research Society), whereas it had been mainly phonemic from the invention of the Korean alphabet in the fifteenth century until 1933. By 'morphemic spelling principle' is meant one whereby every word or morpheme is represented by its base form. For instance, 목이 /mogi/ 'the neck' <*mog* 'neck'+*i* 'subject particle' and 모기 /mogi/ 'mosquito' are pronounced the same and may thus be spelt alike in phonemic spelling, but in morphemic spelling, as is already clear from the Korean spelling form, the word for 'neck' is given the shape 목 /mog/ and it appears in that shape in any environment, thus standing in contrast to 모기 /mogi/ 'mosquito'.

The Korean alphabet of 24 graphemes currently in use is given below with the transcription symbols shown between slant bars after each grapheme.

Vowel Graphemes (10)

ㅏ /a/,   ㅑ /ja/,   ㅓ /ʌ/,   ㅕ /jʌ/,   ㅗ /o/,
ㅛ /jo/,   ㅜ /u/,   ㅠ /ju/,   ㅡ /i/,   ㅣ /i/.

Consonant Graphemes

ㄱ /g/,   ㄴ /n/,   ㄷ /d/,   ㄹ /l/,   ㅁ /m/,
ㅂ /b/,   ㅅ /s/,   ㅇ /Zero~ŋ/, ㅈ /ɟ/,
ㅊ /c/,   ㅋ /k/,   ㅌ /t/,   ㅍ /p/,   ㅎ /h/.

The order in which the vowel and consonant graphemes are given is the one used widely in Korea. The grapheme ㅇ at the syllable-initial position is phonetically nothing and therefore phonologically redundant, but it is used nowadays, as in the fifteenth century, to mark a syllable beginning with a vowel. Syllable-finally, however, it represents /ŋ/.

The total number of the Korean phonemes is 29, of which eight are vowels, two semi-vowels and 19 consonants (cf. 2.2). On the other hand, excluding the four vowel graphemes representing diphthongs, there are only 20 graphemes, which thus gives rise to a situation in which there are nine more phonemes than there are graphemes. This discrepancy is resolved by representing the nine phonemes by digraphs or geminations:

Vowels

/e/   ㅔ < ㅓ /ʌ/ + ㅣ /i/
/ɛ/   ㅐ < ㅏ /a/ + ㅣ /i/

Consonants

/k̀/   ㄲ < ㄱ /g/ + ㄱ /g/
/t̀/   ㄸ < ㄷ /d/ + ㄷ /d/
/p̀/   ㅃ < ㅂ /b/ + ㅂ /b/
/c̀/   ㅉ < ㅈ /ɟ/ + ㅈ /ɟ/
/s̀/   ㅆ < ㅅ /s/ + ㅅ /s/

Semi-vowels

/j/ and /w/ are somewhat peculiar in their graphemic representation. The semi-vowel /j/ is represented by a stroke added to a pure vowel with which /j/ forms a diphthong as illustrated by the following examples and those given in 1.2.2. (cf. p. 4):

/je/   ㅖ < ㅣ /j/ + ㅔ /e/
/jɛ/   ㅒ < ㅣ /j/ + ㅐ /ɛ/

The semi-vowel /w/ is represented graphemically either by ㅗ /o/ or ㅜ /u/ depending on the vowel following with which /w/ forms a diphthong:

/wa/   ㅘ < ㅗ /o/ + ㅏ /a/
/wɛ/   ㅙ < ㅗ /o/ + ㅐ /ɛ/
/we/   ㅚ < ㅗ /o/ + ㅣ /i/
or
/we/   ㅞ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅔ /e/
/wi/   ㅟ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅣ /i/
/wʌ/   ㅝ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅓ /ʌ/

1.2.3. *The Korean Alphabet and the Prosodic Analysis*

The current alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, fifteenth-century Hunminjŏngŭm, is not a haphazard collection of isolated letters. It is, in a sense, not only a phonetic alphabet based exclusively on detailed phonetic observations of the articulatory organs, but also a remarkably neat system composed of interrelated elements (letters). In particular, it is interesting to note the striking similarity between the manner in which the Korean alphabet is systematized and the theoretical tenet of the 'Prosodic Analysis'[1] as initiated and developed by the London School, namely, a multi-dimensional approach characterized by the establishment of phonematic units on the one hand, and the abstraction and assignment of prosodic features to and over the phonematic units on the other. This can be exemplified by the Korean consonant letters. Of the 19 consonant letters, the following 16 are chosen for the purposes of this discussion:

	Voiceless unaspirated	*Voiceless aspirated*	*Voiceless glottalized*	*Voiced nasal*
bi-labial plosive	ㅂ /b/	ㅍ /p/	ㅃ /p̀/	ㅁ /m/
alveolar plosive	ㄷ /d/	ㅌ /t/	ㄸ /t̀/	ㄴ /n/
velar plosive	ㄱ /g/	ㅋ /k/	ㄲ /k̀/	

[1] J. R. Firth, 'Sounds and Prosodies', *TPS*, 1948, pp. 127–52; R. H. Robins, *Aspects of Prosodic Analysis*, 1957, pp. 1–12; J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, 1968, pp. 127–32.

post-alveolar affricates	ㅈ /ʝ/	ㅊ /c/	ㅉ /c̀/
alveolar fricatives	ㅅ /s/		ㅆ /ś/

These 16 consonant letters can be described in prosodic terms as composed of five phonematic units, each representing a different place of articulation, (i) bi-labial, (ii) alveolar, (iii) velar, (iv) post-alveolar (affricate) and (v) alveolar (fricative), and four prosodic features, (i) voiceless unaspirated, (ii) voiceless aspirated, (iii) voiceless glottalized, and (iv) voiced nasal. The analysis can be simplified considerably by symbolizing the phonematic units by the 'voiceless unaspirated' letters ㅂ, ㄷ, ㄱ, ㅈ, ㅅ thereby reducing the number of prosodies from four to three, with the prosody 'voiceless unaspirated' treated as an unmarked term automatically ascribable to the five phonematic units. Symbolizing, by superscripts, the three prosodies as: h — 'aspiration prosody'; q — 'glottal prosody'; n — 'nasal prosody', the 16 consonant letters may be represented as consisting of five phonematic units and a zero or one of the three prosodies as follows:

$$ㅂ\,(/b/) \qquad \overset{h}{ㅂ}\,(= ㅍ\,/p/) \qquad \overset{q}{ㅂ}\,(= ㅃ\,/p̀/) \qquad \overset{n}{ㅂ}\,(= ㅁ\,/m/)$$

$$ㄷ\,(/d/) \qquad \overset{h}{ㄷ}\,(= ㅌ\,/t/) \qquad \overset{q}{ㄷ}\,(= ㄸ\,/t̀/) \qquad \overset{n}{ㄷ}\,(= ㄴ\,/n/)$$

$$ㄱ\,(/g/) \qquad \overset{h}{ㄱ}\,(= ㅋ\,/k/) \qquad \overset{q}{ㄱ}\,(= ㄲ\,/k̀/)$$

$$ㅈ\,(/ʝ/) \qquad \overset{h}{ㅈ}\,(= ㅊ\,/c/) \qquad \overset{q}{ㅈ}\,(= ㅉ\,/c̀/)$$

$$ㅅ\,(/s/) \qquad\qquad\qquad \overset{q}{ㅅ}\,(= ㅆ\,/ś/)$$

1.3. THE TYPE OF KOREAN DESCRIBED IN THIS BOOK

There are seven main dialects[1] in Korea, which correspond roughly to the respective administrative regions. They are (i) Hamgyeong Province dialect, (ii) Pyeongan Province dialect, (iii) Central dialect of Gyeonggi, Gangweon and Hwanghae Province, (iv) Chungcheong Province dialect, (v) Gyeongsang Province dialect, (vi) Jeonla Province dialect and (vii) Jeju Province dialect.

The capital city, Seoul, is located in the heart of the central dialect zone, and the type of Korean described in this book is the one spoken in and around Seoul by educated people, often referred to as 'Standard Korean'.

[1] Hyŏnggyu Kim, *Kugŏ sa* ('History of the Korean Language'), 1956, pp. 200–1.

1.4. THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The aim of this book is to present a basic grammatical analysis of standard Korean, upon which an analysis of greater detail could be based.

The grammatical units set up for the purposes of syntactic description are, in descending order of rank, 'Sentence', 'Clause', 'Phrase', 'Word' and 'Morpheme'. These units are hierarchically related in such a way that every unit, except 'Morpheme' which can not be analysed into meaningful smaller units, consists of one or more units immediately below. Thus a word consists of one or more morphemes, a phrase of one or more words, a clause of one or more phrases, and a sentence of one or more clauses. Instead of regarding the linguistic units given above as analytically consisting of one or more units immediately below in rank, one can regard and define them synthetically[1] as units functioning within more inclusive units. The unit 'Sentence', however, will be excluded from such a synthetic definition since it is taken as the largest and most inclusive unit. The intermediate units, clause, phrase, word, can be defined both analytically and synthetically. The hierarchical relationship existing among the units does not preclude the possibility of rank shift,[2] upward or downward. For instance, a word may bypass the level of phrase and occur as a clause or a constituent of a clause (upward rank shift), or a clause may be embedded in a phrase structure (downward rank shift). The total distributional relations holding among the five units may be diagrammatically set out as shown below, where the arrows in the centre represent the most common distribution; the arrows returning to the same unit 'recursive rank shift', viz., a unit occurring as a constituent of an expanded structure of the same unit, e.g., a phrase found in larger phrase; the arrows pointing downward 'downward rank shift'; and the arrows by-passing a unit 'upward rank shift'.

```
        ┌──────→ SENTENCE ──┐
        │          ↑        │
        │   ┌──→ CLAUSE⤸    │
        │   │      ↑    ↓    │
        │   │  ┌→ PHRASE⤸←┐  │
        │   │  │   ↑        │
        │   │  └─ WORD      │
        │   │      ↑        │
        └───┴── MORPHEME ───┘
```
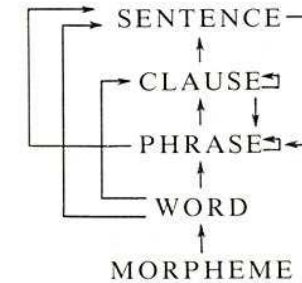
[1] W. Haas, 'On Defining Linguistic Units' *TPS*, 1954, pp. 60–8.
[2] M. A. K. Halliday, 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', *Word*, 17, 1961, pp. 250–4. It is to be noted that Halliday does not recognize 'upward rank shift'.

Examples

(i) *Sentence*

기다리던 눈이 많이 오니 나의 기분이 좋다

/gidalidʌn nu:ni ma:ni oni, nae gibuni ɟo:ta/

'As the snow that I have been waiting for falls (lit. 'comes') in plenty, I feel fine (lit. 'my mood is good').'

(ii) *Clause*

(*a*) 기다리던 눈이 많이 오니

/gidalidʌn nu:ni ma:ni oni/

'As the snow that I have been waiting for falls in plenty'

(*b*) 나의 기분이 좋다

/nae gibuni ɟo:ta/ 'My mood is good.'

(iii) *Phrase*

(*a*) 기다리던 눈

/gidalidʌn nu:n/ 'the snow that I have been waiting for'

(*b*) 많이 오니

/ma:ni oni/ '[as it] falls in plenty'

(*c*) 나의 기분

/nae gibun/ 'my mood'

(iv) *Word*

기다리던 /gidalidʌn/ '[that I] have been waiting for'

눈 /nu:n/ 'snow', 이 /i/ subject particle

많이 /ma:ni/ 'in plenty', 오니 /oni/ 'as it comes'

나 /na/ 'I', 의 /e/ (< ii) 'of', 기분 /gibun/ 'mood'

좋다 /ɟo:ta/ 'is good, feels fine'

(v) *Morpheme*

기다리 /gidali-/ 'to wait for',

더 /-dʌ-/ retros.t.sfx., ㄴ /-n/ adj.cl.end.

눈 /nu:n/ 'snow', 이 /i/ subject.pcl.

많 /ma:n-/ 'to be plenty', 이 /-i/ adv.deriv.sfx.

오 /o-/ 'to come, fall', 니 /-ni/ non-final adv.cl.end.

나 /na/ 'I', 의 /e/(< ii) 'of',

기분 /gibun/ 'mood', 좋 /ɟo:-/ 'to be good',

다 /-ta/ (< -da) decl.md.end.

(vi) *Downward rank shift*

The adjectival clause /gidalidʌn/ functions as a word (adjective) in the nominal phrase

/gidalidʌn nu:n/ 'the snow that I have been waiting for'

Exp.   H.

(vii) *Upward rank shift*

The word /ɟo:ta/ 'is good' bypasses the level of phrase and functions as a constituent (predicate) of the clause

/nae gibuni ɟo:ta/ 'My mood is good.'

S   P

In this book, the syntactic description begins at the word level and proceeds through successively larger units, i.e., phrase and clause, until sentence is reached. The unit word is chosen to serve as the basic syntactic unit, and the discussion of the unit morpheme is restricted to the morphology of verbs as it is directly relevant to Korean syntax.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

There are two major branches in the study of the sounds of a given language: Phonetics and Phonology. These two branches are related to each other in that they both study sounds of a language, but they differ in their viewpoint and objective. Phonetics is concerned with actual speech sounds as we pronounce and hear them, but in any person's speech there are hundreds of speech sounds and the differences between them are not always important or significant. Phonology aims to systematize these speech sounds into a smaller number of significant sound units called 'Phonemes'. For instance, phonetics will tell us that the plosive sounds occurring in 'pin', 'spin' and 'bin' are different sounds: 'p' of 'pin' is a voiceless aspirated sound [pʰ]; 'p' of 'spin' a voiceless unaspirated sound [p] and 'b' of 'bin' a voiced unaspirated sound [b]. But phonetics does not tell us much about the function of these sounds, i.e., which is significant and which is not. It is phonology which does that. Phonology observes that as [p] occurs only after the [s] sound as in 'spin' and is [pʰ] elsewhere, the plosive sounds never have the function of distinguishing different words in English, and decides that the two sounds [pʰ] and [p] are to be treated as members or 'Allophones' of the phoneme /p/, and not as two separate phonemes. On the other hand, the two speech sounds [pʰ] and [b] can occur in the same environment and distinguish pairs of words, e.g. 'pin' : 'bin'. Therefore the sound [b] forms a separate phoneme /b/, instead of being an allophone of /p/ phoneme to which [p] belongs. Notice that the three speech sounds [pʰ], [p] and [b] also occur in Korean but are phonemicized differently: [pʰ] and [p] form two separate phonemes /p/ and /ṗ/, e.g. /pul/ 'grass' and /ṗul/ 'horn', whereas they form a single phoneme in English as shown earlier. [b] forms yet another phoneme /b/ with [b], e.g. /bul/ 'fire'.

In the following sections a brief description of Korean phonology will be given first, followed by that of Korean phonetics. In order to distinguish speech sounds or allophones from phonemes, the symbols standing for phonemes will be put between obliques and the phonetic symbols between square brackets.

2.2. THE KOREAN PHONEMES

The symbols here used to represent the Korean phonemes are those of the International Phonetic Association.

The Korean phonemes are divided into the four different types: (i) Vowels, (ii) Consonants, (iii) Semi-vowels, and (iv) Suprasegmental phonemes.

2.2.1. *Vowels*

There are eight vowels:

/i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ʌ/, /ɨ/

Examples

비 /bi/ 'rain'		베 /be/ 'hemp cloth'	
배 /bɛ/ 'pear'		바 /ba/ 'rope'	
보 /bo/ 'wrapping cloth'		부 /bu/ 'wealth'	
그 /gɨ/ 'that'		거리 /gʌli/ 'street'	

2.2.2. *Consonants*

There are nineteen consonants:

/b/	/d/	/s/	/ɟ/	/g/	
/p/	/t/		/c/	/k/	/h/
/ṗ/	/ṭ/	/ṡ/	/ċ/	/k̇/	
/m/	/n/			/ŋ/	
/l/					

Examples

(a) /b/ 발 /bal/ 'foot', 이발 /ibal/ 'hairdressing', 입 /ib/ 'mouth'
(b) /p/ 팔 /pal/ 'arm', 비파 /bipa/ 'lute'
(c) /ṗ/ 빨 /ṗal/ 'sucking', 이빨 /iṗal/ 'tooth'
(d) /d/ 달 /dal/ 'moon', 배달 /bɛdal/ 'delivery', 곧 /god/ 'soon'
(e) /t/ 탈 /tal/ 'trouble', 이탈 /ital/ 'separation'
(f) /ṭ/ 딸 /ṭal/ 'daughter', 보따리 /boṭali/ 'bundle'
(g) /ɟ/ 잘 /ɟal/ 'Well!', 사자 /saɟa/ 'lion'
(h) /c/ 찰 /cal/ 'to kick', 기차 /gica/ 'train'
(i) /ċ/ 짤 /ċal/ 'salty', 바짝 /baċag/ 'closely'
(j) /g/ 갈 /gal/ 'to go', 사과 /sagwa/ 'apple', 각 /gag/ 'angle'
(k) /k/ 칼 /kal/ 'knife', 상쾌 /sanŋkwɛ/ 'refreshing'
(l) /k̇/ 깔 /k̇al/ 'colour', 바깥 /bak̇ad/ 'outside'
(m) /s/ 살 /sal/ 'flesh', 조사 /ɟosa/ 'investigation'
(n) /ṡ/ 쌀 /ṡal/ 'rice', 비싼 /biṡan/ 'expensive'
(o) /h/ 해 /hɛ/ 'sun', 이해 /ihɛ/ 'understanding'
(p) /m/ 말 /mal/ 'horse', 이마 /ima/ 'forehead', 삼 /sam/ 'three'
(q) /n/ 날 /nal/ 'day', 비누 /binu/ 'soap', 산 /san/ 'mountain'
(r) /ŋ/ 상어 /saŋʌ/ 'shark', 상 /saŋ/ 'table'
(s) /l/ 길이 /gili/[giri] 'length', 일 /il/ 'one'

2.2.3. *Semi-vowels*

There are two semi-vowels, /j/ and /w/, which combine with vowels to form the following diphthongs:

/je/, /jɛ/, /ja/, /jo/, /ju/, /jʌ/,

/wi/, /we/, /wɛ/, /wa/,   /wʌ/.

In addition to the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs listed above, which are all rising diphthongs, there is /ii/, which may be either rising or falling.

Examples

예 /je/ 'example, yes', 노예 /noje/ 'slave'

애 /jɛ/ 'Hey, you!' 하얘 /hajɛ/ 'is white'

야 /ja/ 'Look!', 혼약 /honjag/ 'engagement'

욕 /jog/ 'swear, insult', 종교 /joŋjo/ 'religion'

육 /jug/ 'six', 우유 /uju/ 'milk'

여자 /jʌɹa/ 'woman', 뼈 /p̀jʌ/ 'bone'

위 /wi/ 'above, top', 뒤 /dwi/ 'rear', 귀 /gwi/ 'ear'

외국 /we:gug/ 'foreign land', 기회 /gihwe/ 'opportunity'

왜 /wɛ/ 'why', 불쾌 /bulkwɛ/ 'displeasure'

과실 /gwasil/ 'fruit', 현관 /hjʌngwan/ 'entrance-hall'

원수 /wʌnsu/ 'enemy', 정원 /jʌŋwʌn/ 'garden'

의자 /iiɹa/ 'chair', 사의 /saii/ 'thanks'

2.2.4. *Suprasegmental Phonemes*

Two degrees of vowel quantity, long and short, are phonologically distinctive, mainly in the first or second syllable of words. The long vowel is marked by /:/ and the short one unmarked, e.g.

김 /gim/ 'a surname'
 /gi:m/ 'laver, seaweed'

살 /sal/ 'flesh'
 /sa:l/ 'to live'

구조 /guɹo/ 'structure'
 /gu:ɹo/ 'rescue'

부동 /budoŋ/ 'inequality', 'dissimilarity'
 /budo:ŋ/ 'immobility'

In the open monosyllables pronounced in isolation, the long/short contrast of vowel quantity is usually not distinctive because the lexically short vowels are pronounced just as long as the lexically long vowels, e.g.

배 /bɛ/ 'ship, boat' [bɛ:]
 /bɛ:/, 'double, twice' [bɛ:]

cf. 배로 /bɛlo/ 'by boat' [bɛro]
 /bɛ:lo/ 'twice as much/many'

2.2.4.1. *Vowel Quantity and Stress*

Stress is not phonologically distinctive in Korean and therefore belongs along with pitch, which is also lexically irrelevant, to the domain of intonation. However, there is a regular correlation between vowel quantity and stress. Thus, in actual speech, a phonologically long vowel is long if accompanied by a (strong) stress, but it is short if unstressed, e.g.

사람 /ˈsa:lam/ = [ˈsa:ram] 'person'

웬사람 /ˈwe:nsa:lam/ = [ˈwe:nsaram] 'some person'

경쟁 /ˈgjʌ:ŋɹɛŋ/ = [ˈgjɔ:ŋɹɛŋ] 'competition'

자유경쟁 /ɹaˈjugjʌ:ŋɹɛŋ/ = [ɹaˈju:gjʌŋɹɛŋ] 'free competition'

The effect of stress on the syllable quantity is discussed in 2.5 'Syllable Quantity and Stress'.

2.3. PHONETIC DESCRIPTION OF KOREAN PHONEMES

2.3.1. *Vowels*

The phonetic values of the vowels are described first by reference to the I.P.A. Cardinal Vowel scale and then, for those not familiar with the Cardinal Vowel quadrilateral, by means of key words, i.e., by reference to vowel sounds occurring in other languages. The English vowel sounds referred to in the following sections are those of the British 'Received Pronunciation'[1]

/ˈi:/ = [ˈi:]   /i/ = [i−],   /ˈe:/ = [ˈẹ−:]   /e/ = [ɛ−]

/ˈɛ:/ = [ˈɛ−:]   /ɛ/ = [ɛ−],   /ˈa:/ = [ˈa−:]   /a/ = [a−]

/ˈo:/ = [ˈọ−:]   {/o/ = [ɔ+]}
/ˈu:/ = [ˈu−:]   {/u/ = [u+]}   with the lips slightly rounded.

/ˈʌ:/ = [ˈə−:]   /ʌ/ = [ʌ+],   /ˈɨ:/ = [ˈü:]   /ɨ/ = [ɯ+]
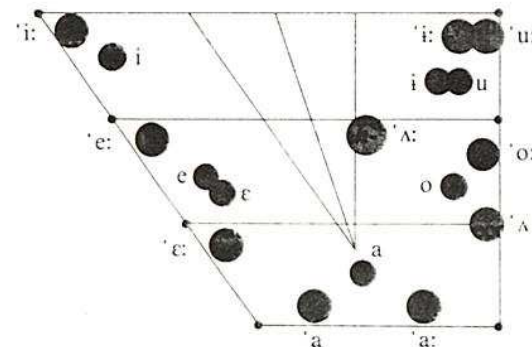
[1] Cf. D. Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 1956, p. 12; A. C. Gimson, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, 1962, pp. 83–5.

2.3.1.1. /i/

[ˈiː] is similar to the English vowel occurring in the words 'key', 'sea' etc., and usually pronounced tense. The unstressed short [i] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and retracted tongue position than for the stressed long vowel [iː], e.g.

일 /ˈiːl/ 'affair, business, work'
실 /ˈsiːl/ 'thread', 이자 /ˈiːɹa/ 'interest'
미지 /ˈmiːɹi/ 'unknown', 기자 /giˈɹa/ 'reporter'

2.3.1.2. /e/

[ˈeː] is similar in quality to the English vowel occurring in words like 'set', 'get' etc., and pronounced tense. Notice that the English vowel is short and it must be lengthened to sound similar to the Korean [ˈeː]. The unstressed short [e] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and retracted tongue position than for the stressed long vowel [ˈeː], e.g.

세 /ˈseː/ 'rent', 회 /ˈhweː/ 'meeting'
외국 /ˈweːgug/ 'foreign land'
어제 /ˈʌɹe/ 'yesterday' 세계 /ˈseːge/ 'world'

2.3.1.3. /ɛ/

/ˈɛː/ is like the English vowel occurring in words such as 'cat', 'sat' etc., and pronounced tense. The unstressed short [ɛ] is a lax vowel with a higher tongue position than for the stressed long [ˈɛː], e.g.

애 /ˈɛː/ 'baby, child'
애기 /jɛːgi/ 'story', 해방 /ˈhɛːbaŋ/ 'liberation'
부채 /buːcɛ/ 'debt', 시책 /siːcɛg/ 'policy'

2.3.1.4. /a/

/ˈaː/ is like the English vowel occurring in 'car', 'father' etc., but the short /a/ is similar to the English vowel as in 'cut', 'luck' etc., or to the French vowel in 'bateau', 'chat' etc., e.g.

사자 /ˈsaːɹa/ 'lion', 밤 /ˈbaːm/ 'chestnut'
가곡 /ˈgaːgog/ 'melody, song'
이발 /ˈiːbal/ 'hairdressing'
바다 /baˈda/ 'sea'

2.3.1.5. /o/

[ˈoː] is similar to the English vowel as in 'all', 'call', etc. and pronounced tense. The unstressed short [o] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower tongue position and weaker lip-rounding than for the stressed long [ˈoː]. The Eng-

lish vowel occurring in words like 'box', 'cock' etc. is very different in quality from the Korean /ˈoː/ or /oː/: the tongue position for the English vowel is much lower than for the Korean vowel. Accordingly English people should be careful not to use the English vowel as in 'box' for the Korean short /o/, e.g.

소 /ˈso/ 'cow'   옷 /ˈod/ 'clothes'
보물 /ˈboːmul/ 'treasure'   진보 /ˈɹiːnbo/ 'progress'
보도 /ˈboːdo/ 'report'

2.3.1.6. /u/

[ˈuː] is similar to the English vowel occurring in 'soup', 'cool' etc. and is tense. The unstressed short [u] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and advanced tongue position and weaker lip-rounding, e.g.

웃고 /ˈuːdk̀o/ 'to laugh and'
윷 /ˈjud/ a traditional Korean game
교수 /ˈgyoːsu/ 'professor'
우산 /uˈsan/ 'umbrella'

2.3.1.7. /ʌ/

This vowel has two distinctly different allophones for many speakers from Seoul, conditioned, in almost every case, by the vowel length. The long /ˈʌː/ [ˈəː] is similar to the English central vowel occurring in words like 'bird', 'heard' etc., but the short /ʌ/ is close to the English vowel occurring in 'cock', 'knock' etc., except that the Korean /ʌ/ is not pronounced with rounded lips as the English vowel, e.g.

벌 /ˈbʌːl/ [ˈb̥əːl] 'bee',   벌 /ˈbʌl/ [ˈb̥ʌl] 'punishment'
설 /ˈsʌːl/ [ˈsəːl] 'New Year's Day',   설 /ˈsʌl/ [ˈsʌl] 'theory'
헌 /ˈhʌːn/ [ˈhəːn] 'old, worn out'
연설 /ˈjʌːnsʌl/ [ˈjəːnsʌl] 'speech'

2.3.1.8. /ɨ/

[ˈɨː] is like [ˈuː] pronounced with spread lips. In other words, it is a vowel combining the tongue position of [ˈuː] with the lip position of [ˈiː]. The unstressed short [ɨ], which is pronounced with a lower and advanced tongue position than for [ˈɨː] is similar to the English short /u/ occurring in 'put', 'took' etc., but care must be taken not to round the lips when aiming at the Korean [ɨ]. The long [ˈɨː] is tense and the short [ɨ] lax, e.g.

그림 /ˈgɨːlim/ [ˈg̊ɯːrim] 'painting'
들 /ˈdɨːl/ [ˈdɯːl] 'field'
아이들 /ˈaidɨl/ [ˈaidɯl] 'children'
느린 /niˈlin/ [nɯˈrin] 'slow'

2.3.1.9. *Long Unstressed Vowel and Short Stressed Vowel*

In describing the phonetic value of the Korean vowels in 2.3.1.1–8, I have dealt only with the long stressed and short unstressed vowels, e.g., [ˈi:] and [i]. This is because they represent extreme vowel qualities. However, there are two other types of vowels. The long unstressed vowel such as [i:] occurs only immediately before a plus juncture or a tentative juncture, and the short stressed vowel such as [ˈi] occurs usually in the V position in the syllable structure (C₁) V C (see 2.4, 'Syllable Structure'), e.g.

(i)   *Long unstressed vowel*

마음이 좋다 /ˈma:imi + ˈɟo:ta/ '[She] is kind.' [ˈma:ɯmi: + ˈɟo:ta]
나중에 가도 된다 /ˈna:ɟuŋegado, ˈdwenda/ 'You may go later.'
[ˈna:ɟuŋegado:, ˈdwenda]

(ii) *Short stressed vowel*

적다 /ˈɟʌgi̇ta/ [ˈɟʌgi̇ta] 'to write down'
쓴다 /ˈṡinda/ [ˈṡɯnda] 'to use or write'
특명 /ˈtigmjʌŋ/ [ˈtɯŋmjʌŋ] 'special order'

The phonetic value of the unstressed long vowel like [i:] is close to that of the unstressed short vowel like [i], and the value of the stressed short vowel like [ˈi] is close to that of the stressed long vowel like [ˈi:]. For further information about the vowel and consonant quantity, see 2.5, 'Syllable Quantity and Stress'.

2.3.2. *Consonants*

2.3.2.1. /b, d, g/ *Bi-labial, alveolar and velar plosives*

(a) In the initial position, these phonemes are pronounced with little or no aspiration, i.e., [pʿ, tʿ, kʿ] or [b̥, d̥, g̊]. These are lax consonants and are pronounced very lightly and softly, e.g.

발 /bal/ 'foot', 달 /dal/ 'moon'
강 /gaŋ/ 'river'

(b) Between voiced sounds, i.e., between vowels or /m, n, ŋ, l/ and a vowel, these become fully voiced like the English /b, d, g/, i.e., [b, d, g], e.g.

가방 /gabaŋ/ 'brief-case',
사다리 /sadali/ [sadari] 'ladder'
지금 /ɟigim/ 'now', 심방 /simbaŋ/ 'visit'
신간 /singan/ 'new publication',
영감 /ɟʌ:ŋgam/ 'old man'

(c) In the final position of a syllable, they are pronounced without plosion, e.g.

집 /ɟib/ [ɟip˺] 'house'
맛 /mad/ [mat˺] 'taste'
국가 /gugka/ [g̊uk˺ˈka] 'nation'

2.3.2.2. /p, t, k/

These consonants, which occur only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, are pronounced with strong aspiration, e.g.

팔 /pal/ [pʰal] 'arm'
탈 /tal/ [tʰal] 'trouble'
칼 /kal/ [kʰal] 'knife'
차표 /capjo/ [cʰapʰjo] 'ticket'
사탕 /sataŋ/ [satʰaŋ] 'sugar'
식칼 /sigkal/ [sik˺ˈkʰal] 'kitchen knife'
석탄 /sʌgtan/ [sʌk˺ˈtʰan] 'coal'

2.3.2.3. /ṗ, ṫ, k̇/

These consonants, which occur only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, are pronounced with considerable tension in the articulatory organs, and consequently they sound very tense or hard compared to /b, d, g/. These consonants are very similar to the unaspirated /p, t, k/ in French, Chinese and Russian, e.g.

뿔 /ṗul/ [p'ul] 'horn'
땅 /ṫaŋ/ [t'aŋ] 'earth'
꿈 /k̇um/ [k'um] 'dream'
이따 /iṫa/ [it'a] 'later'
입다 /ibṫa/ [ip˺ˈt'a] 'to wear'
젊다 /ɟʌmṫa/ [ɟʌmt'a] 'young'

2.3.2.4. /ɟ, c, ċ/ *Post-alveolar affricates*

These are similar both in tongue position and quality to the English affricates occurring in 'chin' and 'judge', but unlike the English affricates, the Korean /ɟ, c, ċ/ are pronounced with spread lips.

Examples

/ɟ/ is a voiceless affricate with little or no aspiration in the initial position but fully voiced and unaspirated between voiced sounds. It does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

잠 /ɟam/ [ɟam] 'sleep'
집 /ɟib/ [ɟip˺] 'house'

지도 /ɟido/ [ɟido] 'map'
의자 /iiɟa/ [iiɟa], 'chair'
시장 /si:ɟaŋ/ [si:ɟaŋ] 'market'
전쟁 /ɟʌ:nɟeŋ/ [ɟɔ:nɟeŋ] 'war'

/c/ is voiceless and strongly aspirated syllable-initially and it does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

차 /ca/ [cʰa] 'tea'
책 /cɛg/ [cʰɛk'] 'book'
창 /caŋ/ [cʰaŋ] 'window'
기차 /gica/ [ġicʰa] 'train'
육체 /jugce/ [juk'cʰe] 'body'

/c̀/ is a voiceless unaspirated sound pronounced with a considerable tension in the articulatory organs, and consequently it sounds very hard or tense compared to /ɟ/ which is lax. This consonant occurs only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, e.g.

짜다 /c̀ada/ [c'ada] 'salty'
짬 /c̀am/ [c'am] 'time, space'
가짜 /ga:c̀a/ [ġa:c'a] 'fake'
곡조 /gogc̀o/ [ġok'c'o] 'tune, melody'

2.3.2.5. /s, s̀/ *Alveolar fricative*

These are both alveolar fricative sounds. /s/ is a lax sound which should be pronounced very softly. It occurs only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally. Sometimes it is accompanied by a slight aspiration, e.g.

산 /san/ 'mountain', 술 /sul/ 'wine'
의사 /iisa/ 'doctor', 조수 /ɟosu/ 'tide'

/s/, when followed by /i/ or /j/, is palatalized, i.e., [sj], e.g.

신 /sin/ [sjin] 'footwear'
부셔라 /busjʌla/ [b̥usjʌra] 'Break [it].'

/s̀/ is a voiceless, unaspirated sound pronounced with a considerable tension in the articulatory organs and consequently it sounds very tense or hard compared to /s/. This sound is similar to the English 's' sound as in 'sun', 'sack' etc. /s̀/, like /s/, occurs only syllable-initially and sometimes, though rarely, syllable-finally too when the succeeding syllable begins with the same sound, e.g.

쌀 /s̀al/ [s'al] 'rice'
씨름 /s̀iɾɯm/ [s'irɯm] 'wrestling'
싹 /s̀ag/ [s'ak'] 'sprout'
썩다 /s̀ʌgda/ [s'ʌk't'a] 'to rot'

비싼 /bis̀an/ [b̥is'an] 'expensive'
있어 /is̀s̀ʌ/ [is's'ʌ] 'Is [he] there?'

Like /s/, /s̀/ is palatalized when followed by /i/ or /j/, e.g.

씨 /s̀i/ [s'ji] 'seed'
씻다 /s̀idia/ [s'jit't'a] 'to wash'

2.3.2.6. /h/ *Glottal fricative*

/h/ is realized as the palatal fricative [ç] before [i] or [j], as the velar fricative [x] before [ɨ], as the labio-velar fricative [w] or [ʍ] before /u/ or /w/, and sometimes as the voiced [ɦ] between voiced sounds. Elsewhere it is realized as [h], e.g.

할아버지 /halabʌɟi/ [harabʌɟi] 'grandfather'
해 /hɛ/ 'sun', 힘 /him/ [çim] 'strength'
형 /hjʌŋ/ [çʌŋ] 'brother'
흙 /hɨg/ [xɯk'] 'soil'
후환 /huhwan/ [w̥uw̥an] or [w̥uwan] 'later trouble'

2.3.2.7. /m/ *Bilabial nasal*

/m/ = [m], e.g.

물 /mul/ 'water', 이마 /ima/ 'forehead'
짐 /ɟim/ [ɟim] 'burden',
심장 /simɟaŋ/ [simɟaŋ] or [sjimɟaŋ] 'heart'

2.3.2.8. /n/ *Alveolar nasal*

/n/ is realized as the palatal [ɲ] before /i/ or /j/ and as [n] elsewhere, e.g.

님 /nim/ [ɲim] 'beloved'
해녀 /hɛnjʌ/ [hɛɲjʌ] 'mermaid'
손 /son/ [son] 'hand',
돈 /don/ [d̥on] 'money'
문 /mun/ [mun] 'door'

2.3.2.9. /ŋ/ *Velar nasal*

/ŋ/ is like the 'ng' sound as in 'sing', 'king', e.g.

성 /sʌ:ŋ/ [sɔ:ŋ] 'surname'
방 /baŋ/ [b̥aŋ] 'room'
숭어 /suŋʌ/ [suŋʌ] 'trout'

/ŋ/ does not occur after pause or a consonant.

2.3.2.10. /l/ *Lateral and Flap*

The /l/ phoneme has two allophones, [l] and [r], i.e., a flapped 'r'. For the

sake of convenience [ɾ] is replaced by [r] elsewhere in this book. [l] occurs syllable-finally and after another /l/, and [r] between vowels and between a vowel and /h/. The Korean [l] is a clear and slightly retroflexed sound, i.e., pronounced with the tip of the tongue slightly curled back, e.g.

길 /gil/ [g̊il] 'road'
돌맹이 /dolmɛɲi/ [d̥olmɛɲi] 'stone'
빨리 /p̀alli/ [p'alli] 'quickly'
길이 /gili/ [g̊iri] 'length'
소리 /soli/ [sori] 'sound'
결함 /gjʌlham/ [gjʌr(h)am] 'shortcomings'

2.3.3. *Semi-vowels*

/j/ and /w/ are like /i/ and /u/, respectively, pronounced very short, i.e., [ĭ] and [ŭ], e.g.

별 /bjʌːl/ [bjəːll 'star', or [bĭəːl]
우유 /uju/ [uju] 'milk' or [uĭu]
왜 /wɛ/ [ŭɛ] 'why'
무어 /mwʌ/ [mŭʌ] 'what'

The phonetic values of the second element in the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs is the same as that given in 2.3.1. However the diphthong /ii/ may be realised as [ɯi−], [ŭ+i] or [uː] when stressed and [ŭ+ĭ−] or [i−] when unstressed, e.g.

의무 /ˈiimu/ [ˈɯĭ−mü], [ˈŭ+ĭmü] or [ˈɯːmü+] 'duty'
이의 /ˈiːii/ [ˈiːŭ+ĭ−] or [ˈiːĭ−] 'dissent'

The particle /ii/ 'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), which is usually unstressed, is realized as /e/ [ɛ−], e.g.

나의 꿈 /naii k̀um/ [naɛ k'um] 'my dream'

2.4. THE SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The canonical form of the Korean phonological syllables may be represented by the following formula, where V stands for vowel, the nucleus, and C^i the initial consonant and C^f the final consonant. The elements in the brackets are optional:

Korean syllable structure: $(C^i) V (C^f)$

Examples

(i)   V   : 이 /i/ 'this', 애 /ɛ/ 'child'
(ii) CV   : 나 /na/ 'I', 소 /so/ 'cow'
(iii) VC   : 알 /al/ 'egg', 일 /iːl/ 'business'
(iv) CVC : 살 /sal/ 'flesh', 적 /jʌg/ 'enemy'
              빰 /p̀jam/ 'cheek'
              영원 /jʌː ŋwʌn/ 'eternity'

Any consonant can fill the position C^i in the formula exept /ŋ/ and /l/ which can occur only in non-post-pausal positions, i.e., positions other than those following a pause, e.g.

송아지 /soŋaɟi/ 'calf'
방 /baŋ/ 'room'
다리 /dali/ 'bridge'
차로 /calo/ 'by car'

Any vowel or diphthong can fill the position V, but when C^i is present, the occurrence of some diphthongs in the V position is restricted: the following combinations are very infrequent.[1]

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}/b/\\/p/\\/p̀/\\/m/\end{array}\right\} + \left\{\begin{array}{l}/je/\\/jɛ/\\/wi/\\/ii/\end{array}\right.$$

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}/d/\\/t/\\/t̀/\\/ɟ/\\/c/\\/c̀/\\/s/\\/š/\end{array}\right\} + \left\{\begin{array}{l}/je/\\/jɛ/\\/ja/\\/jo/\\/ju/\\/jʌ/\end{array}\right.$$

However, /s/ + /jʌ/ sequence is very common in verbal suffixes, such as 하셨다 /hasjʌsda/, etc.

There are only seven consonants which can fill the position C^f: they are /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/.

Examples

/b/ : 밥 /bab/ 'meal', 부업 /buʌb/ 'sideline'
/d/ : 곧 /god/ 'at once', 밭 /bad/ 'field'
/g/ : 국 /gug/ 'soup', 꺾자 /k̀ʌgc̀a/ 'Let's cut it.'
/m/ : 짐 /ɟim/ 'burden', 감사 /gamsa/ 'thanks'
/n/ : 산 /san/ 'mountain', 손자 /sonɟa/ 'grandson'
/ŋ/ : 상 /saŋ/ 'prize', 영국 /jʌŋgug/ 'England'
/l/ : 쌀 /s̀al/ 'rice', 밀다 /milda/ 'to push'
        마을로 /maillo/ 'to a village'

2.5. SYLLABLE QUANTITY AND STRESS

It was stated in discussing 'Vowel Quantity and Stress' (cf. 2.2.4.1) that there is a regular correlation between vowel quantity and stress and that a lexically long vowel is phonetically long if it is accompanied by a (strong) stress, but short if unstressed. This was a true statement about the effect of stress on the

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[1] Ung Hŏ, *Kugŏ ŭmunnon* ('Korean Phonology'), 1968, p. 73.

lexically long vowel. However, it cannot be a complete account of the overall effects of stress because the stress affects not only the lexically long vowels but also short vowels and consonants. In other words, the stress affects the syllable as a whole. The following is a brief description of the effects of stress on the syllable quantity.

(*a*) A stressed syllable is phonetically longer than an unstressed syllable. Thus in the word 모자 /ˈmoːja/ [ˈmoːja] 'mother and child' the stressed syllable /ˈmoː/ is longer than /ja/ which is unstressed.

Similarly, the word 모자 /ˈmoja/ 'hat' in citation form is pronounced [ˈmoːja] where /ˈmo/ is phonetically longer than /ja/.

(*b*) A stressed open syllable with a lexically long vowel, i.e., (Cⁱ)V:, is phonetically longer than a stressed open syllable with a lexically short vowel, i.e., (Cⁱ)V. Thus in

모자 /ˈmoːja/ [ˈmoːja] 'mother and son'
모자 /ˈmoja/ [ˈmoːja] 'cap, hat'

/ˈmoː/ is longer than /ˈmo/, and /ˈmo/ may be more accurately represented phonetically as [ˈmoˑ], where the dot after [o] stands for 'half long'.

(*c*) The lengthening of a stressed syllable can be effected by a vowel or a consonant, and this depends partly on the syllable structure of the stressed syllable:

(i)   If a stressed syllable includes a lexically long vowel, it is the vowel which occurs long and thus contributes to the lengthening of the syllable regardless of whether the syllable structure is (Cⁱ)V: or (Cⁱ)V:Cᶠ, e.g.

보조 /ˈboːjo/ [ˈbo̥ːjo] 'support'
시조 /ˈsiːjo/ [ˈsiːjo] 'founder'
연구 /ˈjʌːngu/ [ˈjəːngu] 'research'
방송 /ˈbaːŋsoŋ/ [ˈbaːŋsoŋ] 'broadcasting'

(ii) If the stressed syllable includes a lexically short vowel and is of (Cⁱ)V structure, then the vowel is phonetically long or more accurately half long and the syllable as a whole is longer than an unstressed syllable, e.g.

사다리 /saˈdali/ [saˈdaːri] 'ladder'
이미 /ˈimi/ [ˈiːmi] 'already' or /iˈmi/ [iˈmiː]

On the other hand, if the stressed syllable with a lexically short vowel has the structure (Cⁱ)VCᶠ, then it is the final consonant Cᶠ, not the vowel, which is lengthened, usually longer than the preceding vowel, and thus contributes to the overall quantity of the syllable, e.g.

벌 /ˈbʌl/ [ˈb̥ʌl:] 'punishment'
        cf. 벌 /ˈbʌːl/ [ˈb̥əːl] 'bee'

밤 /ˈbam/ [ˈb̥am:] 'night'
        cf. 밤 /ˈbaːm/ [ˈbaːm] 'chestnut'

전도 /ˈjʌndo/ [ˈjʌn:do] 'mission, transmission'
        cf. 전도 /ˈjʌːndo/ [jəːndo] 'fall'
적다 /ˈjʌgta/ [ˈjʌk:t'a] 'to write down'
        cf. 적다 /ˈjʌːgta/ [ˈjəːk't'a] 'small'

The observation of the lengthening of the final consonant in the stressed syllable of (Cⁱ) V Cᶠ structure is by no means new. G. J. Ramstedt mentioned this phenomenon in his *Korean Grammar* as far back as 1939, but unfortunately, this important observation has not been developed any further, either by Ramstedt himself or other scholars, as an important stepping stone for additional research in stress, quantity and ultimately 'Rhythm' of Korean.

2.6. STRESS GROUP[1]

'Stress Group' is an important phonological unit, larger and hierarchically higher than the syllable, and serves as a basis for any serious discussion on Korean 'Rhythm' and 'Intonation'. It may also be called the 'Rhythmic Unit' insofar as it functions as a basic unit of Korean rhythm.

The stress group is here defined as a strongly stressed syllable with or without preceding and/or following weakly stressed or unstressed syllable(s). In other words, a stress group may consist of one stressed syllable or one such syllable plus one or more unstressed syllable(s).

Examples

One stress group
무어 /ˈmuʌ/ 'What?'
무어요 /ˈmuʌjo/ 'What?'
넌 무어야 /nʌnˈmuʌja/ 'What about you?'
그럼 /giˈlʌm/ 'Of course.'
너 무어하고 있니 /nʌnˈmuʌhagoinni/ 'What are you doing?'

Two stress groups
네네 /ˈne ˈne/ 'Yes, yes.'
잘가 /ˈjal ˈga/ 'Go safely.'
나라도 할까 /naˈlado ˈhalka/ '[Do you think] I can do it?'
왜 갑자기 떠나니 /wɛ ˈgabcagi ˈtʌˈnani/
        'Why are you leaving so suddenly?'

Three stress groups
하나 둘 셋 /haˈna ˈduːl ˈseːd/ 'one, two, three'
오늘은 날이 춥구나 /oˈnilin naˈli ˈcubkuna/ 'It is cold today.'

[1] Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964, 3.10. For further details concerning the stress group and various related problems see also 3.10.1–6, pp. 61–80.

그 전쟁이 끝나자 돌아왔다 /giˈʤʌːnjɛɲi ˈk̀innaʤa dolaˈwadìa/
'He came back as soon as that war ended.'

In the above examples of two and three stress groups a space is used to indicate the boundary between two successive stress groups.

2.6.1. *Stress Group and Word*

The phonological unit 'Stress Group' and the grammatical unit 'Word' (cf. 3.1) do not always correspond. A stress group may include more than a word, which is usually the case, and it may consists of part of a word, e.g.

(*a*) *Stress group = Word*
다섯 여섯 일곱 /ˈdasʌd ˈjʌsʌd ˈilgob/ 'five, six, seven'
아 그래 /ˈa giˈlɛ/ 'Oh, is that so?'

(*b*) *Stress group of more than a word*
아침신문이 여기있다 /aˈcimsìnmuni jʌˈgiita/
'The morning paper is here.'
또 왜 왔어 /ìoˈwɛwasʌ/ 'Why did you come again?'

(*c*) *Stress group of part of a word*
몰라 /ˈmol ˈla/ 'You don't know [this]?'
아니 /ˈa ˈni/ 'No, [not that]!'

2.6.2. *Rules Governing the Number of Stress Groups and the Position of Stress*

It is clear by now that an utterance or a sentence consists of, or is analysed into, one or more stress group(s) in spoken Korean. But what is not known is how many stress groups a given sentence is to be analysed into and which syllable in a stress group is to be stressed. Rules can be formulated whereby one may predict the possible number of stress groups in a sentence and the position of the stress within a stress group.

2.6.2.1. *Number of Stress Groups in a Sentence*

There are several factors which determine the number of stress groups in a given sentence.

2.6.2.1.1. *Length of Sentence*

A long sentence including many words tends to be broken into more stress groups than a shorter one, e.g.

오늘은 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없다
/oˈnilin ˈnalsìga ˈʤoːasʌ haˈnìle guˈlimi ˈʌːbìa/
'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky.'
네 /ˈne/ 'Yes'

2.6.2.1.2. *Tempo of Speech*

The faster the tempo of speech the fewer stress groups there tend to be in a sentence, e.g.

(*a*) *Slow tempo* (six stress groups)
/oˈnilin ˈnalsìga ˈʤoːasʌ haˈnìle guˈlimi ˈʌːbìa/

(*b*) *Fast tempo* (four stress groups)
/oˈnilin ˈnalsìgaʤoːasʌ haˈnìle guˈlimiʌːbìa/

(*c*) *Faster tempo* (two stress groups)
/onilin ˈnalsìgaʤoːasʌ hanile guˈlimiʌːbìa/

2.6.2.1.3. *Grammatical Factor*

(i) Particles (cf. 3.3.5) occur usually as part of a stress group except in a very slow and emphatic speech when they can form a separate stress group on their own, e.g.

날씨가 /ˈnalsìga/ 'the weather'
하늘에 /haˈnìle/ 'in the sky'
구름이 /guˈlimi/ 'the cloud'
cf. /ˈnalsì ˈga/

(ii) The elements of a clause (cf. 6.2) such as 'Subject' 'Predicate', 'Object', 'Adjunct' etc., tend to form a separate stress group in slow speech, although they tend to lose the stress and become part of the preceding or following stress group. In particular, the end of a non-final adverbial clause nearly always indicates the stress group boundary, e.g.

/oˈnilin ˈnalsìga ˈʤoːasʌ haˈnìle guˈlimi ˈʌːbìa/
     A   S   P   A   S   P
                        nf.cl.

The number of syllables found in a stress group pronounced at the normal tempo varies from one to five or six.

2.6.2.2. *Position of Stress within a Stress Group*

The factors determining the position of stress within a stress group are (i) Syllable structure (ii) Lexically long vowel; (iii) Attitude; and (iv) Emphasis. Factors (i) and (ii) are also important criteria for determining the stressed syllable of individual words.

2.6.2.2.1. *Syllable Structure as Determining Factor*

(i)   If a stress group has the syllable structure (C)V (C)V(C) CV(C) C... it is usually the second syllable which carries the stress unless the first

syllable has a lexically long vowel, in which case the first syllable is stressed, e.g.

우아 /uˈa/ 'elegance, grace'
아기 /aˈgi/ 'baby'
무어 /muˈʌ/ 'what'
어머니 /ʌˈmʌni/ 'mother'
하다가 /haˈdaga/ 'while doing'
도라지 /doˈlaɟi/ 'Chinese bellflower'
노래로 /noˈlɛlo/ 'in song'
희망의 날 /hiˈmaŋenal/ 'the day of hope'
서울대학교 /sʌˈuldɛhagk̚jo/ 'Seoul University'
집어라 /ɟiˈbʌla/ 'Pick [it] up.'
가겠오 /gaˈgeš̀šo/ 'Will you go?'

but

사람 /ˈsaːlam/ 'man, person'
이도령 /ˈiːdolɟʌŋ/ 'Mr/Master Lee'
보관소 /ˈboːgwanso/ 'depository'

(ii) If a stress group has the structure (C)VC CV(C) CV(C) C... it is the first syllable which is stressed irrespective of the lexical vowel quantity of the first syllable, e.g.

적다 { /ˈɟʌːgìa/ 'to be small'
      { /ˈɟʌgìa/ 'to write down'
양모 { /ˈjaːŋmo/ 'foster mother'
      { /ˈjaŋmo/ 'sheep's fleece'
영국사람 /ˈjʌŋgugsàːlam/ 'Englishman'
언제부터 /ˈʌːnɟebutʌ/ 'Since when?'
먹습니다 /ˈmʌgš̀imnida/ '[He] is eating.'
cf. /mʌˈgʌš̀šimnida/ '[He] ate.'

The last two examples show clearly how the syllable structure determines the position of the stress.

2.6.2.2.2. Lexically Long Vowel

This factor has already been discussed in relation to 'Syllable Structure as Determining Factor' (cf. preceding section).

2.6.2.2.3. Attitude as Determining Factor

The attitude[1] of a speaker, which is closely related to 'Intonation', may determine the stress position within a stress group. For instance, the stress shifted to the last syllable of a stress group, especially of a last stress group in a sentence, indicates a warm and friendly attitude on the part of the speaker towards a listener. On the other hand, the stress may shift to the first syllable of a stress group to show a solemn authoritative attitude, e.g.

어째서 /ʌˈč̀esʌ/ 'Why?' — normal
      /ʌčɛˈsʌ/ 'Why?' — friendly
      /ˈʌč̀esʌ/ 'Why?' — authoritative

[1] See Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964, 3.10.3.3.

The forward shifting of the stress from the second syllable to the first in the words of (C)V CV(C) C... structure seems to be not infrequent when they occur in isolation or in citation, e.g. /ˈmoɟa/ 'cap' (cf. 2.5(a)). Notice that /moˈɟa/ is more frequent than /ˈmoɟa/ even as a citation form.

2.6.2.2.4. Emphasis as Determining Factor

This factor is concerned with a long stress group, i.e., one consisting of many syllables, and accounts for the way in which the speaker places the stress on a word which he considers to be important within the stress group. For instance, in 오늘은 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없다 /onilinˈnalš̀igaɟo:asʌ hanile guˈlimi ʌːbìa/ 'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky', /nalš̀i/ 'weather' and /gulim/ are chosen as the words to be emphasized and accordingly stressed.

2.7. JUNCTURE

A sequence of phonemes may have two different meanings depending on where one makes a short momentary break. For instance, the sequence /abʌɟigabaŋe/ translates 'Father in the room', when it is pronounced as /abʌɟiga baŋe/ with a short break between /ga/ and /ba/, but it means 'In the father's briefcase', if the same sequence is pronounced as /abʌɟi gabaŋe/ with a break between /ɟi/ and /ga/. Such a break or pause is called 'Juncture.'

There are three types of juncture in Korean:

(i) Plus juncture /+/
(ii) Tentative juncture /,/
(iii) Terminal juncture /./

The three junctures are established by the combined criteria of the phonetic features associated with the syllable immediately preceding and following the junctures and the physical pause.

The plus juncture /+/, which may or may not be accompanied by a short momentary pause, is realized as a slight prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable. For example in /abʌɟiga + baŋe/ 'Father [is] in the room', the syllable /ga/ is prolonged a little and the phoneme /b/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless plosive sound [b] or [p̚]. On the other hand, in /abʌɟi + gabaŋe/ 'in Father's briefcase' it is the syllable /ɟi/ which is prolonged and the /g/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless sound [g̊] or [k̚] whereas the /b/ in /gabaŋe/ is now fully voiced [b]. Perhaps it is worth mentioning in passing that the pre-junctural open syllable is the place where a lexically short vowel is realized as an unstressed long or half-long vowel (cf. 2.3.1.9). Thus /aˈbʌɟi/ and /aˈbʌɟiga/ are phonetically realized as [aˈbʌːɟiː] and [aˈbʌːɟigaː] respectively.

The tentative juncture /,/, which is usually accompanied by a pause longer than that of the plus juncture, is realized as a prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable on a rising or falling pitch, whereas the pitch contour associated with the syllable preceding the plus juncture is usually level, e.g.

끊어버려 /k̇inʌ, bʌljʌ/ 'Cut and throw it away.'
       /k̇inʌ + bʌljʌ/ 'Cut it off.'
갔나봐요 /ganna, bwajo/ 'See if he's gone.'
       /ganna + bwajo/ or /gannabwajo/ 'I think he's gone.'

The terminal juncture /./ is always accompanied by a pause, usually, but not necessarily, longer than that of the tentative juncture, and the rising or falling pitch contour associated with the syllable immediately preceding the terminal juncture is more extensive than in the case of other junctures. The terminal juncture occurs at the end of a sentence (cf. 7.1), and the plus and tentative junctures occur usually within a sentence, marking structures smaller than a sentence, i.e., clause, phrase or word. The contrasts of the plus, tentative, terminal junctures and junctureless transition are illustrated below:

1(*a*) 오늘아침   신문봤니
      /oˈnilacim, ˈsinmunbwanni./
      'Did you read a newspaper this morning?'

  (*b*) 오늘   아침신문   봤니
      /oˈnil (+) acimsinmun, ˈbwanni./
      'Did/have you read this morning's paper?/'

  (*c*) 오늘   아침신문   봤니
      /oˈnil, aˈcims̀inmun +/, ˈbwanni./
      'Have you read a morning paper today?'

  (*d*) 오늘   아침   신문봤니
      /oˈnil, aˈcim, ˈsinmunbwanni./
      'Did you read a paper today, in the morning.'

2(*a*) 네가 가야   된다
      /negaˈgaja(+)⁽ʾ⁾ dwenda./ 'You must go.'

  (*b*) 네가 가야   된다
      /negaˈgaja, ˈdwenda./ 'It will work [only] when/if you go/[are there].'

3(*a*) 밥을   먹고   있겠다
      /babil +/, ˈmʌgk̇o + ˈidk̇ed̀ia./ '[He] may be having his meal [now].'

  (*b*) 밥을   먹고   있겠다
      /babil +/, ˈmʌgk̇o, ˈidk̇ed̀ia./
      '[He] may be staying [there] after having his meal.'

The plus juncture often serves to distinguish a phrase from a compound word which does not include a juncture, e.g.

보리쌀 /boˈlis̀al/ 'barley (grains)' — compound word
보리 쌀 /boˈli + s̀al/ 'barley and rice' — phrase
산길 /ˈsank̇il/ 'mountain path' — compound word
산 길 /ˈsan + gil/ 'mountain and path' — phrase

It is to be noted that the plus juncture and tentative juncture are not always contrastive or distinctive, the occurrence of one or the other depending on the tempo of speech or individual speech habit. The same is true of the contrast between the plus juncture and junctureless transition. For example, in the following sentences

먹고 있겠다 /ˈmʌgk̇o + ˈidk̇ed̀ia./
   '[He] may be having his meal [now].'
먹고 있겠다 /ˈmʌgk̇o, ˈidk̇ed̀ia./
   '[He] may be staying [there] after having his meal.'

the plus and tentative juncture are distinctive, but they are not in the following examples:

밥을 먹고 /baˈbil +/, ˈmʌgk̇o./ 'after eating'
바보와 거지 /ˈba:bowa +/, ˈgʌ:ji/ 'a fool and a beggar'

Similarly, the plus juncture and a junctureless transition are distinctive in the

보리 쌀 /boˈli + s̀al/ 'barley and rice'
보리쌀 /boˈlis̀al/ 'barley (grains)'

but they are not in

끊어 버려 /k̇iˈnʌ + bʌˈljʌ/ 'Cut it off.'
끊어버려 /k̇iˈnʌbʌljʌ/ 'Cut it off.'

Note that the juncture and the stress group boundary coincide, i.e., every stress group is followed by a juncture, whether plus, tentative or terminal. Thus 하나 둘 /haˈna ˈdul/ 'one, two' may be juncturally realized as

       /haˈna + ˈdul./
하나 둘 /haˈna, ˈdul./
       /haˈna. ˈdul./

From now on, the plus juncture /+/ will be marked by the space given between two consecutive stress groups, and the terminal juncture occurring at the end of a sentence and followed by the oblique will not be marked, to simplify the notation.

2.8. INTONATION

The intonation system employed in this work is the one set up by the author elsewhere[1] for purposes not directly related to grammatical or syntactic

[1] See Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964.

description. That is to say, the following seventeen intonation tunes were originally abstracted on the basis of the contrastive attitudinal meanings which they carry.

Falling Tunes

    1. Low Fall /ˌne/ 'Yes'
    2. High Fall /ˋne/ 'Yes'
    3. Full Fall /\ne/ 'Yes'

Rising Tunes

    4. Low Rise /ˏne/
    5. High Rise /ˊne/
    6. Full Rise //ne/

Falling-Rising Tunes

    7. Low Fall-Rise /ˬne/
    8. High Fall-Rise /ˇne/

Rising-Falling Tunes

    9. Low Rise-Fall /ˌne/
    10. High Rise-Fall /ˆne/

Falling-Rising-Falling Tunes

    11. Low Fall-Rise-Fall /ˬˌne/
    12. High Fall-Rise-Fall /ˇˋne/

Rising-Falling-Rising Tunes

    13. Low Rise-Fall-Rise /ˬˌne/
    14. High Rise-Fall-Rise /ˆˇne/

Level Tunes

    15. Low Level Tune /˗ne/
    16. Mid Level Tune /-ne/
    17. High Level Tune /¯ne/

Every tune may be realized on one or more syllables, and the syllable at which a tune begins, i.e., the one before which the tonetic mark is placed, is strongly stressed. That is to say, an intonational tune is realized over a stress group, and consequently, there are as many intonational tunes as there are stress groups in a sentence.

In the following diagrammatic representations of intonational tunes, two parallel lines indicate the upper and lower limit of the normal voice range: = stands for the pitch of a stressed syllable and — that of an unstressed syllable.

(*a*)   왜   왜요
/ˌwɛ/ 'Why?'   /ˌwɛjo/ 'Why?'

(*b*)   가십시요
/ˏgasibšijo/ 'Please go!'

(*c*)   가   빨리 가
/ˊga/ 'Go?'   /ˊp̓alliga/ 'Go quickly?'

(*d*)   왜   왜 가요
/ˆwɛ/ 'Why?'   /ˆwɛgajo/ 'Why are you going?'

(*e*)   왜   먼저가니
/ˆˇwɛ/ 'Why?'   /ˆˇmʌnɟʌgani/ 'Are you going first?'

(*f*)   그래요
/-gilɛjo/ 'Is that so!'

(*g*)   날아 갑니까?
/nalaˊgamnik̓a/ 'Is it flying away?'

(*h*)   그는 전쟁이 끝나자 돌아 왔다
/ginin-ɟʌːnɟɛŋi ˏk̓innaɟa, dolaˏwadi̓a/

'[He] returned as soon as the war ended.'

2.9. INTONEMES

In relating intonation to grammar it has been found that not every one of the 17 intonational tunes is grammatically distinctive. In fact, for the type of syntactic description made in this book, only four kinds of intonational contrast are found to be syntactically relevant. Accordingly, the 17 intonational tunes set up according to the attitudinal functions are here reclassified into the four syntactically relevant classes, each having a distinct function as the phonological exponent of syntactic categories and relations. The four intonation classes, termed 'Intonemes' to stress the grammatical or syntactical, rather than attitudinal, function(s), and their membership are as follows:

(i)   Intoneme LF (Low Fall):

         (*a*) Low Fall, (*b*) Low Rise-Fall, (*c*) Low Fall-Rise-Fall

(ii)   Intoneme HF (High Fall):

         (*a*) High Fall, (*b*) Full Fall,
         (*c*) High Rise-Fall, (*d*) High Fall-Rise-Fall

(iii) Intoneme R (Rise):

         (*a*) Low Rise, (*b*) High Rise, (*c*) Full Rise
         (*d*) Low Fall-Rise, (*e*) High Fall-Rise,
         (*f*) Low Rise-Fall-Rise, (*g*) High Rise-Fall-Rise

(iv)   Intoneme L (Level):

         (*a*) Low Level, (*b*) High Level, (*c*) Mid Level

Syntactical contrasts exhibited by intonemes may be exemplified as follows:

     (*a*) Intoneme LF
         누가   가 /nuga˲ga/ 'Someone is going.'
     (*b*) Intoneme HF
         누가   가 /nuga`ga/ 'Who is going?'
     (*c*) Intoneme R
         누가   가 /nuga´ga/ 'Is anyone going?'
     (*d*) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
         먹고 있다 /-mʌgk̊o ˲idˌa/ '[He] is eating.'
     (*e*) Intoneme LF + Intoneme LF
         먹고 있다 /˲mʌgk̊o ˲idˌa/
         '[He] is [in the room] after meal (after having eaten].'

2.10. TRANSCRIPTION

Except in certain contexts where a morphemic transcription is used to show the internal structure of grammatical forms more clearly, the transcription system employed in this book is a phonemic one whereas the Korean orthography is in principle morphemic or morphophonemic in that every morpheme or word is uniformly represented by its base form wherever it occurs. For instance the Korean words for 'light' and 'comb' are both pronounced the same, i.e., /bid/ when they occur in isolation or are followed by a word that begins with a consonant; but they are spelt differently in the Korean orthography, i.e., 빛 'light'; 빗 'comb'.

Now the reason why the above two words are spelt differently in the Korean writing system even though they are pronounced the same in some contexts is because they are in fact pronounced differently in some other contexts, i.e., when they are followed by a particle that begins with a vowel. For instance, before the subject particle /i/, these words are phonemically represented as 빛이 /bici/ 'the light'; 빗이 /bisi/ 'the comb'.

It is therefore necessary to give some kind of rule whereby one can work out the phonemic transcription from the Korean spelling. The rules given below are general and if we apply one or more of them to the Korean orthography, or to the examples given in the Korean orthography, the resultant form will be a correct phonemic transcription, unless the particular example involves an irregular morphophonemic change. Such cases of irregular change cannot be covered by the general rules listed here, but must be dealt with individually as they occur. The most common type of irregular morphophonemic change is found in compound nouns, e.g.

     냇가 /nɛdk̊a/ 'bank of a stream'
         < /nɛ/ 'stream' + /ga/ 'side, edge'
     옷안 /odan/ 'inside of clothes'
         < /od/ (< os) 'clothes' + /an/ 'inside'

In the compound word /nɛdk̊a/, we have an extra phoneme /d/, or the grapheme 's' as it is known to Korean scholars, because the same phenomenon is indicated in Korean orthography by an additional 's' letter called '사이시옷' /saisiod/. This additional /d/ is something that cannot be explained in terms of these general rules, whereas the change /g/ to /k̊/ is a straightforward case. Similarly, the word /odan/ is not the form that one would expect in the light of the general rules, i.e., /osan/.

To derive a phonemic transcription from the Korean spelling (or a morphemic transcription) one or more of the following rules must be applied.

1. *b/d/g/ɟ/s* > /p̀/, /t̀/, /k̀/, /c̀/, /s̀/ when immediately preceded by a plosive consonant, e.g.

    입고 *ibgo* > /ibk̀o/ 'to wear and'
    업다 *ʌbda* > /ʌbt̀a/ 'to carry on the back'
    석 달 *sʌ:g dal* > /sʌ:gt̀al/ 'three months'
    악보 *agbo* > /agp̀o/ 'musical note'
    돕게 *dobge* > /dobk̀e/ 'Help [him].'
    받지 *badɟi* > /badc̀i/ '[I will] take [it].'
    믿소 *midso* > /mids̀o/ '[I] believe so.'

2. *b/d/g/ɟ/s* > /p̀/, /t̀/, /k̀/, /c̀/, /s̀/ when immediately preceded by a /l/-final word, and by a /l/-final morpheme in many Sino-Korean words, e.g.

    가릴 벽 /galil bjʌg/ > /galilp̀jʌg/ 'a wall to cover'
    열 달 /jʌ:l dal/ > /jʌ:lt̀al/ 'ten months'
    찰 공 *cal goŋ* > /calk̀oŋ/ 'a ball to kick'
    살 집 *sal ɟib* > /salc̀ib/ 'a house to buy'
    올 사람 *ol sa:lam* > /ols̀a:lam/ 'a person to come'
    발달 *baldal* > /balt̀al/ 'development'
    걸작 *gʌlɟag* > /gʌlc̀ag/ 'masterpiece'
    실수 *silsu* > /sils̀u/ 'mistake'

3. *d/g/ɟ/s* > /t̀/, /k̀/, /c̀/, /s̀/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in *m/n* or *lb/lp/lt/lg/lm/bs/nɟ*, e.g.

    감다 *gamda* > /gamt̀a/ 'to close'
    남게 *namge* > /namk̀e/ 'Stay behind.'
    심자 *simɟa* > /simc̀a/ 'Let's sow [seeds].'
    신세 *sinse* > /sins̀e/ 'Let's put on [shoes].'
    얇다 *jalbda* > /jalbt̀a/ 'thin' (> /jalt̀a/ cf. rule 8)
    읊자 *ilpɟa* > /ilpc̀a/ 'Let's recite' (> /ibc̀a/ cf. rule 8)
    핥다 *haltda* > /halt̀a/ 'to lick' (cf. rule 7 and 2)
    긁지 *gilgɟi* > /gilgc̀i/ '[Does he] scratch?' (> /gigc̀i/ cf. rule 6 and 1)
    젊소 *ɟʌlmso* > /ɟʌlms̀o/ '[You are] young.' (> /ɟʌms̀o/ by rule 7)
    없다 *ʌ:bsda* > /ʌ:bt̀a/ 'to lack' (< /ʌ:bst̀a/ cf. rule 4)
    앉다 *anɟda* > /ant̀a/ 'to sit' (< /anɟt̀a/ cf. rule 7)

4. *p/bs* > /b/ in the environment −C/#, e.g.

    값 *gabs* > /gab/ 'price'
    깊다 *gipda* > /gibda/ (> /gibt̀a/ cf. rule 1)

5. *t/s/s̀/ɟ/c* > /d/ in the environment −C/#, e.g.

    같고 *gatgo* > /gadgo/ 'is the same and' (> /gadk̀o/ cf. rule 1)
    벗게 *bʌsge* > /bʌdge/ 'Take off [shirt].' (> /bʌdke/ cf. rule 1)

갔지 *gasɟi* > /gadɟi/ '[She] has gone.' (> /gadc̀i/ cf. rule 1)
멎더라도 *mʌɟdʌlado* > /mʌddʌlado/ 'even if [it] stops' (> /mʌdt̀ʌlado/ cf. rule 1)
꽃 *koc* > /kod/ 'flower'

6. *k/k̀/gs/lg* > /g/ in the environment −C/#, e.g.

    부엌 *buʌk* > /buʌg/ 'kitchen'
    낚다 *nakda* > /nagda/ 'to catch [fish]' (> /nagt̀a/ cf. rule 1)
    삯 *sags* > /sag/ 'fee, wage'
    닭 *dalg* > /dag/ 'chicken'

7. *lm/lt/nɟ* > /m/, /l/, /n/ in the environment −C/#, e.g.

    삶 *salm* > /sam/ 'life, living'
    젊다 *ɟʌlmda* > /ɟʌmda/ 'to be young' (> /ɟʌmt̀a/ cf. rule 3)
    핥고 *haltgo* > /halgo/ 'to lick and' (> /halk̀o/ cf. rule 2)
    앉게 *anɟge* > /ange/ 'Sit down.' (> /ank̀e/ cf. rule 3)

8. *lb/lp* > /l/ or /b/ in the environment −C/#, e.g.

    짧다 *càlbda* > /càlda/ 'short' (> /càlt̀a/ cf. rule 2)
    읊다 *ilpda* > /ilda/ 'to recite' (> /ilt̀a/ cf. rule 2)
    > /ibda/ (> /ibt̀a/ cf. rule 1)

9. *b/d/g* > /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ in the environment −*m/n*, e.g.

    밥 맛 *bab mas* > /bammad/ 'appetite' (< /bammas/ cf. rule 5)
    깁네 *gibne* > /gimne/ '[She] is sewing.'
    걷나 *gʌ:dna* > /gʌ:nna/ 'Are you walking?'
    영국 날씨 *jʌŋgug nals̀i* > /jʌŋguŋnals̀i/ 'English weather'

10. *n* > /l/ in the environment −*l* or *l*−, e.g.

    천 리 *cʌn li* > /cʌlli/ 'a thousand leagues'
    열 나라 *jʌ:l nala* > /jʌ:llala/ 'ten countries'
    갈 날 *gal nal* > /gallal/ 'day of departure'

11. *d/t* > /c/ in the environment −*hi/i*; *d* > /ɟ/ in the environment −*i*, e.g.

    닫히다 *dadhida* > /dacida/ 'to be closed'
    같이 *gati* > /gaci/ 'together'
    굳이 *gudi* > /guɟi/ 'firmly'

12. Verb stem final (*n/l*)*h* + *g/d/ɟ* > /(n/l)k, (n/l)t, (n/l)c*/, e.g.

    좋고 *ɟo:h-* 'to be good' + *-go* > /ɟo:ko/
    많다 *ma:nh-* 'to be many' + *-da* > /ma:nta/
    옳지 *olh-* 'to be correct' + *-ɟi* > /olci/

13. Verb stem final *lh* + *n/s* > /ln/, /ls/, e.g.

앓네 *alh-* 'to be ill' + *-ne* > /alne/(> /alle/ cf. rule 10)
앓소 *alh-* 'to be ill' + *-so* > /also/ (> /alšo/ cf. rule 2)

14. Verb stem final *h* + *n/s* > /dn/, /ds/, e.g.
좋네 *ɟo:h-* 'to be good' + *-ne* > /ɟo:dne/ (> /ɟo:nne/ cf. rule 9)
좋소 *ɟo:h-* 'to be good' + *-so* > /ɟo:dso/ (> /ɟo:dšo/ cf. rule 1)

15. *d/t* > /s/ when followed by /s/, e.g.

믿소 /midso/ '(I) believe so.' > /misšo/ (cf. rule 1)
좋소 /ɟo:dso/ '(It) is good.' > /ɟo:sšo/ (cf. rule 1)

III
WORD AND WORD CLASSES

3.1. DEFINITION OF WORD

Any form which exhibits the characteristics of (i) relative fixity of internal structure, (ii) freedom of positional mobility in larger structures, and (iii) independence, is a word.

(i) *Relative fixity of internal structure*

The internal make-up of words cannot be altered[1] or the components re-arranged, and in the case of words comprising more than one morpheme, the order of morphemes is also fixed. For instance, in the following examples,

빗나간다 *bisnaganda* /binnaganda/ '[It] is going astray.'
< *bis-* 'astray' prfx. + *naga-* 'to go out' V.st. + *-nda* inflx.sfx.
풋과실 *pusgwasil* /pudkwasil/ 'unripe fruits'
< *pus-* 'unripe' prfx. + *gwasil* 'fruit' N.

no internal alteration or re-arrangement is possible, except as already noted. Also, no intra-morphemic interruption by other forms or junctures is possible in normal speech.

(ii) *Freedom of positional mobility*

Words have the maximum freedom of positional mobility in syntactic structures. The best example of this criterion is provided by verbs, which when appropriately inflected, may function in many different syntactic positions, e.g.

V as sentence predicate
외국에 갑니다 weguge *gamnida* '[He] is going abroad.'
                                V
V as a non-final clause
가면 좋다 *gamjʌn* ɟota 'It is good if [you] go.'
              V
V as an adjectival clause
가는 사람 *ganin* sa:lam 'the one who is going'
                V
V as a nominal clause
감이 쉽다 *gami* swibɪa 'Going is easy.'
              V

[1] Except for the change in the phonological shape which is due to morphophonemic alterations.

(iii) *Independence*

All words may occur alone preceded and followed by the terminal juncture, i.e., as a sentence, except adjectives and particles (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.3.5), which rarely occur alone, e.g.

집 *ɟib* 'house' N
언제 *ʌnɟe* 'When?' N
길다 *gilda* '[It] is long.' V
오 *o* 'Oh!' Interj.
천천히 *cʌncʌnhi* 'slowly' Adv.

3.1.1. *Phonological Criterion for the Definition of Word*

Most words have a stress on one of the first two syllables when they occur as citation forms, i.e., in isolation, and have the potential of taking one when they occur in larger constructions, with the exception of particles (cf. 3.3.5) which usually occur weakly stressed or unstressed (2.6.2.1.3), e.g.

연구 *'ɟʌ:ngu* 'research'
친구 *'cingu* 'friend'
서울 *sʌul* or /sʌˈul/ 'Seoul'
구조 *guˈɟo* 'structure'
투쟁 *tuˈɟɛŋ* 'struggle'
자동차 *ɟaˈdoŋca* 'car'
소리가 참 좋다 *soˈliga ˈcam ˈɟota* 'The sound is very good.'
친구가 오는 날 *ˈcinguga oˈnin ˈnal* 'the day when a friend is
                                            coming'
자동차를 본 아이 *ɟaˈdoŋcalil ˈbon ˈai* 'the child who saw the car'

However, the phonological criterion of stress is not consistently applicable in the definition of word since some words may have more than one stress for emphasis and sometimes lose the stress altogether when occurring in longer stretches of speech. Therefore the stress is only supplementary to the grammatical criteria given earlier.

3.2. TYPES OF WORDS

There are two types of word: simple and compound.

3.2.1. *Simple Word*

Every word which consists of a single free morpheme, with or without one or more bound morphemes, is a simple word. The morpheme may be defined as a minimal meaningful form which cannot be further analysed into smaller units. A free morpheme can occur on its own, whereas a bound morpheme

never occurs except as part of a free morpheme or with another bound morpheme, e.g.

해 *hɛ* 'sun'   달 *dal* 'moon'
나무 *namu* 'tree'   여름 *ɟʌlim* 'summer'
풋사랑 *pusṡalaŋ* 'calf love' < *pus-* 'unripe' prfx. + *salaŋ* 'love'
햅쌀 *hɛbṡal* 'new [crop] rice' < *hɛb* 'new' + *ṡal* 'rice'
이상적 *isaŋɟʌg* 'ideal' < *isaŋ* 'ideal' N + *ɟʌg* adj.deriv.sfx.

3.2.2. *Compound Word*

Every word which consists of more than one free morpheme and is uninterrupted by a juncture at intermorphemic junctions is a compound word. One of the components of a compound word may comprise a bound morpheme. The majority of compound words are composed of two free morphemes and those comprising three or more are very rare, e.g.

나팔꽃 *napalk̇od* 'morning-glory' < *napal* 'bugle' + *k̇od* 'flower'
쌀밥 *ṡalbab* 'rice food' < *ṡal* 'rice' + *bab* 'rice [boiled] food'
햅쌀밥 *hɛbṡalbab* 'new rice food' < *hɛb-* 'new' prfx. + *ṡalbab*
자라목아지 *ɟalamogaɟi* 'turtle-neck' < *ɟala* 'turtle' + *mog* 'neck'
      + *-aɟi* diminutive sfx.
여우꼬리풀 *ɟʌuk̇olipul* Veronica kiusiana < *ɟʌu* 'fox' + *k̇oli* 'tail'
      + *pul* 'plant, grass'
돈벌이 *donḃʌli* 'money-making' < *don* 'money' + *bʌl* 'to earn'
      + *-i* nominalizing sfx.

3.3. WORD CLASSES

Six main classes of words are set up for the subsequent syntactic description on the basis of syntactic and/or morphological criteria. They are:

1. Verb [V]
2. Noun [N]
3. Adjective [Adj.]
4. Adverb [Adv.]
5. Particle [Pcl.]
6. Interjection [Interj.]

Of the six word classes, only verbs are the inflected words and the rest are the uninflected words.

3.3.1. *Verb*

Every word which includes at least a stem and an inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5) is a verb class word. Between a verb stem and an inflectional ending

may be found one or more stem-extending suffixes representing such grammatical categories as 'voice', 'honorific', 'tense' and 'humble' (cf. 4.3). The majority of verbs, when appropriately inflected, may occur alone as a major type sentence (cf. 7.2), but verb stems alone are bound forms and can never occur without an inflectional ending, e.g.

온다 *onda* '[He] is coming.' < *o-* 'to come' V.st. + *-n* tense
    + *-da* inflx.end.
깎았니 *kakanni* '[Did] [you] cut [it]?' < *kak-* 'to cut' V.st.
    + *-aŝ-* tense + *-ni* inflx.end.
보시었읍니다 *bosiʌŝimnida* '[She] has seen [it].' < *bo-* 'to see' V.st.
    + *-si-* honorific + *-ʌŝ-* tense + *-ibnida* inflx.end.
밝으옵니까 *balgiomnika* 'Is [it] bright?' < *balg-* 'to be bright' V.st.
    + *-io-* 'humble' + *-bnika* inflx.end.

3.3.2. *Noun*

Every word which may occur (*a*) before the copula verb *i-* 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1), (*b*) before a particle (cf. 3.3.5), (*c*) before another noun, (*d*) after an adjective (cf. 3.3.3), is a noun class word. Any noun except non-independent nouns (cf. 3.4.2.2) may occur alone as a minor sentence (cf. 7.1 and 7.4), e.g.

(*a*) 사람이다 *sa:lam ida* '[He] is a man.'
    누구이었읍니까 *nugu iʌŝimnika* 'Who was it?'

(*b*) 바다로 *bada lo* 'to the sea'
    자유의 노래 *jaju ii nolɛ* 'a song of freedom'

(*c*) 테레비 방송 *telebi baŋsoŋ* 'television broadcast'

(*d*) 온 세상 *on sesaŋ* 'the whole world'

3.3.3. *Adjective*

Every word which exclusively precedes a noun or another adjective is an adjective class word. The adjective class words do not normally occur alone and constitute a very small class, e.g.

(*a*) 새 차 *sɛ ca* 'a new car'
    이 시간 *i sigan* 'this time/hour'
    어느 것 *ʌni gʌd* 'Which one?'

(*b*) 어느 새 옷 *ʌni sɛ od* 'Which new clothes?'
    한 헌 모자 *han hʌːn moja* 'an old cap'

3.3.4. *Adverb*

Every word which may occur (*a*) before a verb or another adverb as a modifier, (*b*) before a particle, and (*c*) before a terminal juncture as a sentence, is an adverb class word, e.g.

(*a*) 잘 간다 *jal ganda* '[He] is going well.'
    참 좋다 *cam jota* '[It] is very good.'
    아주 잘 한다 *aju jal handa* '[He] is doing very well.'

(*b*) 너무도 비싸다 *nʌmudo biŝada* '[It] is far too expensive.'
    멀리는 안간다 *mʌllinin anganda* '[He] is not going far.'

(*c*) 빨리 *palli* 'Quickly.'
    살살 *salsal* 'Gently.'

3.3.5. *Particle*

Every word which occurs (*a*) after a noun, (*b*) after an adverb, (*c*) after a verb, (*d*) after a clause or a sentence, is a particle class word. A particle never occurs on its own but always with one of the words mentioned above. Particles form a small closed class, e.g.

(*a*) 산이 높다 *sani nobia* 'The mountain is high.'
        i — subject marker
    토끼를 잡았다 *tokilil jabadia* '[I] caught a rabbit.'
        lil — object marker

(*b*) 얼른도 한다 *ʌllindo handa* '[She] is doing [it] so quickly.'
        do — emphasis

(*c*) 검지는 않다 *gʌmjinin anta* '[It] is not black [although it may be big].'
        nin contrast

(*d*) 알다시피 늦었네 *aldasipi nijʌdne* 'As you know, I am late.'
        sipi conj.pcl.

(*e*) 가세 그려 *gase giljʌ* 'Let's go.'
        giljʌ sentence pcl.

3.3.6. *Interjection*

Every word which may occur (*a*) by itself preceded and followed by a terminal juncture and (*b*) syntactically independent of other elements in a sentence, is an interjection word class, e.g.

(*a*) 오 *o* 'Oh!'
    옳지 *olci* 'Splendid!'

(b) 아이구 저기 온다 *aigu, ɟʌgi onda* 'Oh dear, there [he] comes!'
    언제 가세요 참 *ʌnɟe gasejo cam* 'When are you going, by the way?'

3.4. SUB-CLASSES OF WORD CLASSES

The word classes set up in 3.3 are further divided into sub-classes by further syntactic and morphological criteria.

3.4.1. *Sub-classes of Verbs*

Three different sub-classifications are required of verb-class words since the sub-classes yielded by one type of classification are more relevant and conducive to a simpler statement of certain grammatical relations than those yielded by another type of classification. Sub-classes yielded by each of the three different classifications are the results of cross-classifications and not further sub-classifications.

3.4.1.1. *Processive and Descriptive Verbs*

Verbs are either processive or descriptive depending on the following morphological characteristics: the processive verbs may be inflected for the imperative and propositive moods (cf. 7.3.2.3–4) and suffixed by *-n-/-nin-* present tense sfx. (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2), whereas the descriptive verbs are inflected for neither mood and cannot be suffixed by the present tense suffix.

Processive Verb

보 *bo-* 'to see'	주 *ɟu-* 'to give'	
던지 *dʌnɟi-* 'to throw'	놀 *nol-* 'to play'	
쉬 *swi-* 'to rest'	앉 *an-* (< *anɟ-*) 'to sit'	
		etc.

Examples

하늘을 본다 *hanilil bonda* '[He] is looking at the sky.' < *bo-* 'to see' + *-n-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da* inflx.end.
아이가 앉는다 *aiga anninda* 'The child is sitting down.' < *anɟ-* 'to sit' + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*.

Descriptive Verbs

젊 *ɟʌlm-* 'to be young'	밝 *balg-* 'to be bright'
크 *ki-* 'to be big'	좋 *ɟo-* (< *ɟoh-*) 'to be good'
길 *gil-* 'to be long'	차 *ca-* 'to be cold'
	etc.

Examples

그는 젊다 *ginin ɟʌmìa* '[She] is young.' < *ɟʌlm-* 'to be young' + *-da*
날이 차다 *nali cada* 'It is cold' (lit. 'The weather is cold'). < *ca-* 'to be cold' + *da*.

3.4.1.1.1. *Copula Verb*

The copula verb is a descriptive verb which is always found preceded by a noun or a nominal phrase (cf. 5.1). There is only one copula verb: 이 *i-* 'to be', e.g.

돌이다 *dol ida* '[This] is a stone.'

3.4.1.1.2. There are a few verbs which behave as both processive and descriptive verbs:

밝 *balg-*	(*a*) as V.p. 'to dawn, become bright'
	(*b*) as V.d. 'to be bright'
늦 *niɟ-*	(*a*) as V.p. 'to become late'
	(*b*) as V.d. 'to be late'
크 *ki-*	(*a*) as V.p. 'to grow'
	(*b*) as V.d. 'to be big'
있 *iš-*	(*a*) as V.p. 'to stay'
	(*b*) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'
계시 *gesi-*	(*a*) as V.p. 'to stay'
	(*b*) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'
	(*gesi-* is the the honorific counterpart of *iš-*)

These verbs, as shown above, express two different, though related, meanings according to whether they are used as processive or descriptive verbs, e.g.

날이 밝다 *nali bagìa* 'The day is bright.' < *balg-* V.d. + *-da*
날이 밝는다 *nali baŋninda* 'The day is dawning.' < *balg-* V.p. + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*

3.4.1.2. *Transitive and Intransitive Verbs*

As an alternative classification,[1] verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive verbs depending on whether or not they have the potential of taking an object (cf. 6.2.3). All transitive verbs may take an object but no intransitive verb can take one. The transitive/intransitive distinction of verbs is paralleled to a large extent by the distinction of passivity/non-passivity between them: transitive verbs lend themselves to passive voice formation but it is not possible with intransitive verbs.

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[1] Cf. 3.4.1.4 for correlations between alternative sub-classifications of verbs.

Transitive Verbs

먹 *mʌg-* 'to eat',   밀 *mil-* 'to push'
누르 *nuli-* 'to press',   부르 *buli-* 'to call'
닫 *dad-* 'to shut',   팔 *pal-* 'to sell'

etc.

Examples

떡을 먹니 *iʌgil mʌŋni* 'Are you eating cake?'
< *mʌg-* 'to eat' + *-ni* inflx.end.
떡이 먹히니 *iʌgi mʌkini* 'Is cake being eaten?'
< *mʌg-* 'to eat' + *-hi-* passive voice sfx. + *-ni*

Intransitive Verbs

앉 *anɟ-* 'to sit', 서 *sʌ-* 'to stand'
쉬 *swi-* 'to rest', 높 *nop-* 'to be high'
하얗 *hajah-* 'to be white'

etc.

Examples

의자에 앉는다 *iiɟae anninda* '[He] is sitting on a chair.'
< *anɟ-* 'to sit' + *-nin-* pres. t.sfx. + *-da*
언덕이 높다 *ʌndʌgi nobia* 'The hill is high.' < *nop-* 'to be high' + *-da*

3.4.1.3. *Full Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs*

As a second alternative classification, verbs are subdivided into 'Full' and 'Auxiliary' verbs, depending on whether or not they can occur alone as a sentence (cf. 7.2). A full verb can occur by itself as a sentence but an auxiliary verb can not so occur unless it is preceded by a full verb or some other element. Both full and auxiliary verbs may be further subdivided into 'Honorific' and 'Plain' verbs. Honorific verbs are those which express, in addition to the lexical meanings, the speaker's respect to the subject (cf. 6.2.2). Verbs other than the honorific verbs are plain verbs.

3.4.1.3.1. *Full Verbs*

3.4.1.3.1.1. *Honorific Full Verbs*

There are only a few honorific full verbs and they are all paired by the corresponding plain verbs.

Honorific Verbs	Plain Verbs
잡수시 *jabsusi-* 'to eat'	먹 *mʌg-*
주무시 *jumusi-* 'to sleep'	자 *ɟa-*
계시 *gesi-* 'to be, to exist'	있 *iš-*

Examples

아버지가 잡수신다 *abʌɟiga jabsusinda* 'My father is dining.'
동생이 먹는다 *doŋseŋi mʌŋninda* 'My brother is eating.'
어른이 계시니 *ʌ:lini gesini* 'Is there an adult?'
아이가 있니 *aiga inni* 'Is there a child?'

3.4.1.3.1.2. *Plain Full Verbs*

All plain verbs can be suffixed by the honorific suffix *-si-/-isi-* (cf. 4.3.2) to express the same kind of respect to the subject of a sentence as is shown by honorific verbs, but an honorific-suffixed plain verb is usually avoided if a corresponding honorific verb is available. Examples of plain full verbs are:

읽 *ilg-* 'to read'   열 *jʌl-* 'to open'
적 *ɟʌ:g-* 'to be small'   얕 *jat-* 'to be shallow'
쏘 *šo-* 'to shoot'   버리 *bʌli-* 'to throw'

etc.

Examples

소년이 책을 읽는다 *sonɟʌni cɛgil iŋninda* 'A boy is reading a book.'
< *ilg-* 'to read' V.pl. + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da* inflx.end.
선생이 책을 읽으신다 *sʌnseŋi cɛgil ilgisinda*
'A teacher is reading a book.'
< *ilg-* 'to read' + *-isi-* hon.sfx. + *-n-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*

3.4.1.3.2. *Auxiliary Verbs*

There are four types of auxiliary verbs: (i) 'Auxiliary Verbs', (ii) 'Post-nominal Auxiliary Verbs', (iii) 'Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs' and (iv) 'Sentence Auxiliary Verbs'. 'Auxiliary verbs' are those that occur after a verb inflected in a concatenating form (cf. 4.3.5.3). 'Post-nominal auxiliary verbs' occur only after a nominal phrase (cf. 5.1), 'Post-adjectival auxiliary verbs' only after an adjectival clause (cf. 6.4.3), and 'Sentence auxiliary verbs' only after a final clause (cf. 6.1 and 6.3).

3.4.1.3.2.1. *Auxiliary Verbs*

The following is a list of the twenty one most common auxiliary verbs given under three different headings: those listed under (i) are processive, those under (ii) descriptive, and those under (iii) both processive and descriptive verbs.

(i)   *Processive Auxiliary Verbs*

1. 보 *bo-* 'to try [doing]'
2. 주 *ɟu-* 'to do something as a favour'

3. 드리 *dili-* the honorific counterpart of *ɟu-*
4. 대 *dɛ-* repetition
5. 쌓 *šah-* repetition, continuation
6. 버리 *bʌli-* '[to do something] completely or thoroughly'
7. 지 *ɟi-* (*a*) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
        (*b*) unintentional, when preceded by a V.intr.
        (*c*) processive verb formative with the meaning 'progression or to
            become' when preceded by a V.d.
8. 되 *dwe-* (*a*) unintentional when preceded by a V.p.
        (*b*) processive verb formative with the meaning 'to become' when
            preceded by a V.d.
9. 가 *ga-* (*a*) progression [toward a goal] from present to future or away
        from the speaker
        (*b*) near-completion
10. 오 *o-* progression [toward a goal] from past to present or toward the
    speaker
11. 놓 *noh-* completion, retention
12. 나 *na-* progression, completion, V.intr.
13. 내 *nɛ-* progression, completion, V.tr.
14. 두 *du-* retention, preservation
15. 하 *ha-* (*a*) causative voice formative when preceded by a V.p.
        (*b*) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded
            by a V.d.
16. 만들 *mandil-* the same as *ha-*

(ii) *Descriptive Auxiliary Verbs*

17. 있 *iš-* (*a*) retention
        (*b*) progressive tense formative when preceded by a V.p.
18. 싶 *sip-* 'to want to, to wish to'

(iii) *Processive and Descriptive Verbs*

19. 아니하 *aniha-* negation
20. 못하 *mosha-* negation, '[to be unable to]'
21. 말 *mal-* negation in imperative and propositive sentences

Examples

    종이가 찢어 진다 *ɟoŋiga čiɟʌ ɟinda* '[A sheet of] paper is torn.'
              V.tr. V.aux.
                čiɟ- 'to tear', *ɟi-* passive voice formative
    술을 마시고 있다 *sulil masigo idìa* '[He] is drinking wine.'
            V.tr.   V.aux.
            masi- 'to drink', *iš-* (> /id-/) progressive tense
            formative

너는 가지 못한다 *nʌnin gaɟi motanda* 'You cannot go.'
            V.intr. V.aux.
            ga- 'to go', *mosha-* (> /mota-/) negation

    Further details concerning the syntactic functions of auxiliary verbs and examples will be found in the discussion of 'Verbal Phrases' (cf. 5.2).

3.4.1.3.2.1.1. *Auxiliary Verbs and Full Verbs Identical in Form*

Some auxiliary verbs are identical in form to full verbs, but they are different in distribution and meaning, e.g.

    지 *ɟi-* (*a*) 'to wither or fall' as full verb
        (*b*) passive voice formative as auxiliary verb
    보 *bo-* (*a*) 'to see' as full verb
        (*b*) 'to try [doing]' as auxiliary verb
    버리 *bʌli-* (*a*) 'to throw' as full verb
        (*b*) '[doing something] completely' as auxiliary verb
    놓 *noh-* (*a*) 'to place or put down' as full verb
        (*b*) retention as auxiliary verb
    가 *ga-* (*a*) 'to go' as full verb
        (*b*) progression as auxiliary verb

Examples

    꽃이 진다 *k̇oci ɟinda* 'The flower is falling.'
          V
    쇠가 꺾어 진다 *swega k̇ʌk̇ʌ ɟinda* 'The iron is broken.'
             V V.aux.
             < *k̇ʌk̇-* 'to break' + *ɟi-* pasv. vc.fmtv.

    책을 보아라 *cɛgil boala* 'Look at the book.'
            V
    책을 읽어 보아라 *cɛgil ilgʌ boala* 'Try reading the book.'
           V V.aux.
            < *ilg-* 'to read' + *bo-* 'to try doing.'

3.4.1.3.2.2. *Post-nominal Auxiliary Verbs*

The most common post-nominal auxiliary verbs are:

(i) 직하 *ɟigha-* 'is likely to, is worth [doing]', V.d.aux.

    This verb is always preceded by a nominal clause formed with the suffix *-m/-im* whose predicate is processive. The modifying particle (3.4.5.9), *-nin/in*, *man* or *do* may intervene between *ɟig* and *ha* of *ɟigha-*, e.g.

    먹음직(도) 하다 *mʌgim ɟig(do)hada* '[It] is worth eating (too).'

(ii) *ha-* 'admission or recognition' of the action or event represented by the predicate in the preceding nominal clause. V.d.aux.

This verb is always preceded by a nominal clause formed with the suffix *-gi*, and the modifying particle *nin, man* or *do* occurs obligatorily before *ha-*. *ha-* verb behaves as a processive or descriptive auxiliary verb according as to whether the predicate of the preceding nominal clause is processive or descriptive type, e.g.

오기도　한다 *ogido handa* '[He] does come too, [I admit].'
　　　　　o- V.p.
희기는　하다 *hiiginin hada* '[It] is white, [I admit].'
　　　　　hii- V.d.

The *ha-* verb in the examples above can be replaced by the same verb as occurs in the nominal clause. Thus the example sentences may be rewritten as

오기도　온다　　희기는　희다
ogido onda and *hiiginin hiida*

3.4.1.3.2.3. *Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs*

The common post-adjectival auxiliary verbs, all of which may include the modifying particle *(n)in, man, do* within the stem, are as follows:

(i) 듯하 *disha-* 'to seem or appear' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with *-n/-in, -l/-il,* or *-nin* if the predicate is processive, e.g.

간듯하다 *gan dishada* '[It] seems that [he] has gone.'
갈듯하다 *gal dishada* '[It] seems that [he] is going to leave.'
가는듯하다 *ganin dishada* '[It] seems that [he] is going.'

(ii) 만하 *manha-* 'to be worth [doing]' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with the ending *-l/-il,* e.g.

볼만합니다 *bol manhabnida* '[It] is worth seeing.'

(iii) 법하 *bʌbha-* 'to be likely to' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with *-l/-il,* e.g.

비가　올법하다 *biga ol bʌbhada*　'It looks like raining.'

(iv) 양하 *jaŋha-* 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

(v) 척하 / 체하 *cʌgha-/ceha-* 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

(vi) 번하 *bʌnha-* 'nearly [did]' V.p.aux.

The verbs *jaŋha-* and *cʌgha-/ceha-* occur only after an adjectival clause formed with *-nin* and *-n/-in,* and *bʌnha-* only after the one formed *-l/-il,* e.g.

우는양　하지마라 *unin jaŋ(in)haʃi mala* 'Don't pretend to cry.'
아픈척　했읍니다 *apin cʌg(il)heʃibnida* '[I] pretended to be ill.'
다칠번　했다 *dacil bʌn(do)heʃda* '[I] was even nearly hurt.'

The modifying particle, *nin/in, man,* and *do,* can occur within the stem of the post-adjectival auxiliary verbs given above, and the object particle *lil/il* (cf. 3.4.5.2) can occur within the stem of the three verbs *jaŋha-, cʌgha-/ceha-* and *bʌnha-.*

As an alternative analysis, all post-adjectival clause auxiliary verbs may be treated as phrases consisting of the non-independent nouns such as *jaŋ, cʌg/ce, bʌn* etc., on the one hand, and the verb *ha-* on the other. This alternative analysis will involve the setting up of such words as *jaŋ, cʌg/ce, bʌn,* etc., as a separate sub-class of the noun.

3.4.1.3.2.4. *Sentence Auxiliary Verbs*

There are two sentence auxiliary verbs:

(i) 싶 *sip-* presumption, conjecture

(ii) 보 *bo-* presumption, conjecture

These auxiliary verbs occur only after a final interrogative clause formed with *-ninga* (4.3.5.1.3.2), *-na* (4.3.5.1.3.2) or *-lka/-ilka* (4.3.5.1.3.2), and are very restricted in inflection. The most common inflectional endings with which the sentence auxiliary verbs occur are: *-a/-ʌ* (4.3.5.1.5.1), *-da* (4.3.5.1.4.1), *-bnida* (4.3.5.1.1.1) and *-ʃi* (cf. 4.3.5.1.5), e.g.

갔나　보아 *gaʃna boa* /gannaboa/ '[He] is gone, I think.'
웃는가　봅니다 *usninga bobnida* /unninga bomnida/
　　　'I think [they] are laughing.'
연필인가　싶다 *jʌnpilinga sipda* /jʌnpilinga sibìa/
　　　'I suppose [it] is a pencil.'

Notice that the sentence auxiliary verbs *sip-* and *bo-* are identical in form to the auxiliary verbs *sip-* and *bo-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.1).

3.4.1.4. *Correlations between Alternative Sub-classifications of Verbs*

Correlations between the sub-classes of verbs yielded by the first two classifications (cf. 3.4.1.1–2) may be set out as follows:

(i)　Processive V ⟷ { Transitive V
　　　　　　　　　　　Intransitive V
　　Descriptive V ⟷ Intransitive V

or

(ii)   Transitive V ←——→ Processive V

       Intransitive V ←——→ { Processive V
                             { Descriptive V
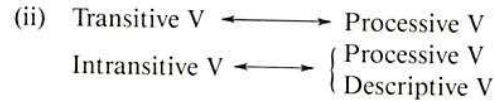
All transitive verbs are processive, but intransitive verbs are either processive or descriptive, or conversely, processive verbs are either transitive or intransitive, but descriptive verbs are all intransitive.

3.4.2. *Sub-classes of Nouns*

Noun class words are first sub-divided into 'Independent' and 'Non-Independent' Nouns, each being further divided into smaller sub-classes. As an alternative classification, nouns are divided into 'Animate' and 'Inanimate' nouns, and as a second alternative classification, they are divided into 'Honorific' and 'Plain' nouns.

3.4.2.1. *Independent Nouns*

Every noun which may occur alone as a sentence is an independent noun. The majority of Korean nouns belong to this sub-class, e.g.

사람 *sa:lam* 'man, person',   아이 *ai* 'child'
개 *gɛ* 'dog',   집 *jib* 'house'
하늘 *hanil* 'sky',   물 *mul* 'water'
기차 *gica* 'train',   사랑 *salaŋ* 'love'
생각 *sɛŋgag* 'thought, idea'

                                       etc.

Among the independent nouns are distinguished the following further sub-classes: (i) Numerals, (ii) Pronouns, (iii) Interrogative nouns, and (iv) Adverbial nouns.

3.4.2.1.1. *Numerals*

Numerals are those independent nouns which (i) typically occur as an affirmative answer to a question such as 몇입니까 *mjʌcimnika* 'How many [are they]?' and (ii) may be immediately followed by a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1).

    There are two sets of numerals in Korean: 'Korean Numerals' and 'Sino-Korean Numerals'. For numbers from one hundred onward, only Sino-Korean numerals are now in use.

3.4.2.1.1.1. *Korean Cardinal Numerals*

하나 *hana* 'one'   열 *jʌ:l* 'ten'
둘 *dul* 'two'   스물 *simul* 'twenty'

셋 *ses* 'three'   설흔 / 서른 *sʌl(h)in* 'thirty'
넷 *nes* 'four'   마흔 *mahin* 'forty'
다섯 *dasʌs* 'five'   쉬흔 / 쉰 *swihin/swin* 'fifty'
여섯 *jʌsʌs* 'six'   예순 *jesun* 'sixty'
일곱 *ilgob* 'seven'   일흔 *ilhin* 'seventy'
여덟 *jʌdʌlb* 'eight'   여든 *jʌdin* 'eighty'
     /jʌdʌl/
아홉 *ahob* 'nine'   아흔 *ahin* 'ninety'

The numerals from eleven onward up to ninety nine are in the form of compound numerals, e.g.

열   하나 *jʌ:l hana* 'eleven' < *jʌ:l* 'ten' + *hana* 'one'
열   둘 *jʌ:l dul* 'twelve' < *jʌ:l* 'ten' + *dul* 'two'
스물   다섯 *simul dasʌs* 'twenty five'
    < *simil* 'twenty' + *dasʌs* 'five'
여든   여덟 *jʌdin jʌdʌlb* 'eighty eight'
    < *jʌdin* 'eighty' + *jʌdʌlb* 'eight'
아흔   아홉 *ahin ahob* 'ninety nine'
    < *ahin* 'ninety' + *ahob* 'nine'

3.4.2.1.1.2. *Sino-Korean Cardinal Numerals*

일 *il* 'one'   팔 *pal* 'eight'
이 *i* 'two'   구 *gu* 'nine'
삼 *sam* 'three'   십 *sib* 'ten'
사 *sa* 'four'   백 *bɛg* 'hundred'
오 *o* 'five'   천 *cʌn* 'thousand'
육 *jug* 'six'   만 *man* 'ten thousand'
칠 *cil* 'seven'   억 *ʌg* 'one hundred million'

Sino-Korean numerals other than those given above are in the form of compound numerals, e.g.

이십 *i sib* 'twenty' < *i* 'two' + *sib* 'ten'
삼십 *sam sib* 'thirty' < *sam* 'three' + *sib* 'ten'
사십 *sa sib* 'fourty' < *sa* 'four' + *sib* 'ten'
십오 *sib o* 'fifteen' < *sib* 'ten' + *o* 'five'
이십오 *i sib o* 'twenty five' < *i sib* 'twenty' + *o* 'five'
오백 *o bɛg* 'five hundred' < *o* 'five' + *bɛg* 'hundred'
육백칠십사 *jug bɛg cil sib sa* 'six hundred and seventy four' < *jug*
   'six' + *bɛg* 'hundred' + *cil* 'seven' + *sib* 'ten' + *sa* 'four'
일천구백육십팔 *il cʌn gu bɛg jug sib pal* '1968'

< *il* 'one' + *cʌn* 'thousand' + *gu* 'nine' + *bɛg* 'hundred' + *jug* 'six'
+ *sib* 'ten' + *pal* 'eight'

3.4.2.1.1.3. *Korean and Sino-Korean Ordinal Numerals*

The Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing suffix *-čɛ*
to the Korean cardinal numerals except 'first', which has the special ordinal
form 첫째 *cʌsčɛ* /cʌdčɛ/, e.g.

둘째 *du(l)čɛ* 'second'   다섯째 *dasʌsčɛ* 'fifth'
셋째 *sesčɛ* 'third'   열째 *jʌ:lčɛ* 'tenth'
넷째 *nesčɛ* 'fourth'   스물두째 *simul dučɛ* 'twenty second'

The Sino-Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing
prefix *je-* to the Sino-Korean cardinal numerals, e.g.

제일 *jeil* 'first'   제십오 *jesib o* 'fifteenth'
제이 *jei* 'second'   제팔십 *jepal sib* 'eightieth'
제십 *jesib* 'tenth'   제칠십사 *jecil sib sa* 'seventy fourth'

3.4.2.1.1.4. *Distribution of Korean and Sino-Korean Numerals*

The Korean numerals collocate usually with the pure Korean nouns and the
Sino-Korean numerals with the nouns of Chinese origin in nominal phrases,
e.g.

다섯   사람 *dasʌs sa:lam* 'five people' < *dasʌs* 'five' Korean num.
       + *sa:lam* 'man' Kor. N.
오   인 *o in* 'five persons' < *o* 'five' Sino-Kor. num. + *in* 'person'
Sino-Kor. N.
삼십   세 *sam sib se* 'thirty years of age' < *sam sib* 'thirty'
Sino-Kor. num. + *se* 'age' Sino-Kor. N.
설흔   살 *sʌlhin sal* 'thirty years of age'
       < *sʌlhin* 'thirty' Kor.num. + *sal* 'age' Kor. N.

3.4.2.1.2. *Pronouns*

Independent nouns which cannot be preceded by a numeral or adjective
(although an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2) or an adjectival clause
(cf. 6.4.3) may precede them), nor by a vocative particle (cf. 3.4.5.5), are
pronouns. Pronouns fall into three categories of person depending on
whether they refer to the speaker, the addressee or person(s)/thing(s) spoken
about: (i) First person pronouns, (ii) Second person pronouns and (iii) Third
person pronouns. The first and second person pronouns may be further dis-
tinguished in respect of the degree of politeness between the speaker and the
addressee, paralleling to a large extent the different speech styles marked by
the verbal inflections (cf. 4.3.5.1).

(i)   *First Person Pronouns*

나 / 내 *na/nɛ*[1] 'I'   우리(들) *uli(dil)*[2] 'we' — plain style
저 / 제 *jʌ/je*[1] 'I'   저희(들) *jʌhii(dil)* 'we' — formal style

(ii) *Second Person Pronouns*

너 / 네 *nʌ/ne*[3] 'you'   너희(들) *nʌhii(dil)* 'you' — low plain
자네 *jane* 'you'   자네(들) *jane(dil)* 'you' — high plain
당신 *daŋsin* 'you'   당신들 *daŋsindil* 'you' — low formal

(iii) *Third Person Pronouns*

이 *i* 'this'   이들 *idil* 'these persons'
그 *gi* 'he, she'   그들 *gidil* 'they'
                                 (near the listener or out of sight)
                           저들 *jʌdil* 'they'
                                 (away from the speaker and the
                                 listener)

The pronouns of, say, English are in fact very frequently expressed in
Korean by nouns or noun phrases. Typical examples are the noun 선생(님)
sʌnsɛŋ(nim) 'teacher' for 'you' (sometimes also 'he/she') and one of the deic-
tic adjectives (cf. 3.4.3.2), *i* 'this', *gi* 'that' and *jʌ* 'that' and an appropriate
noun. For the difference between *gi* and *jʌ*, see 3.4.3.2, e.g.

이분 *i bun* 'he, she or this person'
그분 *gi bun* ⎫ 'he, she or that person'
저분 *jʌ bun* ⎭
이이 *i i* 'he, she or this person'
그이 *gi i* ⎱ 'he, she or that person'
저이 *jʌ i* ⎰ 'he she or that person'
이남자 *i namja* 'he, this man'
저여자 *jʌ jʌja* 'she, that woman'
이것 *i gʌs* 'this (thing)'
그것 *gi gʌs* 'this (thing)'
저것 *jʌ gʌs* 'that (thing)'

3.4.2.1.3. *Interrogative Nouns*

Nouns whose meanings vary according to whether they occur in interrogative
or non-interrogative[4] sentences are interrogative nouns. In each of the fol-

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[1] The alternant form *nɛ* occurs before the subject particle *ga* (3.4.5.1), and *na* elsewhere. *nɛ* also
occurs as a contraction of *na + ii* 'of me, my', *ii* being a particle. The same rule applies to *jʌ/je*.'
[2] *-dil* is a derivational suffiix expressing 'more than one'.
[3] *ne* occurs only before the particle *ga* and *nʌ* elsewhere.
[4] By 'non-interrogative sentence' is meant 'declarative' 'imperative' or 'propositive' sentence. (cf.
7.3.2)

lowing examples the first English meaning given is associated with the interrogative and the second with non-interrogative sentence.

(a) 누 / 누구 *nu/nugu*[1]   'who'   'someone'
(b) 무엇 *muʌ(s)*   'what'   'something'
(c) 몇 *mjʌc*   'how many'   'a few, several'
(d) 언제 *ʌnɟe*   'when'   'sometimes'

Examples

누가 했니 *nuga hɛnni* 'Who did it?'
누가 했다 *nuga hɛdìa* 'Someone did it.'
몇개를 샀니 *mjʌdk̀ɛlil sanni* 'How many did you buy?'
몇개를 샀지 *mjʌdk̀ɛlil sadèi* '[I] bought several.'

3.4.2.1.4. *Adverbial Nouns*

Nouns which can function as adverbs or as adjuncts (cf. 6.2.6) in the clause structure are adverbial nouns. They are mostly nouns of time and place.

오늘 *onil* 'today'   내일 *nɛil* 'tomorrow'
어제 *ʌɟe* 'yesterday'   그저께 *giɟʌk̀e* 'the day before yesterday'
지금 *ɟigim* 'now'   처음 *cʌim* '[at] first, for the first time'
여기 *jʌgi* 'here'   거기 *gʌgi* 'there'
언제 *ʌnɟe*[2] etc. 'when, sometime'

                                                          etc.

Examples

오늘이 지났다 *onili ɟinadìa* 'Today has passed.' *onil* as subject (N).
내가 오늘 간다 *nɛga onil ganda* 'I am going today.' *onil* as adjunct.

3.4.2.2. *Non-Independent Nouns*

Nouns which are always preceded by an independent noun, an adjective or an adjectival phrase or clause are non-independent nouns. Non-independent nouns are further divided into (i) 'Classifiers' and (ii) 'Post-Modifiers'.

3.4.2.2.1. *Classifier*

Non-independent nouns which typically follow a numeral or a numeral adjective (cf. 3.4.3.1) are classifiers. Every classifier has reference, both syntactically and semantically, to a noun or a group of nouns, and when an independent noun and a classifier co-occur, as in a nominal phrase specifying the quantity of the referent (thing) indicated by a noun, they must agree. For

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[1] *nu* occurs before the particle *ga* and *nugu* elsewhere.
[2] The noun *ʌnɟe* is a member of two different noun sub-classes: interrogative and adverbial noun.

instance, *mali* '[head(s) of] animal' refers to animal and is therefore used only with nouns that represent animals.

마리 *mali*   '[head(s) of] animal'
장 *ɟaŋ*   '[sheet(s) of] paper'
권 *gwʌn*   '[volume(s) of] book(s)'
그루 *gilu*   '[number of] trees'
대 *dɛ*   '[a set of] machines'
치 *ci*   '[inch] length'
섬 *sʌm*   '[sack of] grain'
명 *mjʌŋ*   '[number of] person(s)'
                                     etc.

Examples

말 두마리 *mal du mali* 'two horses' (lit. 'horse two heads')
종이 다섯장 *ɟoŋi dasʌd ɟaŋ* 'five sheets of paper' (lit. 'paper five sheets')
책 두권 *cɛg du gwʌn* 'two volumes of books' (lit. 'book two volumes')
나무 여섯그루 *namu jʌsʌd gilu* 'six trees'
테레비 한대 *telebi han dɛ* 'a set of television'

All classifiers can combine with the noun *su* 'number' to form compound nouns as follows:

마리수 *malisu* /malìsu/ 'number of animals'
장수 *ɟaŋsu* /ɟaŋsu/ 'number of sheets of paper'
권수 *gwʌnsu* /gwʌnsu/ 'number of volumes of books'
                                     etc.

Examples

장수가 많다 *ɟaŋsuga manta*
    'The number of sheets of paper is large (lit. 'plenty')'.

3.4.2.2.2. *Post-Modifiers*

Non-independent nouns which never occur unless they are preceded by an independent noun, an adjective, an adjectival phrase or clause or a nominal clause are post-modifiers.

것 *gʌs* 'thing'   이 *i* 'person'
곳 *gos* 'place'   줄 *ɟul* 'ability', 'guess'
때문 *ìɛmun* 'reason'   대로 *dɛlo* 'as, like'
만큼 / 만치 *mankim/manci* 'as (much) as'
                                     etc.

Examples

우리의 것 *ulie gʌd* 'ours, our thing'
먹는 것 *mʌŋnin gʌd* 'that which eats, thing to eat, that fact that one eats'

그이 *gi i* 'that person, he, she'
오는 이 *onin i* 'the one who is coming'
이 곳 *i god* 'this place, here'
즐거운 곳 *jilgʌun god* 'a pleasant place'
소리 때문입니다 *soli ìemunimnida* 'It is because of the sound.'
돈이 없기 때문이었읍니다 *do:ni ʌ:bќi ìemuniʌsìmnida*
    'This was because we had no money.'
너는 너대로 해라 *nʌnin nʌ dɛlo hɛla* 'You do as you please.'
내가 본대로이다 *nɛga bon dɛlo ida* 'This is as I saw it.'
이만큼 주십시요 *imankim ɟusibsìo* 'Give this much.'
먹을만치 먹어라 *mʌgil manci mʌgʌla* 'Eat as much as you can.'

The post-modifier *jul* with the meaning 'capacity, ability' is preceded by an adjectival clause formed with the inflectional ending -*l*/-*il* 'future/presumptive' (cf. 4.3.5.2.2), e.g.

볼 줄 안다 *bolћul (< ɟul) anda* 'I know how to see [it].'

On the other hand, when *jul* is used with the meaning 'guess, (the fact) that ...', it may be preceded by an adjectival clause formed with any of the three adjectival clause endings (cf. 4.3.5.2.2), e.g.

가는 줄 알았다 *ganinɟul aladìa* 'I thought that he was going.'
간 줄 알았다 *ganɟul aladìa* 'I thought that he had gone.'
갈 줄 알았다 *galћul aladìa* 'I thought that he would go.'

3.4.2.3. *Alternative Classifications of Nouns*

In addition to the sub-classification of nouns into the independent and non-independent nouns (cf. 3.4.2.1–2), two alternative classifications are necessitated by syntactic relations. They are:

(i)   Animate and Inanimate Nouns

(ii)   Honorific and Plain Nouns

3.4.2.3.1. *Animate and Inanimate Nouns*

Animate nouns are those which colligate with *ege* 'to, toward', one of the two allomorphs of a particle showing 'direction', and inanimate nouns are those which colligate with *e*, the other allomorph. The syntactical distinction of animate and inanimate nouns corresponds closely to that between animate and inanimate objects referred to by nouns.

Animate Nouns

너 *nʌ* 'you'   인간 *ingan* 'human beings'
학생 *hagsɛŋ* 'pupil'   아이 *ai* 'child'

개 *gɛ* 'dog'   소 *so* 'cow'
                     etc.

Inanimate Nouns

산 *san* 'mountain'   학교 *haggjo* 'school'
자동차 *jadoŋca* 'motor car'   방 *baŋ* 'room'
집 *jib* 'house'   정부 *ɟʌŋbu* 'government'
아홉 *ahob* 'nine'   것 *gʌs* 'thing'

Examples

아이에게 *ai ege* 'to a child' < *ai* 'child'
개에게 *gɛ ege* 'to a dog'
but
산에 *san e* 'to a mountain'
학교에 *hagќjo e* 'to a school'

3.4.2.3.2. *Honorific and Plain Nouns*

Honorific nouns are those which, when occurring as subject or object of a sentence, tend to be in lexical concord with an honorific verb occurring in the predicate. Honorific nouns express, in addition to lexical meanings, 'respect' to the person referred to, or associated with an object referred to, by such nouns. Plain nouns are negatively defined as those which are not honorific nouns.

Honorific Nouns

말씀 *malsìm* 'word, speech'   진지 *ɟinɟi* 'food, meal'
성함 *sʌŋham* 'name'   하느님 *haninim* 'god'
아버님 *abʌnim* 'father'
어머님 *ʌmʌnim* 'mother'
할아버님 *halabʌnim* 'grandfather'
선생님 *sʌnsɛŋnim* 'teacher'
                     etc.

Plain Nouns

땅 *ìaŋ* 'earth'   물 *mul* 'water'
옷 *os* 'clothes'   벌 *bʌ:l* 'bee'
말 *mal* 'horse'   아이 *ai* 'child'
사랑 *salaŋ* 'love'   연구 *ɟʌ:ngu* 'research'
                     etc.

All honorific nouns are paired by the corresponding plain nouns:

Honorific Nouns	:	Plain Nouns
말씀 *malsìm*	:	말 *mal* 'word, speech'
진지 *ɟinɟi*	:	밥 *bab* 'food, meal'

성함 *sʌŋham*   :   이름 *ilim* 'name'
옥체 *ogce*   :   몸 *mom* 'body'
아버님 *abʌnim*   :   아버지 *abʌɟi* 'father'
할머님 *halmʌnim*   :   할머니 *halmʌni* 'grandmother'
                                etc.

The lexical concord operating between the honorific nouns and the honorific verbs (cf. 3.4.1.3.1.1) is not as binding as some grammatical concords like 'Number' or 'Person' are in many European languages. But as a rule, an honorific noun occurring as subject or object tends to be used with an honorific verb or, if such a verb is not available, a plain verb with the honorific suffix *-si-/-isi-* (cf. 4.3.2).

Examples

아버님이 주무신다 *abʌnimi ɟumusinda* '[My] father is sleeping.'
           N.hon.   V.hon.

선생님이 진지를 잡수신다 *sʌnseŋnimi ɟinɟilil ɟabṡusinda*
                       N.hon.   N.hon.   V.hon.
      'The teacher is having his meal.'

할아버님이 장에 가신다 *halabʌnimi ɟaŋe gasinda*
          N.hon.
      '[My] grandfather is going to the market.'

                    gasinda < *ga-* 'to go' V.pl. + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-nda*

Nouns standing in concord with honorific verbs (including plain verbs with the honorific suffix) are usually honorific animate, especially human, nouns, but sometimes a plain inanimate noun also occurs with an honorific verb as in the following example.

      비가 오신다 *biga osinda* 'Rain is falling (lit. 'coming').' *bi* 'rain' N.pl.,
          osinda < *o-* 'to come' V.pl. + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-nda*

Plain nouns, which are numerous as compared to honorific nouns, occur in principle in concord with plain verbs unless it is felt necessary, for reasons largely extra-linguistic, for the speaker to show respect to a person or an object referred to by the noun which he uses in his sentence, in which case the verb in the sentence may be honorific.

Examples

      군인이 방에 있어요 *gunini baŋe iṡʌjo* 'A soldier is in the room.'
               gunin 'soldier' N.pl., *iṡ-* 'to be' V.pl.
(Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being out of earshot.)

군인이 방에 계셔요 *gunini baŋe gesiʌjo* 'A soldier is in the room.'
                              gesi- 'to be' V.hon.
(Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being within sight or earshot.)

3.4.3. *Sub-classes of Adjectives*

There are four sub-classes in the adjective class: (i) 'Numeral Adjectives', (ii) 'Deictic Adjectives' (iii) 'Interrogative Adjectives', and (iv) 'Qualitative Adjectives'.

3.4.3.1. *Numeral Adjectives*

Numeral adjectives are those which are derived from the Korean numerals (cf. 3.4.2.1.1–4) and occur before a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1) or an independent noun. The numeral adjectives form a small sub-class, of which the most common members are as follows:

한 *han* 'one'
두 *du* 'two'
세 / 서 / 석 *se/sʌ/sʌg* 'three'
네 / 너 / 넉 *ne/nʌ/nʌg* 'four'
닷 *das* 'five'
엿 *jʌs* 'six'
첫 *cʌs* 'first'

The selection of one or the other of the three alternant forms of each of the two sets *se/sʌ/sʌg* and *ne/nʌ/nʌg* is collocational: *sʌ* and *nʌ* collocate with nouns such as *mal* 'unit of measure' or *dwe* 'unit of measure', e.g., *sʌ mal*, *sʌ dwe*, *nʌ mal*, *nʌ dwe*. *sʌg* and *nʌg* collocate with nouns such as *ɟan* 'cup, glass' or *sʌm* 'sack', e.g., *sʌg ɟan*, *sʌg sʌm*, *nʌg ɟan*, *nʌg sʌm*, and *se* and *ne* collocate with all other nouns, e.g., *se cɛg* 'three books' *ne gaɟi* 'four kinds', etc. *das* and *jʌs* occur only with such nouns as *mal* and *dwe*, e.g., *das mal*, *jʌs dwe*, and with all other nouns the numeral noun *dasʌs* 'five' and *jʌsʌs* 'six' are used.

Of these numeral adjectives, *han* 'one', *du* 'two', *se* 'three' and *ne* 'four' are positionally freer than the rest and can occur before another adjective or an adjectival clause (cf. 6.4.3) as well as before an [independent] noun whereas other numeral adjectives are positionally limited to the pre-nominal position.

Examples

한 학생 *han hagṡɛŋ* 'one pupil'
       N

한 두 학생 *han du hagṡɛŋ* 'one or two pupil(s)'
            N

한 젊은 학생 *han ʝʌlmin hagⁱsɛŋ* 'one young (lit. 'who is young') pupil'
adj.cl.   N

두   새   집 *du sɛʝib* 'two new houses'
             N

세   늙은이 *se nilgin i* 'three old (lit. 'who are old') people'
        adj.cl. N

이   네   어린   소년 i *ne ʌlin sonʝʌn* 'these four young boys'
                    adj.cl. N

The numeral adjectives form 'Compound Numeral Adjectives' with a numeral or compound numeral (cf. 3.4.2.1.1.1), e.g.

열   한 *ʝʌ:l han* 'eleven' < *ʝʌ:l* 'ten' N.num. + *han* 'one' Adj.num.
스물 두 *simul du* 'twenty two' < *simul* 'twenty' N.num. + *du*
'two' Adj.num.
예순 네 *jesun ne* 'sixty four' < *jesun* 'sixty' N.num. + *ne* 'four' Adj.num.

3.4.3.2. *Deictic Adjectives*

There are three deictic adjectives, each representing a different degree of 'Proximate/Remote' category from the others in relation to the speaker(s) and listener(s). Deictic adjectives can occur not only before a noun but also before a numeral adjective, a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.4.3.4) or an adjectival phrase (cf. 5.3.2) or clause (cf. 6.4.3).

(i)   이 *i* 'this' (proximate to the speaker(s))

(ii)   그 *gi* 'that' (proximate to the listener(s) or absent from the scene of discourse)

(iii)   저 *ʝʌ* 'that' (remote from both the speaker(s) and the listener(s))

The first two deictics, *i* and *gi* can also occur as pronouns (cf. 3.4.2.1.2), and *gi* as a pronoun has the meaning 'he, she', e.g.

이   집 *i ʝib* 'this house'
        N

저   새   실 *ʝʌ sɛ sil* 'that new thread' *sɛ* Adj.
              N

그   한   사람 *gi han sa:lam* 'that one person' *han* Adj.num.
                N

저   즐거운   노래 *ʝʌ ʝilgʌun nolɛ* 'that pleasant song'
              adj.cl.   N

3.4.3.3. *Interrogative Adjectives*

Adjectives which occur in the interrogative sentence with one meaning and in the non-interrogative with another are interrogative adjectives. These are such adjectives as are listed below, where the first English meanings refer to those which they have in the interrogative sentence, and the second to those which they have in the non-interrogative sentence.

(i)   어느/어떤 *ʌni/ʌiʌn* 'which'; 'some, certain'

(ii)   무슨 *musin* 'what'; 'some, certain'

(iii)   웬 *wen* 'what kind of'; 'some, certain'

(iv)   어떤 *ʌiʌn* 'what sort of'; 'some sort of'

Examples

어느 곳에 갔니 *ʌni gose ganni* 'Where (lit. 'which place') did [he] go?'
어느 곳에 갔다 *ʌni gose gadⁱa*
'[He] went somewhere (lit. 'to some place').'
무슨 일을 했니 *musin ilil hɛnni* 'What (lit. 'what work') did you do?'
무슨 일을 했다 *musin ilil hɛdⁱa* 'You did something.'

3.4.3.4. *Qualitative Adjectives*

Adjectives which are not members of any of the three sub-classes, numeral, deictic and interrogative adjectives, are qualitative adjectives. Qualitative adjectives are distributionally restricted to the pre-nominal positions only.

새 *sɛ* 'new', 헌 *hʌ:n* 'old, worn out'
온 *on* 'entire, whole', 외 *we* 'only, lone'
etc.

Examples

새   옷 *sɛ od* 'new clothes'
한   헌   모자 *han hʌ:n moʝa* 'an old hat'
온   세상 *on sesaŋ* 'the whole world'
외아들 *we adil* 'the only son'

3.4.4. *Sub-classes of Adverbs*

According to the distributional restrictions of adverbs in relation to other words in the sentence, the following sub-classes are distinguished: (i) 'Processive Adverbs', (ii) 'Descriptive Adverbs', (iii) 'Processive-Descriptive Adverbs', (iv) 'Interrogative Adverbs', (v) 'Sentence Adverbs' and (vi) 'Conjunctive Adverbs'.

3.4.4.1. Processive Adverbs (Adv.p.)

Adverbs which typically occur before a processive verb are processive adverbs. The processive adverbs correspond in general to what in the traditional grammar are called the adverbs of manner.

잘 *jal* 'well, nicely'		얼른 *ʌllin* 'quickly'	
천천히 *cʌncʌnhi* 'slowly'		깊이 *gipi* 'deeply'	
솔솔 *solsol* 'softly, gently'		빨리 *p̀alli* 'quickly'	
많이 *manhi* 'in plenty'			

etc.

Examples

잘　가라 *jal gala* 'Farewell!' (lit. 'Go well')
　　V.p.

얼른　읽어 *ʌllin ilgʌ* 'Read [it] quickly.'
　　　　V.p.

바람이　솔솔　분다 *balami solsol bunda* 'The wind blows gently.'
　　　　　　　V.p.

3.4.4.2. Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.d.)

Adverbs which may occur either before (i) a descriptive verb or (ii) a processive adverb are descriptive adverbs. The descriptive adverbs correspond in general to the adverbs of degree in the traditional grammar.

매우 *mɛu* 'very'		퍽 *pʌg* 'very, considerably'	
대단히 *dɛdanhi* 'very, greatly'			
참 *cam* 'extremely, very'		가장 *gajaŋ* 'most'	

etc.

Examples

매우　좋다 *mɛu jo:ta* '[It] is very good.'
　　　V.d.

매우　잘　뛴다 *mɛu jal t̀winda* '[He] runs very well.'
　　　Adv.p. V.p.

키가　대단히　크다 *kiga dɛdanhi k̀ida* '[He] is extremely tall.'
　　　　　　V.d.

대단히　빨리　먹는다 *dɛdanhi p̀alli mʌŋninda* '[She] eats very fast.'
　　　　　Adv.p.　V.p.

누가　가장　잘　하니 *nuga gajaŋ jal hani* 'Who does it best?'
　　　　　　Adv.p. V.p.
　　(lit. 'Who most well does it?')

3.4.4.3. Processive-Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.pd.)

Adverbs which may behave both as the processive adverbs and the descriptive adverbs are processive-descriptive adverbs. Some processive-descriptive adverbs show slightly different meanings depending on whether they are used as processive or descriptive adverbs.

너무 *nʌmu* 'too much' as Adv.p.	
'too. . .' as Adv.d.	
굉장히 *gweŋjaŋhi* 'very much' as Adv.p.	
'very. . .' as Adv.d.	
아주 *aju* 'for good, definitely, completely' as Adv.p.	
'very, extremely' as Adv.d.	
상당히 *saŋdaŋhi* 'remarkably or fairly much/many' as Adv.p.	
'quite, fairly' as Adv.d.	
확실히 *hwags̀ilhi* 'definitely, clearly'	

Examples

너무　많다 *nʌmu manta* 'There are too many.'
　　　V.d.

너무　잤다 *nʌmu jadìa* '[She] slept too much.'
　　　V.p.

너무　깊이　잤다 *nʌmu gipi jadìa* '[She] slept too soundly.'
　　　Adv.p.　V.p.

아주　떠났읍니까 *aju t̀ʌnas̀imnika* 'Has [he] left for good?'
　　　　　V.p.

아주　흽니다 *aju himnida* '[It] is completely white.'
　　　　V.d.

아주　많이　먹었읍니다 *aju ma:nhi mʌgʌs̀imnida*
　　　　Adv.p.　　V.p.
　　'[I] have eaten very much.'

3.4.4.4. Interrogative Adverbs

Adverbs whose meanings vary according as they occur in the interrogative and non-interrogative sentence (cf. 7.2) are interrogative adverbs. There are two such adverbs:

왜 *wɛ* 'why' in the interrogative sentence.
　　'by the way, as you know/remember' in the non-interrogative
　　sentence.
어떻게 *ʌtʌke* 'how' in the interrogative sentence.
　　　'somehow' in the non-interrogative sentence.

Examples

왜　안오나 *wɛ anona* 'Why doesn't [he] come?'

너도 왜 보았지 *nʌdo wɛ boadʑì* 'You saw [it], by the way.'

영국에 어떻게 갑니까 *jʌŋguge ʌìʌke gamnikà*
'How are you getting to England?'

나도 어떻게 해보겠읍니다 *nado ʌìʌke hɛbogešimnida*
'I will do [it] somehow.'

3.4.4.5. Sentence Adverb (Adv.z.)

Adverbs which typically occur either at the beginning of a sentence or after the subject if there is one, and have a reference to a preceding sentence, whether uttered by the same speaker or by someone else, are sentence adverbs. A sentence adverb which occurs in a sentence is usually marked phonologically by a tentative juncture (cf. 2.7).

그러나 *gilʌna* 'but, however'
또 *ìo* 'and, furthermore'
그러니 *gilʌni* 'therefore'
더구나 *dʌguna* 'furthermore, on top of that'
하물며 *hamilmjʌ* 'furthermore, in contrast to that, in spite of that'
아니 *ani* 'by the way, why'

Examples

그러나 장군은 계속 싸웠다 *gilʌna, jʌŋgunin gesog šawʌdìa*
'But the general kept on fighting.'

나는 그러나 실망했다 *nanin gilʌna, silmaŋhɛdìa*
　　　　　　　　　S.
'But I was disappointed.'

더구나 아이는 목이 말랐다 *dʌguna, ainin mogi malladìa*
'On top of that, the child was thirsty.'

3.4.4.6. Conjunctive Adverb (Adv.conj.)

Adverbs which may occur (i) as a coordinator between two or more syntactically comparable units, or (ii) at the beginning of a sentence with a reference to a preceding one, are conjunctive adverbs. Like sentence adverbs, a conjunctive adverb standing at the beginning of a sentence is often marked phonologically by a tentative juncture. The most common conjunctive adverbs are:

그리고 *giligo* 'and' 'afterward'
또는 *ìonin* 'or'
곧 *god* 'namely, in other words'

Examples

영국 그리고 불란서를 보아라 *jʌŋgug giligo bullansʌlil boala*
　　　N　　　　　　　N
'See England and France.'

이곡은 서서히 그리고 우아하게 불러야 한다
igogin sʌ:sʌhi giligo uahage bullʌja handa
　　　　　Adv.　　　　Adv.
'This melody should be sung slowly and gracefully.'

그리고 그는 서울을 떠났다 *giligo, ginin sʌulil ìʌnadìa*
'And he left Seoul.'

감자 또는 보리가 필요합니다 *gamja ìonin boliga piljohamnida*
　　　　N　　　　N
'[They] need some potatoes or barley.'

또는 이렇게 할수 있읍니다 *ìonin, ilʌke halsu išimnida*
'Or you can do it this way.'

곧 너는 운동이 부족하다 *god, nʌnin undoŋi bujokada*
'In other words, you lack exercise.'

3.4.5. Sub-classes of Particles

Particles are divided into the following nine sub-classes according to their syntactic functions: (i) 'Subject/Complement Particle', (ii) 'Object Particle', (iii) 'Agent Particle', (iv) 'Adverbial Particle', (v) 'Vocative Particle', (vi) 'Conjunctive Particle', (vii) 'Sentence Particle', (viii) 'Adjectival Particle' and (ix) 'Modifying Particle'.

3.4.5.1. Subject/Complement Particle

The subject/complement particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase either as subject or as complement (cf. 6.2) of a clause: 가/이 *ga/i* V/C-form.[1]

Examples

나무가 높다 *namuga nobìa* 'The tree is high.'
　　S

동생이 배가 아프다 *doŋseŋi bɛga apida*
　　　　S₁　S₂
'My younger brother has a stomach ache.'
(lit. 'My brother stomach is sick.')

---

[1] Here and elsewhere the notation 'V/C-form' is to be read: 'Of the two alternant forms separated by a slant line, the first form occurs after a vowel-final form and the second form after a consonant-final form. In this case, for instance, *ga* form occurs after a vowel-final noun and *i* form after a consonant-final noun.'

There are two other particles occurring only as the main subject marker (cf. 6.3.3): 께서 *kesʌ*, 에서 *esʌ*.

kesʌ is one of the two honorific particles, the other one being *ke* (cf. 3.4.5.3 and 3.4.5.4), which, like honorific nouns (cf. 3.4.2.3.2) and honorific verbs (cf. 3.4.1.3.1.1) expresses respect shown by the speaker to the referent of a noun to which it is related, e.g.

사장님께서 오십니다 *saɟaŋnim kesʌ osimnida* 'The director is coming.'
<u>N.hon.</u>
S

아버님께서 주무십니다 *abʌnim kesʌ ɟumusimnida*
<u>N.hon.</u>
S

'[My] father is asleep.'

esʌ is sometimes used after an inanimate noun representing a group, social body or institution such as *hwesa* 'company' or *haggjo* 'school', etc., e.g.

우리 학교에서 우승했다 *uli hagk̇joesʌ usiŋhedìa*
S

'Our school has won.'

3.4.5.2. Object Particle

The object particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase immediately preceding as 'Object' of a transitive clause (cf. 6.3.1): 를/을 *lil/il* V/C-form.

Examples

창을 닫았니 *caŋil dadanni* 'Did you shut the window?'
V.tr.

기차를 못탔다 *gicalil modtadìa* '[He] could not catch the train.'
V.tr.

3.4.5.3. Agent Particle

The agent particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase immediately preceding as 'Agent' in a passive or causative clause (cf. 6.3.5-6):

에 *e* (after an inanimate noun),
에게 *ege* (after an animate noun),
한테 *hante* (after an animate noun in the colloquial style of speech),
께 *ke* (after an animate honorific noun).

These particles occur also as 'Directive Particles' (cf. 3.4.5.4).

Examples

문에 옷이 걸리었다 *mune osi gʌllìʌdìa*
      Ag.   V.pasv.
'[Her] clothes were caught by/in the door.'
벽에 칠을 입힌다 *bjʌge cilil ipinda*
      Ag.   V.caus.
'[He] is painting the wall' (lit. 'making the wall wear paint'.)
고양이에게 먹히었다 *gojaŋiege mʌkìʌdìa*
      Ag.   V.pasv.
'[It] was eaten by a cat.'
고양이에게 먹이었다 *gojaŋiege mʌgìʌdìa*
      Ag.   V.caus.
'[She] made a cat eat [it].'
아이한테 입힌다 *aihante ipinda*
      Ag.   V.caus.
'[She] is dressing a child.' (lit. 'making a child to wear clothes.')
어른께 잡히었다 *ʌ:linke ɟapìʌdìa*
      Ag.   V.pasv.
'[He] was caught by an adult.'

3.4.5.4. Adverbial Particle

Particles which may occur after a noun or a nominal phrase and with it constitute an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1) are adverbial particles. The adverbial particles are further divided into (i) 'Directive Particles' and (ii) 'Quotative Particles' on the basis of their distribution.

3.4.5.4.1. Directive Particle

The directive particles can occur only after a noun or a nominal phrase.
1. 에 / 에게 / 한테 / 께
e/ege/hante/ke 'to, toward',[1] e.g.

달에 *dale* 'to the moon'
거지에게 *gʌɟiege* 'to a beggar'
왕께 *waŋke* 'to the king'

2. (에)서 *(e)sʌ* 'at, from' (after N.inanimate), e.g.
어디에서 오니 *ʌdiesʌ oni* 'Where are you coming from?'

3. 에게서 *egesʌ* 'from' (after N.animate), e.g.
친구에게서 편지가 왔다 *cingu egesʌ pjʌnɟiga wadìa*
'A letter came from my friend.'

---

[1] See 3.4.5.3 for the distribution of these particles.

4. 한테서 *hantesʌ* 'from' (after N.ani. in colloquial style), e.g.

누구한테서 올까 *nugu hantesʌ olkà* 'From whom will it come?'

5. 로 / 으로 *lo/ilo* 'to, toward, as, with, by' V/C-form (after N.ina.), e.g.

정거장으로 떠난다 *jʌŋgʌjaŋilo tʌnanda* '[She] is leaving for the station.'
나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandilʌdìa* 'They made it with wood.'
회장으로 뽑자 *hwejaŋilo pòbca* 'Let's choose [him] as president.'
기차로 간다 *gicalo ganda* '[I] am going by train.'

6. 에게로 *egelo* 'to, toward' (after N.ani.), e.g.

파리가 말에게로 날라간다 *paliga malegelo nalla ganda*
      'A fly is flying to a horse.'

7. 한테로 *hantelo* 'to, toward' (after N.ani. in colloquial style), e.g.

엄마한테로 가라 *ʌmma hantelo gala* 'Go to your mummy.'

8. 로서 / 으로서 *losʌ/ilosʌ* 'as' (after N.ini.) V/C-form.
   로써 / 으로써 *los̀ʌ/ilos̀ʌ* 'with, by' (after N.ina.) V/C-form. } e.g.

장관으로서 말했다 *jaŋgwanilosʌ malhɛdìa* '(He) spoke as a minister.'
병으로써 사망했어요 *bjʌːŋilos̀ʌ samaŋhɛss̀ʌjo* '(She) died of illness.'

9. 와/과 *wa/gwa* 'with' V/C-form, e.g.

아이와 논다 *aiwa nonda* '[She] is playing with a child.'

10. 하고 *hago* 'with' (in colloquial style), e.g.

순경하고 이야기할까 *sungjʌŋhago ijagihalka*
      'Shall we have a word with the policeman.'

11. 처럼 *cʌlʌm* 'as, like', e.g.

저이처럼 해보아 *jʌi cʌlʌm hɛboa* 'Try and do as he does.'

12. 보다 *boda* 'than', e.g.

이보다 적다 *iboda jʌgìa* '[That] is smaller than this.'
낮보다 환하다 *najboda hwanhada* 'It is brighter than daylight.'

Besides there are what may be called compound directive particles such as:

때문에 *ìemune* 'because (of)' < *ìemun* + *e*
앞에 *ape* 'in front of' < *ap* + *e*
뒤에 *dwie* 'behind', 'after' < *dwi* + *e*

which are composed of nouns followed by a directive particle like 에 *e*.

3.4.5.4.2. Quotative Particles

The quotative particle may occur after any stretch of speech as well as a word

of any class, phrase, clause, or sentence and marks it as a quotation. The quotative particle appears in the following three shapes.

(a) 라고 *lago* (after any quotation ending in a vowel except a clause or sentence ending in /a/), e.g.

이것을 나무라고 한다 *igʌsil namulago handa*
      '[We] call it "wood".'

(b) 이라고 *ilago* (after any quotation ending in a consonant), e.g.

나는 창순이라고 합니다 *nanin caŋsunilago hamnida*
      'My name is "Changsun" ([People] call me Changsun).'

(c) 고 *go* (after a clause or sentence ending in /a/), e.g.

학교에 가겠다고 약속했다 *hagkjoe gagedìago jagsòkɛdìa*
      '[He] promised that he would go to school.'

3.4.5.5. Vocative Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by a vocative particle is syntactically independent of other sentence elements in a sentence, where it may occur (i) initially, (ii) immediately after a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.4.5), if any, or (iii) finally. The construction N/NP + Vocative Particle, which will be named 'Vocative Phrase', is often accompanied by a tentative juncture, or a terminal juncture in which case it can stand by itself as a minor sentence. Just like the verb inflectional endings (cf. 4.3.5), vocative particles distinguish speech styles, and a vocative particle occurring in a sentence agrees in speech style with the verb inflectional ending.

야 / 아 *ja/a* V/C-form (low plain style)
ø / 이 Zero/*i* V/C-form (high plain or medium style)
여 / 이여 *jʌ/ijʌ* V/C-form (formal style)

Examples

남주야 *namjuja* 'Namju!' (= a girl's name)
밝은 달아 *balgin dala* 'Bright moon!'
동수 *doŋsu* Zero 'Dongsu!' (= a man's name)
원복이 *wʌnbogi* 'Wonbog!' (= a man's name)
친구여 *cingujʌ* 'Dear friend!'
그리운 님이여 *giliun nimijʌ* 'My dear!' (lit. 'Darling I miss.')
복동아 빨리와 *bogìoŋa, p̀alliwa* 'Bogdong, come quickly!'
아니 복동아 왜안가니 *ani bogìoŋa, wɛan gani*
      'By the way, Bogdong, why don't you go?'
                              ani 'by the way' Adv.z.
아니 왜안가니 복동아 *ani wɛangani bogìoŋa*
      'By the way, why don't you go, Bogdong?'

3.4.5.6. *Conjunctive Particle*

The particles which occur either as the coordinator between two or more nouns or nominal phrases, or as the subordinator between two final clauses, are conjunctive particles. The conjunctive particles are divided into further sub-classes: (i) 'Nominal Conjunctive Particles' and (ii) 'Clausal Conjunctive Particles'.

3.4.5.6.1. *Nominal Conjunctive Particles*

The nominal conjunctive particles occur as the coordinator between two or more nouns or nominal phrases. There are three nominal conjunctive particles:

와/과 *wa/gwa* V/C-form 'and'
하고 *hago* 'and'
나/이나 *na/ina* V/C-form 'or'

Examples

사람과 동물 *sa:lamgwa doŋmul* 'man and animal'
나무와 물과 하늘 *namuwa mulgwa hanil* 'the tree, water and sky'
심판하고 선수가 다투고 있다 *simpanhago sʌnsuga datugo idʲa*
    'The referee and a player are quarrelling.'
책이나 신문을 보여 주시오 *cɛgina sinmunil bojʌ jusio*
    'Please show me a book or a newspaper.'

The nominal conjunctive particles, although identical in form to the directive particles *wa/gwa* and *hago* (cf. 3.4.5.4.1), and the modifying particle *na/ina* (cf. 3.4.5.9) respectively, are, however, different from the latter in distribution as well as in meaning; the nominal conjunctive particles occur between two or more nouns, and the directive particles and modifying particles occur only after a noun and are not followed by another noun but by words of other classes such as a verb or an adverb.

Examples

선생과 학생 *sʌnseŋgwa hagsɛŋ* 'a teacher and a pupil'
               N
선생과 갔다 *sʌnseŋgwa gadʲa* '[They] left with a teacher.'
            V
선생과 같이 떠난다 *sʌnseŋgwa gaci ʲʌnanda*
                 Adv.
    '[I] am leaving with a teacher.'

3.4.5.6.2. *Clausal Conjunctive Particles*

The clausal conjunctive particles occur as the subordinator between two final clauses (cf. 6.1), of which the first is in subordinate relation to the second.

There are two such particles:

만(은) *man(in)* 'although, but'
시피 *sipi* 'as'

The verbs that may occur in the final clause preceding the particle *sipi* are limited to a few processive verbs and can be inflected for the low plain declarative mood only. Furthermore, the present time reference for such verbs is expressed by the neutral tense (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.1). The processive verbs most commonly found in such a clause are: 알 *al-* 'to know, be aware of', 모르 *moli-* 'to be ignorant of', 느끼 *niki-* 'to feel or realize', 들 *did-* 'to hear (of)', 보 *bo-* 'to see', 짐작하 *jimʲagha-* 'to guess', etc., e.g.

이미 늦었읍니다만(은) 갑시다 *imi nijʌšimnida man(in) gabšida*
    'It is already late but let us go.'
해가 비친다만(은) 날이 춥다 *hɛga bicinda man(in) nali cubʲa*
    'Although the sun is shining it is cold.'
그는 민의원이 되었읍니다만(은) 슬펐읍니다
ginin miniiwʌni dweʌšimnida man(in) silpʌšimnida
    'He became an MP but he was sad.'
자네가 알다시피 나는 바쁘네 *janega alda sipi nanin baþine*
    'As you know, I am busy.'
당신이 보았다시피 아이가 아펐소 *daŋsini boadʲa sipi aiga apʌšo*
    'As you saw, the child was ill.'

3.4.5.7. *Sentence Particle*

The particles which typically occur at the end of a sentence are sentence particles. There are two sentence particles: 그려 *giljʌ* 'exclamator', 요 *jo* 'speech style modulator'. The particle *giljʌ* occurs only after a major sentence (cf. 7.1–2), i.e., the one ending in a verb inflected with a final ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) and renders it exclamatory. The particle *jo* occurs after a major sentence ending in a verb inflected with -*a*/-*ʌ*, -*ji* or -*gun* of the medium speech style, or -*ne* or -*de* of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3), and after any minor sentence, elevating such medium or high plain speech style to the level of low formal style, e.g.

날이 춥습니다 그려 *nali cubšimnida giljʌ* 'What a cold day it is!'
                Z
자네도 늙었네 그려 *janedo nilgʌnne giljʌ* 'You have grown old too!'
                Z
우리가 갑시다 그려 *uliga gabšida giljʌ* 'Let us go!'
                Z
눈이 녹아요 *nu:ni noga jo* 'The snow is melting.'
      Z (medium)
      Z (low formal)

그만 두지요 *giman duɟi jo* 'Why don't you stop it?'
<u>   Z (medium)   </u>
            Z (low formal)
날이 어둡군요 *nali ʌdubk̓un jo* 'It is dark.'
<u>   Z (medium)   </u>
            Z (low formal)
연필이 없네요 *ɟʌnpili ʌːmne jo* 'There is no pencil.'
<u>   Z (high plain)   </u>
            Z (low formal)
산으로 가데요 *sanilo gade jo*
<u>   Z (high plain)   </u>
            Z (low formal)
    '[He] was going to the mountain, [as I remember].'
책요 *cɛg jo* 'Book?'
            N
빨리요 *p̓alli jo* 'Quickly?'
            Adv.

The particle *jo* may occur also within a sentence, after the sentence elements like subject, object, complement, etc., especially in women's speech, e.g.

제가요 내일 가지요 *ɟega jo, nɛil gaɟi jo* 'I will go tomorrow.'
            S   P
이 아이는요 치스를요 싫어해요 *iainin jo, cisilil jo, silhʌhɛ jo*
                        S   O   P
    'This child does not like cheese.'

3.4.5.8. *Adjectival Particle*

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by the adjectival particle is syntactically equivalent to an adjective, i.e., occurs in the pre-nominal position. There is only one such particle: 의 *ii* 'of'

Examples

너의 연필 *nʌii ɟʌnpil* 'your pencil' (lit. 'pen of you')
            nʌ 'you', *ɟʌnpil* 'pencil'
책의 내용 *cɛgii nɛjoŋ* 'the contents of the book'
            cɛg 'book', *nɛjoŋ* 'content'
새 노래의 곡조 *sɛ nolɛii gogɟo* 'the melody of the new song.'
            sɛ 'new', *nolɛ* 'song', *gogɟo* 'melody'

3.4.5.9. *'Modifying Particle*

The particles which are not members of any of the sub-classes described in 3.4.5.1–8 are the members of the sub-class 'Modifying Particle'. All modifying particles can occur immediately after a noun or a nominal phrase functioning as subject, object, or complement, and the first three particles *nin/in*, *man* and *do* can also occur after an adverb, an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1), a verb inflected with a concatenating ending (cf. 4.3.5.3) or even within a verb stem (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2). The modifying particles modify or add certain meaning to the meaning of the preceding element.

1. 는/은 *nin/in* V/C-form, emphasis, contrast, e.g.
    나는 간다 *nanin ganda* 'I am going (though you are not).'
            S
    사과는 먹는다 *sagwanin mʌŋninda* '[She] eats apples (not pears).'
                        O
    그가 마음은 좋다 *giga maimin ɟoːta* '[She] is kind (though not bright)'
            S₁   S₂
    말을 잘은 한다 *maːlil ɟalin handa*
                        Adv.
        '[He] speaks well (though not clearly).'
    나에게는 주시오 *naege nin ɟusio* 'Give [it] to me (though not to others).'
                        naege adverbial relational pcl.
    앉고는 싶다 *ankonin sibɪa*
        '[I] want to sit down (though I don't want to walk).'
                        ango /anko/ 'sitting' concat. form

2. 만 *man* 'only, solely', e.g.
    너만 가니 *nʌman gani* 'Are you going alone?'
            S
    책만 보니 *cɛŋman boni* 'Are you reading books only (not newspapers)?'
            O
    이것이 짐만 된다 *igʌsi ɟimman dwenda*
                        C
        'This becomes only a burden (nothing else).'
    공을 멀리만 찬다 *goŋil mʌlliman canda*
        '[He] kicks the ball only far (not accurately).'
                        mʌlli 'far' Adv.
    다방에만 가시오 *dabaŋe man gasio*
                        adv.ph.
        'Do you go only to a tea room (not elsewhere)?'
    뛰지만 못하게 하였다 *ɪwiɟi man motage haɟʌdɪa*
        '[I] just did not allow him to run (though I approved of other things)'
                        ɪwiɟi concat. form

3. 도 *do* 'also, too, as well', e.g.

아이도 우니 *aido uni* 'Is the child crying also?'
           S

이제 축구도 한다 *ije cugk̇udo handa* 'Now [he] even plays football.'
            O

타자를 빨리도 친다 *taɟalil ṗallido cinda* 'She types fast too.'
              ṗalli 'fast' Adv.

앞으로도 간다 *apilodo ganda* 'It goes forward too.'
         apilo 'to front' adv.rel.ph.

쇠가 잘라도 진다 *swega ɟallado ɟinda* 'The iron can also be cut.'
         ɟalla 'cutting' concat. form

4. 마다 *mada* 'every, each', e.g.

별마다 나를 보는듯 하였다 *bjʌ:lmada nalil bonindid haɟʌdìa*
           S

'Every star seemed to gaze at me.'

5. 부터 *butʌ* 'first, from, beginning with', e.g.

사진부터 보아라 *saɟinbutʌ boala* 'Look at the photo first.'
         O

6. 까지 *k̇aɟi* 'even, as far as', e.g.

불까지 나갔다 *bulk̇aɟi nagadìa* 'Even the light has gone out.'
         S

7. 조차 *ɟoca* 'even, up to', e.g.

할머니는 골치조차 아펐다 *halmʌninin golciɟoca apʌdìa*
        S₁   S₂

'Granny even had a headache.'

8. 야말로/이야말로 *jamallo/ijamallo* V/C-form 'as for, in particular', e.g.

이 영화야말로 꼭 보아야한다 *ijʌŋhwajamallo k̇og boajahanda*
         O

'One must see this film in particular.'

9. 라도 / 이라도 *lado/ilado* V/C-form

'for lack of anything better, even though unsatisfactory', e.g.

차라도 마셔라 *calado masjʌla*
        O
'Have some tea (for lack of anything better at the moment).'

10. 나 / 이나 *na/ina* V/C-form

'even though unsatisfactory, as [much/many] as', e.g.

자네나 가게 *ɟanena gage* 'You go (though perhaps it is not satisfactory).'
        S

열명이나 왔네 *jʌ:lmjʌŋina wanne* 'As many as ten people have come.'
        S

11. 든지 / 이든지 *dinɟi/idinɟi* V/C-form 'any, no matter what', e.g.

어느것이든지 삽시다 *ʌnigʌsidinɟi sabṡida* 'Let us buy anything.'
        O

3.4.6. *Sub-classes of Interjections*

Two sub-classes are recognized of the interjection word class on the basis of the presence or absence of reference to the preceding sentence. The 'Response Interjections' involve a reference to the preceding sentence and 'Introductory Interjections' do not involve such a reference, but just initiate a new sentence.

3.4.6.1. *Response Interjections*

네 *ne* 'Yes' (formal style)
그래 *gilɛ* 'Yes' (plain style)
글쎄 *gilse* 'well, presumably, possibly'
어 ʌ [ʌ or ʌ̃] 'er' (expression of hesitation)
응 *iŋ* [ɯŋ] or more commonly [ũŋ] or [ũ]
    'Yes, that's right'; 'Really, is that so?'
무어 *mwʌ* [mwʌ or mʌ] 'what!?'
허허 *hʌhʌ* 'ha ha' (laughter, pleasure or pity)
음 *im* [ɯm] or [m:] 'mm', 'yes'
흠 *him* [m̩m] or [m̩mm̩] 'hum', (expression of distaste, sneer)
                      etc.

3.4.6.2. *Introductory Interjections*

아 *a* 'Ah!'
아이구 *aigu* 'Oh!, Ouch!, Goodness!'
자 *ɟa* 'Well, now!'
쉬 *swi* 'Hush!'
야 / 햐 *ja/hja* 'Hey!'
여보 *jʌbo* 'Hey, you!'
여보세요 *jʌbosejo* 'Hello, you!'
                      etc.

IV

STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

This chapter deals with the internal structure of verb with a special emphasis on inflection, by virtue of which verbs play a role of central importance in Korean syntax.

4.1. ELEMENTS WITHIN THE VERB

The elements that are found within the verb are (i) 'Verb Stem', (ii) 'Voice Suffix', (iii) 'Honorific Suffix', (iv) 'Tense Suffix (es)', (v) 'Humble Suffix' and (vi) 'Inflectional Ending' occurring in that order. Of these six elements, stem and inflectional ending are the obligatory elements, one never occurring without the other. All other elements found between the stem and the inflectional ending are optional elements. The elements directly relevant to syntactic structures and functions are (*a*) verb stem, (*b*) voice suffix and (*c*) inflectional ending. Verb stems and voice suffixes determine different types of predicate (cf. 6.2.1) and consequently different types of clause (cf. 6.3.1), and inflectional endings determine various syntactic functions of verbs with which they are found or external distributions of a clause in which such verbs occur as predicate. In its minimal form a verb may consist of a stem and inflectional ending, and its maximal form may comprise all six elements, e.g.

(i) 잡아 *jaba* 'Catch [it].' < *jab-* 'to catch' V.st. + -*a* inflx.end.

(ii) 잡았어 *jabasʌ* '[He] has caught [it].'
     < *jab-* + -*as̀-* past t.sfx. + -*ʌ* inflx.end.

(iii) 잡히었어 *japiʌ̀sʌ* '[He] has been caught'
     < *jab-* + -*hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + -*ʌ̀s̀-* past t.sfx. + -*ʌ*.

(iv) 잡히시었어 *japisiʌ̀sʌ* '[He] has been caught.'
     < *jab-* + -*hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + -*si-* hon.sfx. + -*ʌ̀s̀-* + -*ʌ*

(v) 잡히시었겠사옵니다 *japisiʌdk̀es̀aomnida*
     '[He] may have been captured.' < *jab-* + -*hi-* + -*si-* + -*ʌ̀s̀ges̀-* t.sfx.
     + -*sao-* humble sfx. + -*bnida* inflx.end.

4.2. STEM

The stem of a verb is defined as that element which is found first in the verb structure and followed by any of the five elements, i.e., voice suffix, honorific suffix, tense suffix, humble suffix or inflectional ending.

4.2.1. *Structure of the Verb Stem*

Verb stems are either simple or compound, and some simple stems may be preceded by a member of the closed set of prefixes.

4.2.1.1. *Simple Stems*

Simple stems comprise only one verb root and the majority of verb stems are simple. The verb root is that part of the verb stem which is not subject to a further morphemic analysis, i.e., cannot be divided into smaller meaningful units.

가 *ga-* 'to go'	오 *o-* 'to come'	
놀 *nol-* 'to play'	자 *ja-* 'to sleep'	
먹 *mʌg-* 'to eat'	좋 *joh-* 'to be good'	
		etc.

4.2.1.1.1. *Prefixed Simple Stem*

The prefixed simple stem consists of a verb root and a member of the closed set of class-maintaining[1] derivational prefixes, of which the following are illustrative.

(i) 짓 *jis-* 'at random, violently', e.g.
    짓밟 *jidbab-* 'to trample down' < *jis-* + *balb-* 'to stamp on'

(ii) 엿 *jʌs-* 'secretly', e.g.
    엿듣 *jʌdìid-* 'to overhear' < *jʌs-* + *did-* 'to hear'

(iii) 시 *si-* 'deep, very', e.g.
    시퍼렇 *sipʌlʌ-* 'deep blue' < *si-* + *pʌlʌh-* 'blue'

(iv) 올 *òl-* 'early', e.g.
    올되 *oldwe-* 'to be precocious' < *ol-* + *dwe-* 'to become'

(v) 치 *ci-* 'up, upward', e.g.
    치밀 *cimil-* 'to push up, to well up' < *ci-* + *mil-* 'to push'

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[1] R. H. Robins, *General Linguistics*, 1964, p. 258.

(vi) 처 *cʌ-* 'greedily, irrationally', e.g.

처먹 *cʌmʌg-* 'to eat greedily' < *cʌ-* + *mʌg-* 'to eat'

etc.

4.2.1.2. Compound Stems

The compound stems consist of two verb roots.

보살피 *bosalpi-* 'to look after' < *bo-* 'to see' + *salpi-* 'to observe
오가 *oga-* 'to come and go' < *o-* 'to come' + *ga-* 'to go'
검붉 *gʌmbulg-* 'to be dark red' < *gʌm-* 'dark' + *bulg-* 'red'
붙잡 *butɟab-* 'to grab' < *but-* 'to stick' + *ɟab-* 'to catch'

etc.

4.2.2. Stem Classes

Verb stems are classified into two major classes on the phonological basis: 'V-Stems' and 'C-Stems'. The V-stems end in a vowel and the C-stems in a consonant. And each of the two major classes is further divided into 'Invariable' and 'Variable' sub-classes depending on whether the morphemic forms of stems are invariable or variable when combining with various verbal suffixes or inflectional endings. The classification of verb stems into V-stems and C-stems makes it possible to make an economic statement about the way in which various suffixes are added to stems.

4.2.2.1. V-Stems

4.2.2.1.1. Invariable V-Stems

The morphological make-up of the invariable V-stems does not vary, irrespective of the suffixes or endings that may follow.

가 *ga-* 'to go'   쏘 *šo-* 'to shoot'
세 *se-* 'to count'   기 *gi-* 'to crawl'
보 *bo-* 'to see'   주 *ɟu-* 'to give'
새 *sɛ-* 'to leak' 'to dawn'

etc.

Examples

어디 가오 *ʌdi gao* 'Where are you going?' < *ga-* + *-o* inflx.end.
집에 간다 *ɟibe ganda* '[I] am going home.'
      < *ga-* + *-n-* t.sfx. + *-da* inflx.end.
보았읍니다 *boašimnida* '[I] have seen it.'
      < *bo-* + *-aš-* t.sfx. + *ibnida* 'inflx.end.

4.2.2.1.1.1. Diphthongization

In colloquial speech, specially of fast tempo, stem vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ are frequently reduced to semi-vowels as shown below when they are followed by an /ʌ/- or /a/-initial suffixes or ending.

/i/ + /ʌ/ > /jʌ/
/u/ + /ʌ/ > /wʌ/
/o/ + /a/ > /wa/

Examples

/gi-/ + /-ʌ/ > /gjʌ/ 'to crawl'
/bo-/ + /-a/ > /bwa/ 'to see'
/ɟu-/ + /-ʌ/ > /ɟwʌ/ 'to give'

In more careful speech, however, /giʌ/, /boa/ and /ɟuʌ/ tend to occur more frequently than the diphthongized forms.

4.2.2.1.2. Variable V-Stems

The variable V-stems involve various changes in morphemic shape as follows:

4.2.2.1.2.1. i-dropping Stems

All *i*-final stems, except the two *li*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.1.2.2), appear in the *i*-less allomorphs when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending:

잠그 *ɟamgi-* 'to lock'   뜨 *ti-* 'to float'
트 *ti-* 'to tear open'   쓰 *ši-* 'to use or write'
크 *ki-* 'to grow, to be big'

etc.

Examples

쓰 *ši-* 'to use or write'
써도 *šʌdo* 'even if [you] write' > *ši-* + *-ʌdo*
써라 *šʌla* 'Write!' > *ši-* + *-ʌla*
cf. 쓰오 *šio* 'Please write!'
쓰고 *šigo* 'writing'

4.2.2.1.2.2. li-final Stems

The following two *li*-final stems appear in the allomorphs comprising an additional /l/ when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending:

이르 *ili-* 'to arrive or reach'
푸르 *puli-* 'to be blue'

Examples

이르러 *ililʌ* 'on arriving' < *ili-* + -ʌ
이르렀다 *ililʌ̀sda*/ililʌdìa/ '[They] arrived [there].'
    < *ili-* + -ʌ̀s- past t.sfx. + -*da*
cf. 거기에 이르면 *gʌgie ilimjʌn* 'When [you] reach there.'

4.2.2.1.2.3. u-*dropping Stems*

The *u*-dropping stems appear in the *u*-less allomorphs when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending. There is only one verb of this type: 푸 *pu-* 'to draw (water)'.

Examples

퍼라 *pʌla* 'Draw!' < *pi-* + -ʌ*la*
퍼도 *pʌdo* 'even if [you] draw [water]'
cf. 푸고 *pugo* 'drawing' < *pu-* + -*go*

4.2.2.1.2.4. l-*doubling Stems*

Some *li*-final stems appear in *ll*-final allomorphs when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending:

나르 *nali-* 'to carry'	부르 *buli-* 'to call'
짜르 *cali-* 'to cut'	찌르 *cili-* 'to pierce'
흐르 *hili-* 'to flow'	가르 *gali-* 'to divide'
빠르 *pàli-* 'to be fast'	이르 *ili-* 'to be early'
	etc.

Examples

불러라 *bullʌla* 'Call [him].' < *buli-* + -ʌ*la*
불러서 *bullʌsʌ* 'call [him] and' < *buli-* + -ʌ*sʌ*
cf. 부르면 *bulimjʌn* 'if [you] call [me]' < *buli-* + -*mjʌn*

If the last vowel in the verb stem is *o* or *a*, the *a* allomorph of the *a/ʌ* form (see 4.3.0.2) is used: 모르 *moli-* 'not to know', 몰라 *molla*.

4.2.2.1.2.5. ha-*Stem*

The verb stem *ha-* 'to do, to say' and all other verb stems ending in *ha-* have the allomorph *haj-* occurring before *a/ʌ*-initial suffixes or endings, and the form that occurs after the *haj-* or *haj*-final verbs is ʌ-form according to the rule of vowel harmony (cf. 4.3). The sequence *ajʌ* of *hajʌ* sometimes coalesces into ɛ, thus giving rise to *hɛ*. However the full form *hajʌ* is used more often in a slow and formal style of speech as well as in written language, and the coalesced form ɛ in colloquial language.

하 *ha-* 'to do, to say'	연하 *jʌːnha-* 'to be soft'
참하 *camha-* 'to be nice or pretty'	정하 *jʌŋha-* 'to decide'
통하 *toŋha-* 'to pass'	
	etc.

Examples

하여/ 해 *hajʌ*/*hɛ* 'Do and' < *haj-* + -ʌ (> *hɛ*)
참하였다/ 참했다 *camhajʌ̀sda*/*camhɛ̀sda* '[She] was nice.'
    < *camhaj-* + -ʌ̀s- past t.sfx. + -*da* (> *camhɛ̀sda*)
정하여도/ 정해도 *jʌŋhajʌdo*/*jʌŋhɛdo* 'Even if [I] decide [on it].'
    < *jʌŋhaj-* + -ʌ*do* (> *jʌŋhɛdo*)

The verb stem *dwe-* 'to become' also has the coalesced form *dwɛ* for *dweʌ* in colloquial language, and similar coalescences occur in, for instance, *bonɛ* for *bonɛʌ* 'to send'.

4.2.2.2. C-*Stems*

4.2.2.2.1. *Invariable C-Stems*

The invariable C-stems do not involve any change in shape in combining with various suffixes or endings:

찢 *cij-* 'to tear'	심 *sim-* 'to sow'
먹 *mʌg-* 'to eat'	입 *ib-* 'to wear'
벗 *bʌs-* 'to take off, to undress'	적 *jʌg-* 'to be small'
섞 *sʌk̀-* 'to mix'	
	etc.

Examples

이것을 찢을까 *igʌsil cijilk̀a* 'Will [he] tear this?'
씨를 심니 *šilil simni* 'Are you sowing seeds?'
집이 적군 *jibi jʌggun* 'The house is small.'

4.2.2.2.2. *Variable C-Stems*

The variable C-stems involve various changes in shape as follows:

4.2.2.2.2.1. l-*dropping Stems*

All *l*-final verb stems appear in the *l*-less allomorphs when they are followed by a suffix or an ending which begins with /n/, /s/, /b/ or /o/:

갈 *gaːl-* 'to plough'	날 *nal-* 'to fly'
알 *aːl-* 'to know'	말 *mal-* 'to roll or stop'
걸 *gʌːl-* 'to hang'	팔 *pal-* 'to sell'
	etc.

Examples

    아니 *a:ni* 'Do you know?' < *a:l-* + *-ni*
    아시오 *a:sio* 'Do you know?' < *a:l-* + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-o*
    압니다 *a:bnida* '[I] know.' < *a:l-* + *-bnida*
    아오 *a:o* '[I] know.' < *a:l-* + *-o*
cf. 알고 *a:lgo* 'understanding' < *a:l-* + *-go*
    알아도 *a:lado* 'though [I] know' < *a:l-* + *-ado*

4.2.2.2.2.2. s-*dropping Stems*

Some *s*-final verb stems appear in the *s*-less allomorphs when they are followed by a V-initial suffix or ending:

    짓 *ɟis-* 'to build'   잇 *i:s-* 'to connect'
    긋 *gis-* 'to draw or mark [a line]'   젓 *ɟʌ:s-* 'to stir'
    붓 *bus-* 'to pour'

                           etc.

Examples

    지어라 *ɟiʌla* 'Build [it].' < *ɟis-* + *-ʌla*
    지으러 *ɟiilʌ* 'in order to build' < *ɟis-* + *-ilʌ*
    지어서 *ɟiʌsʌ* 'building and' < *ɟis-* + *-ʌsʌ*
cf. 짓는다 *ɟisninda* '[He] is building [it].'
    짓자 *ɟisɟa* 'Let us build [it].'

If the *s*-less allomorph ends in the vowel *a*, the *a* allomorph of the a/ʌ form (see 4.3) is used: 낫 *nas-* 'to be better', 나아 *naa*

4.2.2.2.2.3. d-*final Stems*

Some *d*-final stems have the *l*-final allomorphs occurring when followed by a V-initial suffix or ending:

    듣 *did-* 'to hear'   깨닫 *kɛdad-* 'to understand or realize'
    걷 *gʌ:d-* 'to walk'   싣 *sid-* 'to load'
    묻 *mud-* 'to ask'

                           etc.

Examples

    물어라 *mulʌla* 'Ask!' < *mud-* + *-ʌla*
    물으면 *mulimɟʌn* 'If [he] asks' < *mud-* + *imɟʌn*
cf. 묻고 *mudgo* 'asking'
    묻자 *mudɟa* 'Let us ask.'
    묻도록 *muddolog* 'So that [he] asks'

4.2.2.2.2.4. b-*final Stems*

Some *b*-final stems have *u*-final allomorphs occurring before a V-initial suffix or ending:

    눕 *nub-* 'to lie down', 돕 *dob-* 'to help'
    가깝 *gakab-* 'to be near', 굽 *gub-* 'to grill'
    깁 *gib-* 'to mend or darn'

                         etc.

Examples

    도우면 *doumɟʌn* 'If [you] help' < *dob-* + *-imɟʌn*
    도우니까 *dounika* 'Because [you] help [me]' < *dob-* + *-inika*

Notice that when the stem *dob-* is realized as *dou-*, the following ending (initially C-form) is automatically replaced by the V-form since the stem is no longer a C-final stem, i.e., dob- + -imɟʌn > dou- + -mɟʌn.

    cf. 돕고 *dobgo* 'helping' < *dob-* + *-go*
    돕지 *dobɟi* '[I] will help.' < *dob-* + *-ɟi*
    돕세 *dobse* 'Let us help.' < *dob-* + *-se*

When forms beginning with a/ʌ are added to verb stems with a *u*-final allomorph, *uʌ* is regularly contracted to *wʌ*: 눕 *nub-* 'to lie down', 누워 *nuwʌ*; and if the vowel before the *-b-/-u-* is *a* or *o* the allomorph *a* of a/ʌ is used (and the Korean spelling adapted accordingly):

    가깝 *gakab-* 'to be near'   가까와 *gakawa*
    돕 *dob-* 'to help'   도와 *dowa*

4.3. VERB SUFFIXES AND INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS

Following the description of verb stems in 4.2, verb suffixes and inflectional endings are discussed in this section. In connection with the discussion of verb suffixes and inflectional endings in the succeeding sections and subsections, the following general points may be made at the outset, as these are relevant to all suffixes and inflectional endings.

1. V̇/C-*form*

There are some suffixes and inflectional endings which have two phonologically conditioned forms or allomorphs, the one occurring after a stem or a stem plus suffixes ending in a vowel, and the other after a stem or a stem plus suffixes ending in a consonant. All such two-form suffixes or inflectional endings will be represented by the notation 'V/C-form', which stands for 'Post-Vocalic Form' and 'Post-Consonantal Form' as in

    니 / 으니 *-ni/-ini* V/C-form

where *-ni* is the V-form and *-ini* the C-form, e.g.

> 보니 *boni* 'As [I] see [it]' < *bo-* + *-ni* V-form
> 잡으니 *jabini* 'As [I] grab [it]' < *jab-* + *-ini* C-form

It is to be noted that some particles also have two phonologically conditioned forms, V-forms and C-forms, as explained earlier (cf. 3.4.5.1 and footnote there).

2. a/ʌ-form

Some suffixes and inflectional endings have two different forms or allomorphs, the selection of whieh is conditioned not by the V/C-form contrast of the preceding element but by the type of vowel found in the preceding syllable, i.e., by vowel harmony rules. The category of vowel harmony, believed to have been extensive and regularly observed in the fifteenth-century Korean, is now not only very restricted but also rather loose in application in modern Korean. Of the two forms of a two-form suffix or inflectional ending, designated 'a/ʌ-form', *a*-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and *ʌ*-form when the preceding vowel is /ʌ/, /u/, /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /ɨ/ or /j/. The only exception to this vowel harmony rule is the past tense suffix *-aṡ-/-ʌṡ-*, which is always followed by ʌ-form and not a-form (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

> 아라 / 어라 *-ala/-ʌla, a/ʌ*-form
> 잡아라 *jabala* 'Catch it.'
> 먹어라 *mʌgʌla* 'Eat it.'
> 하여라 *hajʌla* 'Do it.'
> 았 / 었 *-aṡ-/-ʌṡ-, a/ʌ*-form
> 쏘았어도 *ṡoaṡʌdo* '[He] shot but' < *ṡo-* + *-aṡ-* + *-ʌdo*
> 주었어도 *juʌṡʌdo* '[He] gave [it] but' < *ju-* + *-ʌṡ-* + *-ʌdo*
> 하였어도 *hajʌṡʌdo* '[He] did [it] but' < *haj-* + *-ʌṡ-* + *-ʌdo*

In colloquial speech there is a tendency nowadays to use the ʌ-form rather than *a*-form even after the /a/ vowel. Thus, /jabala/ 'Catch it!' is just as common as /jabʌla/, and /badʌdo/ 'even if you receive it' as /badado/.

In the following discussion of suffixes and inflectional endings, details concerning each element are given as follows: (i) its membership, (ii) any restrictions on its distribution with verb stems, (iii) any restriction with other non-stem elements and (iv) some examples.

4.3.1. *Voice Suffix*

The voice is a three-term system: 'Active Voice', 'Passive Voice' and 'Causative Voice'. Of these three, the active voice is unmarked, and the passive and causative voice are marked by relevant voice suffixes. The passive and causative voice suffixes are mutually exclusive and only one voice suffix, passive or causative, is found with the verb stem at a time.

4.3.1.1. *Passive Voice Suffix*

The passive voice suffix is found only with a transitive verb stem and has four phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) *-i-*, (ii) *-hi-*, (iii) *-li-* and (iv) *-gi-*.

(i) *-i-* after stems ending in *p, t, k̇, h, V*, e.g.

> 덮이 *dʌpi-* 'to be covered' < *dʌp-* 'to cover' + *-i-*
> 훑이 *hulti-* 'to be hackled' < *hult-* 'to hackle' + *-i-*
> 꺾이 *k̇ʌk̇i-* 'to be broken' < *k̇ʌk̇-* 'to break' + *-i-*
> 쌓이 *ṡahi-* 'to be piled up' < *ṡah-* 'to pile up' + *-i-*
> 보이 *boi-* 'to be seen' < *bo-* 'to see' + *-i-* (/b(w)e-/, /b[ø]-/ or /bi-/)

(ii) *-hi-* after stems ending in *b, d, g, j*, e.g.

> 업히 *ʌbhi-* 'to be carried [on the back]'
>   < *ʌb-* 'to carry [on the back]' + *-hi-*
> 닫히 *dadhi-* 'to be closed' < *dad-* 'to close' + *-hi-*
> 먹히 *mʌghi-* 'to be eaten' < *mʌg-* 'to eat' + *-hi-*
> 꽂히 *koɟhi-* (/k̇oci/) 'to be inserted' < *koɟ-* 'to insert' + *-hi-*

(iii) *-li-* after *l*-final stems and *l*-doubling stems (4.2.2.1.2.4) and after the *d*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.2.2.3), e.g.

> 끌리 *k̇illi-* 'to be drawn' < *k̇il-* 'to draw' + *-li-*
> 벌리 *bʌ:lli-* 'to be earned' < *bʌ:l-* 'to earn' + *-li-*
> 불리 *bulli-* 'to be called' < *buli-* 'to call' + *-li-*
> 들리 *dilli-* 'to be heard' < *did-/dil-* 'to hear' + *-li-*

(iv) *-gi-* after stems ending in *m, n, s, c* and *nh*, e.g.

> 감기 *gamgi-* 'to be wound' < *gam-* 'to wind' + *-gi-*
> 안기 *angi-* 'to be embraced' < *an-* 'to embrace' + *-gi-*
> 빼앗기 *ṗeasgi-* 'to be snatched' < *ṗeas-* 'to snatch' + *-gi-*
> 쫓기 *cocgi-* 'to be chased' < *coc-* 'to chase' + *-gi-*
> 끊기 *k̇inhgi-* (/k̇inki-/) 'to be disconnected'
>   < *k̇inh-* 'to disconnect' + *-gi-*

4:3.1.2. *Causative Voice Suffix*

The causative voice suffix may be found with any type of active verb stem, processive (both transitive and intransitive) or descriptive, with the exception of the copula verb *i-* 'to be', and has the following phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) *-u-*, (ii) *-i-*, (iii) *-gi-* (iv) *-hi-*, (v) *-li-*, (vi) *-hi-/-hu-*.

(i) *-u-* after stems ending in *i* or *ɛ*, e.g.

> 비우 *biu-* 'to empty' < *bi-* 'to be empty' + *-u-*
> 새우 *sɛu-* 'to keep vigil' (lit. 'to cause dawn to break')
>   < *sɛ-* 'to dawn' + *-u-*

(ii) *-i-* after stems ending in a vowel other than *i*, *ɛ*, or after those ending in *g*, e.g.

보이 *boi-* 'to show' < *bo-* 'to see' + *-i-*
추이 *cui-* 'to cause ... to dance' < *cu-* 'to dance' + *-i-*
먹이 *mʌgi-* 'to feed, to make ... to eat' < *mʌg-* 'to eat' + *-i-*

(iii) *-gi-* after stems ending in *m*, *n*, *d*, *t*, *s*, e.g.

남기 *namgi-* 'to leave behind, to make ... to remain'
       < *nam-* 'to remain' + *-gi-*
신기 *singi-* 'to cause [someone] to put on [shoes]'
       < *sin-* 'to put on [shoes]' + *-gi-*
뜯기 *ìidgi-* 'to cause ... to graze or pluck' < *ìid-* 'to graze' + *-gi-*
맡기 *matgi-* 'to cause ... to undertake' < *mat-* 'to undertake' + *-gi-*
벗기 *bʌsgi-* 'to make ... to undress' < *bʌs-* 'to undress' + *-gi-*

(iv) *-hi-* after stems ending in *b*, *lg* and after some *g*-final stems, e.g.

입히 *ibhi-* 'to clothe' < *ib-* 'to wear' + *-hi-*
넓히 *nʌlbhi-* 'to widen' < *nʌlb-* 'to be wide' + *-hi-*
읽히 *ilghi-* 'to make ... to read' < *ilg-* 'to read' + *-hi-*
썩히 *sʌghi-* 'to cause ... to decay' < *sʌg-* 'to decay' + *-hi-*
묵히 *mughi-* 'to cause ... to lie idle' < *mug-* 'to stay [idle]' + *-hi-*

(v) *-li-* after *l*-final stems, some *d*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.2.2.3) and some *l*-doubling stems (cf. 4.2.2.1.2.4), e.g.

날리 *nalli-* 'to fly [something]' < *nal-* 'to fly' + *-li-*
울리 *ulli-* 'to make ... cry' < *ul-* 'to cry' + *-li-*
걸리 *gʌlli-* 'to make ... walk' < *gʌ:d-* 'to walk' + *-li-*
흘리 *hilli-* 'to make ... flow or drop' < *hili-* 'to flow' + *-li-*

(vi) *-hi-/-hu-* after *ɟ*-final stems, e.g.

맞히 / 맞후(맞추) *maɟhi-/maɟhu-* 'to get [something] correct'
       < *maɟ-* 'to be correct' + *-hi-/-hu-*
늦히 / 늦후(늦추) *niɟhi-/niɟhu-* 'to slow down'
       < *niɟ-* 'to be slow' + *-hi-/-hu-*

It is noted that some causative and passive voice suffixes are identical in form, i.e., *-i-*, *-hi-*, *-gi-* and *-li-*. Consequently some active verb stems, transitive verb stems in particular, occurring with one of these homophonous passive/causative suffixes are indistinctive as to passivity/causativity when they occur alone, e.g.

보인다 *boinda* '[It] is seen.' or '[He] shows [it].'
업힌다 *ʌbhinda* '[It] is carried on the back.' or
       '[She] makes [someone] carry [someone] on the back.'

신긴다 *singinda* '[Shoes] are put on.' or
       '[She] makes [someone] put on shoes.'
날린다 *nallinda* '[It] is flown.' or '[He] flies it.'

In actual constructions, however, their voice status is easily determined by the presence or absence of object(s), since passive verbs occur without an object whereas causative verbs occur with one or more objects (cf. 6.3.5–6), e.g.

책이   보인다 /*cɛgi boinda*/ 'The book is seen.' — pasv.
책을   보인다 /*cɛgil boinda*/ '[He] shows a book.' — caus.
종이가   날린다 /*ɟoŋiga nallinda*/ 'The paper is flown.' — pasv.
종이를   날린다 /*ɟoŋilil nallinda*/ '[He] flies the paper.' — caus.

Not all active verb stems can be suffixed by the passive and/or causative voice suffixes, and consequently there are many active stems which are not paired by the passive and/or causative counterparts formed with relevant voice suffixes. A good dictionary should give full details of such verbs, as well as meanings. However, those active verb stems lacking the suffix-derived passive or causative counterparts can still have the passive/causative voice formed to some extent by means of auxiliary verbs in a phrasal form (cf. 3.4.1.3.2, 5.2.1.1.2.3).

4.3.2. *Honorific Suffix*

There is only one honorific suffix, *-si-/-isi-* V/C-form, which may be found with any verb stem or a verb stem plus a voice suffix, with the exception of the honorific verb stems, which already have the honorific element built into them (cf. 3.4.1.3.1.1). The class meaning of the honorific suffix is the 'Respect' shown by the speaker to the subject of a clause or sentence in which it occurs, e.g.

가신다 *gasinda* '[He] is going.' < *ga-* 'to go' + *-si-* + *-nda*
당신이   잡히시면 *daŋsini ɟabhisimɟʌn* 'If you are captured.'
       < *ɟab-* 'to capture' + *-hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + *-si-* + *-mɟʌn*
의사가   환자를   살리시었다 *iisaga hwanɟalil sallisiʌšda*
       'The doctor has saved a patient.'
       < *sal-* 'to live' + *-li-* caus.vc.sfx. + *-si-* + *-ʌš-* past t.sfx. + *-da*
집으십시오 *ɟibisibsio* 'Please pick [it] up.'
       < *ɟib-* 'to pick up' + *-isi-* + *-bsio*

4.3.3. *Tense Suffixes*

There are four basic tense suffixes and one retrospective tense suffix:

(i) *Basic Tense Suffixes*

(*a*) Zero	neutral and present tense
(*b*) *-n-/-nin-*	V/C-form, present tense

    (c) *-aŝ-/-ʌŝ-*   *a/ʌ*-form, past tense
    (d) *-geŝ-*   future tense

(ii)   *Retrospective Tense Suffix*

    (e) *-di-/-dʌ-*

The past tense suffix *-aŝ-/-ʌŝ-* may be reduplicated and/or combined with the future tense suffix *-geŝ* to give the compound tense suffixes as follows:

    (f) *-aŝʌŝ-/-ʌŝʌŝ-*   V/C-form, past perfect tense
    (g) *-aŝgeŝ-/-ʌŝgeŝ-*   V/C-form, past presumptive tense
    (h) *aŝʌŝgeŝ-/-ʌŝʌŝgeŝ-* V/C-form, past perfect presumptive tense

The retrospective suffix *-di-/-dʌ-* may combine with any tense suffixes except the present tense suffix *-n-/-nin-*. Restrictions on the distribution of the tense suffixes with verb stems and other suffixes will be described in the relevant sections dealing with the tense system.

4.3.3.1. *Tense System*

The category of tense in Korean falls into two major types, 'Direct Tense' and 'Retrospective Tense'. The direct tense, or simply 'Tense' for short, refers to the actual time of the action or event denoted by verbs. On the other hand, the retrospective tense refers always to a past event as reflected by the speaker and, in the interrogative sentence, by the addressee, at the time of utterance, e.g.

Direct Tense

    봄이 온다 *bomi onda* 'Spring comes.'
    봄이 왔다 *bomi oaŝda* 'Spring came/has come.'
    봄이 오니 *bomi oni* 'Is spring coming?'

Retrospective Tense

    봄이 오더라 *bomi odʌla* 'Spring came [I remember].'
    봄이 왔더라 *bomi oaŝdʌla* 'Spring had come [I remember].'
    봄이 옵디까 *bomi obdika* 'Was spring coming [as you recall]?'

Tense, direct or retrospective, is either simple or compound according to the manner in which it is formed. The simple tense is formed with the tense suffixes and the compound tense is constructed with an auxiliary verb. In other words, Korean tense is constructed in two different ways and represented at two different levels; by suffixation at the word level, and by auxiliary verb construction at the syntactic (phrase) level. All compound tenses are constructed with the auxiliary verb *iŝ-* 'progressive tense formative' and are all progressive tenses. The complete system of Korean tense is set out below to serve as a point of reference for later discussion.

Direct Tense

Simple Tense	*Compound Tense*
(a) Neutral Tense	(a) Present Progressive
(b) Present Tense	(b) Past Progressive
(c) Past Tense	(c) Future Progressive
(d) Future Tense	(d) Past Progressive Presumptive

    (e) Past Perfect Tense
    (f) Past Presumptive Tense
    (g) Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Retrospective Tense

Simple Tense

    (a) Present Retrospective Tense
    (b) Past Retrospective Tense
    (c) Future Retrospective Tense
    (d) Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

Compound Tense

    (a) Present Progressive Retrospective Tense
    (b) Future Progressive Retrospective Tense
    (c) Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.1. *Direct Tense*

4.3.3.1.1.1. *Simple Tense*

4.3.3.1.1.1.1. *Neutral Tense*

The neutral tense lacks any time reference and is used exclusively in such special styles as monologue, diary, poetry, etc. It is morphologically unmarked and its occurrence is restricted to processive verbs suffixed by *-da* 'declarative mood ending of the low plain speech style' (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1). It should be noted that all processive verbs are listed in Korean dictionaries in the neutral tense form, e.g. 가다 *gada* 'to go', 먹다 *mʌgda* 'to eat', etc., whereas all descriptive verbs are listed in the present tense form (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g., 크다 *kida* 'to be big', 맑다 *malgda* 'to be clear', etc., e.g.

    가다 *gada* 'to go, [I] go/went.' < *ga-* 'to go' + *-da*
    열시에 자다 *jʌ:lsie jada* '[I] sleep/slept at ten.' < *ja-* 'to sleep' + *-da*

4.3.3.1.1.1.2. *Present Tense*

Present tense suffix: *-n-/-nin-* V/C-form, Zero

The present tense is formed in two different ways according to the type of verbs and inflectional endings involved: (i) processive verbs occurring with *-da* ending form the present tense with the present tense suffix *-n-/-nin-*; (ii) all descriptive verbs as well as those processive verbs occurring with an inflectional ending other than *-da* form the present tense with Zero. The present tense has present time reference, and with processive verbs it may indicate 'present progressive' or, when accompanied by an adjunct of future time, it has future time reference, e.g.

그가 물을 마신다 *giga mulil masinda* '[He] drinks water.'
   < *masi-* 'to drink' + *-n-* + *-da*
날이 덥습니다 *nali dʌbsibnida* 'It is warm.'
   < *dʌb-* 'to be warm' + Zero + *-sibnida*
하늘이 푸르다 *hanili pulida* 'The sky is blue.'
   < *puli-* 'to be blue' + Zero + *-da*
새가 운다 *sega unda* 'The bird is singing.' < *ul-* 'to sing' + *-n-* + *-da*
사과를 먹는다 *sagwalil·mʌgninda* '[He] is eating an apple.'
   < *mʌg-* 'to eat' + *-nin-* + *-da*
내일 떠납니다 *neil iʌnabnida* 'I am leaving tomorrow.'
   < *iʌna-* 'to leave' + Zero + *-bnida*.
또 오지 *io oji* 'I will come again.' < *o-* 'to come' + -Zero + *-ji*

4.3.3.1.1.1.3. *Past Tense*

Past tense suffix: *-aš/-ʌš-*, *a/ʌ*-form

The past tense is formed with the past tense suffix *-aš-/-ʌš-* and represents (*a*) 'simple past', i.e., completion of an action or event in the past, always with descriptive verbs but, with processive verbs, only when accompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, (*b*) present perfect, i.e., continuation to the present time of the past event, with processive verbs if unaccompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, e.g.

(*a*) *Simple Past*

(전엔) 길이 좁았다 *(jʌnen) gili jobašda* 'The road was narrow (before).'
(어제) 이 꽃이 붉었읍니다 *(ʌje) ikoci bulgʌšibnida*
   'This flower was red (yesterday).'
작년에 보았읍니다 *jagnjʌne boašibnida* '[I] saw it last year.'
지난달에 일을 했읍니다 *jinandale ilil hɛšibnida*
   '[I] did the work last month.'

(*b*) *Present Perfect*

신문을 보았읍니다 *sinmunil boašibnida* 'I have seen the paper.'
일을 했읍니다 *ilil hɛšibnida* 'I have done the work.'
밥을 먹었읍니다 *babil mʌgʌšibnida*
   '[He] has had his supper [and is full].'

4.3.3.1.1.1.4. *Future Tense*

Future Tense Suffix: *-geš-*

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix *-geš-*, and represents (*a*) 'intentive future' when it occurs in the declarative sentence with a first person pronoun as subject or in the interrogative sentence with a second person pronoun as subject, (*b*) presumptive present or future otherwise, e.g.

(*a*) *Intentive Future*

내가 하겠오 *nega hagešo* 'I will do it.'
우리가 내일 사겠읍니다 *uliga neil sagešibnida*
   'We will buy [it] tomorrow.'
네가 먹겠니 *nega mʌggešni* 'Will you eat it?'
당신들이 기다리겠오 *daŋsindili gidaligešo* 'Will you wait [for it]?'

(*b*) *Presumptive Present or Future*

할머니가 곧 오시겠다 *halmʌniga god osigešda*
   'Granny might come soon.'
학교에 늦겠읍니다 *haggjoe niɟgešibnida*
   'You/he may be late for school.'
기차가 늦겠읍니까 *gicaga niɟgešibnika* 'Is the train going to be late?'
기분이 좋으시겠읍니다 *gibuni johisigešibnida* 'You may be feeling fine.'

-li/ili- is also a future tense suffix representing 'intentive future' but it is restricted in distribution compared to the suffix *-geš-*, e.g.

내일 하리다 *neil halida* 'I will do it tomorrow'
밤에 묶으리다 *bame mukilida* 'I'll bind it at night'

4.3.3.1.1.1.5. *Past Perfect Tense*

Past perfect tense suffix: *-ašʌš-/-ʌšʌš-*, *a/ʌ*-form

The past perfect tense refers to (*a*) 'remote past' or 'past-past', i.e., [the completion of an action or event at] a time earlier than some past time, either expressed or implied, when the verb involved is processive or descriptive, (*b*) 'simple past' with descriptive verbs, in which case it is similar to the past tense except that it is somewhat more emphatic than the latter, e.g.

(*a*) *Past-Past*

한국에 갔었다 *hanguge gašʌšda*
   '[He] had gone/has been to Korea (and is here now).'
cf. 한국에 갔다 *hanguge gašda*
   '[He] has gone to Korea (and is there now).'
아저씨가 오셨었다 *ajʌšiga osjʌšʌšda*
   'Uncle had come (and is not here now).'
cf. 아저씨가 오셨다 *ajʌšiga osjʌšda* 'Uncle has come (and is here now).'

몹시 염려하셨었읍니다 *mobsi jʌmnjʌhasjʌšʌšibnida*
   '[Mother] had been very worried (not now).'
cf. 몹시 염려하셨읍니다 *mobsi jʌmnjʌhasjʌšibnida*
   '[Mother] has been worried.'
이 다리가 그전에는 더 길었었읍니다
   idaliga gijʌnen dʌ gilʌšʌšibnida 'This bridge was longer before.'

(b) *Simple Past*

물이 참 더웠었지 *muli cam dʌwʌšʌšji*
   'The water had been/was very hot.'
cf. 물이 참 더웠다 *muli cam dʌwʌšda* 'The water was very hot.'

4.3.3.1.1.1.6. *Past Presumptive Tense*

Past presumptive tense suffix: 았겠 / 었겠 -*ašgeš-/-ʌšgeš-*, *a/ʌ*-form

The past presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past tense but in addition it expresses presumption: (a) 'past presumptive', (b) 'present perfect presumptive', e.g.

(a) *Past Presumptive*

(전엔) 길이 좁았겠다 *(jʌnen) gili jobašgešda*
   'The road may have been narrow (before).'
(어제) 이 꽃이 붉었겠읍니다 *(ʌje) ikoci bulgʌšgešibnida*
   'This flower may have been red (yesterday).'
작년에 보았겠읍니다 *jagnjʌne boašgešibnida*
   '[You] might have seen it last year.'
지난 달에 일을 했겠읍니다 *jinandale ilil hešgešibnida*
   '[He] might have done the work last month.'

(b) *Present Perfect Presumptive*

신문을 보셨겠읍니다 *sinmunil bosjʌšgešibnida*
   'You may have seen the paper.'
밥을 먹었겠읍니다 babil *mʌgʌšgešibnida* 'He may have had his supper.'

The first person pronouns never occur with the past presumptive tense unless there is in the same sentence a non-final adverbial clause such as the one ending in -*mjʌn* 'if', e.g.

네가 갔으면 나도 갔겠다 *nega gašimjʌn, nado gašgešda*
   'If you had gone, I might have gone too.'

4.3.3.1.1.1.7. *Past Perfect Presumptive Tense*

Past perfect presumptive tense suffix: -*ašʌšgeš-/-ʌšʌšgeš-*, *a/ʌ*-form

The past perfect presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past perfect tense but in addition it expresses 'presumption': (a) past-past presumptive and (b) simple past presumptive, e.g.

(a) *Past-past Presumptive*

한국에 갔었겠다 *hanguge gašʌšgešda* '[He] might have gone to Korea.'
아저씨가 오셨었겠다 *ajʌšiga osjʌšʌšgešda* 'Uncle might have come.'
몹시 염려하셨었겠읍니다 *mobsi jʌmnjʌhasjʌšʌšgešibnida*
   '[Mother] might have been worried.'
이 다리가 전에는 더 길었었겠읍니다
idaliga jʌnenin dʌ gilʌšʌšibnida
   'This bridge might have been longer before.'

(b) *Simple Past Presumptive*

물이 참 더웠었겠지 *muli cam dʌwʌšʌšgešji*
   'The water may have been very hot.'

4.3.3.1.1.2. *Compound Tense*

The four compound tenses, which are all progressive tenses, are formed by two-verb verbal phrases consisting of a verb inflected with the concatenating ending -*go* and the auxiliary verb *iš-*. The compound tense is possible only with processive verbs or processive verbal phrases (cf. 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.1.1.2.1. *Present Progressive Tense*

V.st. + -*go iš-* + pres.t.sfx.

아침을 먹고 있다 *acimil mʌggo išda* '[He] is having breakfast.'
   išda < iš- + Zero t.sfx. + -*da*

4.3.3.1.1.2.2. *Past Progressive Tense*

V.st. + -*go iš-* + past t.sfx.

눈이 오고 있었지 *nuːni ogo išʌšji* 'It was snowing.'
   išʌšji < iš- + -*ʌš-* past t.sfx. + -*ji*

4.3.3.1.1.2.3. *Future Progressive Tense*

V.st. + -*go iš-* + fut.t.sfx.

Like the future tense, the future progressive tense represents '"intentive future" progressive' and '"presumptive present or future" progressive' (see 'Future Tense', 4.3.3.1.1.4., for details).

내가 책을 읽고 있겠다 *nega cɛgil ilgo išgešda*
   'I will be reading a book.'

영국으로 오고 있겠다 *jʌŋgugilo ogo iʂgeʂda*
'[He] may be on his way to England.'

4.3.3.1.1.2.4. *Past Progressive Presumptive Tense*

V.st. + *-go iʂ-* + past presump.t.sfx.

전화를 하고 있었겠읍니다 *jʌːnhwalil hago iʂʌʂgeʂibnida*
'[She] might have been ringing.'

iʂʌʂgeʂibnida < *iʂ-* + *-ʌʂgeʂ-* past presump.t.sfx. + *-ibnida*

4.3.3.1.2. *Retrospective Tense*

The retrospective tense is formed by adding to verbs inflected with a direct tense suffix the retrospective tense suffix, of which there are two allomorphs *-di-/-dʌ-*. *-di-* occurs only in the declarative and interrogative mood of the high formal speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.1) and *-dʌ-* in the declarative and interrogative mood of the low plain speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1–2) as well as in the adjectival and adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.2–3).

Besides the retrospective tense suffix *-di-/-dʌ-*, there are four inflectional endings which represent the retrospective tense. They are *-de/-dʌnde* of the declarative mood of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), and *-di*, *-de*, and *-dʌn* of the interrogative mood of the low plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.2). Therefore, these four inflectional endings, called 'Retrospective Endings', will be taken as forming part of the retrospective tense system along with the retrospective tense suffixes proper. There are four simple and three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.1. *Simple Retrospective Tense*

4.3.3.1.2.1.1. *Present Retrospective Tense*

The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero present tense suffix either *-di-/-dʌ-* or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past event as recollected by the speaker or, if it occurs in the interrogative sentence, by the listener, e.g.

아이가 울더라 *aiga uldʌla* 'The child cried [I remember].'
달이 밝읍디다 *dali balgibdida* 'The moon was bright [I remember].'
집이 크디 *jibi kidi* 'Was the house large, [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.1.2. *Past Retrospective Tense*

The past retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past tense suffix either the retrospective suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past-past event as recollected by the speaker or the listener, e.g.

벌써 기계가 고장이 났더라 *bʌlʂʌ gigega gojaŋi naʂdʌla*
'The machine was already out of order [as I recall].'
전쟁이 끝났던 *jʌːnjeŋi k̇itnaʂdʌn* 'Was the war over [as you recall]?'

Descriptive verbs do not occur with the past retrospective tense, e.g.

머리가 짧었읍디다 **mʌliga čalbʌʂibdida*
cf. 머리가 짧읍디다 *mʌliga čalbibdida* '[His] hair was short [I recall].'

However, a descriptive verb which has formed a processive verbal phrase with a processive verb formative, e.g., the auxiliary verb *ji-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3), can occur with the past retrospective tense, e.g.

머리가 짧아 지었읍디다 *mʌliga čalba jiʌʂibdida*
'[His] hair had become short [I recall].'

4.3.3.1.2.1.3. *Future Retrospective Tense*

The future retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the future tense suffix *-geʂ-* either the retrospective tense suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to the presumption of an event in the past or past-future, e.g.

비가 오겠더라 *biga ogeʂdʌla* 'It looked like raining [I recall].'
그도 뛰겠읍디다 *gido ̀iwigeʂibdida* '[He] would run too [I thought].'
물이 차겠데 *muli cageʂde* 'Water might be cold [I thought].'
하늘이 맑겠던 *hanili malgeʂdʌn*
'Would the sky be clear [you thought]?'

As shown by the second example above, the future tense suffix *-geʂ-* and the retrospective tense suffix *-di-* are discontinuous, being separated by *-ib-* 'high formal speech style'. Such discontinuity also occurs between other tense suffixes and the retrospective suffix when they co-occur with *-ib-*.

4.3.3.1.2.1.4. *Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense*

The past presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past presumptive, either the retrospective suffix, or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a presumptive past-past event as recollected by the speaker or listener, e.g.

돈이 없었겠더라 *doni ʌːbsʌʂgeʂdʌla*
'[He] might have been short of money [I thought].'
시합이 시작되었겠읍디다 *sihabi sijagdweʌʂgeʂibdida*
'The match might have started [I thought].'
아이들이 싸웠겠디 *aidili ʂawʌʂgeʂdi*
'Might they have fought each other [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.2. *Compound Retrospective Tense*

The compound retrospective tense is formed by adding to the direct com-

pound tense either the retrospective suffix *-di-/-dʌ-* or one of the retrospective endings. There are three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.2.1. *Present Progressive Retrospective Tense*

The present progressive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the present progressive tense (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2.1), refers to a past progressive event as recollected by the speaker, e.g.

> 종을 치고 있더라 *ʝoŋil cigo is̀dʌla*
> '[They] were ringing a bell [I recall].'
> 아이가 뛰고 있던 *aiga ìwigo is̀dʌn*
> 'Was the child jumping around [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.2.2. *Future Progressive Retrospective Tense*

The future progressive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the future progressive tense, refers to a past progressive presumptive event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

> 공부를 하고 있겠더라 *goŋbulil hago is̀ges̀dʌla*
> '[He] might have been studying, [I thought].'
> 전화를 하고 있겠디 *ʝʌ:nhwalil hago is̀ges̀di*
> 'Might [she] have been telephoning [as you recall].'

4.3.3.1.2.2.3. *Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense*

The past progressive presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the past progressive presumptive tense, refers to a past-past progressive presumptive event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

> 달을 보고 있었겠더라 *dalil bogo is̀ʌs̀ges̀dʌla*
> '[She] might have had been looking at the moon [I thought].'
> 극장에 가고 있었겠디 *gigʝaŋe gago is̀ʌs̀ges̀di*
> 'Might [he] have had been going to the theatre [as you remember]?'

4.3.4. *Humble Suffix*

The humble suffix has the effect of lowering the status of the speaker against the addressee, thereby increasing the degree of respect shown by the former toward the latter to a greater extent than is possible by means of the high or low formal speech style alone. The humble suffix, though hardly used nowadays in normal speech, is, however, not infrequently employed in religious services as well as in the literary language. The humble suffix appears in

four different allomorphs conditioned both phonologically and morphologically, e.g.

(*a*) 오 / 으오 *-o-/-io-*
     V/C-form: before inflectional endings
     -bnida, -na, -mjʌn, -mjʌ, -ni, -a(ʝo)[1]

(*b*) 옵 / 으옵 *-ob-/-iob-*
     V/C-form: before inflectional endings
     -naida, -naika, -sosʌ, -ʝi(ʝo),[1] *-go, -dʌlado*

(*c*) 사오 *-sao-*
     C-form: before the same inflectional endings as listed in (*a*)

(*d*) 사옵 *-saob-*
     C-form: before inflectional endings *-naida* and *-naika*

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and *-o-/-io-* and *-ob-/-iob-* of (*a*) and (*b*) may be preceded by the honorific suffix *-si-/-isi-* and/or a tense suffix, except for the present tense suffix *-n-/-nin-*, but *-sao-* and *-saob-* of (*c*) and (*d*) cannot be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously, e.g.

> 날이 차옵니다 *nali caobnida* 'It is (very) cold.'
> 어디로 가시옵나이까 *ʌdilo gasiobnaika* 'Where are you going?'
> 비를 내려 주시옵소서 *bilil nɛljʌ ʝusiobsosʌ* 'Please give us rain!'
> 꽃이 붉사옵지요 *koci bulgsaobʝijo* 'Flowers are red.'
> 잊으시었사오나 *iʝisiʌs̀saona* 'although you have forgotten'
> 책을 더럽히시었사오니 *cɛgil dʌlʌbhisiʌs̀saoni*
> 'as [you] have spoilt the book'

4.3.4.1. *Difference between Honorific and Humble Suffix*

The honorific suffix *-si-/-isi-* (cf. 4.3.2) and the humble suffix, both employed to express the speaker's respect, are different from one another in that the honorific suffix directs the speaker's respect to the subject of a sentence, whereas the humble suffix directs it to the addressee. And of course the respect shown by the humble suffix is the result of degradation of the speaker's status against the addressee(s), e.g.

> 선생님이 오신다 *sʌnsɛŋnimi osinda*
> 'The teacher is coming.' *-si-* hon.sfx.
> [Context: a child speaking to his friends.]

[1] The sentence particle *ʝo* is compulsory when the inflectional endings *-a* and *-ʝi* are preceded by the humble suffix.

아이가 가옵니다 *aiga gaobnida* 'The child is going.' *-o-* 'humble sfx.'
  [Context: a child speaking to his teacher.]
할머님이 오시옵니다 *halmʌnimi osiobnida*
  'The grandmother is coming.' *-si-* hon.sfx. *-o-* humble sfx.
  [Context: a servant speaking to her mistress, showing respect for both
  the subject and the addressee (mistress).
선생님이 오십니다 *sʌnsɛŋnimi osibnida*
  'The teacher is coming.' *-si-* 'hon.sfx.'
  [Context: a child speaking to an adult.]

The humble suffix is similar in function to the high and low formal speech style inflectional endings as they both show the speaker's respect to the addressee.

4.3.5. *Inflectional Endings*

The inflectional endings which are the last elements occurring within the verb are grouped into three different categories on the basis of the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform. They are (i) 'Final Endings', (ii) 'Non-Final Endings', and (iii) 'Concatenating Endings'. A verb inflected with a final ending can function as the predicate of a final clause, the one with a non-final ending as the predicate of a non-final clause, and the one with a concatenating ending as a concatenating form in the verbal phrase structure (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1).

4.3.5.1. *Final Endings*

Five speech styles, and in each speech style four kinds of mood, are distinguished by the final endings: (i) 'High Formal', (ii) 'Low Formal', (iii) 'High Plain', (iv) 'Low Plain' and (v) 'Medium' styles.

4.3.5.1.1. *High Formal Style*

The high formal style is the most polite form of speech whereby the speaker expresses respect toward the addressee(s). It is used on formal occasions, in conversation between strangers, by younger people to their elders, and by people of lower social status to those of a higher one. All inflectional endings of the high formal styles except *-naida* and *-naika*, consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:

(*a*) ㅂ / 읍 *-b-/-ib-* high formal style sfx.

(*b*) 니 *-ni-*   indicative mood sfx.
    시 *-si-*   volitive sfx.
    디 *-di-*   retrospective sfx.

(*c*) 다 *-da*   declarative or propositive mood sfx.

까 *-ka*   interrogative mood sfx.
오 *-o*   imperative mood sfx.

These three classes of suffix combine to give the following inflectional endings:

ㅂ니다 / 읍니다 *-bnida/-ibnida*   V/C-form
ㅂ니까 / 읍니까 *-bnika/-ibnika*   V/C-form
ㅂ시다 / 읍시다 *-bsida/-ibsida*   V/C-form
ㅂ시오 / 읍시오 *-bsio/-ibsio*   V/C-form

These inflectional endings will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.3.5.1.1.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(*a*) ㅂ니다 / (ㅅ)읍니다 *-bnida/-(s)ibnida* V/C-form

(*b*) 나이다 *-naida*, An archaic form whose use is restricted to the literary style and religious service

Examples

밤이 깁니다 *bami gibnida* 'The night is long.'
개를 쫓(ㅅ)읍니다 *gɛlil čoc(s)ibnida* 'They are chasing a dog.'
곧 떠나겠나이다 *god t̀ʌnagès̀naida* '[I] will leave soon.'

4.3.5.1.1.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

(*a*) ㅂ니까 / (ㅅ)읍니까 *-bnika/-(s)ibnika* V/C-form

(*b*) 나이까 *-naika*, an archaic form, cf. *-naida* in 4.3.5.1.1.1.

Examples

왜 안옵니까 *wɛ anobnika* 'Why is [he] not coming?'
길이 좀 (ㅅ)읍니까 *gili ɟob(s)ibnika* 'Is the road narrow?'
언제 오시었나이까 *ʌnɟe osiʌs̀naika* 'When did he come?'

The /s/ in the declarative and interrogative mood endings *-(s)ibnida* and *-(s)ibnika* is optional.

4.3.5.1.1.3. *Imperative Mood Endings*

-(si)bsio/-(isi)bsio V/C-form

The imperative mood ending *-bsio* occurs almost always preceded by the honorific suffix *-si-/-isi-*. All imperative mood endings of any speech style cannot occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

빨리 하십시오 *t̀alli hasibsio* 'Please do [it] quickly.'
하나만 집으십시오 *hanaman ɟibisibsio* 'Please take only one.'

4.3.5.1.1.4. *Propositive Mood Endings*

-*bsida*/-*ibsida* V/C-form

Like the imperative mood endings, all propositive mood endings, irrespective of speech style, can not occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense, e.g.

천천히 봅시다 *cʌncʌnhi bobsida* 'Let us see [it] slowly.'
같이 그리십시다 *gati gilisibsida* 'Let us draw [it] together.'

4.3.5.1.2. *Low Formal Style*

The low formal style is lower and consequently less polite than the high formal style. It is the style most often used between equals and by superiors to people of lower status. However, it is hardly used by children.

Unlike the inflectional endings of the high formal style, those of the low formal style, as well as all other lower styles, are single morphemes representing both the categories of speech style and mood simultaneously.

4.3.5.1.2.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 오 / 으오 -*o*/-*io* V/C-form
소 -*so* C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

(*b*) 구려 -*guljʌ* interjectival (always preceded by a non-Zero t.sfx. when it occurs with a processive verb)

Examples

나도 할줄 아오 *nado haljul ao* 'I know how to do [it] too.'
물이 맑소 *muli malgso* 'Water is clear.'
달이 떴구려 *dali ìʌšguljʌ* 'The moon has risen.'

4.3.5.1.2.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

오 / 으오 -*o*/-*io* V/C-form
소 -*so* C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

These endings, although identical in form to those of the declarative mood, differ from the latter intonationally. Interrogative sentences formed with one of the interrogative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme R, whereas declarative sentences formed with one of the declarative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme LF or HF (cf. 7.3.2.1.1 and 7.3.2.2), e.g.

내일 떠나시오 *nɛil ìʌnasio* 'Are you leaving tomorrow?'

종이를 안 집으오 *joŋilil anjibio*
'Are you not going to pick up the paper?'
상이 적소 *saŋi jʌgso* 'Is the table small?'

4.3.5.1.2.3. *Imperative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 오 / 으오 -*o*/-*io* V/C-form
소 -*so*

(*b*) 구려 -*guljʌ* (with processive verb stems only)

Imperative sentences formed with one of the imperative mood endings are not always distinguishable from declarative sentences formed with one of the homophonous declarative mood endings. However imperative sentences, though characterized by the same type of intonation as declarative sentences are, i.e., Intoneme LF or HF, are often distinguished from the latter by (*a*) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (*b*) a stronger stress associated with them, e.g.

주의를 하시오 *juiilil hasio* 'Be careful.'
어서 드소 *ʌsʌ diso* 'Help yourself (lit. 'take quickly').'
마음대로 하구려 *maimdɛlo haguljʌ* 'Do as you please.'

4.3.5.1.2.4. *Propositive Mood Endings*

There is no propositive mood ending for the low formal style, paralleling other mood endings already described. The high formal propositive mood ending -*bsida*/-*ibsida*, without the honorific suffix -*si*-/-*isi*-, may be treated as the exponent of the low formal propositive mood, e.g.

순경한테 물어봅시다 *sungjʌŋhante mulʌbobsida*
'Let's ask the policeman.'

4.3.5.1.3. *High Plain Style*

The high plain style is lower and less polite than the low formal style, and is used by older people to younger, and by people of higher social status to those of a lower one.

4.3.5.1.3.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 네 -*ne*
(*b*) ㅁ세 / 음세 -*mse*/-*imse* V/C-form (promissive)
(*c*) 데 -*de* (retrospective ending)
(*d*) 딘데 -*dʌnde* (retrospective ending)

Verbs with the ending -*mse*/-*imse* can have as their subject the first person pronouns only, i.e., *na* 'I', *uli* 'We', etc., and indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. -*mse*/-*imse* is not found with any tense suffix except the Zero t.sfx., e.g.

아주 안 보이네 *aʃu anboine* '[It] is totally out of sight.'
내가 해 줌세 *nega heʃumse* 'I will do it for you.'
급히 저리 가데 *gibhi ʃʌli gade* '[She] went there in a hurry [I recall].'
누어 있던데 *nuʌ iŝdʌnde* '[He] was lying in bed [I remember].'

4.3.5.1.3.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 나 -*na* (after V.p. only)

(*b*) ㄴ가 / 은가 -*nga*/-*inga* V/C-form (after V.d. only)

(*c*) 는가 -*ninga* (after V.p. only)

(*d*) ㄹ까 / 을까 -*lka*/-*ilka* V/C-form — uncertainty

언제 보았나 *ʌnʃe boaŝna* 'When did you see?'
어느것이 좋은가 *ʌnigʌsi ʃohinga* 'Which one is good?'
신문을 읽었는가 *sinmunil ilgʌŝninga* 'Did you read the newspaper?'
정말 울었을까 *ʃʌŋmal ulʌŝilka* 'Has she really cried [I wonder]?'

4.3.5.1.3.3. *Imperative Mood Ending*

게 -*ge*, e.g.

이제 쉬게 *iʃe swige* 'Rest now.'
내려 오게 *nelʌ oge* 'Come down.'

4.3.5.1.3.4. *Propositive Mood Ending*

세 -*se*, e.g.

보내지 마세 *bonɛʃi mase* 'Let us not send [it].'
차 한잔 하세 *ca hanʃan hase* 'Let us have a cup of tea.'

4.3.5.1.4. *Low Plain Style*

The low plain style is the lowest style of speech in Korean, used by adults to children, between children, between intimate friends, male or female, and it is also the standard style of written Korean.

4.3.5.1.4.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 나 -*da*

(*b*) 라 -*la* (found only with -*dʌ*-, retros.t.sfx.)

(*c*) 마 / 으마 -*ma*/-*ima* V/C-form, promissive

(*d*) 구나 -*guna* interjectival

Like -*mse*/-*imse* (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), -*ma*/-*ima* can have as the subject the first person pronouns only, and is not preceded by any tense suffix except Zero. The interjectival ending -*guna*, which expresses emotions of various kinds on the part of the speaker, must be preceded by a non-Zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems. The ending -*guna* takes -*nin*- form only when it combines with the present tense suffix, e.g.

꽃이 핀다 *koci pinda* 'The flower is blooming.'
꽃이 곱더라 *koci gobdʌla* 'The flower was pretty, [I remember].'
내가 사오마 *nega saoma* 'I will buy [it].' (lit. 'I will buy and come.')
너도 컸구나 *nʌdo kʌŝguna* 'You have grown up too!'
날이 덥구나 *nali dʌbguna* 'It is hot!'
이제 가는구나 *iʃe ganinguna* '(You) are going now!'

Interjectival endings such as 이라 -*ila* (after a noun) and 으리라 -*(i)lila* (after a verb) may also be listed under this heading.

4.3.5.1.4.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 니 -*ni*

(*b*) 느냐 -*ninja* after V.p.

(*c*) 냐 / 으냐 -*nja*/-*inja* V/C-form, after V.d.

(*d*) 디 / 데 / 던 -*di*/-*de*/-*dʌn* retrospective ending

Of the first three endings, -*ni* is more colloquial and more used between close friends than -*ninja* or -*nja*/-*inja*, which is used usually by adults in talking to youngsters, e.g.

자니 *ʃani* 'Are you sleeping?'
소리가 나느냐 *soliga naninja* 'Is there any sound?'
푸르냐 *pulinja* 'Is it blue?'
어느것이 짧으냐 *ʌnigʌsi calbinja* 'Which one is short?'
무엇을 하디 *mwʌsil hadi* 'What did [he] do [as you recall]?'
노래를 하던 *nolɛlil hadʌn* 'Did [she] sing [as you recall]?'

4.3.5.1.4.3. *Imperative Mood Endings*

(*a*) 아라 / 어라 -*ala*/-*ʌla* a/ʌ-form

(*b*) 거라 -*gʌla*

(c) 너라 *-nʌla* (found only with *-o* 'to come')

The ending *-ala/-ʌla* may be suffixed to any processive verbs, but *-gʌla* to only a few verbs, such as *-ga-* 'to come', *-ja-* 'to sleep', *iš-* 'to stay', etc., e.g.

쫓아라 *còcala* 'Follow [him].'
모자를 벗어라 *mojalil bʌsʌla* 'Take off your hat.'
교회에 가거라 *gjohwee gagʌla* 'Go to the church.'
이리 오너라 *ili onʌla* 'Come here.'
최선을 다 하여라 *cwesʌnil da hajʌla* 'Do your best.'

4.3.5.1.4.4. *Propositive Mood Ending*

자 *-ja*, e.g.

찾자 *cajja* 'Let's find [it].'
내일 붙이자 *nɛil bucija* 'Let us post [it] tomorrow.'

4.3.5.1.5. *Medium Style*

The medium speech style is between the high plain and low plain styles and is used by elders to those younger where the high plain is felt to be a little too high and the low plain style a little too low. It can also be used between equals whose relationship is not so intimate as to require the low plain style.

All inflectional endings of the medium style can function as endings of the low formal style when they are followed by the particle *jo* 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.4.5.7).

4.3.5.1.5.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(a) 아 / 어 *-a/-ʌ a/ʌ*-form

(b) 지 *-ji* suspective

(c) 군 *-gun* interjectival

The ending *-gun*, like *-guna* (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1), must be preceded by a non-Zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems, e.g.

아이가 울어 *aiga ulʌ* 'The child is crying.'
구두가 잘 맞아 *guduga jal maja* 'The shoes fit me well.'
누가 열었어요 *nuga jʌlʌšʌ jo* 'Someone has opened [it].'
돈이 많지 *doni manhji* '[He] has plenty of money.'
손이 곱군 *soni gobgun* '[Your] hand is pretty.'

4.3.5.1.5.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

(a) 아 / 어 *-a/-ʌ a/ʌ*-form

(b) 지 *-ji* suspective

The first two endings, although identical in form to the declarative endings, are different from the latter intonationally (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.2), e.g.

어른이 나가고 있어 *ʌlini nagago išʌ* 'It the adult going out?'
내가 맞았지 *nɛga majašji* 'Am I not right?'

4.3.5.1.5.3. *Imperative Mood Ending*

-a/-ʌ a/ʌ-form

This ending is usually, but not always, distinguished from the homophonous declarative ending by (a) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) a stronger stress associated with it (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.3), e.g.

어서 앉아요 *ʌsʌ anja jo* 'Please sit down.' (lit. 'quickly sit down')
잘 먹어 *jal mʌgʌ* 'Eat carefully.'

4.3.5.1.5.4. *Propositive Mood Ending*

-a/-ʌ a/ʌ-form

Verbs suffixed by this ending are hardly distinguishable from those suffixed by the homophonous imperative mood ending since they are identical not only in intonation, both being characterized by Intoneme LF or HF, but also in the pitch/stress feature associated with the imperative ending (4.3.5.1.2.3). However, apart from the context of situation which is usually the only clue leading to the distinction of imperative and propositive mood, the presence of a first person pronoun *uli* 'we' serves as the marker of the propositive mood ending, e.g.

이제 놀아 *ije nola* 'Let's play now.'
우리도 내려가 *ulido nɛljʌ gaa* 'Let us go down too.'

4.3.5.2. *Non-Final Endings*

The non-final endings are classified into three different types according to the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform: they are (i) 'Nominal Clause Ending', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause Ending', and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause Ending'. Unlike the final endings, the non-final endings do not distinguish the five styles of speech.

The non-final endings may be preceded by an appropriate voice suffix and/or the honorific suffix, but the humble suffix is only rarely found with the non-final endings. Any restriction on the occurrence of tense suffixes with the non-final endings will be noted in the relevant sections.

4.3.5.2.1. *Nominal Clause Endings*

There are two nominal clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as a noun.

(*a*) ㅁ / 음 -*m*/-*im* V/C-form

(*b*) 기 -*gi*

There is some difference, both distributional and semantic, between the two endings:

(*a*) *Distributional difference*

The endings -*m*/-*im* and -*gi* are different in their distribution with the nominal auxiliary verbs. -*m*/-*im* occurs only with -*jigha* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), whereas -*gi* only with -*ha*- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), e.g.

말이 믿음직하다 *ma:li midim jighada* '[His] word is worth listening to.'
어둡기는 하다 *ʌdubgi nin hada* 'It is dark, I admit.'

(*b*) *Semantic difference*

-*m*/-*im* refers to the abstract side of the meaning of a verb to which it is added whereas -*gi* emphasizes (i) 'actual process' in the case of a processive verb, or (ii) 'degree' in the case of a descriptive verb, e.g.

이 편지를 씀이 좋다 *ipjʌnjilil ṡimi johda*
   'Writing this letter is good [for some reason].'
이 편지를 쓰기가 좋다 *ipjʌnjilil ṡigiga johda*
   'This letter is good to write' or 'I like writing this letter.'
전등이 밝음 *jʌ:ndiŋi balgim*
   'the lamp being bright (that the lamp is bright)'
전등이 밝기 *jʌ:ndiŋi balgi* '[the degree of] the lamp being bright'
            balg- 'to be bright' V.d.

4.3.5.2.2. *Adjectival Clause Endings*

There are three adjectival clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as an adjective:

(i) 는 -*nin*   present

(ii) ㄴ / 은 -*n*/-*in*   V/C-form   past/present

(iii) ㄹ / 을 -*l*/-*il*   V/C-form   future/presumptive

The three adjectival clause endings are different from one another (*a*) in distribution with verbs, (*b*) in time reference when they are not preceded by any

other tense suffix, (*c*) in distribution with tense suffixes and (*d*) in distribution with the adjectival auxiliary verbs:

(i) -*nin* is suffixed to processive verbs only and refers to the present time or to an action or event in progress. It is never found with any other tense suffix[1] and occurs with auxiliary verbs *didha*-, *jaŋha*-, and *cʌgha*- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

자는 개 *janin gɛ* 'the sleeping dog'
비가 오는듯 하다 *biga onin didhada* 'It looks as if it is raining.'

(ii) -*n*/-*in* may be suffixed to any verb but its time reference varies according to the type of verb to which it is suffixed: with processive verbs it refers to the past time or to an action or event that has been completed, but with descriptive verbs it refers to the present time, e.g.

with processive verbs:

뛴 사람 *ìwin sa:lam* 'the man who ran/has run'
집은 돌 *jibin do:l* 'the pebble that I picked up'

with descriptive verbs:

작은 모자 *ja:gin moja* 'a small cap'
긴 강 *gi:n gaŋ* 'a long river'

The ending -*n*/-*in* may be preceded by the retrospective tense suffix -*dʌ*- or the past tense suffix -*aṡ*-/-*ʌṡ*- plus -*dʌ*-, e.g.

울던 안해 *uldʌn anɛ* 'the wife who, [I remember], cried/was crying'
외국에 갔던 장군 *weguge gaṡdʌn jaŋgun*
   'the general who had been abroad [as I remember]'

Like -*nin*, the ending -*n*/-*in* may occur with auxiliary verbs *didha*-, *jaŋha*- and *cʌgha*- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

못 본 척한다 *mos bon cʌghanda*
   '[She] pretends that she did not see [you].'

(iii) -*l*/-*il* may be suffixed to any verb and refers to the future time or presumptive, e.g.

공을 집을 아이 *goŋil jibil ai* 'the child who will pick up a ball'
달이 밝을 때 *dali balgil ìɛ* 'the time when the moon is/may be bright'

-*l*/-*il* may be preceded by the past tense suffix -*aṡ*-/-*ʌṡ*- very freely and by the future tense suffix -*geṡ*- only rarely, e.g.

자랐을 아들 *jalaṡil adil* 'the son who might have grown up'
죽겠을 경우 *juggeṡil gjʌŋu*
   'the situation in which you might feel like dying'

---

[1] As an exception, -*nin* may be preceded by the future tense suffix -*geṡ*- when they occur with the verb *jug*- 'to die', e.g., *juggeṡn in sa:lam* 'The person who may be dying'.

-l/-il may occur with adjectival auxiliary verbs *didha-*, *manha-*, *bʌbha-* and *bʌnha-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

다칠뻔 했다 *dacil bʌnhɛ̀sda* '[I] was almost hurt.'

4.3.5.2.3. *Adverbial Clause Endings*

Any verb suffixed by one of the following adverbial clause endings has the same syntactic functions as an adverb. Some adverbial clause endings, marked Zero t.sfx., are not preceded by any tense suffix while others may be preceded by a tense suffix other than *-n/-nin-*, pres.t.sfx., which is found only with the final inflectional ending *-da* (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2). The time reference of an adverbial clause ending not preceded by a tense suffix is determined by that of a final clause with which the adverbial clause occurs.

1. 고 *-go* 'and', e.g.

   자네는 가고 나는 온다 *ɟanenin gago nanin onda*
      'You are going and I am coming.'
   아침을 먹고 하겠다 *acimil mʌggo hagesda* 'I will do it after breakfast.'

   요 *-jo* 'and' (after V.c. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   선수이요 코치이다 *sʌ:nsu ijo koci ida* '[He] is a player and coach.'

2. 며 / 으며 *-mjʌ/-imjʌ* V/C-form 'and', e.g.

   새가 노래를 했으며 꽃이 웃었다 *sɛga nolɛlil hɛ̀simjʌ koci usʌ̀sda*
      'Birds sang and flowers smiled.'

3. 고서 *-go(sʌ)* 'and then, afterward' (after V.p. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.

   일을 하고(서) 떠나자 *ilil hago(sʌ) ɨʌnaɟa*
      'Let's do the job and then leave.'

4. 며(ㄴ서) / 으며(ㄴ서) *-mjʌ(nsʌ)/-imjʌ(nsʌ)*

   V/C-form 'at the same time, while'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   꿈을 꾸며 자니 *kumil kumjʌ ɟani* 'Are you sleeping [while] dreaming?'
   들으면서 본다 *dilimjʌnsʌ bonda* 'They see while listening.'

5. 자 *-ɟa* 'as soon as' Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second *-ɟa* suffixed to the verb *mal-* 'to stop'.] E.g.

   깨자 말자 *kɛɟa malɟa*
      'as soon as [he] wakes up' (lit. 'wakes up and stops waking up')
   해가 뜨자 사라졌다 *hɛga ɨɟa salaɟɟʌ̀sda*
      '[It] disappeared as soon the sun rose.'

6. 도록 *-dolog* 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx., e.g.

   거지가 가도록 기다리자 *gʌɟiga gadolog gidaliɟa*
      'Let's wait until the beggar goes away.'

   게 *-ge* 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx.
   소리가 나게 때려라 *soliga nage ɨɛljʌla*
      'Beat [it] until/so that it makes a noise.'

7. ㄹ수록 / 을수록 *-lsulog/-ilsulog*
   V/C-form 'the more ... the more'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   볼수록 좋다 *bolsurog ɟohda* 'The more I see it, the better.'

8. 려 / 으려 *-l(j)ʌ/-il(j)ʌ*   }
   려고 / 으려고 *-ljʌgo/-iljʌgo*   }   V/C-form }   'in order to'; Zero t.sfx.
   고자 *-goɟa*   }

These endings are suffixed to V.p. only, e.g.
   살려고 먹는다 *sa:ljʌgo mʌgninda* '[We] eat in order to live.'

9. ㄹ뿐더러 / 을뿐더러 *-lpundʌlʌ /-ilpundʌlʌ* V/C-form,
   'not only ... but also, e.g.
   집었을뿐더러 다 먹었다 *ɟibʌ̀silpundʌlʌ da mʌgʌ̀sda*
      'Not only did I take it but also ate it all.'

10. 다(가) *-da(ga)* interruption, transference', e.g.

   가다가 온다 *gadaga onda*
      '[She] is coming back while on the way' (lit. 'while going comes').

11. 거나 *-gʌna*
    든(지) *-din(ɟi)*   }   'whether ... or'
    나 / 으나 *-na/-ina* V/C-form }

These endings occur in double form, e.g.
   오거나 가거나 *ogʌna gagʌna* 'whether [they] come or go'

   했든지 안했든지 *hɛ̀sdinɟi an hɛ̀sdinɟi*
      'whether [she] did [it] or [did not do it].'

12. 면 / 으면 *-mjʌn/-imjʌn* V/C-form }   'if, when', e.g.
    거든 *-gʌdin*   }

   짧으면 좋지 *calbimjʌn ɟohɟi* '[It] is good if it is short.'
   보거든 말을 해라 *bogʌdin malil hɛla* 'Tell [him] when you see him.'

13. 아야 / 어야 -aja/-ʌja a/ʌ-form ⎫ 'only if, only when', e.g.
    라야 -laja (after V.c.) Zero t.sfx. ⎭

    약을 먹어야 낫지 jagil mʌgʌja nasʃi
        '[You] will get well only when/if you take some pills.'

    예쁜 책이라야 jep̀in cɛgilaja 'Only if it is a pretty book.'

14. (더러) 아도 / 어도 -(dʌl)ado/-ʌdo a/ʌ-form ⎫
    ㄹ지언정 / 을지언정 -lʃiʌnʃʌŋ/-ilʃiʌnʃʌŋ V/C-form ⎪
    ㄹ지라도 / 을지라도 -lʃilado/-ilʃilado V/C-form ⎬ 'even if/though'
    ㄹ망정 / 을망정 -maŋʃʌŋ/-ilmaŋʃʌŋ V/C-form ⎪
    ㄴ들 / 은들 -ndil/-indil V/C-form ⎭

    몰랐더라도 mollas̀dʌlado 'Even if you did not know'

    해가 졌을망정 달이 있다 hɛga jjʌs̀ilmaŋʃʌŋ dali is̀da
        'Even if the sun has set, there is the moon.'

    부자인들 어떻게 해 buja indil ʌitʌhge hɛ
        'Even though [he] is a rich man, what can he do?'

15. 지만 -ʃiman ⎫
    건만 -gʌnman ⎬ 'although ...'
    나 / 으나 -na/-ina V/C-form ⎭ '... but'

Although identical in form, -na/-ina of (15) and -na/-ina of (11) are different endings. The former occurs in double form whereas the latter occurs in single form, e.g.

    눈이 오지만 춥지 않다 nu:ni oʃiman cubʃi anhda
        'Although it is snowing it is not cold.'
    신부는 있으나 신랑은 없구나 sinbunin is̀ina sinlaŋin ʌ:bguna
        'The bride is there but the bridegroom is not.'

16. 련만 / 으련만 -lʃʌnman/-ilʃʌnman
    V/C-form 'might/would ... but' V/C-form, e.g.

    사진이 많으련만 한장도 없다 saʃini manhilʃʌnman hanʃaŋdo ʌ:bda
        'There might have been many photos but there isn't even one.'

17. 아서 / 어서 -a(sʌ)/-ʌ(sʌ) a/ʌ-form 'and then; as, since, because';
    Zero t.sfx., e.g.

    우표를 사(서) 붙이어라 upjolil sasʌ butiʌla
        'Buy a stamp and stick it on.'
    날이 맑아(서) 기쁘다 nali malgasʌ gip̀ida
        '[I] am happy as the weather is fine.'

18. 므로 / 으므로 -milo/-imilo V/C-form, 'as, since, because', e.g.

    집이 크므로 방도 많다 jibi kimilo baŋdo manhda
        'As the house is large, there are many rooms too.'

19. 니(까) / 으니(까) -ni(k̀a)/-ini(k̀a)
    V/C-form Time: 'when, as'; Cause: 'because, as, since', e.g.

    다시 비니 용서하십시오 dasi bini joŋsʌhasibsio
        'As I apologize once more, please forgive me.'
    너를 보니까 기뻤다 nʌlil bonik̀a gip̀ʌs̀da
        '[I] was happy to see you' (lit. 'because I met you').

20. 는데 -ninde (after V.p.) ⎫
    ㄴ데 / 은데 -nde/-inde (after V.d.) ⎬ 'and' (topic introducer)

    공부를 하는데 왜 우니 goŋbulil haninde wɛ uni
        'I am working — why are you crying?'
    키가 큰데 뚱뚱하구나 kiga kinde t̀uŋt̀uŋhaguna
        '[She] is tall and [yet] plump.'

21. 되 -dwe 'may/might ... but'

    파티에 가되 얌전하게 있어라 pa:tie gadwe jamʃʌnhage is̀ʌla
        'You may go to the party but behave yourself.'

4.3.5.3. Concatenating Endings

Every verb ending in one of the following four inflectional endings is a concatenating form, which occurs in the head structure of the verbal phrase (cf. 5.2.1).

(a) 아 / 어 -a/-ʌ a/ʌ-form: Concatenating Ending I
(b) 고 -go   Concatenating Ending II
(c) 게 -ge   Concatenating Ending III
(d) 지 -ʃi   Concatenating Ending IV

The concatenating endings are not found preceded by any tense suffix. Processive verbs may end in any of the four concatenating endings, and descriptive verbs in -a/-ʌ, -ge and -ʃi, e.g.

    삶아 진다 salma ʃinda '[It] is/gets boiled.'
    삶고 있다 salmgo is̀da '[She] is boiling it.'
    크게 하여라 kige hajʌla 'Make it loud.'
    크지 않다 kiʃi anhda '[It] is not big.'

V

PHRASE

The phrase consists of two or more words and may be substituted by a word of similar syntactic function. There are three types of phrase in Korean: (i) 'Nominal Phrase', (ii) 'Verbal Phrase' and (iii) 'Relational Phrase'.

5.1. NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase is an endocentric construction[1] consisting of a noun or its syntactic equivalent as head and one or more subordinates as expansion. A nominal phrase is syntactically identical to a single noun. An endocentric construction is a construction whose syntactic function is identical with that of one or more of its constituents. For instance, an English phrase 'fresh milk' is an endocentric construction since it has the same syntactic function as the noun 'milk'; e.g., in

Drink *milk*.
Drink *fresh milk*.

'fresh milk' occurs in the same syntactic position as 'milk', i.e., after the verb 'drink'. In the phrase 'fresh milk', 'milk' is called 'Head', and 'fresh' 'Subordinate', or 'Expansion', the term used in this book.

5.1.1. *Elements and Structure of Nominal Phrase*

The elements occurring in a nominal phrase may be divided into two major constituents, 'Head' and 'Expansion'. The order of occurrence of the two constituents is fixed, head always following expansion, except in careless and/or informal conversation where the Expansion-Head order may be reversed, e.g.

연필 저기있는 *jʌnpil jʌgi innin* 'the pencil which is there.'
     H   Exp.

The usual order of the two constituents of the above phrase is:

저기있는 연필 *jʌgi innin jʌnpil*
    Exp.   H.

[1] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, 1950, 12.10, p. 194.

Examples

집 *jib* '[a] house'
새집 *sɛ jib* '[a] new house'
저 새 집 *jʌ sɛ jib* 'that new house'
아름다운 저 새 집 *alimdaun jʌ sɛ jib* lit. 'beautiful that new house'
어느 아름다운 한 새 집 *ʌni alimdaun han sɛ jib*
    lit. 'certain beautiful one new house'

In the examples given above, the noun *jib* 'house' is the head and the subordinate words preceding the head constitute the expansion.

5.1.2. *Nominal Head*

The exponent of the nominal head is (i) a single noun, simple or compound, (ii) two or more nouns linked with or without coordinators, or standing in apposition, (iii) a nominal group, or (iv) a compound numeral.

5.1.2.1. *Single Noun as Nominal Head*

Any noun can fill the position of the nominal head, whether it is independent or non-independent, simple or compound, e.g.

이 꽃 *i koc* 'this flower'
저 헌 가방 *jʌ hʌːn gabaŋ* 'that old brief-case'
푸른 하늘 *pulin hanil* '[the] blue sky'
어느 것 *ʌni gʌs* 'Which one?' (lit. 'which thing')
두 권 *du gwʌn* 'two volumes'
아는 체 *anin ce* 'pretending to know'
넓은 서울운동장 *nʌlbin sʌulundoŋjaŋ* 'Wide Seoul Stadium'
      sʌulundoŋjaŋ N.comp.
    < *sʌul* 'Seoul' + *undoŋjaŋ* 'stadium'

5.1.2.2. *Two or More Nouns as Nominal Head*

The linking of two or more nouns that fill the head position of the nominal phrase may be effected either by coordinator(s) or paratactically, unless they stand in apposition.

5.1.2.2.1. *Nouns linked by Coordinator(s)*

Nouns may be linked by a conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.6 and 3.4.5.6.1) such as *wa/gwa* 'and' and *na/ina* 'or' or by a conjunctive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.6) such as *giligo* 'and' and *ionin* 'or' as the coordinator, e.g.

새와 고양이 *sɛwa gojaŋi* 'a bird and a cat'
산과 나무 *sangwa namu* 'the mountain and tree'
물과 강과 배 *mulgwa gaŋgwa bɛ* 'water, river and ship'

서울이나 동경 *sʌulina doŋgjʌŋ* 'Seoul or Tokyo'
차나 커피 *cana kʌpi* 'tea or coffee'
봄 그리고 여름 *bom giligo jʌlim* 'spring and summer'
내일 또는 모래 *neil ìonin molɛ* 'tomorrow or the day after tomorrow'

There is no theoretical limit to the number of nouns to be linked by coordinators and functioning as the head in the nominal phrase, but in practice they rarely exceed more than three in all.

5.1.2.2.2. *Nouns linked by Parataxis*

Paratactically-linked nouns do not include the coordinator(s) and are linked to one another phonologically by appropriate intonations, e.g.

야채, 고기, 생선 ˴*jacɛ*, ˴*gogi*, ˴*sɛŋsʌn* 'vegetable, meat and fish'
영화, 연극, 무용 ˴*jʌŋhwa*, ˴*jʌːngig*, ˴*mujoŋ* 'film, play and ballet'

In the examples above, every noun except the last one, which may be realized with any nuclear Intoneme, is accompanied by either Intoneme LF or, more frequently, Intoneme R.

Paratactically linked nouns have potentiality of taking the coordinators, thus resulting in the same construction as nouns linked by the coordinators, e.g.

야채(와), 고기(와), 생선 ˴*jacɛ(wa)*, ˴*gogi(wa)*, ˴*sɛŋsʌn*
    'vegetable, meat and fish'
영화(와), 연극(과), 무용 ˴*jʌŋhwa (wa)*, ˴*jʌːngig (gwa)*, ˴*mujoŋ*
    'film, play and ballet'

It is to be noted that of the coordinators, *na/ina* 'or' and *ìonin* 'or' cannot be added between nouns linked paratactically. In other words, the coordinators that may be added between paratactically-linked nouns are *wa/gwa* 'and' and *giligo* 'and' only.

The structure of nouns linked either by coordinator or by parataxis may be summarily set out as follows:

$N^1(c) N^2(c) N^3(c) ... N^n$
(the superscript n refers to any number.)

5.1.2.2.3. *Nouns in Apposition*

Nouns in apposition consist of two immediate constituents, N^1 and N^2, occurring in that order. N^1 is most often filled by a family name, a given name or by both, and sometimes by a nickname, and N^2 by a title or other nouns descriptive of N^1. Less frequently, both N^1 and N^2 may be represented by nouns other than personal name and title, e.g.

한 교수 *han gjosu* 'Professor Han' (lit. 'Han Professor')
윤 대통령 *jun dɛtoŋnjʌŋ* 'President Yun' (lit. 'Yun President')

강 감찬 장군 *gaŋ gamcan jʌŋgun*
         N^1 N^2
    'General Gang Gamchan' (lit. 'Gang Gamchan General')
강 감찬 *gaŋ gamcan* < *gaŋ* surname + *gamcan* given name
김 노인 *gim noin* 'Old man Kim' (lit. 'Kim, the old man')
영철 선배 *jʌŋcʌl sʌnbɛ*
    '[my college] senior, Youngchul' (lit. 'Youngchul, my senior')
우리의 자랑 백두산 *uliìi jalaŋ bɛgìusan* 'Our pride, Mt. Paegdu'
              N^1 N^2

Nouns in apposition usually form a single stress group (cf. 2.7) and are spoken consequently with a single intonation. However, when they are realized as two stress groups, N^1 and N^2 each forming a stress group, N^1 is usually marked by Intoneme L, e.g.

한 교수 ˴*hangjosu* 'Professor Han', or -*han* ˴*gjosu*
윤 대통령 ˴*jundɛtoŋnjʌŋ* 'President Yun', or -*jun* ˴*dɛtoŋnjʌŋ*

The order of N^1 and N^2 may sometimes be reversed, especially when N^1 includes both family name and given name, resulting in $N^2 + N^1$, e.g.

장군 강 감찬 *jʌŋgun gaŋ gamcan* 'General Gang Gamchan'
       N^2 N^1
선수 유 인호 *sʌnsu ju inho* 'the player, Yu Inho'
       N^2 N^1
cf. ju inho sʌnsu
       N^1 N^2

Nouns standing in apposition are superficially similar in construction to those linked paratactically (cf. 5.1.2.2.2) since both constructions lack the coordinator(s). But in fact they are different from each other in the following respects:

(i)   Nouns in apposition are not capable of taking a coordinator between N^1 and N^2, whereas nouns linked paratactically have the potentiality of taking a coordinator between every two member nouns.

Examples

(a) *Nouns in apposition*

김 교수 ˴*gimgjosu* or -*gim* ˴*gjosu* 'Professor Kim'
cf. *김과 교수 *gimgwa gjosu*

(b) *Nouns in parataxis*

사과, 밤 *sa˴gwa*, ˴*baːm* 'apple and chestnut'
cf. 사과(와), 밤 *sa˴gwa(wa)*, ˴*baːm*

(ii) There is an intonational as well as junctural contrast between the two constructions. The first of two nouns standing in apposition is usually marked by Intoneme L and followed by plus juncture, whereas with paratactically linked nouns, every member noun is usually marked by Intoneme LF/HF or Intoneme R and followed by tentative juncture.

Examples

(*a*) *Nouns in apposition*

유인호 선수 -*juinho ˎsʌnsu* 'the player, Yu Inho'

(*b*) *Nouns in parataxis*

자동차, 비행기 *ɟaˎdoŋca, biˎhɛŋgi* 'motor car and airplane'

5.1.2.3. *Nominal Group as Nominal Head*

The nominal group, which is itself an endocentric construction, has as its structure:

$$N^1 N^2 N^3 \ldots N^n$$

in which N^n or the last N in the sequence is the head and all other nouns preceding N^n the subordinate(s). The subordinates may be further analysed as consisting of the last noun as the head and other nouns preceding it as the subordinate(s), and so on, e.g.

여행 준비 *ɟʌhɛŋ ɟunbi*
$$\quad\quad N^1 \quad\quad N^2$$
'preparation for a journey' (lit. 'journey preparation')

영국 사람 *ɟʌŋgug saːlam* 'Englishman'
$$\quad\quad N^1 \quad\quad N^2$$

미국 정부 시책 *migug ɟʌŋbu sicɛg* 'American government policy'
$$\quad\quad N^1 \quad\quad N^3 \quad\quad N^2$$

연구 계획 작성 완료 *ɟʌːngu gehweg ɟagsʌŋ walljo*
$$\quad\quad N^1 \quad\quad N^2 \quad\quad N^3 \quad\quad N^4$$
'the completion of the drawing of the research plan'
(lit. 'research plan drawing completion')

Like nouns in apposition, every member noun of a nominal group, if it forms a separate stress group, is normally marked by Intoneme L, except the last one, which may be accompanied by any intonation. However, a nominal group differs from nouns in apposition in that:

(i) every member noun except the last one has the potentiality of taking the adjectival particle (cf. 3.4.5.8) *ii* 'of', thereby resulting in an adjectival phrase standing in subordinate relation to the immediately succeeding noun, whereas nouns in apposition have no such potentiality. For example, a nominal group 여행 준비 *ɟʌhɛŋ ɟunbi* 'preparation for journey' can be rewritten as

여행의 준비 *ɟʌhɛŋii ɟunbi*
adj.ph.   N

but an appositional construction 김복동 장군 *gimbogîoŋ ɟaŋgun* 'General Kim Bogdong' cannot be rewritten as

** 김복동의 장군 *gimbogîoŋii ɟaŋgun* 'Kim Bogdong's general' without changing the original meaning.

(ii) the order of the member nouns cannot be altered, whereas that of the nouns in apposition is in general reversible. For instance, a nominal group, e.g. 여행 준비 *ɟʌhɛŋ ɟunbi* 'preparation for journey' cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 *ɟunbi ɟʌhɛŋ*, which is either meaningless or means 'preparation journey or test journey', but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 *gimbogîoŋ ɟaŋgun* 'General Kim Bogdong' can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 *ɟaŋgun gimbogîoŋ*.

5.1.2.4. *Compound Numeral as Nominal Head*

The compound numeral, which consists of two or more numeral nouns, may function as the head of the nominal phrase. A compound numeral may be followed by a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1) and with it constitute a 'Compound Numeral Expression', which is itself an endocentric nominal phrase with the classifier as head. The first constituent of a compound numeral expression must be represented by a compound numeral adjective (cf. 3.4.3.1) and not by a compound numeral (noun) if its last number is one, two, three or four, e.g.

사십오 (원) *sasibo (wʌn)* 'forty five (won)'
< *sasibo* 'forty five' compound numeral
(< *sasib + o*) + *wʌn* monetary unit, classifier
삼백 육십 칠 (권) *sambɛg jugšib cil (gwʌn)*
'three hundred and sixty seven volumes'
< *sambɛg jugšib cil* '367' compound numeral + *gwʌn* 'volume', classifier
아흔 한 (마리) *ahin han (mali)* 'ninety one (heads) [of sheep]'
< *ahin han* '91', compound numeral adjective + *mali* 'head', classifier

5.1.2.4.1. To express the number or quantity of the referent of a noun, the following construction is most frequently used:

N + Compound Numeral Expression

Examples

책 이십오 권 *cɛg isibo gwʌn*
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad N$$
'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'books twenty five volumes')

자동차 열여섯 대 *ɟadoŋca ɟʌlljʌsʌd dɛ*
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad N$$
'sixteen cars' (lit. 'cars sixteen sets')

종이 스물 한 장 *ɟoŋi simul han ɟaŋ*
                 N

'twenty one sheets of paper' (lit. 'paper twenty one sheets')

The construction N + Compound Numeral Expression may be best described as a special type of appositional construction.

As an alternative to the one described above, the following endocentric construction is also used, though less frequently:

Compound Numeral Expression + *ii* + N

이십오 권의 책 *isibo gwʌnii cɛg*
                 N

'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'twenty five volumes' books')

열여섯 대의 자동차 *ɟʌlljʌsʌd dɛii ɟadoŋca*
                 N

'sixteen cars' (lit. 'sixteen sets' cars')

스물한 장의 종이 *simulhan ɟaŋii ɟoŋi* 'twenty one sheets of paper'
                 N

5.1.3. *Nominal Expansion*

The nominal expansion consists of (i) up to three adjectives, (ii) up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3.2), (iii) one or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2), or (iv) a combination of up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause.

5.1.3.1. *Adjective(s) as Nominal Expansion*

Any adjective and any combination of up to three adjectives may occur as the expansion of the nominal phrase, except that (i) the deictic and interrogative adjectives (cf. 3.4.3.2 and 3.4.3.3) are mutually exclusive, and (ii) two or more deictic or interrogative adjectives do not occur at a time. There is no fixed order in which adjectives are to occur within the nominal expansion except that a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.4.2.4), if present, must come last in the series, i.e., immediately before the head, e.g.

저 책 *ɟʌ cɛg* 'that book' (*ɟʌ* Adj.deic.)
새 집 *sɛ ɟib* '[a] new house' (*sɛ* Adj.qual.)
어느 고장 *ʌni goɟaŋ* 'Which locality?'
어느 새 고장 *ʌni sɛ goɟaŋ* 'Which new locality?'
어느 한 새 책 *ʌni han sɛ cɛg* '[a] certain new book' (*han* Adj.num.)

5.1.3.2. *Adjectival Clause(s) as Nominal Expansion*

Up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3) may occur as the nominal expansion. When the expansion consists of two adjectival clauses, they are linked either by a coordinator such as *giligo* 'and' or *ìonin* 'or', or by parataxis, e.g.

가는 사람 *ganin sa:lam* 'the man who is going' (lit. 'going man')

집에 오는 아이 *ɟibe onin ai*
     'the child who is coming home' (lit. 'home coming child')

사과를 딸 처녀 *sagwalil ìal cʌnjʌ*
     'the girl who will pick apple(s)' (lit. 'apple picking girl')

늙은 소 *nilgin so* 'an old cow' (lit. 'a cow which is old')

Adjectival clauses linked by coordinator:

젊은 그리고 어여쁜 신부 *ɟʌlmin giligo ʌjʌ̀pin sinbu*
                                   c

'a young and beautiful bride'
(lit. 'a bride who is young and beautiful')

어제 본 그리고 내일 만날 청년
ʌɟe bon giligo nɛil mannal cʌŋnjʌn
                                   c

'the young man whom I saw yesterday and will meet tomorrow.'

빨간 또는 파란 연필 *p̀algan ìonin palan ɟʌnpil*
                                   c

'a red or blue pencil' (lit. 'a pencil which is red or blue')

Adjectival clauses linked by parataxis:

사람이 많은 복잡한 거리 *sa:lami manhin bogcapan gʌli*
     'the crowded (and) busy street'
     (lit. 'the street where people are numerous and which is complicated')

큰 얇은 종이 *kin jalbin ɟoŋi* 'a large and thin [sheet of] paper'
     (lit. 'a paper which is large and thin')

It is to be noted that adjectival clauses linked by a coordinator or by parataxis are far less frequent than the semantically identical single adjectival clause, e.g.

젊은 그리고 어여쁜 신부 <u>*ɟʌlmin giligo*</u> <u>*ʌjʌ̀pin sinbu*</u>
                                Cl.   Cl.

'a young and beautiful bride'
cf. 젊고 어여쁜 신부 <u>*ɟʌmk̀o ʌjʌ̀pin sinbu*</u>
                          Cl.

사람이 많은 복잡한 거리 sa:lami <u>*ma:nin bogcapan gʌli*</u>
                                Cl.   Cl.

'the crowded and busy street'
cf. 사람이 많고 복잡한 거리 sa:lami <u>*ma:nko bogcapan gʌli*</u>
                                     Cl.

5.1.3.3. *Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion*

One or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2), each consisting of N + *ii*, may occur as the nominal expansion.

A nominal expansion consisting of two or more adjectival phrases exhibits its IC (Immediate Constituent)[1] structure as follows:

$$N^1 \quad ii \quad N^2 \quad ii \quad N^3 \quad ii \quad \cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots\cdots \quad N^n$$
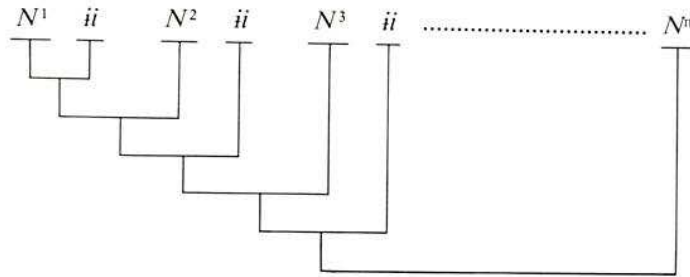
Although theoretically unlimited, the number of adjectival relational phrases found in a nominal expansion is in general not more than three in all, e.g.

나의 어머니 *naii ʌmʌni* 'my mother'
동무의 아저씨 *doŋmuii aɹʌ̀si* '[my] friend's uncle'
교육의 힘 *gjojugii him* 'the power of education'
어머니의 아버지의 사진 *ʌmʌniii abʌɹiii saɹin*
    '[my] mother's father's photo'
교수의 연구의 결과 *gjosuii jʌ:nguii gjʌlgwa*
    'the results of the professor's research'
    (lit. 'the results of research of the professor')
친구의 아저씨의 선생의 딸 *cinguii aɹʌ̀siii sʌnseŋii ìal*
    '[my] friend's uncle's teacher's daughter'

There is a tendency, especially in spoken language, for the particle *ii* to drop when a series of it occurs in the nominal expansion, leaving as many as would be required to avoid ambiguity. For instance, the two examples given above may be rewritten as:

    cingu(ii) aɹʌ̀siii sʌnseŋ(ii) ìal
    gjosuii jʌ:ngu(ii) gjʌlgwa

5.1.3.4. *Adjectives and Adjectival Clause as Expansion*

Up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause, occurring in any order, except for the restrictions stated in 5.1.3.1, may occur as the nominal expansion, e.g.

한 씩씩한 청년 *han šigšikan cʌŋjʌn*   '[a] braye young man'
    Adj. adj.cl.

[1] See R. S. Wells, *Language*, 23/2, 1947, pp. 81–117.

이 아름다운 새 차 *i alimdaun sɛ ca* 'this beautiful new car'
    Adj. adj.cl.   Adj.

그 서울에서 온 청년 *gi sʌulesʌ on cʌŋjʌn*
    Adj. adj.cl.
'that young man from Seoul'
(lit. 'that who-comes-from-Seoul young man')

어느 한 좋은 새 집 *ʌni han ɹohin sɛ ɹib*
    Adj. Adj. adj.cl. Adj.
'a certain nice new house'

5.1.4. *Nominal Phrase embedded in a larger Nominal Phrase*

A more complex nominal phrase may comprise an NP as its head, and every such NP includes two expansions, the one belonging to the embedded NP and the other to the larger NP of which the embedded NP occurs as head, as shown by the following formula:

$$
\begin{aligned}
NP &\rightarrow Exp. + H \\
H &\rightarrow NP^1 \\
NP^1 &\rightarrow Exp.^1 + H^1 \\
NP &\rightarrow Exp. + Exp.^1 + H^1
\end{aligned}
$$

Very often a tentative juncture occurs after Exp. in the above formula, thus separating Exp. from Exp.[1], e.g.

내가 본 서울의 거리 *nɛga bon, sʌulii gʌli*
    Exp. $\underline{Exp.^1 \quad H^1}$
               H

'the streets of Seoul that I saw'

아름다운 여자의 목소리 *alimdaun, jʌɹaii mogs̀oli*
    Exp. $\underline{Exp.^1 \quad H^1}$
               H

'the beautiful woman's voice'

A nominal phrase of the structure Exp. + Exp.[1] + H[1] may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance,

alimdaun jʌɹaii mogs̀oli 'the beautiful woman's voice'

may be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the first IC cut is made; with the first cut coming between Exp. and Exp.[1], the nominal translates 'the woman's voice which is beautiful', but if it is made between Exp.[1] and H[1], the same phrase translates 'the voice of the beautiful woman'. The two different IC cuts may be shown by the following diagrams.

(i) 아름다운 여자의 목소리
alimdaun jʌʃa ii mogsòli 'the woman's voice which is beautiful'

Exp.¹ ———— H¹
Exp. ———————— H
NP

(ii) 아름다운 여자의 목소리
alimdaun jʌʃa ii mogsòli 'the voice of the beautiful woman'
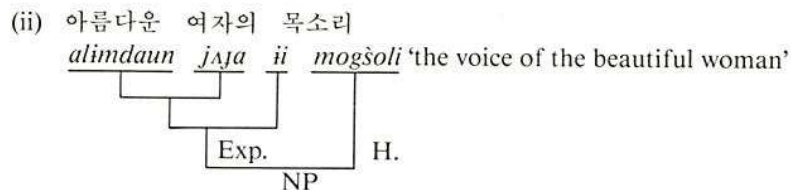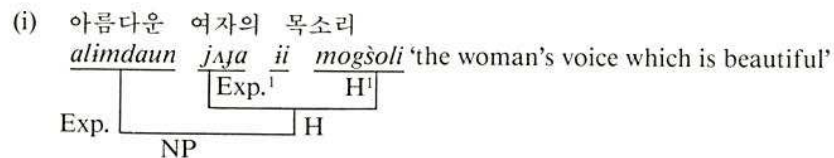
Exp. ———— H.
NP

alimdaun '(who/which) is beautiful' adj.cl.; *jʌʃa* 'woman' N; *ii* 'of' Pcl.adj.; *mogsòli* 'voice' N.

The IC analysis of (i) refers to the structure of an NP comprising an embedded NP¹ as its head, i.e., Exp. + Exp.¹ + H whereas that of (ii) refers to an NP structure of Exp. + H type where Exp. is analysable into successively smaller constituents in the manner shown by the diagram. As stated earlier, a tentative juncture is frequently found between Exp. and Exp.¹ in the nominal phrase comprising an embedded NP and this phonological feature serves to distinguish, in spoken language at least, the former from the latter type.

5.2. VERBAL PHRASE

The verbal phrase, despite its central importance in Korean syntax and indeed in grammar as a whole, has been given an incomplete and unsystematic treatment up to now. Even when a discussion of the verbal phrase as such was attempted, which was very rare, it hardly went beyond two- or three-verb phrases and was fragmentary. This chapter attempts to describe the structuring of the verbal phrase in such a way that a complete picture may be shown.

The syntactic function, and especially the external distribution, of the verbal phrase is exclusively determined by the inflectional ending suffixed to the verb of such a phrase. For instance, a verbal phrase may function as a clause or sentence on its own when its last verb is inflected with a final ending, or as any non-final clause such as nominal, adjectival or adverbial clause when it is suffixed with a non-final ending. This, however, will be discussed at the clause level and the present section is devoted entirely to a discussion of the internal structure of verbal phrases.

5.2.1. *Elements and Structure of Verbal Phrases*

The verbal phrase has two immediate constituents, 'Expansion' and 'Head', occurring in that order. The head is further analysed into 'Nucleus' which

consists of one to three full verbs and 'Satellite' which consists of one or more auxiliary verbs. The expansion, consisting of an adverb or an adverbial phrase, is an optional element and so is the satellite. The verbal phrase structure may be set out by the following diagram.

Adv./Adv.ph.	V¹ V² V³	V.aux.¹ V.aux.² V.aux.³ ..... V.aux.ⁿ
	Nucleus	(Satellite)
Expansion	Head	

Where the verbal head consists of two or more full verbs, or of one or more full verbs plus one or more auxiliary verbs, every verb except the last one must be inflected in one of the four concatenating forms (cf. 4.3.5.3) as required by the immediately succeeding verb. Apart from a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9), a plus juncture or less frequently a tentative juncture, no word of any class can intervene between any two elements within a verbal phrase, e.g.

(i) *Nucleus only*

너머 가다 *nʌmʌ gada* 'to go over' < *nʌmʌ* 'crossing' + *gada* 'to go'
잡아 구어 먹다 *jaba guʌ mʌgìa* 'to catch, grill and eat'

(ii) *Nucleus + Satellite*

가고 싶다 *gago sibìa* '[I] want to go.'
         Nuc. Sat.
    < *gago* 'going' + *sibìa* 'to want to'

집어 지다 *jibʌ jida* 'to be picked up'
         Nuc. Sat.
    < *jibʌ* 'picking up' + *jida* pasv.vc.fmtv.

뛰어 가고 싶어하고 있다 *ìwiʌ gago sipʌ hago idìa*
                          Nuc.   Sat.
    'to be wanting to go running' < *ìwiʌ* 'running' + *gago* 'going'
    + *sipʌ* 'wanting to' + *hago* 'proc.v.fmtv. + *idìa* progr.t.fmtv.

(iii) *Expansion + Head*

잘 하다 *jal hada* 'to do [something] well' < *jal* 'well' + *hada* 'to do'
       Exp. Nuc.
       H

얼른 뛰어가다 *ʌllin ìwiʌ gada* 'to go running quickly'
       Exp.   Nuc.
            H

    < *ʌllin* 'quickly' + *ìwiʌ gada* 'to go running'

아주 멀리 뛰어가고 싶어하고 있다
aʌu mʌlli ìwiʌ gago sipʌ hago idìa

Exp.	Nuc.	Sat.
	H	

'to be wanting to go running very far'

< *aʌu* 'very' + *mʌlli* 'far' + *ìwiʌ gago* 'to go running'
+ *sipʌ hago idìa* 'to be wanting to'

5.2.1.1. *Head of Verbal Phrase*

In Korean, as in other 'Turanian' languages,[1] 'Expansion' (or subordinative/*déterminant*) regularly precedes 'Head' (or *déterminé*), e.g., adjective precedes noun, adverb precedes verb, and so on. However the relation obtaining between 'Nucleus' and 'Satellite', the two constituents of the verbal head, is rather unique. The satellite, consisting of one or more auxiliary verb(s), is syntactically bound and therefore unable to perform any syntactic function by itself unless it is preceded by the nucleus which is syntactically free. This criterion justifies taking the nucleus as central and the satellite as subordinate to the former. In respect of the syntactic function(s) of the verbal head as a whole, however, the satellite is central and the nucleus only peripheral, since it is (the last auxiliary verb of) the satellite which determines the external distribution of the verbal head and ultimately the entire verbal phrase in which the satellite occurs. Accordingly, by the criterion of syntactic function, the nucleus is subordinate to the satellite. For instance, in the verbal head

가고 싶어 한다 *gago sipʌ handa* '[he] wants to go'

	Nuc.	Sat.

the satellite that consists of two auxiliary verbs cannot occur on its own and perform any syntactic function unless it is preceded by the nucleus, here represented by *gago* 'going', which can occur on its own independently of the satellite. On the other hand, the function of the verbal head as a whole in various syntactic positions is determined exclusively by the satellite, or to be more precise, by the inflectional ending suffixed to the last auxiliary verb in the satellite. Thus, (*a*) the occurrence of *gago sipʌ handa* as a complete sentence, (*b*) its function as an adjectival clause as in

gago sipʌ hanin cingu 'the friend who wishes to go',

       adj. cl.

and (*c*) its function as an adverbial clause as in

[1] C. E. Bazell, 'The Fundamental Syntactic Relations', 11.

gago sipʌ hajʌdo mod ganda '[He] cannot go even if he wishes to.'

       adv. cl.

are all made possible by the satellite.

5.2.1.1.1. *Nucleus of Verbal Head*

One to three processive verbs (cf. 3.4.1.1), each inflected in the concatenating form I except for the last one, may occur as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. A one-verb nucleus is most frequent, a two-verb nucleus less frequent, and a three-verb nucleus is very rare. Descriptive verbs may occur as the exponent of a one-verb nucleus but no multiple-verb nucleus may include, or consist entirely of descriptive verbs, with the exception of two-verb nuclei of which the second verb is *boi-* 'to be seen, to be shown, to seem', a passive verb derived from *bo-* 'to see' V.tr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any descriptive verb or by some processive verbs such as *nilg-* 'to grow old', *mʌŋdil-* 'to be bruised', etc., e.g.

뛰어 간다 *ìwiə ganda* '[He] is running away' (goes running)
    < *ìwi-* 'to run' V.p.
늙어 보인다 *nilgə boinda* '[He] looks old.' < *nilg-* 'to get old' V.p.
젊어 보입니다 *ɟʌlmə boibnida* '[She] looks young.'
    < *ɟʌlm-* 'to be young' V.d.

5.2.1.1.1.1. *Transitive and Intransitive Nucleus*

The nucleus is of two different types, transitive and intransitive, according to the type of verbs included in it. The nucleus which includes one or more transitive verb(s) is a transitive type and its syntactic function is the same as that of a single transitive verb. On the other hand, the nucleus which consists only of intransitive verbs is an intransitive type and has the same syntactic function as an intransitive verb, e.g.

(i)   *Nucleus of Transitive Type*

범을 잡아 간다 *bʌ:mil ɟaba ganda*

	O	V.tr.	V.intr.
			Nuc.

'[They] are taking the tiger with them'
(lit. 'they have caught the tiger and are going away').

밥을 앉아 먹었니 *babil anɟa mʌgʌnni*

	O	V.intr.	V.tr.
			Nuc.

'Did you eat your supper sitting down?'

꽃을 심어 가꾸자 *k̇ocil simʌ gakuɟa*
      O   V.tr.   V.tr.
                   Nuc.

'Let us plant flowers and look after them.'

빵을 구어 잘라 놓았다 *ṗaŋil guʌ ɟalla noadìa*
      O   V.tr. V.tr.   V.tr.
                   Nuc.

'[She toasted, cut, and served the bread.'

술을 누어 따라 마신다 *sulil nuʌ ìala masinda*
      O V.intr. V.tr.   V.tr.

'[He] is drinking wine lying down'
(lit. 'wine lying pouring out is drinking').

(ii) *Nucleus of Intransitive Type*

기어 가다 *giʌ gadìa* '[He] went crawling' (lit. 'crawling went').
        V.intr. V.intr.

뛰어 온다 *ìwiʌ onda* '[He] is coming running' (lit. 'running comes').
        V.intr. V.intr.

앉아 쉬어 갈까 *anɟa swiʌ galk̇a*
        V.intr. V.intr. V.intr.

'Shall we sit down and rest before we go?'
(lit. 'sitting resting shall we go?')

5.2.1.1.2. *Satellite of Verbal Head*

The satellite which is the optional element in the structure of the verbal head consists of one or more auxiliary verbs, each inflected in the appropriate concatenating form, except for the last one. The number of auxiliary verbs that may be found within a satellite is theoretically unlimited. For instance, *anh-*, V.aux. for negation, may be repeated any number of times, as in the following example with multiple negations:

가고 싫지 않지 않지 않지 … 않지 않다
gago sibc̀i anci anci anci … anci anta
'[I] *do not do not do not … do not* want to go.'
< *gago* 'to go' V.intr., *sibc̀i* 'to want' V.aux.

But in practice not more than five auxiliary verbs occur in the verbal head.

A general statement may be made as follows with regard to various functions of auxiliary verbs which constitute the satellite of the verbal head:

(i) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite determines the concatenating form in which the immediately preceding verb, whether it is a full verb in the nucleus or another auxiliary verb in the satellite, is to be inflected. For instance, in the following verbal head,

먹고 싶지 않다 *mʌggo sipɟi anhda* /mʌġko sibc̀i anta/
      Nuc.   Sat.
      'I don't want to eat.'

the auxiliary verb *anhda*, negation, selects the concatenating ending *-ɟi* for the immediately preceding verb *sip-* 'to want to', which in turn selects the concatenating ending *-go* for the full verb in the nucleus *mʌg-* 'to eat'.

(ii) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite adds to or modifies the meaning of the verb(s) in the nucleus. For example in 먹고 싶지 않다 *mʌggo sipɟi anhda* 'I don't want to eat' the two auxiliary verbs *sip-* 'to want to' and *anh-*, negation, add their respective meanings to the meaning of the nuclear verb *mʌg-* 'to eat'.

(iii) Some auxiliary verbs determine the type of the verbal head in which they occur, i.e., verbal head of processive type or of descriptive type. Thus a verbal head consisting of a descriptive verb and the auxiliary verb *ɟi-*, e.g.

작아 진다 *ɟaga ɟinda* '[It] becomes small.'
      V.d. V.aux.

is a head of processive type and behaves syntactically as a processive verb such as *ga-* 'to go':

가고 있다 *gago išda* '[He] is going.'
      V.p. V.aux.

작아 지고 있다 *ɟaga ɟigo išda* '[It] is becoming small.'
      V.d. V.aux. V.aux.

cf. 작고 있다 **ɟaggo išda*

On the other hand, a verbal head consisting of a processive verb and the auxiliary verb *sip-* 'to want to' is a head of descriptive type and behaves syntactically as a descriptive verb such as *ɟag-* 'to be small'. For instance, a head of descriptive type like

가고 싶다 *gago sipda* '[I] want to go'
      V.p. V.aux.

cannot be directly followed by the auxiliary verb *iš-* 'progressive tense formative', any more than a descriptive verb can, and consequently neither a descriptive verb nor a verbal head of descriptive type can have the progressive tense unless it is first transformed into a processive type by means of one of the processive verb formatives such as *ha-*, *ɟi-*, *dwe-*, etc.

Examples

작아 지고 있다 *ɟaga ɟigo išda* '[It] is becoming small.'
      V.d V.aux. V.aux.

가고 싶어 하고 있다 *gago sipʌ hago išda*
      V.p. V.aux. V.aux. V.aux.

'[He] wants to go' (lit. 'He is wanting to go').

(iv) Some auxiliary verbs supplement and extend the morphological formations of voice and tense, i.e., passive voice formation by the auxiliary verb *ji-* pasv.vc.fmtv., and progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb *iš-* (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g.

찢어 진다	*čij*ʌ	*jinda*	'[It] is [being] torn.'
	V.tr.	V.aux.	
먹고 있다	*m*ʌggo	*išda*	'[He] is eating.'
	V.tr.	V.aux.	

5.2.1.1.2.1. *Classification of Auxiliary Verbs according to Concatenating Restrictions*

In this section auxiliary verbs will be classified into four different groups according to the concatenating form in which they require the immediately preceding verb, full or auxiliary, to be inflected, and then each auxiliary verb in each group will be discussed in turn as regards other relevant features.

5.2.1.1.2.1.1. *Auxiliary Verbs of Group* I

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form I, i.e., *-a/-*ʌ (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 보 *bo-*   2. 주 *ju-*   3. 드리 *dili-*   4. 대 *d*ɛ-
5. 버리 *b*ʌli-   6. 쌓 *šah-*   7. 지 *ji-*   8. 가 *ga-*
9. 오 *o-*   10. 놓 *noh-*   11. 나 *na-*   12. 내 *n*ɛ-

All auxiliary verbs of group I are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type, with the exception of *ji* which may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in one of the auxiliary verbs of group I is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.2. *Auxiliary Verbs of Group* II

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form II, i.e., *-go* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 있 *iš-*   2. 싶 *sip-*

These auxiliary verbs are descriptive and may be preceded by a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type only. A verbal phrase whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the two auxiliary verbs of group II is itself a descriptive type and may be followed directly by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type such as *aniha-* 'negation' or *mosha-* 'negation' (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.4). However, it cannot be followed by an auxiliary verb of processive type unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive verb

formative such as *ji-*, *ha-*, *mandil-* and *dwe-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.3. *Auxiliary Verbs of Group* III

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form III, i.e., *-ge* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 하 *ha-*   2. 만들 *mandil-*   3. 되 *dwe-*

All auxiliary verbs of group III are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the auxiliary verbs of group III is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.4. *Auxiliary Verbs of Group* IV

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form IV, i.e., *-ji* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 아니하 *aniha-*   2. 못하 *mosha-*   3. 말 *mal-*

aniha- and *mosha-* are auxiliary verbs of both processive and descriptive type whereas *mal-* is a processive type. Accordingly *aniha-* and *mosha-* may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type, whereas *mal-* follows only that of processive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, *aniha-* or *mosha-* is either a processive or a descriptive type, depending on whether the preceding verb(s) is processive or descriptive. If it is processive, the entire verbal head is also processive and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb, but if it is descriptive, the entire verbal head is also descriptive and may be followed by a descriptive auxiliary verb, but not by a processive auxiliary verb unless it is first transformed into a processive type by taking a processive formative such as *ji-*, *ha-*, *mandil-*, and *dwe-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.2. *Rules on the Distribution of Auxiliary Verbs with other Verbs within Verbal Head*

The classification of auxiliary verbs into the four different groups on the basis of the morphological restrictions imposed by the auxiliary verbs on the immediately preceding verb (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1) shows in which of the four concatenating forms a verb, full or auxiliary, must appear when followed by an auxiliary verb. However, it does not specify in detail what type of verb may precede or follow a particular auxiliary verb, which, as auxiliary verbs are not concatenated in a disorderly manner, is vitally important for the correct understanding and generation of verbal heads, especially of long and com-

plex type. It is the distinction of verbs, whether full or auxiliary, into the processive and descriptive types that is directly relevant to the manner in which auxiliary verbs combine with one another and with full verbs in the nucleus. The statements on the distribution of auxiliary verbs with other verbs in the verbal head structure, as conditioned by the criterion of the processive/descriptive distinction of verbs, have already been made at relevant places in the sections dealing with the four groups of auxiliary verbs (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1). They may be brought together here and collapsed into a single rule as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} X \\ \\ Y \end{bmatrix} \qquad \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} x^1 \longleftrightarrow x^2 \\ \times \\ y^1 \longleftrightarrow y^2 \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

Nucleus   Satellite
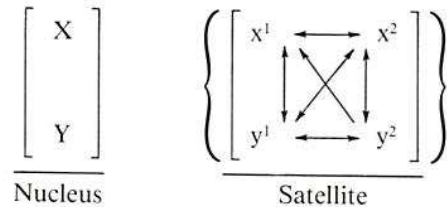
The abbreviations used in the rule above are:

X = Processive full verb(s)
x = Processive auxiliary verb
Y = Descriptive full verb(s)
y = Descriptive auxiliary verb
(The superscripts 1 and 2 are used for reference.)

The above rule is to be read from left to right as follows: The nucleus X or Y may be followed by x^1 or y^1 in the satellite, either of which may in its turn be followed by x^2 or y^2, or y^1 or x^1 respectively. x^1, y^1, x^2 and y^2 in the satellite structure are free to combine in any order and in any direction, i.e., vertically, horizontally or diagonally, as indicated by the arrows, e.g.

x^1y^1, x^1y^2, x^1x^2, y^1x^1, y^1x^2, y^1y^2, $x^1y^1x^2y^2x^1x^2$, $y^1x^1y^2x^2$.

Thus the following sequences are possible:

(*a*) X x^1y^1: 먹게 하고 싶다 *mʌgke hago sibìa* 'I want to make him eat.'

(*b*) X y^1x^1: 먹고 싶어 한다 *mʌgko sipʌ handa* '[She] would like to eat.'

(*c*) X $x^1x^2y^1$: 먹지 못하게 하고 싶다 *mʌgci motage hago sibìa* 'I want him not to eat.'

(*d*) Y x^1y^1: 맑아지고 있다 *malga ɟigo idìa* '[It] is getting clear.'

(*e*) Y y^1x^1: 맑지 않게 되었다 *magci anke dweʌdìa* '[It] has not become clear.'

(*f*) Y $y^1x^2y^2x^1$: 맑지 않게 만들고 싶어 한다
magci anke mandilgo sipʌ handa
'[He] would like to make it not clear.' etc.

The satellite structure, which is optional, is open-ended and therefore the x/y expansion may be repeated theoretically any number of times, although in practice it rarely repeats itself more than five times in all. In the application of the above rules the following restrictions must be observed:

(i) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Y \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} x \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} Y \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} p$

(ii) $p \longrightarrow$ *ɟi-, ha-, dwe-*, etc., Processive fmtv., e.g.
   $X\,y^1x^3 \rightarrow X\,y^1p$
   $Y\,x^1 \rightarrow Y\,p$

The restrictions (i) and (ii) are to be read: 'if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by a processive auxiliary verb, the latter must be one of the processive verb formatives, *ɟi-, ha-, dwe-*, etc.'

(iii) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Y \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} y^1y^2y^3 \ldots \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} Y \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} mosha- \\ aniha- \end{matrix} \right\}$ *aniha- aniha- ...*

This restriction is to be read: 'if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by one or more descriptive auxiliary verb(s), y^1 may be represented by *mosha-* or *aniha-* unless y^1 is preceded by *sip-* 'to want to' when *mosha-* does not occur, and $y^2y^3 \ldots$ by *aniha- ...*'

Examples

Y y^1y^2: 밝지 못하지 않다 *bagci motaɟi anta*
   lit. [It] is not not bright' (It is bright.)
X $y^1y^2y^3$: 먹고 싶지 않지 않다 *mogko sibci anci anta*
   lit. 'I do not not want to eat' (I want to eat.)

The application of the rule given earlier in conjunction with the restrictions on the choice of an appropriate concatenating form and any limitations which will be mentioned in the exemplification of each auxiliary verb in the following section will generate correct verbal heads, subject only to collocational restrictions.

5.2.1.1.2.3. *Exemplification of Verbal Head*

Examples of verbal heads will be divided into two types, (i) those with simple satellite and (ii) those with compound satellite. Simple satellite consists of one auxiliary verb, and compound satellite of more than one.

5.2.1.1.2.3.1. *Verbal Heads with Simple Satellite*

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.1. *With the Group I Auxiliary Verbs*

1. 보 *bo-* V.p.aux. 'to try [doing] [to see how it is]'

   ilgʌ boadìa '[He] has read/tried reading [it].'
   X   x

   nuʌ ilgʌ bogedìa '[I] will try and read [it] lying.'
       X   x

2. 주 *ju-* V.p.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

   jibʌ julka '[Shall] [I] pick [it] up for you?'
   X   x

3. 드리 *dili-* V.p.hon.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

   cɛgil caja diligešimnida 'I will find the book for you [sir].'
       X   x

4. 대 *dɛ-* V.p.aux., repetition, continuation

The collocability of this auxiliary verb is very limited compared with *šah-*, which may collocate with almost any verb. Verbs which collocate with *dɛ-* are: 먹 *mʌg-* 'to eat', 울 *ul-* 'to cry', 놀리 *nolli-* 'to tease', 까불 *kabul-* 'to behave flippantly', 불 *bul-* 'to blow', etc.

   국수를 먹어 댄다 *gugšulil mʌgʌ dɛnda* '[He] is eating noodles *again*.'
            X   x

   놀려 댔니 *nolljʌ dɛnni* 'Did you tease him too much?'
      X   x

5. 쌓 *šah-* V.p.aux., repetition, continuation

   왜 웃어 쌓니 *wɛ usʌ šanni* 'Why do you keep on laughing?'
        X   x

   알을 삶아 먹어 쌓았다 /*alil salma mʌgʌ šadìa*
            X   x

   '[We] boiled eggs and ate them without end.'

6. 버리 *bʌli-* V.p.aux. 'to do something completely, or thoroughly'

   자 버리었다 *ja bʌliʌdìa* '[He] went to bed straight away.'
        X   x

   눌러 버리었지 *nullʌ bʌliʌdèi* 'You pressed it completely, didn't you?'

7. 지 *ji-* V.p.aux.

   (*a*) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
      사진이 찍어진다 *sajini èigʌ jinda* 'The picture is [being] taken.'
           X   x

   잘라 졌다 *jalla jjʌdìa* '[It] is broken/cut.'
      X   x

(*b*) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.

   앉아 지니 *anja jini* 'Can you sit?'
      X   x

   (lit. 'Do you find yourself sitting [even if you don't intend to]?')

   잘 가 진다 *jal ga jinda*
        X   x

   '[I] find [myself] going well [even if I don't try to].'

(*c*) processive verb formative when preceded by a V.d., plus the meaning 'progression' or 'to become'

   꽃이 붉어 지겠다 *koci bulgʌ jigedìa*
            Y   x

   'The flower is likely to become red.'

   아주 어두어 집니까 *aju ʌduʌ jimnika* 'Is it getting very dark?'
           Y   x

8. 가 *ga-* V.p.aux., progression [towards a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker or near-completion

   아저씨가 늙어 간다 *ajʌšiga nilgʌ ganda* 'My uncle is getting old.'
            X   x

   부산에 도착하여 간다 *busane docakajʌ ganda*
             X   x

   '[We] are getting near Pusan.'

9. 오 *o-* V.p.aux., progression [towards a goal] from past to present or towards the speaker

   노인은 이틀동안 기도를 해 왔다 *noinin itilioŋan gidolil hɛ wadìa*
                        X   x

   'The old man has prayed for the past two days.'

   일을 같이 하여 왔다 *ilil gaci hajʌ wadìa* 'We have worked together.'
           X   x

10. 놓 *noh-* V.p.aux., completion, retention

This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.

   고기를 잘라 놓았읍니까 *gogilil jalla noašimnika*
             X   x

   'Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?'

   우선 알아 놓아라 *usʌn ala noala* 'Find about it first of all.'
          X   x

11. 나 *na-* V.p.aux., progression, completion

This is found with a limited number of V.intr. such as 피 *pi-* 'to blossom', 솟 *sos-* 'to rise or soar', 자라 *jala-* 'to grow', 살 *sal-* 'to leave', etc., e.g.

해가 솟아 난다 *hɛga sosa nanda* 'The sun is rising/coming out.'
         X   x

아이가 자라 났다 *aiga jala nadìa* 'The child has grown up.'
         X   x

12. 내 *nɛ-* V.p.aux., progression, completion

This is found with a limited number of V.tr. such as 견디 *gjʌndi-* 'to endure', 하 *ha-* 'to do', 이기 *igi-* 'to win', 짓 *jis-* 'to devise, compose or make', etc., e.g.

견디 내겠다 *gjʌndjʌ nɛgedìa* '[I] can stand [it] [and will be all right].'
     X   x

아이가 숙제를 해 낸다 *aiga sugcelil hɛ nɛnda*
                        X   x

'The boy is doing his home work [and he can finish it alone].'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.2. *With the Group* II *Auxiliary Verbs*

1. 있 *iš-* V.d.aux., progressive tense formative
   집을 짓고 있다 *jibil jidko idìa* '[They] are building a house.'
            X   y

   눈이 오고 있었다 *nu:ni ogo išʌdìa*
            X   y

   'It was snowing' (lit. 'The snow was coming.').

2. 싶 *sip-* V.d.aux. 'to want to, to wish to'
   넘어 가고 싶소 *nʌmʌ gago sibso*
            X   y

   'Do you want to go over the mountain?'

   어머니는 돈을 보내고 싶었다 *ʌmʌninin do:nil bonɛgo sipʌdìa*
                               X   y

   '[His] mother wanted to send some money

3. 말 *mal-* V.p.d.aux., negation
   사고 말았다 *sago maladìa* '[I] have bought it at last.'
        X   y

The object of a transitive verb followed by *sip-* may either (i) remain unchanged as it would without *sip-*, or (ii) become a complement by means of the replacement of the object particle *lil/il* by the complement particle *ga/i*. Thus the sequence V.tr. + *sip-* may exhibit two different syntactic patterns:

(i)   O + V.tr. + *sip-*
(ii)   C + V.tr. + *sip-*

V.tr. + *sip-* in (i) is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb, whereas the same verbal head in (ii) is equivalent to a descriptive verb occurring with C.

Examples

빵을 먹고 싶다 *paŋil mʌgko sibìa* 'I would like to have some bread.'
          O

빵이 먹고 싶다 *paŋi mʌgko sibìa* 'I would like to have some bread.'
          C

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3. *With the Group* III *Auxiliary Verbs*

1. 하 *ha-* V.p.aux.

   (*a*) causative voice formative when preceded by V.p.

   (*b*) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded by V.d.

   A verbal head that includes *ha-* in the satellite is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb and may thus take at least one object. If the nucleus of such a verbal head is the transitive type, there may be two objects but if it is an intransitive or descriptive type, only one object may occur:

   (*a*) When preceded by a V.p.
   아이를 자게 하자 *ailil jage haja*
                    O   X   x
   'Let's make the baby sleep.' (*jage* 'to sleep' V.intr.)

   말을 풀을 먹게 합시다 *malil pulil mʌgke habšida*
                          O   O   X   x
   'Let's make the horse eat grass.' (*mʌgke* 'to eat' V.tr.)

   (*b*) When preceded by a V.d.
   소리를 적게 하였다 *solilil jʌgke hajʌdìa*
                       O   Y   x
   '[He] turned the volume down' (lit. 'made the sound small').

   책상을 높게 하니 *cɛgšaŋil nobke hani*
                     O   Y   x
   'Are you making the table [to be] high?'

2. 만들 *mandil-* V.p.aux.

   This auxiliary verb is identical to *ha-* in every respect except that it is more emphatic than the latter.

(*a*) When preceded by a V.p.

차를 가게 만들었니 *calil gage mandilʌnni*
     O   X   x

    'Did you make the car go?'

누가 너를 돈을 벌게 만들었니
nuga nʌlil donil bʌ:lge mandilʌnni 'Who has made you earn money?'
  O   O   X   x

(*b*) When preceded by a V.d.

불을 밝게 만들어라 *bulil balǩe mandilʌla* 'Make the light brighter.'
    O   Y   x

구두를 검게 만들어도 *gudulil gʌmǩe mandilʌdo*
    O   Y   x

    'Even if you make your shoes dark.'

3. 되 *dwe-* V.p.aux.

  (*a*) 'independent of the will or intention on the part of the subject' when preceded by V.p.

    집에 오게 되었다 *ɟibe oge dweʌdìa*
           X   x

    '[I] happened to come home [although I did not intend to].'

    할아버지가 보시게 되었읍니다 *halabʌɟiga bosige dweʌšimnida*
                 X   x

    'It so happened that [my] grandfather saw it.'

  (*b*) 'processive verb formative' with the meaning 'to become' when preceded by V.d.

    그이가 높게 될까 *giiga nobǩe dwelǩa* 'Will he become important?'
           Y   x

    하늘이 맑게 되었지 *hanili malǩe dweʌdèi*
           Y   x

    'The sky has become clear, has it not?'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.4. *With the Group IV Auxiliary Verbs*

1. 아니하 *aniha-* V.p./d.aux. − negation
2. 못하 *mosha-* V.p./d.aux. 'to be unable to'
3. 말 *mal-*   V.p.aux. − negation

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, *aniha-* and *mosha-* are in complementary distribution with *mal-* in relation to the types of sentence; that is, *aniha-* and *mosha-* occur in declarative and interrogative sentences only, whereas *mal-* occurs in imperative and propositive sentences only. As an

exception to the complementary distribution mentioned above, *mal-* may also occur in interrogative sentences if the subject noun is expressed by a first person pronoun.

  1. 아니하 *aniha-*

    이 아이는 아직 걷지 아니한다 *iainin aɟig gʌdèi anihanda*
                   X   x

    'This child does not walk yet.'

    총을 쏘지 아니했다 *coɲil šoɟi anihɛdìa* '[He] did not fire the gun.'
           X   x

    학교가 멀지 않니 *hagǩjoga mʌ:lɟi anni* 'Isn't the school far?'
             Y   y

  2. 못하 *mosha-*

    놀라서 듣지 못하였다 *nollasʌ didèi motaɟʌdìa*
            X   x

    'Frightened, [she] could not hear.'

    극장에 가지 못한다 *gigèaɲe gaɟi motanda*
            X   x

    '[She] cannot go to the theatre.'

    오늘 날이 좋지 못하다 *onil nali ɟoci motada*
            Y   y

    'It is not clear today [regrettably].'

  A slight semantic difference is observed between *aniha-* and *mosha-*, both of which are used to form negative constructions. *aniha-* expresses 'simple negation' while *mosha-* expresses (i) 'inability or incapability' on the part of the subject if the subject is represented by an animate noun, especially a personal noun or nouns, (ii) 'regret' on the part of the speaker for something being unfavourable otherwise.

  3. 말 *mal-*

    술을 사오지 마세요 *sulil saoɟi masejo*
            X   x

    'Please do not buy wine and bring it with you.'

    내일 떠나지 맙시다 *nɛil ìʌnaɟi mabšida* 'Let us not leave tomorrow.'
            X   x

    나는 가지 말까 *nanin gaɟi malǩa* 'Shall I not go?'
            X   x

5.2.1.1.2.3.2. *Verbal Heads with Compound Satellite*

Following the illustration of verbal heads with simple satellite (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.3.1), illustrative examples of those with compound satellite are given below under

two separate headings, X and Y, the former representing the nucleus of pro-cessive type and the latter that of descriptive type.

5.2.1.1.2.3.2.1. X *Type*

(i) *Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs*

X x x 먹어 보게 하신다
   mʌgʌ boge hasinda '[He] allows me to try and eat [it].'
   X x   x
   읽어 주어 쌓는다
   ilgʌ ɟuʌ šanninda '[She] is reading [it] again and again [for you].'
    X x x

X x y 입어 보고 싶다
   ibʌ bogo sibìa '[I] would like to try and wear [it].'
   X x y
   그림이 그려 지고 있다
   gilimi gilɟʌ ɟigo idìa 'The picture is being drawn.'
     X x y

X y y 앉고 있지 않다
   anko idèi anta '[She] is not sitting.'
    X y y
   눕고 싶지 않다
   nubko sibèi anta '[He] does not want to lie down.'
    X y y

X y x 가고 싶게 하였다
   gago sibke haɟʌdìa '[I] had him want to go.'
    X y x
   졸고 있게 만들었다
   ɟolgo idke mandilʌdìa '[He] made him drowsy.'
    X y   x

(ii) *Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs*

X x x x 울게 만들어 놓아 봐
    ulge mandilʌ noa bwa
    X x x x
    'Try and make her cry [and leave her crying].'

X x x y 그려 져 가고 있다
    gilɟʌ ɟɟʌ gago idìa
    X x x y
    '[The] picture is nearly finished' (lit. 'is being drawn' [and] almost done).

X x y x 잘라 버리고 싶어 한다
    ɟalla bʌligo sipʌ handa '[She] would like to cut it off.'
    X x y x

X x y y 까불어 대고 있지 않았지
    kabulʌ dɛgo idèi anadèi
    X x y y
    '[You] were not behaving flippantly, [were you?].'

X y x x 놀고 싶어 하게 되었다
    nolgo sipʌ hage dweʌdìa '[He] has come to like playing.'
    X y x x

X y x y 듣고 싶어 하고 있었다
    didko sipʌ hago išʌdìa
    X y x y
    '[She] wanted to hear it' (lit. 'was wishing to hear').

X y y x 졸고 있지 않게 되었지
    ɟolgo idèi anke dweʌdèi '[He] has managed not to be drowsy.'
    X y y x

X y y y 만지고 있고 싶지 않다
    manɟigo idko sibèi anta '[I] do not want to keep on touching [it].'
    X y y y

(iii) *Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs*

X x x x x 울어 대지 않게 하여 보아라
    ulʌ dɛɟi anke haɟʌ boala 'Try to stop her crying on and on.'
    X x x x x
    (lit. 'try making her not to go on crying').

X x y x x 부셔 대고 싶어 하지 말게
    busɟʌ dɛgo sipʌ haɟi malge
    X x y x x
    'Stop wishing to destroy [it] completely.'

X x x y x 견뎌 나게 되고 싶어 한다
    gjʌndjʌ nage dwego sipʌ handa
    X x x x x
    '[He] would like to find himself standing it [somehow].'

X y y y y 누어 있고 싶지 않지 않았다
    nuʌ idko sibèi anci anadìa '[He] did not dislike to be lying down.'
    X y y y y

(iv) *Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs*

X x x x x x 웃어 넘겨 버려 지지 않게 하여 주어라
    usʌnʌmgjʌ bʌljʌ ɟiɟi anke haɟʌ ɟuʌla
    X x x x x x
    'Do not allow [it] to be laughed away [for her sake].'

X x x x y x 잡혀 가지 않게 해 주고 싶어 한다
    ɟapjʌgaɟi anke hɛ ɟugo sipʌ handa
    X x x x y x
    '[She] wants to make him not to be arrested and taken away [for his sake].'

X x y x x x   이겨 내고 싶어 하지 않게 만들었다
     igjʌ nɛgo sipʌ haɟi anke mandilʌdìa
    X   x   y   x   x   x
    '[They] made [her] not to want to overcome [pains].'

5.2.1.1.2.3.2.2. Y *Type*

(i)   *Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs*

Y x x   맑아 저 버리었다
    malga ɟɟʌ bʌlìʌdìa   '[It] has become completely clear.'
      Y   x   x
    젊게 되어 볼까
     ɟʌmke dwɛʌ bolka   'Shall I try to become young?'
      Y   x   x

Y x y   붉게 하고 싶니
    bulke hago simni   'Do you want to make it red?'
      Y   x   y
    크게 만들고 있다
    kige mandilgo idìa   'They are making it big.'
      Y   x   y

Y y x   길지 않게 되었다
    gilɟi anke dwɛʌdìa   '[It] somehow became not long.'
      Y   y   x
    높지 못하게 하여라
    nobci motage hajʌla   'Don't let it get high.'
      Y   y   x

Y y y   크지 않지(는) 않다
    kiɟi anci(nin) anta
      Y   y Pcl. y
    'It is somewhat big' (lit. 'It is not not big').

(ii)   *Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs*

Y x x x   밝아 지게 해 보자
    balga ɟige hɛ boɟa   'Let us try to make it bright.'
      Y   x   x   x

Y x x y   맞게 하여 주고 있다
    madke hajʌ ɟugo idìa   '[He] is making [it] fit her.'
      Y   x   x   y

Y x y x   유명하게 되고 싶어 하니
    jumʌŋhage dwego sipʌ hani
      Y   x   y   x
    'Do you want to become famous.'

Y x y y   어려 지고 싶지 않었다
    ʌljʌ ɟigo sibci anʌdìa
      Y   x   y   y
    '[She] did not wish to become young.'

Y y x x   좁지 않게 만들어 놓아라
    ɟobci anke mandilʌ noala
      Y   y   x   x
    'Don't make it narrow' (lit. 'Make it not to be narrow').

Y y x y   아프지 않게 되고 싶다
    apiɟi anke dwego sibìa
      Y   y   x   y
    'I don't wish to be ill' (lit. 'I wish to become not ill').

Y y y x   높지 않지(는) 않게 되었다
    nobci anci(nin) anke dwɛʌdìa
      Y   y Pcl. y   x
    'It has become somewhat high'
    (lit. 'It has become not not high').

Y y y y   쓰지 않지 않지 않다
    šiɟi anci anci anta
      Y   y   y   y
    'It is not all that bitter (after all).
    (lit. It is not not not bitter.)

(iii)   *Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs*

Y x x x x   슬퍼 지게 하여 주지 말자
    silpʌ ɟige hajʌ ɟuɟi malɟa   'Let us not make her sad.'
      Y   x   x   x   x

Y x x x y   늦어 지지 않게 하고 싶다
    niɟʌ ɟiɟi anke hago sibìa
      Y   x   x   x   y
    'I would like to make [her] not to be late.'

Y x x y x   짧아 지게 하고 싶어 하였다
    ċalba ɟige hago sipʌ hajʌdìa
      Y   x   x   y   x
    '[She] wanted it to become short.'

Y y x x x   가렵지 않게 해 주어 볼까
    galjʌbci anke hɛ ɟuʌ bolka
      Y   y   x   x   x
    'Shall I try to make you not to feel itchy?'

Y y x y x   불편하지 않게 되고 싶어하지
    bulpjʌnhaɟi anke dwego sipʌ haɟi
      Y   y   x   x   x
    '[She] wishes to become not uncomfortable.'

Y y x x y   얇지 않게 만들어 놓고 있었다
        jalc̀i anke mandilʌ noko iš̀ʌdìa
        Y   y   x   x   y
        '[She] was making it not thin.'

(iv)   *Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs*

Y x x x x x   행복하게 되어 가게 하여 주게 되었다
        hɛŋbokage dwɛʌ gage hajʌ ɟuge dwɛʌdìa
        Y   x   x   x   x   x
        'I have managed to make [him] happy (for them).'

Y x y x y y   높게 되고 싶어 하고 있지 않다
        nobk̀e dwego sipʌ hago idc̀i anta
        Y   x   y   x   y   y
        '[He] is not hoping to become important.'

Y y x x y x   검지 않게 해 놓고 싶어 졌다
        gʌmc̀i anke hɛ noko sipʌ ɟɟʌdìa
        Y   y   x   x   y   x
        'I find [myself] wishing to make [it] not to be black [and keep it that way].'

Y y x x x y   아프지 않게 해 놓아 주고 싶었다
        apiɟi anke hɛ noa ɟugo sipʌdìa
        Y   y   x   x   x   y
        '[The doctor] wanted to make [her] not to be ill [to remain like that] for her.'

5.2.1.2. *Expansion of Verbal Phrase*

The expansion of a verbal phrase may consist of (i) a processive adverb, (ii) a descriptive adverb, (iii) a processive-descriptive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.1–3), (iv) a nominal phrase which has as its head the post modifier *mankim/manci* 'as ~ as' or 'to the degree that' (cf. 3.4.2.2.2), or (v) a relational phrase which consists of the noun *ɟʌŋdo* 'degree, extent' and the particle *lo* 'to, towards, as, with, by' (cf. 3.4.5.4.1), or (vi) an adverbial phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.6).

5.2.1.2.1. *Processive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A processive adverb occurs with a verbal head which is of processive type or whose nucleus is of processive type, e.g.

물이 빨리 흐려 졌다 *muli p̀alli hilɟʌ ɟɟʌdìa*
                     V.d.   V.p.aux.
                          VH.p.
'Water has become impure [very] quickly.'

소리를 점점 적게 해라 *solilil ɟʌmɟʌm ɟagk̀e hɛla*
                       V.d.   V.p.aux.
                        VH.p.
'Make the sound [become] small(er) gradually.'

잘 잔다 *ɟal ɟanda* '[He] sleeps well.'
      V.p.

바람이 솔솔 불어 왔다 *balami solsol bulʌ wadìa*
                             VH.p.
'The wind blew gently.'

천천히 하고 있다 *c̀ʌnc̀ʌni hago idìa*
                  V.p.   V.d.aux.
'[They] are doing it slowly.'

5.2.1.2.2. *Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A descriptive adverb occurs with a verbal head whose nucleus is descriptive type or ends with the verb *boi-* 'to be seen, to seem' (cf. 5.2.1.1.1), e.g.

매우 좋지 않았다 *mɛu ɟoci anadìa* '[It] was not very good.'
            V.d.

방이 대단히 좁아 졌다 *baŋi dɛdanhi ɟoba ɟɟʌdìa*
                     V.d.
'The room has become very small.'

퍽 늙어 보인다 *pʌg nilgʌ boinda* '[She] looks very old.'
           V.p.

가장 커 보였읍니다 *gaɟaŋ kʌ boɟʌš̀imnida* '[He] looked the tallest.'
               V.d.

5.2.1.2.3. *Processive-Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A processive-descriptive adverb may occur with any type of verbal head, processive or descriptive, e.g.

너무 자지 마라 *nʌmu ɟaɟi mala* 'Do not sleep too much.'
           V.p.

너무 좋게 만들었다 *nʌmu ɟoke mandilʌdìa* '[She] made it too good.'
           V.d.   V.p.aux.

상당히 쉽지 *saŋdaŋhi swibc̀i* 'It is very easy.'
                V.d.

상당히 마시고 오겠지 *saŋdaŋhi masigo ogedc̀i*
                     V.p.
'He will come very drunk.'

5.2.1.2.4. *Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion*

A nominal phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cl. + *mankim/manci* may occur

before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

이만큼 밝게 하자 *imankim balke haɟa*
                      V.d.

     'Let's make [it] as bright as this.'

놀랄 만큼 커졌다 *nollal mankim kʌ ɟɟʌdìa*
                      V.d.

     '[It] has become as big as to surprise [me].'

눈이 부을 만치 잤다 *nuni buil manci ɟadìa*
                      V.p.

     '[He] has slept [so long] that his eyes are swollen.'

5.2.1.2.5. *Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion*

A relational phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cl. + *ɟʌŋdo* + *lo*, may occur before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

그 정도로 비싸게 하여도 *giɟʌŋdolo bìsage haɟʌdo*
                         V.d.

     'Even if [you] make [it] that expensive.'

병원에 갈정도로 아프게 되었다
bjʌŋwʌne galɟʌŋdolo apige dweʌdia
                      V.d.

     '[She] became so ill that she went to a hospital'
     (lit. 'to the extent that she went to a hospital').

놀랄 정도로 먹는다 *nollal ɟʌŋdolo mʌŋninda*
                      V.p.

     '[He] eats so much as to surprise me.'

5.2.1.2.6. *Adverbial Phrase as Verbal Expansion*

The adverbial phrase, which is an endocentric construction consisting of a processive adverb as its head and (i) a descriptive adverb, (ii) a processive-descriptive adverb, (iii) a nominal phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.4), or (iv) a relational phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.5) as its subordinate, may occur before a nucleus of processive type, e.g.

매우 잘 한다 *mɛu ɟal handa* 'He does it very well.' (*mɛu* 'very' Adv.d.)
       sub. H V.p.
         adv.ph.

상당히 천천히 오고 있다 *saŋdaŋhi cʌncʌnhi ogo idìa*
                 sub.   H   V.p.
                 adv.ph.

     '[They] are coming quite slowly.'
     (*saŋdaŋhi* 'quite, considerably' Adv.p.d.)

이만큼 깨끗이 쓰게 되었다 *imankim kekisi šige dweʌdia*
               sub.   H   V.p.
               adv.ph.

     '[You] have become so able as to write as clearly as this now.'
     (*imankim* 'this much' NP)

우스울 정도로 빨리 지어 버리었다 *usiul ɟʌŋdolo pàlli ɟiʌ bʌliʌdìa*
                 sub.   H   V.p.
                 adv.ph.

     '[They] built [it] ridiculously fast.'
     (*usiul ɟʌŋdolo* 'as to be laughable' rel.ph.)

5.3. RELATIONAL PHRASE

The relational phrase is an exocentric construction consisting of two immediate constituents, 'Axis' and 'Relatum' occurring in that order. An 'Exocentric Construction' is a construction which does not share the same distribution as any of its constituents; e.g., an English prepositional phrase such as 'in the house', which can occur in the sentence 'He is in the house', but where none of the words making up the phrase can alone replace the phrase in the same sentence. The axis is most commonly filled by a noun or a nominal phrase, but in some relational phrases it may also be filled by other relational phrases or a clause. The relatum is filled by a particle, e.g.

밤 까지 *bam kaɟi* 'till evening'
     axis relatum
여기로 *ɟʌgi lo* 'to this place'
     axis relatum

Two types of relational phrase are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic functions, 'Adverbial Relational Phrase' and 'Adjectival Relational Phrase'.

5.3.1. *Adverbial Relational Phrase*

The adverbial relational phrase has as its relatum (i) a directive particle, (ii) a quotative particle or (iii) a clausal conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.4.1, 3.4.5.4.2, 3.4.5.6.2). All adverbial relational phrases may occur either alone as minor sentences or more commonly as adjuncts in the clause structure. Some adverbial relational phrases may be followed by a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9).

(i) *Directive Particle as Relatum*

집에 있다 *jibe idìa* '[She] is at home.'

밖으로 가자 *bakìlo gaɹa* 'Let's go out.' (lit. 'to out')

나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandilʌdìa* '[They] made it with wood.'

런던서만 볼 수 있다 *lʌndʌnsʌ man bolŝu idìa*
⎯ Pcl.
'One can see it only in London.'

극장에도 가니 *gigɔaŋe do gani* 'Do you go to the theatre too?'
⎯ Pcl.
mdf.

(ii) *Quotative Particle as Relatum*

그도 시골에 오겠다고 한다
gido sigole ogedìago handa
'He says that he will come to the country side too.'

이것을 은이라고 부른다
igʌsil inilago bulinda 'We call it silver.'

(iii) *Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum*

그책을 보았다만 다시 보고 싶다
gicɛgil boadìaman dasi bogo sibìa
'I saw/read the book but I would like to read it again.'

너도 알다싶이 시간이 없다
nʌdo aldasipi sigani ʌ:bìa 'As you know, there is no time.'

5.3.2. *Adjectival Relational Phrase*

The adjectival relational phrase has as its relatum the adjectival particle *ii* 'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), and is syntactically identical to an adjective, i.e., occurs as subordinate to a succeeding noun or NP. The axis of the adjectival relational phrase may be filled by either a noun, a nominal phrase or an adverbial relational phrase, e.g.

(i) N *or* NP *as Axis*

나의 차 *naii ca* 'my car' (lit. 'I of car')
⎯ N

영국의 공원 *jʌŋgugii goŋwʌn* 'parks of England'
⎯ N

젊은 날의 꿈 *jʌlmin nalii kum*
⎯ NP
'young day's dream' (lit. 'the dream of the days when we were young')

(ii) *Adverbial Relational Phrase as Axis*

The adjectival relational phrase which has as its axis an adverbial relational phrase ends in two particles since the axis itself ends in a particle.

서울에서의 소식 *sʌulesʌ ii sosig* 'the news [of] from Seoul'
adv.rel.
⎯⎯⎯⎯
adj.rel.

친구에게서의 편지 *cinguegesʌ ii pjʌnɹi* 'a letter [of] from a friend'
adv.rel.
⎯⎯⎯⎯
adj.rel.

어머니에게의 감사 *ʌmʌniege ii gamsa* 'thanks [of] to mother'
adv.rel.
⎯⎯⎯⎯
adj.rel.

자식으로의 도리 *ɹasigilo ii doli* 'duty [of] as a son'
adv.rel.
⎯⎯⎯⎯
adj.rel.

교장과의 긴 대화 *gjoɹaŋgwa ii gin dɛhwa*
adv.rel.
⎯⎯⎯⎯
adj.rel.
'a long talk (of) with the principal'

VI
CLAUSE

The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction which consists of a predicate as its head and one or more other elements preceding the head as its expansion. The predicate, which is the only obligatory element within the clause structure, consists of a full verb or a verbal phrase inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5). As a predicate may be expressed by a single verb, the minimal form of a clause in Korean is a single verb, except where the verb is the copula *i-* 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1), which is always found preceded by N or NP, e.g.

(i)   *Predicate as Clause*

온다 *onda* '[Someone] comes.'
좋습니다 *joŝimnida* '[It] is nice.'
자고 싶어합니다 *jago sipʌ hamnida* '[He] wants to sleep.'

(ii) *N/NP + Copula Verb* i- *as Clause*

연필이다 *jʌnpilida* '[This] is a pencil.'
빨간 꽃이다 <u>*ṗalgan ̀koc*</u> *ida* '[It] is a red flower.'
　　　　　　 NP

(iii) *Expansion + Predicate (Head) as Clause*

꽃이 피었다 *̀koci piʌ̀dia* 'The flower has blossomed.'
　　 S　 P
사람이 아주 많다 *sa:lami aɹu manta* 'There are many people.'
　　 S　Adv.　V
　　　　　 <u>　　　</u>
　　　　　　 P

개가 고양이를 쫓는다 *gɛga gojaɲilil ̀conninda*
　　　 S　　 O　　 P

'A dog is chasing a cat.'

나는 오늘 머리가 아프다 *nanin onil mʌliga apida*
　　　 S¹　 A　 S²　 P

'I have headache today.'

6.1. FINAL AND NON-FINAL CLAUSE

The clause is of two major types, 'Final Clause' and 'Non-Final Clause', and

all clauses are referable to one of the two types. Every final clause has its predicate inflected with a final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) and occurs by itself as a major sentence, whereas every non-final clause has its predicate inflected with a non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.2) and may occur either by itself as a minor sentence or more commonly as part of a major sentence, e.g.

(i)   *Final Clause*

하늘이 맑다 *hanili magìa* 'The sky is clear.'
　　　　 P
껌을 씹는다 *̀kʌmil ŝimninda* '[They] are chewing gum.'
　　　　 P
교회에 가니 *gjohwee gani* 'Are you going to the church?'
　　　　 P
책을 봅시다 *cɛgil bobŝida* 'Let's look at the book.'
　　　　 P

(ii) *Non-Final Clause*

하늘이 맑으면 *hanili malgimjʌn* 'if the sky is clear'
　　　　 P
껌을 씹으며 *̀kʌmil ŝibimjʌ* 'while chewing gum'
　　　　 P
교회에 가는 *gjohwee ganin* '[He] who is going to the church'
　　　　 P
책을 봄 *cɛgil bom* 'looking at the book'
　　　 P

6.2. ELEMENTS OF CLAUSE

The elements of the clause are (i) Predicate (P), (ii) Subject (S), (iii) Object (O), (iv) Complement (C), (v) Agent (Ag.) and (vi) Adjunct (A). Of these six elements, only P is obligatory and the rest optional.

6.2.1. *Predicate*

Any verb or VP which is inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending may occur as the predicate of a clause. There are six different types of predicate distinguished according to the type of clause in which they occur; they are (i) 'Transitive Predicate', (ii) 'Intransitive Predicate', (iii) 'Descriptive Predicate', (iv) 'Equational Predicate', (v) 'Passive Predicate' and (vi) 'Causative Predicate'.

6.2.1.1. *Transitive Predicate* (P.tr.)

The transitive predicate consists of (*a*) a transitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2) or (*b*) a VP of transitive type, i.e., one which includes at least one transitive verb in the nucleus but does not include the passive voice formative *ji*- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) in the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object, e.g.

공을 찬다 *goŋil canda* '[He] kicks the ball.'
          P.tr.

읽어 놓지 않았다 *ilgʌ noci anadìa*
          P.tr.

'[He] has not read [the book for tomorrow's lesson].'

6.2.1.2. *Intransitive Predicate* (P.intr.)

The intransitive predicate consists of (*a*) a processive intransitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.4) or (*b*) a VP of intransitive type, i.e., one whose nucleus is composed of intransitive verbs only and which does not include a causative voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) such as *ha*- or *mandil*- in the satellite, e.g.

앉었다 *anjʌdìa* '[She] sat down.'
     P.intr.

놀고 있지 *nolgo idèi* '[They] are playing.'
          P.intr.

누어 쉬고 있다 *nuʌ swigo idìa* '[I] am in bed resting.'
               P.intr.

6.2.1.3. *Descriptive Predicate* (P.d.)

A predicate which consists of (*a*) a descriptive verb (cf. 3.4.1.1) or (*b*) a VP of descriptive type, i.e., one including a descriptive verb as nucleus and one or more auxiliary verbs other than the causative voice formative as satellite, is a descriptive predicate. The descriptive predicate may occur with two subjects, e.g.

그는 마음이 좋다 *ginin maimi jota*
     S   S   P.d.

'He is kind' (lit. 'his heart is nice').

영감이 돈이 많지 않았다 *jʌŋgami doni manci anadìa*
      S   S   P.d.

'The old man was not rich' (lit. 'The old man money was not plenty').

6.2.1.4. *Equational Predicate* (P.eq.)

The equational predicate consists of either the copula verb *i*- 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1) or *dwe*- 'to become' V.p., or a VP with *dwe*- as nucleus, e.g.

장미 이다 *jaŋmi ida* '[It] is a rose.'
       C   P.eq.

그가 사람이 되었다 *giga sa:lami dweʌdìa*
               C   P.eq.

'He has become a man.'

물이 어름이 되고 있다 *muli ʌlimi dwego idìa*
                   C   P.eq.

'Water is becoming ice.'

6.2.1.5. *Passive Predicate* (P.pasv.)

The passive predicate consists of (*a*) a passive verb, i.e., a transitive verb including the passive voice suffix (cf. 4.3.1.1) or (*b*) a verbal phrase of passive type, i.e., one including at least one passive verb in the nucleus but excluding the voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3) from the satellite, or one including a nucleus of transitive type (cf. 5.2.1.1.1) and the passive voice formative *ji*- in the satellite, e.g.

주의가 끌린다 *juiiga k̀illinda* '[His] attention is [being] drawn.'
            P.pasv.

잡히어 묶이어 갔다 *japiʌ muk̀iʌ gadìa*
       V.pasv. V.pasv.
          P.pasv.

'[He] was caught, bound and taken away.'

나무가 잘라진다 *namuga jalla jinda* 'The tree is being cut.'
              V.tr. V.aux.
              P.pasv.

6.2.1.6. *Causative Predicate* (P.caus.)

Every predicate which consists of (*a*) a causative verb, i.e., a verb including the causative voice suffix (cf. 4.3.1.2) or (*b*) a verbal phrase of causative type, i.e., one including a causative verb in the nucleus and/or a causative voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3) in the satellite, is a causative predicate. A causative predicate of phrasal type which includes a causative verb in the nucleus results in double causativity (cf. 6.3.6.7), e.g.

음식을 먹이자 *imsigil mʌgija* 'Let us feed [him].'
          P.caus.

애를 놀렸다 *ɛlil nolljʌdìa* '[She] made the child play.'
          P.caus.

소녀가 얼굴을 붉히었다 *sonjʌga ʌlgulil bulkiʌdìa*
                     P.caus.

'The girl blushed' (lit. 'reddened her face').

얼굴을 붉히게 하였오 *ʌlgulil bulkige hajʌsso*
              V.caus. V.aux.
                  P.caus.

'[They] made the girl blush.' (lit. 'made the girl redden her face').
(*hajʌsso* caus.vc.fmtv.)

순경을 뛰어 가게 만들었다 *sungjʌŋil ìwiʌ gage mandilʌdìa*
                   Nuc.   V.aux.
                        P.caus.

'[They] made the policeman go running.' (*mandilʌdìa* caus.vc.fmtv.)

6.2.2. Subject

The subject is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject particle *ga/i*, *kesʌ* or *esʌ* (cf. 3.4.5.1), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). In spoken Korean, just a noun or NP occurs frequently as S without being accompanied by one of the particles mentioned above, e.g.

비가 온다 *biga onda* 'It is raining.'
      S

산이 높소 *sani nobso* 'The mountain is high.'
      S

올 사람은 몇이냐 *ol sa:lamin mjʌcinja*
          S

    'How many people are due to come?' (*in* Pcl.mdf.)

편지 없다 *pjʌnʃi(ga) ʌ:bìa* 'There is no letter.'
      S

6.2.3. Object

The object is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the object particle *lil/il* (cf. 3.4.5.2), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Just like the element S, O may, in spoken language, be expressed by a noun or NP alone, e.g.

차를 탄다 *calil tanda* '[She] rides, in a car.'
      O

뭧을 먹을까 *mwʌsil mʌgilka* 'What shall we eat?'
       O

무거운 가방도 보내니 *mugʌun gabaŋ do bonɛni*
              NP
              O

    'Are you sending the heavy briefcase too?'

신문을 본다 *sinmunil) bonda* '[I] am reading the newspaper.'
      O

6.2.4. Complement

The complement is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject

particle *ga/i* or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Like S and O, the element C is sometimes expressed in spoken language by N or NP alone, e.g.

밤이 낮이 되면 *bami naʃi dwemjʌn* 'If the night becomes the day.'
    S   C

너 어른이 되었구나 *nʌ ʌlin(i) dweʌdkuna* 'You have become a man!'
    S   C

    When the predicate is expressed by the copula verb *i-* the complement occurs without the particle, e.g. 물이다 *mulida* '[It] is water.'
                                     C

6.2.5. Agent

The agent occurs both in passive and causative clauses. The element Ag. in the passive clause is expressed by a noun or NP plus the agent particle (cf. 3.4.5.3) only, and the agent particle is obligatory. However, the element Ag. occurring in the causative clause may be expressed by N/NP plus the agent particle or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9), or by N/NP alone, e.g.

아이에게 먹이지 마라 *ai ege mʌgiʃi mala*
                Ag.   P.caus.
    'Don't make the child eat [it].'

누이도 입힐까 *nui do ipilka* 'Shall [I] make my sister wear [it] also?'
      Ag.   P.caus.

아이 먹이지 마라 *ai mʌgiʃi mala* 'Don't make the child eat [it].'
      Ag. P.caus.

친구한테 붙들렸다 *cingu hante budìilljʌdìa*
            Ag.   P.pasv.
    '[She] was held by a friend.'

6.2.6. Adjunct

The adjunct may be expressed by (*a*) an adverbial noun (cf. 3.4.2.1.4), (*b*) an interrogative adverb (cf. 3.4.4.4), (*c*) an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1) or (*d*) a nominal phrase expressing 'Distance' or 'Duration of time'. Such a nominal phrase may sometimes be followed by the object particle *lil/il* (cf. 3.4.5.2) for emphasis, or by a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9) with additional meaning. The element A expressed by N/NP + *lil/il*, although identical in construction to the element O, is, however, differentiated from the latter by its inability to be transformed into the element S of the passive clause corresponding to the active clause in which such an agent occurs, e.g.

(i)   *Adverbial Noun as Adjunct*
    내일 정거장에 가겠오 *nɛil ʃʌŋgʌʃaŋe gagesso*
                A
    'I will go to the station *tomorrow*.'

여인이 저기 천천히 간다 *jʌini ɟʌgi cʌncʌnhi ganda*
<div align="center">A</div>

'A woman is going *there* slowly.'

(ii) *Interrogative Adverb as Adjunct*

왜 학교에 안가니 *wɛ hagk̊joe angani* '*Why* don't you go to school?'
<div align="center">A</div>

어떻게 너도 빨리 해라 *ʌiʌke nʌdo p̊alli hɛla*
<div align="center">A</div>

'Do [it] quickly *somehow*.'

(iii) *Adverbial Relational Phrase as Adjunct*

아침에 누가 있었오 *acime nuga iš̊ʌš̊o*
'Who was [here] *in the morning*?'

내일 정거장에 가겠오 *nɛil ɟʌŋgʌɟaŋe gageš̊o*
'I will go *to the station* tomorrow.'

(iv) *Nominal Phrase as Adjunct*

십리 (를) 뛰었다 *simni(lil) t̊wiʌd̊ìa* '[He] ran *ten li*.'
<div align="center">A</div>

(li = measure of length: ⅓ mile)

일주일(을) 노니 *il ɟuil(il) noni* 'Will you have *a week* off?'
<div align="center">A</div>

테레비를 두시간(을) 보았구나 *telebilil dusigan(il) boadk̊una*
<div align="center">A</div>

'You have watched the television *for two hours*.'

6.2.6.1. *Multiple Adjuncts*

The adjunct does not always occur singly. A sentence or a clause may include any two or more of the four different types of adjunct, which have been described in 6.2.6, e.g.

오늘 왜 안가니 *onil wɛ angani* '*Why* do you not go *today*?'
<div align="center">A A</div>

어제 나도 어떻게 세 시간을 했다 *ʌɟe nado ʌiʌke se:siganil hɛdìa*
<div align="center">A   A   A</div>

'*Somehow* I also did [it] *three hours yesterday*.'

6.2.7. *Interrelations among the Elements of a Clause*

The interrelations obtaining among the elements of the clause may be stated in two different ways. Firstly, using the criterion of binary opposition of obligatory/optional occurrence, the six elements are divided into the obligatory elements P and optional elements, S, O, C, Ag. and A. And this criterion

provides the basis for analysing the clause as an endocentric construction that consists of a P as head and other elements as expansion. Secondly, on the basis of the degree of cohesion with P, the five optional elements may be grouped into (i) O, C and Ag., and (ii) S and A. The cohesion between P and O/C/Ag., whose presence or absence is potentionally determined by P, is greater than that between P and S/A, which may occur in any clause irrespective of the type of P found in it.

6.3. TYPES OF FINAL CLAUSE

Six different types are distinguished of clauses according to (i) the type of predicate (6.2.1) functioning in them, and (ii) other clause elements occurring with P. They are: (*a*) 'Transitive Clause', (*b*) 'Intransitive Clause', (*c*) 'Descriptive Clause', (*d*) 'Equational Clause', (*e*) 'Passive Clause' and (*f*) 'Causative Clause'.

6.3.1. *Transitive Clause*

A transitive clause includes a transitive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.1) as P and has the potentiality of having the element O in it. The elements and structure of an unmarked (non-emphatic) transitive clause are: (S) + (O) + P.

In the discussion of the six different clause types, the element A is to be understood as positionally free except where restrictions are introduced. Most transitive clauses lend themselves to passive transformation (cf. 6.3.5.1), e.g.

소년이 공을 찬다 *sonjʌni goɲil canda* 'The boy is kicking a ball.'
<div align="center">S   O   P</div>

개가 저기서 아이를 쫓는다 *gega ɟʌgisʌ ailil čonninda*
<div align="center">S   A   O   P</div>

'A dog is chasing a boy there.'

어제 그는 정말 일을 많이했다 *ʌɟe ginin ɟʌɲmal ilil mani hɛdìa*
<div align="center">A   S   A   O   P</div>

'Really he worked hard yesterday.'

Transitive clause structures of marked (emphatic) type, which are less frequent than the unmarked one, are (O)(S)P, P(S)(O) and P(O)(S), in each of which the first element is brought into focus, e.g.

내가 책을 읽어 볼까 *nɛga cɛgil ilgʌ bolk̊a*
<div align="center">S   O   P</div>

'Shall I try and read the book?'

책을 내가 읽어 볼까 *cɛgil nɛga ilgʌ bolk̊a*
<div align="center">O   S   P</div>

읽어 볼까 내가 책을 *ilgʌ bolk̊a nɛga cɛgil*
<div align="center">P   S   O</div>

읽어 볼까 책을 내가 *ilgʌ bolḱa cɛgil nega*
            P   O   S

6.3.1.1. *Transitive Clause with 'Split Object'*

A transitive clause may take two objects which are related in such a way that the objects O^1 and O^2 may be freely replaceable by a unified single object composed of O^1 and O^2 in the form of a nominal phrase. It is noted that the semantic relationship of O^1 to O^2 is one of 'whole — part', e.g., 'man — (his) hand', 'woman — (her) hand' or 'table — (its) leg' etc.; or one of 'unit — (its) quantity', e.g., 'paper — (one) sheet', 'book — (ten) volumes', 'soldier — (ten) persons', etc. O^1 and O^2 standing in such a relation as is described above will be termed 'Split Objects'. In general, split objects are semantically somewhat more emphatic than the corresponding single object. The structure of an unmarked transitive clause with split objects is:
$(S) + (O^1) + (O^2) + P$, e.g.

신사를 발을 밟았다 *sinsalil balil balbadìa*
          O_1 O_2 P
       '[He] stepped on the gentleman's foot'
       (lit. stepped [on] the gentleman [on] his foot').
cf. 신사 발을 밟았다 *sinsa balil balbadìa*
             O   P

아들을 볼기를 쳤다 *adilil bolgilil cʌdìa*
          O_1 O_2 P
       '[He] spanked his son [on] the buttocks.'
cf. 아들 볼기를 쳤다 *adil bolgilil cʌdìa*
               O   P

너 책상을 다리를 분지렀니 *nʌ cɛgsʌŋil dalilil bunɟilʌnni*
             S O_1 O_2 P
       'Did you break a leg of the table?'
cf. 너 책상 다리를 분지렀니 *nʌ cɛgsʌŋ dalilil bunɟilʌnni*
              S   O   P

책을 열권을 읽었니 *cɛgil ɟʌlkʷʌnil ilgʌnni*
         O_1 O_2 P
       'Have you read ten books?'
cf. 책 열권을 읽었니 *cɛg ɟʌlkʷʌnil ilgʌnni*
             O   P

    Marked (emphatic) structures of the transitive clause with split objects are $(O^1)(O^2)P(S)$ and $(S)(O^2) P(O^1)$, e.g.

담배를 두대를 피니 네가 *dambɛlil dudɛlil pini nega*
          O_1 O_2 P   S
    'Are you smoking two cigarettes!'

네가 두대를 피니 담배를 *nega dudɛlil pini dambɛlil*
        S O_2 P O_1

6.3.2. *Intransitive Clause*

An intransitive clause includes an intransitive predicate as P but neither O or C. The elements and structure of an unmarked intransitive clause are:
  $(S) + P$, e.g.

의자에 조용히 앉아라 *iiɟae ɟoɟoŋi anɟala*
            A   P
    'Sit on the chair quietly.'
천천히 목사는 교회로 오고 *cʌncʌnhi mogsanin gjohwelo ogo*
               S   A   P
    'The priest comes slowly to church and' (*cʌncʌnhi* 'slowly' Exp. of *ogo*]
누가 더 빨리 뛰니 *nuga dʌ p̀alli t̀wini*
           S   P
    'Who runs faster?'

The structure of the marked intransitive clause is P(S), e.g.
재빨리 떠났다 배우는 *ɟep̀alli t̀ʌnadìa beunin*
           A   P   S
    'The actor left hurriedly.'

6.3.3. *Descriptive Clause*

A descriptive clause includes a descriptive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.3) as P. Two kinds of descriptive clause are distinguished according to the type of descriptive predicate used. They are "Descriptie Clause I" and "Descriptive Clause II". Although the elements and structure of the descriptive clauses of both types can be uniformly set out as $(S) + (C) + P$, the relation, both structural and semantic, holding between the elements S and C is different in type I and type II. Thus the elements S and C in a descriptive clause of type I may be replaced by a new subject composed of the original S and C in the same way that the split objects O^1 and O^2 may combine to form a single unified object in the transitive clause with split objects (cf. 6.3.1.1). Semantically the relation of S and C may be characterized as 'posession' since in most cases the referent of the noun functioning as C may be regarded as 'belonging to', 'related to' or 'part of' the referent of the noun functioning as S. For instance, in the following clause:

나는 머리가 아프다 *nanin mʌliga apida*
            S   C   P
    'I have headache' (lit. 'I head am sick').

the elements S and C may combine into a new subject *naii mʌli ga* 'my head', where the subject noun *na* 'I' and the complement noun *mʌli* 'head' constitute

a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle *ii* 'of'.

On the other hand, no such relation holds between S and C within a descriptive clause of type II. For instance, in the following clause,

나는 개가 싫다 *nanin gɛga silta*
S   C   P

'I dislike dogs' (lit. 'I a dog am loathsome').

the subject *na* 'I' and the complement noun *gɛ* 'dog' cannot combine into a single nominal phrase *naii gɛ* 'my dog' to stand ultimately as S of the same clause without destroying the original structural relation and meaning as exhibited by the clause. In transformational-generative terms, the relation between the descriptive clauses of type I and II may be viewed as a case of surface neutralization of two different deep structures, since the descriptive clause structure S + C + P of type I may be described as being derived from the kernel[1] string S + P of intransitive type (cf. 6.3.2) by 'C-inserting' transformation, and the descriptive clause structure S + C + P of type II from the kernel string S + O + P of transitive type (cf. 6.3.1) by a 'Detransitive' transformation. The distinction of descriptive clauses of type I and type II is reinforced by the fact that the subject noun of the descriptive clause type II is represented by an animate noun only, whereas that of type I may be represented by any noun, animate or inanimate.

In view of the structural as well as semantic difference between the two types of descriptive clause and in order to emphasize the difference between them, the descriptive clause of type I will henceforth be given the following structural description: $(S^1) + (S^2) + P$ where S^2 corresponds to C, and S^1 to S in the original S + C + P structure.

6.3.3.1. *Descriptive Clause of Type* I

The descriptive clause of type I has as the exponent of P any descriptive verb except the verbs listed in 6.3.3.2. Examples illustrative of the verbs occurring in the element P of the descriptive clause of type I are:

많 *manh-* 'to be many, much or plenty'
크 *ki-* 'to be big, tall, large'
길 *giːl-* 'to be long',   아프 *api-* 'to be ill'
슬프 *silpi-* 'to be sad'

                 etc.

The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type I are $(S^1) + (S^2) + P$, e.g.

목사는 발이 몹시 아팠다 *mogs̀anin bali mobs̀i apadìa*
           S_1 S_2 P

'The priest's foot was aching' (lit. 'priest foot was aching').

[1] Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, p. 45.

cf. 목사(의) 발이 몹시 아팠다 *mogs̀a(ii) bali mobs̀i apadìa*
                S   P

아버지는 키가 컸다 *abʌjinin kiga kʌdìa*
          S_1 S_2 P

'Father was tall' (lit. 'Father the height was tall').

cf. 아버지(의) 키가 컸다 *abʌji(ii) kiga kʌdìa*
             S   P

학교가 운동장이 크다 *hagk̀joga undoŋjaŋi kida*
           S_1 S_2 P

'The school playground is large'
(lit. 'The school the playground is large').

cf. 학교(의) 운동장이 크다 *hagk̀jo(ii) undoŋjaŋi kida*
                S   P

Less common but marked structures of the descriptive clause type I are $(S^1)P(S^2)$, $P(S^1)(S^2)$, $(S^2)P(S^1)$ and $P(S^2)(S^1)$, e.g.

여인은 손이 적었다 *jʌinin soni jʌgʌdìa*
        S_1 S_2 P

'The woman's hands were small.'

$(S^1)P(S^2)$:   *jʌinin jʌgʌdìa soni*
              S_1 P S_2

$P(S^1)(S^2)$:   *jʌgʌdìa jʌinin soni*
              P S_1 S_2

$(S^2)P(S^1)$:   *soni jʌgʌdìa jʌinin*
              S_2 P S_1

$P(S^2)(S^1)$:   *jʌgʌdìa soni jʌinin*
              P S_2 S_1

6.3.3.2. *Descriptive Clause of Type* II

The descriptive clause of type II has as the exponent of P a member of the small class of descriptive verbs which can be listed. The verbs given below are illustrative:

그립 *gilib-* 'to miss or long for'
싫 *silh-* 'to dislike', 무섭 *musʌb-* 'to be afraid of'
반갑 *bangab-* 'to be happy to [meet or hear from]'
좋 *joh-* 'to be good, fond of'
서운하 *sʌunha-* 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable'
아쉽 *aswib-* 'to miss [someone or something]'
슬프 *silpi-* 'to be sad over'
억울하 *ʌgulha-* 'to be unjust, to feel robbed'
근심스럽 *ginsimsilʌb-* 'to be worried'
궁금하 *guŋgimha-* 'to be anxious, concerned'

                 etc.

The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type II are (S) + (C) + P, e.g.

어머니는 딸이 그리웠다 *ʌmʌninin ìali giliwʌdìa*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'The mother missed [her] daughter.'

장교는 부하의 죽음이 슬펐다 *Jaŋgjonin buhaii Jugimi silpʌdìa*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'The officer was sad over the death of a soldier.'

범이 얼마나 무섭니 *bʌmi ʌlmana musʌmni*
$\qquad$ C $\qquad$ A $\qquad$ P

'How much are you afraid of a tiger?'

Less frequent but marked structures of the descriptive clause of type II are (S)P(C), P(S)(C), (C)P(S) and P(C)(S), e.g.

나는 네소식이 궁금했다 *nanin nesosigi guŋgimhɛdìa*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'I was anxious to hear from you.'

(S)P(C)   *nanin guŋgimhɛdìa nesosigi*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ P $\qquad$ C

P(S)(C)   *guŋgimhɛdìa nanin nesosigi*
$\qquad$ P $\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C

(C)P(S)   *nesosigi guŋgimhɛdìa nanin*
$\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P $\qquad$ S

P(C)(S)   *guŋgimhɛdìa nesosigi nanin*
$\qquad$ P $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ S

6.3.4. *Equational Clause*

An equational clause includes an equational predicate (cf. 6.2.1.4) as P and the element C. The elements and structure of the unmarked equational clause are (S) + C + P. N or NP occurring in the equational clause as the element C is not followed by the complement particle *i/ga* when the element P is expressed by the copula verb *i-* 'to be', and no other element such as A may be interposed between C and P, e.g.

그는 성악가이다 *ginin sʌŋagka ida*   'He is a singer.'
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

한국은 극동에 있는 나라이다 *hangugin gigʲoŋe innin nala ida*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'Korea is a Far-Eastern country'
(lit. 'Korea is a in-the-Far East-existing country').

물이 벌써 어름이 되었구나 *muli bʌlsʌ ʌlimi dwɛʌdk̇una*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ A $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'Water has become ice already.'

꿈이 현실이 되었지 *k̇umi hjʌːnsili dwɛʌdc̀i*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

'[Your] dream has become a reality.'

The marked structure of the equational clause is CP(S), e.g.
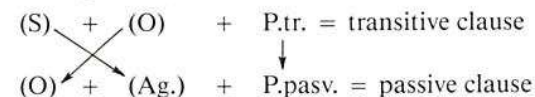
그이가 누구 이냐?
giiga nugu inja 'Who is he?'
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P

CP(S):   *nugu inja giiga*
$\qquad$ C $\qquad$ P $\qquad$ S

6.3.5. *Passive Clause*

A passive clause includes a passive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.5) as its P and may take the element Ag. There are two kinds of passive clause distinguished on the basis of the elements operating in them. They are termed 'Passive Clause Type I' and 'Passive Clause Type II'.

6.3.5.1. *Passive Clause Type I*

The passive clause type I, which is structurally related to and derivable, by a passive transformation (cf. the diagram below), from the underlying transitive clause of the (S) + (O) + P type, exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag.) + P where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O and S respectively of the transitive clause as diagrammatically shown below.

(S)   +   (O)   +   P.tr. = transitive clause

(O)   +   (Ag.) +   P.pasv. = passive clause

Examples

개가 고양이를 쫓았다 *gɛga gojaɲilil c̀ocadìa* 'A dog chased a cat.'
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ O $\qquad$ P.tr.

고양이가 개에게 쫓겼다 *gojaɲiga gɛege c̀odk̇jʌdìa*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ Ag. $\qquad$ P.pasv.

'A cat was chased by a dog.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type I

도둑이 순경한테 잡히었다 *dodugi sungjʌŋhante Japiʌdìa*
$\qquad$ S $\qquad$ Ag. $\qquad$ P

'A thief was caught by a policeman.'

오늘은 마루가 잘 닦아진다 *onilin maluga Jal dak̇a Jinda*
$\qquad$ A $\qquad$ S $\qquad$ P

'The floor cleans well today' (lit. 'the floor gets cleaned well today').

아이에게 물렸니 *aiege mulljʌnni* 'Have you been bitten by the baby?'
       Ag.   P

Marked structures of the passive clause type I are (Ag.)(S)P, (Ag.)P(S), (S)P(Ag.), P(S)(Ag.) and P(Ag.)(S), e.g.

(S)(Ag.)P   종이가 바람에 날린다
            joŋiga balame nallinda   'The paper is flown by wind.'
              S   Ag.   P

(Ag.)(S)P   *balame joŋiga nallinda*   'By wind the paper is flown.'
             Ag.   S   P

(Ag.)P(S)   *balame nallinda joŋiga*   'By wind is flown the paper.'
             Ag.   P   S

(S)P(Ag.)   *joŋiga nallinda balame*   'The paper is flown by wind.'
             S   P   Ag.

P(S)(Ag.)   *nallinda joŋiga balame*   'Is flown the paper by wind.'
             P   S   Ag.

P(Ag.)(S)   *nallinda balame joŋiga*   'Is flown by wind the paper.'
             P   Ag.   S

6.3.5.2. *Passive Clause Type* II

The passive clause type II, which is structurally related to and transformationally derivable from the underlying transitive clause with split objects, i.e., (S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P type (cf. 6.3.1.1), exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv. where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O¹ and S respectively of the transitive clause, and (C/O) to O², as diagrammatically shown below:

$$(S) \; + \; (O^1) \; + \; (O^2) \; + \; \text{P.tr.} = \text{transitive clause}$$
$$(S) \; + \; (Ag.) \; + \; (C/O) \; + \; \text{P.pasv.} = \text{passive clause}$$

Examples

개가 도둑을 손을 물었다 *gɛga dodugil sonil mulʌdìa*
                         S   O₁   O₂   P.tr.
'A dog bit the thief on the hand.'

도둑이 개한테 손이 / 손을 물렸다
dodugi gɛhante soni/sonil mulljʌdìa
  S   Ag.   C / O   P.pasv.
'The thief was bitten by a dog on the hand.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type II

아이가 어머니에게 팔을 잡혔다 *aiga ʌmʌniege palil japjʌdìa*
                        S   Ag.   O   P
'The child's arm was held by his mother.'

신사가 거지에게 발이 밟혔다 *sinsaga gʌjiege bali balpjʌdìa*
                    S   Ag.   C   P
'The gentleman's foot was trodden on by a beggar.'

동생이 누이에게 머리를 깎였다 *doŋseŋi nuiege mʌlilil kakjʌdìa*
                      S   Ag.   O   P
'[My] brother's hair was cut by [his] sister.'

Although the element Ag. in the passive clause is most commonly expressed by an animate noun or nominal phrase, it may also be expressed by an inanimate noun or nominal phrase unlike the transformationally related S in the underlying transitive clause, which is always expressed by an animate noun or noun phrase except in those rare instances where an inanimate noun or noun phrase may occur personified or animated. Consequently, many passive clauses with an inanimate noun or noun phrase as Ag. are not matched by corresponding transitive clauses. The following examples exemplify this point:

노동자는 칼에 발이 찔렸다 *nodoŋjanin kale bali čilljʌdìa*
                               S   Ag.   C   P.pasv.
'A worker's foot is pricked by a knife.'

칼이 노동자를 발을 찔렀다 **kali nodoŋjalil balil čillʌdìa*
                            S   O₁   O₂   P.tr.
'A knife pricked a worker's foot.'

Marked structures of the passive clause type II are (S)(Ag.)P(C/O), (S)(C/O)P(Ag.), (Ag.)(C/O)P(S) and (C/O)(Ag.)P(S), e.g.

(S)(Ag.)P(O)   소가 송아지에게 젖을 빨린다
                  soga soŋajiege jʌsil pàllinda
                  S   Ag.   O   P
'The cow's teat (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.'

(S)(Ag.)P(O)   *soga soŋajiege pàllinda jʌsil*
                  S   Ag.   P   O

(S)(C)P(Ag.)   *soga jʌsi pàllinda soŋajiege*
                  S   C   P   Ag.

(Ag.)(C)P(S)   *soŋajiege jʌsi pàllinda soga*
                  Ag.   C   P   S

(O)(Ag.)P(S)   *jʌsil soŋajiege pàllinda soga*
                  O   Ag.   P   S

6.3.6. *Causative Clause*

A causative clause includes a causative predicate (cf. 6.2.1.6) as its P and may include up to two objects and/or a complement and/or an agent. Any of the five types of clause so far discussed, except the equational clause with the

copula verb *i-* 'to be' as P, may be transformed into a causative clause, and the elements and structure of a causative clause are determined by the type of the underlying clause from which the former is derived. The following five types of causative clause are distinguished according to the elements operating in the causative clause structure:

(*a*) (S)(O)P

(*b*) (S)(O)(C)P

(*c*) (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P

(*d*) (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P

(*e*) (S)(O¹)(Ag.)(O²/C)P

Each of these five types will be discussed in turn with examples in the following sections, noting the structural relations between an underlying clause and a causative clause derived from the former.

6.3.6.1. *Causative Clause of* (S)(O)P

The causative clause of (S)(O)P type is derived from (*a*) intransitive, (*b*) descriptive, or (*c*) passive clause of (S)P type, and the structural relation holding between the underlying clause and the corresponding causative clause is as follows:

$$(S) \quad + \quad P = \text{underlying clause}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) \quad + \quad (O) \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} = \text{causative clause}$$

Examples

아버지가 아들을 오게 했다 *abʌjiga adilil oge hedìa*
           S   O   P

    'The father made his son come.'

derived from the intransitive clause

아들이 왔다 *adili wadìa* 'The son came.'
   S   P

    The element S in the causative clause, such as *abʌji* 'father' in the example above, is an invented element which is not expressed in any form in the corresponding non-causative clause structure, e.g.

(*a*) *Causative Clause derived from Intransitive Clause*

어머니는 딸을 앉히었다 *ʌmʌninin ìalil ancìʌdìa*
             S   O   P

    'A mother made her daughter sit up.'
   < 딸이 앉었다 *ìali anjʌdìa* 'The daughter sat up.'
         S   P

누가 너를 놀라게 했니 *nuga nʌlil nollage hɛnni*
        S   O   P

    'Who surprised you?'
   < 네가 놀랐니 *nega nollanni* 'Were you surprised?'
       S   P

국을 식히지 마라 *gugil sikiji mala* 'Don't make the soup get cold.'
         O   P

   < 국이 식는다 *gugi siŋninda* 'The soup gets cold.'
       S   P

(*b*) *Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause*

전공이 빛을 밝힌다 *jʌːngoŋi bicil balkinda*
          S   O   P

    'An electrician makes the light bright.'
   < 빛이 밝다 *bici bagìa* 'The light is bright.'
       S   P

이 통로를 좁게 만들자 *itoŋnolil jobke mandilja*
          O   P

    'Let's make the passage narrow.'
   < 이 통로가 좁다 *itoŋnoga jobìa* 'This passage is narrow.'
        S   P

(*c*) *Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause*

누가 줄을 끊어지게 했다 *nuga julil kinʌ jige hedìa*
         S   O   P

    'Someone caused the string to be broken.'
   < 줄이 끊어졌다 *juli kinʌ jjʌdìa* 'The string was broken.'
       S   P

사과를 잘 팔리게 해줬다 *sagwalil jal pallige hɛ jwʌdìa*
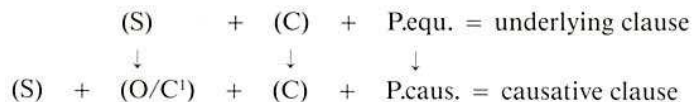   O   P

[They] made the apples sell (lit. 'to be sold') well.'
   < 사과가 잘 팔렸다 *sagwaga jal palljʌdìa*
        S   P

    'Apples sold well' (lit. 'were sold').

6.3.6.2. *Causative Clause of* (S)(O/C¹)(C)P

The causative clause of (S)(O/C¹)(C)P type is derived from an equational clause of (S)(C)P type where P has as nucleus the verb *dwe-* 'to become'. The structural relation between the underlying clause and the derived causative clause is as follows:

$$(S) \quad + \quad (C) \quad + \quad \text{P.equ.} = \text{underlying clause}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) \quad + \quad (O/C^1) \quad + \quad (C) \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} = \text{causative clause}$$

The structural relation set out in the above formula shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O or C^1, e.g.

선생은 제자를 인간이 되게 했다
sʌnseŋin jejalil ingani dwege hɛdìa
　　S　　O　　C　　　P

'The teacher made his pupil to become a man.'

< 제자가 인간이 되었다 *jejaga ingani dweʌdìa*
　　　　　　S　　　C　　　P

'The pupil became a man.'

꿈이 현실이 되게 하여라 *k̓umi hjʌ:nsili dwege hajʌla*
　　　　　　　　C₁　　C　　　P

'Make your dream a reality.'

< 꿈이 현실이 된다 *k̓umi hjʌ:nsili dwenda*
　　　S　　　C　　P

'A dream becomes a reality.'

6.3.6.3. *Causative Clause of* $(S)(O/C)(O^1/C^1)P$

The causative clause of $(S)(O/C)(O^1/C^1)P$ type is derived from (a) the descriptive clause type I of $(S^1)(S^2)P$ structure (cf. 6.3.3 and 6.3.3.1) and (b) the descriptive clause type II of $(S)(C)P$ structure (cf. 6.3.3 and 6.3.3.2), and the structural relation between the underlying clause(s) and the derived clause is as follows:

$$(S^1/S) \quad + \quad (S^2/C) \quad + \quad \text{P.des.} = \text{underlying cl.}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) \quad + \quad (O/C) \quad + \quad (O^1/C^1) \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} = \text{causative cl.}$$
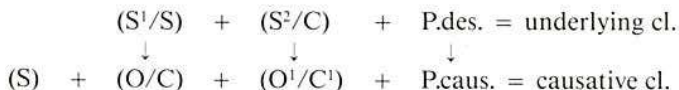
Examples

(a) *Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type* I

그는 나를 / 내가 발을 / 발이 아프게 했다
ginin nalil/nega balil/bali apige hɛdìa
　　S　　O / C　　O₁ / C₁　　　P

'He made my foot [to be] painful.'

< 나는 발이 아팠다 *nanin bali apʌdìa* 'My foot is painful'
　　　S₁　　S₂　　P

(b) *Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type* II

그들은 나를 / 내가 개를 / 개가 싫게 만들었다
gidilin nalil/nega gelil/gega silke mandilʌdìa
　　S　　O / C　　O₁ / C₁　　　　P

'They made me dislike dogs.'

< 나는 개가 싫었다 *nanin gega silʌdìa*
　　　S　　C　　P

'I disliked dogs.'

6.3.6.4. *Causative Clause of* $(S)(O^1/\text{Ag.})(O^2)P$

The causative clause of $(S)(O^1/\text{Ag.})(O^2)P$ type is derived from a transitive clause with a single object, i.e., $(S)(O)P$ type, and the structural relation between them is as follows:

$$(S) \quad + \quad (O) \quad + \quad \text{P.tr.} = \text{underlying cl.}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) \quad + \quad (O^1/\text{Ag.}) \quad + \quad (O^2) \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} = \text{causative cl.}$$
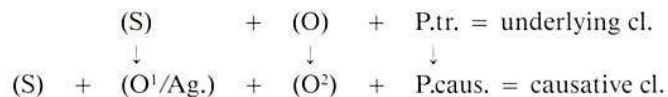
The above diagram shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O^1 or Ag., e.g.

아이가 개를 물을 먹인다 *aiga gelil mulil mʌginda*
　　　　　　　　S　O₁　O₂　　P

'A child makes a dog drink water.'

< 개가 물을 먹는다 *gega mulil mʌŋninda*
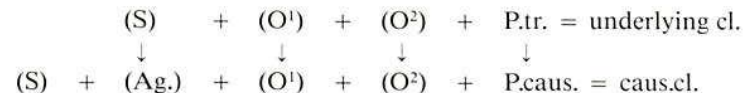　　　　　S　O　　P

'A dog drinks water.'

부인은 거지에게 옷을 입게 했다 *buinin gʌjiege osil ibk̓e hɛdìa*
　　　　　　　　　　　S　　Ag.　O　　P

'The lady made a beggar put on clothes.'

< 거지가 옷을 입었다 *gʌjiga osil ibʌšda*

'A beggar put on clothes.'

6.3.6.5. *Causative Clause of* $(S)(\text{Ag.})(O^1)(O^2)P$

The causative clause of $(S)(\text{Ag.})(O^1)(O^2)P$ type is derived from a transitive clause with split objects, i.e., $(S)(O^1)(O^2)P$ type, and their structural relation is as follows:

$$(S) \quad + \quad (O^1) \quad + \quad (O^2) \quad + \quad \text{P.tr.} = \text{underlying cl.}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) \quad + \quad (\text{Ag.}) \quad + \quad (O^1) \quad + \quad (O^2) \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} = \text{caus.cl.}$$

Examples

어머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리를 주므르게 한다
ʌmʌniga adilege halmʌnilil dalilil ɟumulige handa
    S   Ag. O_1 O_2 P

'The mother makes her son massage his granny on the leg.'

< 아들이 할머니를 다리를 주무른다
adili halmʌnilil dalilil ɟumulinda
    S O_1 O_2 P

'The son massages his granny on the leg.'

The split objects O^1 and O^2 in the causative clause are very often combined into a single object as in the underlying transitive clause (6.3.1.1). In such a case, the resultant clause structure will be identical to the causative clause of $(S)(O^1/Ag.)(O^2)P$ type (cf. 6.3.6.4), except that the element Ag. cannot alternate with O^1, i.e., cannot be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the example given earlier may be rewritten as follows:

어머니가 아들에게 할머니 다리를 주무르게 한다
ʌmʌniga adilege halmʌni dalilil ɟumulige handa
    S   Ag.   O   P

'The mother makes her son massage his granny's leg.'

6.3.6.6. *Causative Clause of* $(S)(O^1/C^1)(Ag.)(O^2/C^2)P$

The causative clause of $(S)(O^1/C^1)(Ag.)(O^2/C^2)P$ type is derived from a passive clause of $(S)(Ag.)(C/O)P$ type (cf. 6.3.5.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

$$(S) \quad + (Ag.) + (O/C) \quad + \text{P.pasv.} = \text{underlying cl.}$$
$$\downarrow \qquad\quad \downarrow \qquad\quad \downarrow \qquad\qquad \downarrow$$
$$(S) + (O^1/C^1) + (Ag.) + (O^2/C^2) + \text{P.caus.} + \text{caus.cl.}$$

Examples

그는 신사를 / 신사가 아이에게 발을 / 발이 밟히게 했다
ginin sinsalil/sinsaga aiege balil/bali balpige hedia
  S O_1 / C_1 Ag. O_2 / C_2 P

'She made the gentleman's foot to be stepped on by a child.'

신사가 아이에게 발이 / 발을 밟혔다
sinsaga aiege bali/balil balpjʌdia
  S Ag.   C / O   P

'The gentleman's foot was stepped on by a child.'

6.3.6.7. *Double Causativity*

Every causative clause so far discussed has been described as being derived from one or the other of the five different types of non-causative underlying

clauses, i.e., intransitive, descriptive, equational, transitive and passive. However, a causative clause may be derived from an underlying clause which is also causative, if the underlying causative clause includes a morphologically effected causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-effected causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative *ha-* or *mandil-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3). It is to be noted that a phrasal causative clause, i.e., one including a causative formative, can never occur as an underlying clause for double causative formation, e.g.

어머니는 나에게 동생을 밥을 먹이게 한다
ʌmʌninin naege donseŋil babil mʌgige handa
    S   Ag. O_1 O_2 P

'My mother makes me feed my brother'
(lit. 'makes me make my brother eat his meal').

< 내가 동생을 밥을 먹인다 *nega donseŋil babil mʌginda*
                   S O_1 O_2 P

'I feed my brother' (lit. 'make my brother eat his meal').

주인은 하인에게 소를 풀을 뜯게 하였다
ɟuinin hainege solil pulil ïidke hajʌdìa
    S   Ag. O_1 O_2 P

'The master asked (lit. 'made') his servant (to) graze the cow'
(lit. 'made his servant make the cow pick the grass').

< 하인이 소를 풀을 뜯기었다 *haini solil pulil ïidkiʌdìa*
               S O_1 O_2 P

'The servant grazed the cow.'

6.4. TYPES OF NON-FINAL CLAUSE

Apart from the final/non-final difference in the predicate form, final and non-final clauses are identical in respect of elements and structure, except for the positional restriction on the element P within the non-final clause structure (see 6.4.1). Thus the clause elements, S, O, C, Ag., A and P are found to operate in the non-final clause in much the same way as they do in the final clause. Accordingly, the six different clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, descriptive, equational, passive and causative clauses, set up on the basis of the type of predicate, can all be distinguished in non-final clauses.

Unlike the final clause, however, the non-final clause has three important syntactical functions; thus some non-final clauses are syntactically similar to a noun, some to an adjective, and some to an adverb. In other words, the non-final clause is a rank-shifted clause, downgraded from the clause level to the word level. By this syntactic criterion, all non-final clauses, irrespective of their internal structure and to which of the six different types of clause they belong, are classified into three syntactic classes: (i) 'Nominal Clause', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause' and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause'.

6.4.1. *Internal Structure of Non-Final Clause*

The internal structure of the non-final clause is identical in every respect to that of the corresponding final clause, with one notable exception. That is, the element P occupies the final position in every non-final clause structure and no other elements, singly or in any combination, can ever follow P, whereas this (post-P occurrence of non-P elements) is possible in the final clause structure. Because of this positional restriction on the element P, the non-final clauses are naturally outnumbered by the final clauses in variety of internal structure. For instance, a final clause like

개가 닭을 본다 *gɛga dagil bonda* 'A dog looks at a hen.'
　　　S　　O　　P

may be internally restructured as

(*a*) *gɛga bonda dagil*
　　　S　　P　　O

(*b*) *dagil bonda gɛga*
　　　O　　P　　S

(*c*) *bonda dagil gɛga*
　　　P　　O　　S　etc.

where P is followed by O, S or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

개가 닭을 봄 *gɛga dagil bom* 'That a dog looks at a hen.'
　　　S　　O　　P

may be restructured only as

닭을 개가 봄 *dagil gɛga bom*
　　　O　　S　　P

since neither S nor O may occur after P.

6.4.2. *Nominal Clause*

The nominal clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the nominal clause endings, -*m*/-*im* and -*gi* (cf. 4.3.5.2.1), and has practically the same syntactic functions as a single noun, but the range of distribution of a nominal clause is by no means parallel with that of a single noun since not every syntactic position filled by a noun can be filled by a nominal clause. That is to say, the distributional range of a nominal clause is narrower than that of a noun. The distributional disparity between a nominal clause and a noun may be set out as follows:

(i) A nominal clause cannot be preceded by a nominal expansion (cf. 5.1.3). For instance, a noun like *namu* 'tree' can be preceded by an expansion as in

새 나무 *sɛ name* 'a new tree'
나의 나무 *naii namu* 'my tree'

but a nominal clause like

학교에 감 *hagkjoe gam* 'going to school'

cannot be preceded by an expansion:

이 학교에 감 *i hagkjoe gam* 'this going-to-school'
나의 학교에 감 *naii hagkjoe gam* 'my going-to-school'.

(ii) A nominal clause is never followed immediately by the adjectival particle *ii* 'of', whereas a noun may be followed by *ii*, forming with it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2).

인생의 기쁨 *insɛŋ ii gipim* 'the joy of life'
　　　N
　　──────
　　adj.rel.ph.

but 밥을 먹음의 기쁨 *babil mʌgim ii gipim* 'the joy of eating dinner'
　　　　　　　n.cl.

연구의 결과 *jʌːngu ii gjʌlgwa* 'the results of research'
　　　N
　　──────
　　adj.rel.ph.

but 쫓기기의 결과 *čodkigi ii gjʌlgwa* 'the results of being chased'
　　　　　n.cl.

6.4.2.1. *Syntactic Functions of Nominal Clause*

Various syntactic functions performed by a nominal clause are illustrated below.

6.4.2.1.1. *Nominal Clause as Minor Sentence*

A nominal clause whose P is suffixed with the ending -*m*/-*im* occurs frequently on its own as a minor sentence in official documents, diaries and advertisements, etc.

Examples

팔월에 선거를 실시함 *palwʌle sʌngʌlil silšiham*
　　　　A　　　O　　　P
'the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August').'

오늘 시험을 봄 *onil sihʌmil bom* 'taking an exam today'
　　　A　　O　　P

이약은 두통에 특효임 *ijagin dutoŋe tikjo im*
　　　　S　　　A　　C　P
'this medicine being specially good for headaches'

6.4.2.1.2. *Nominal Clause as S, O, C in Clause Structure*

(i)   As S

아이가 울기가 예사이다 *aiga ulgiga jesa ida*
                         S   P   C   P

'It is usual that a baby cries' (lit. 'A baby crying is a common thing').

그 여자가 머리가 좋았기가 쉽다 *gijʌjaga mʌliga joadkiga swibia*
                            S₁   S₂   P   P
                                    S

'It is likely that she had good brains'
(lit. 'That she had good brains is easy').

(ii) As O

소년이 학교에 감을 봤니 *sonjʌni hagkjoe gamil bwanni*
                       S   A   P   P
                                O

'Did you see a boy going to school?'
(lit. 'A boy to-school going you saw?')

날이 밝기를 기다리자 *nali balkilil gidalija*
                    S   P   P
                           O

'Let's wait for the dawn to break.'

(iii) As C

소녀는 꿈이 깨어짐이 안타까웠다
sonjʌnin kumi keʌjimi antakawʌdia
        S   S   P   P
                         C

'The girl was sorry that her dream was shattered.'

형이 대학에 다님이 부러웠다 *hjʌji dehage danimi bulʌwʌdia*
                          S   A   P   P
                                  C

'[He] envied his brother attending university.'

6.4.2.1.3. *Nominal Clause as Axis of Adverbial Relational Phrase*

A nominal clause may function as the axis of an adverbial relational phrase which has as its relatum a directive particle (cf. 3.4.5.4.1), e.g.

책을 읽기가 아이를 보기 보다 좋다
cɛgil ilkiga ailil bogi boda jota
  S   n.cl.   Pcl.   P
         adv.rel.ph.

'Reading a book is better than *looking after a baby*.'

이론을 이해함에 그치었지 *ilonil iheham e giciʌdci*
                    n.cl   Pcl.   P
                   adv.rel.ph.

'[She] just understood the theory (and no more)'
(lit. 'She stopped at understanding the theory').

춥기 때문에 일찍 왔다 *cubgi iɛmune ilcig wadia*
                  n.cl   Pcl.   P
                 adv.rel.ph.

'[I] came back early because it was cold.'

6.4.3. *Adjectival Clause*

The adjectival clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the adjectival clause endings, *-nin*, *-n/-in* and *-l/-lil* (cf. 4.3.5.2.2). An adjectival clause has practically the same syntactic functions as an adjective, i.e., occurs as the nominal expansion (cf. 5.1.3.2). It is to be noted that the majority of 'Adjectives' in familiar European languages, including English correspond, both syntactically and semantically, to 'Adjectival Clauses' in Korean, i.e., are expressed in Korean by semantically corresponding verbs inflected in the non-final clausal form. There are only a limited number of adjectives as such in Korean, e.g., *sɛ* 'new', *hʌːn* 'old, worn-out', etc., which are comparable to adjectives in European languages (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.4.3), e.g.

아름다운 꽃 *alimdaun kod*
              adj.cl.
'a beautiful flower' (lit. 'a flower which is beautiful')

머리가 좋은 가수 *mʌliga join gasu*
                  adj.cl.
'a clever singer' (lit. 'a singer who is clever/whose brain is good')

내가 다닌 학교 *nega danin hagkjo*
                adj.cl.
'the school I went to' (lit. 'I-have-attended school')

나의 마음이 편할 날 *naii maimi pjʌnhal nal*
                    adj.cl.
'the day when my heart will feel free'

The Korean language has been described by grammarians, native and Western, as a language without the 'Relative Pronoun' as found in European languages, e.g. 'who', 'whom', 'which' or 'that' in English, and 'qui', 'que', etc., in French. Lack of such pronouns has often been cited as one of the distinguishing features of Korean. This is correct as far as the linguistic data are concerned, but it is not enough simply to say that relative pronouns do not exist in Korean, and thereby to suggest, as is done not infrequently, that Korean is less efficient or rich in expression than those languages which have

them. It is far more relevant to note that a clause functionally similar to the one introduced by a relative pronoun in English is expressed or formed by a different grammatical device in Korean, namely, by verbal inflection. For instance, the English clause, '(The boy) whom I saw yesterday', may be expressed in Korean by an adjectival clause, as follows:

내가 어제 본 (소년) *nɛga ʌʃe bon (sonjʌn)*
$$\underbrace{\text{S} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{H}}_{}$$
$$\underline{}$$
Exp.

lit. 'I-yesterday-saw boy'

which is formed with the adjectival clause ending *-n* added to the predicate verb *bo-* 'to see'. The Korean adjectival clause is therefore comparable not only to the adjective of European languages but also to the modifying clause introduced by a relative pronoun. As a rule, the European adjective corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the descriptive type (cf. 6.2.1.3) whereas the European modifying clause marked by a relative pronoun corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the processive type (cf. 6.2.1.1–2), e.g.

'good': 좋은 *join* 'which is good' < *joh-* 'to be good' V.d. + *-in*
'which [I] bought': 산 *san* 'which [I] bought' < *sa-* 'to buy' V.p. + *-n*

6.4.3.1. *Syntactic Function of Adjectival Clause*

The adjectival clause functions mainly as a nominal expansion, i.e., constitutes an endocentric construction with an N or NP as its head. The structure of such a construction is normally adj.cl. + H as in

내가 산 책 *nɛga san cɛg* 'The book which I bought'
adj.cl.   H

but H + adj.cl. may also occur (although rare) as in

책 내가 산 *cɛg nɛga san*
H   adj.cl.

Besides its function as a nominal expansion, the adjectival clause has two other functions, (*a*) as a minor sentence, (*b*) co-occurrence with the adjectival auxiliary verb.

6.4.3.1.1. *Adjectival Clause as Minor Sentence*

Although less free and common than the nominal clause, an adjectival clause may occur also as a minor sentence provided the context is clear. For instance, the adjectival clause 내가 산 *nɛga san* 'which I bought' can occur on its own as a minor sentence in reply to such a question as 무슨 책 *musin cɛg* 'What book?'

6.4.3.1.1.1 *Adjectival Clause + Adjectival Auxiliary Verb*

The adjectival clause may be followed by an auxiliary adjectival auxiliary verb, e.g., *jaŋha-*, *cʌgha-*, *bʌnha-*, etc. (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

가는 양했지 *ganin jaŋhɛdci* '[I] pretended to go.'
adj.cl.

6.4.3.2. *Relation between Adjectival Clause and Its H*

N or NP functioning as H of an adjectival clause may be either (i) an element of a transformationally related final clause, from which the adjectival clause may be analysed as being derived, or (ii) an extra-clausal element, which is not an element of a transformationally related final clause.

6.4.3.2.1. H *which is an Element of the Underlying Clause*

H of an adjectival clause may be expressed by (*a*) S/S¹, (*b*) O/O¹, (*c*) O¹/Ag. or O², or (*d*) A of a final clause from which the adjectival clause is derived.

(*a*) S/S¹ *as* H

영화를 본 왕 *jʌŋhwalil bon waŋ* 'the king who saw the film'
$$\underbrace{\text{O} \quad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{S}}_{\text{H}}$$

꿈이 많은 딸 *kumi manin ial* 'a daughter who has many dreams'
$$\underbrace{\text{S}_2 \quad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{S}_1}_{\text{H}}$$

(*b*) O/O¹ *as* H

우리가 바라는 것 *uliga balanin gʌd* 'the thing which we want'
$$\underbrace{\text{S} \quad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{O}}_{\text{H}}$$

아이가 먹고 싶어 하는 우유 *aiga mʌgko sipʌ hanin uju*
$$\underbrace{\text{S} \qquad\qquad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{O}}_{\text{H}}$$

'Milk which a baby would like to drink'

부인이 발을 밟은 신사 *buini balil balbin sinsa*
$$\underbrace{\text{S} \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \text{P}}_{\text{adj.cl.}} \quad \underbrace{\text{O}}_{\text{H}}$$

'A gentleman whose foot a lady stepped on'

(*c*) O¹/Ag. *or* O² *as* H

The underlying clause in which the elements O¹/Ag. and O² occur is a causative clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P type (cf. 6.3.6.3).

어머니가 옷을 입힌 아들 *ʌmʌniga osil ipin adil*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_2}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\quad}}$$

'The son whose mother clothed [him]'

< 어머니가 아들을 / 아들에게 옷을 입혔다

ʌmʌniga adilil/adilege osil ipjʌdìa 'A mother clothed her son.'

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_2}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}}$$

군인이 물을 먹인 개 *gunini mulil mʌgin gɛ*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_2}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\quad}}$$

'The dog which a soldier made to drink water'

< 군인이 개를 / 개에게 물을 먹이었다

gunini gɛlil/gɛege mulil mʌgiʌdìa 'A soldier made a dog drink water.'

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_2}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}$$

어머니가 아들을 / 아들에게 입힌 옷

ʌmʌniga adilil/adilege ipin od

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\underline{\underset{O_2}{\quad}}}}$$

'the clothes which a mother made her son wear'

군인이 개를 / 개에게 먹인 물 *gunini gɛlil/gɛege mʌgin mul*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{H}}{\quad}\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_1/\text{Ag.}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}\ \underset{O_2}{\quad}}$$

'water which a soldier made the dog drink'

(*d*) A *as* H

딸이 유치원에 가는 내일 *ìali juciwʌne ganin nɛil*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\underline{\underset{\text{A}}{\quad}}}}$$

'tomorrow when my daughter is going to nursery school'

< 딸이 내일 유치원에 간다 *ìali nɛil juciwʌne ganda*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}$$

'My daughter is going to school tomorrow.'

딸이 내일 가는 유치원 *ìali nɛil ganin juciwʌn*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.H}}{\underline{\underset{\text{A}}{\quad}}}}$$

'a nursery school to which my daughter is going tomorrow'

물을 길을 샘 *mulil gilil sɛm* 'a well from which to draw water'

$$\underline{\underset{\text{O}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\underline{\underset{\text{A}}{\quad}}}}$$

< 샘에서 물을 길을까 *sɛmesʌ mulil gililka*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{O}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}$$

'Shall I draw water from a well?'

6.4.3.2.2. *Extra-Clausal Element as H*

사람이 모이는 것 *sa:lami moinin gʌd* '[the fact] that people gather'

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\quad}}$$

한국에서 전쟁이 났을때 *hangugesʌ ʃʌ:nʃɛŋi nasìl ìɛ*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\quad}}$$

'the time when the war broke out in Korea'

당신이 회의에 늦는 경우 *daŋsini hweiie ninnin gjʌŋu*

$$\underline{\underset{\text{S}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{A}}{\quad}\ \underset{\text{adj.cl.}}{\underline{\underset{\text{P}}{\quad}}}\ \underset{\text{H}}{\quad}}$$

'in case you are late for the meeting' (lit. 'the situation in which you are late for the meeting')

6.4.4. *Adverbial Clause*

The adverbial clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the adverbial clause endings (cf. 4.3.5.2.3).

6.4.4.1. *Syntactic Functions of Adverbial Clause*

An adverbial clause may occur either (*a*) alone as a minor type sentence or (*b*) more frequently as a subordinate to a final clause or a non-final clause. An adverbial clause is very often marked, and thus separated from a final or non-final clause to which it is subordinate, by a tentative juncture.

Examples

(*a*) *Adverbial Clause as Minor Sentence*

여름은 가고 *jʌlimin gago* 'the summer has gone and'

꽃이 붉었어도 * koci bulgʌsʌdo* 'even though the flower was red'

네가 병원에서 의사를 만나면

nega bjʌŋwʌnesʌ iisalil mannamjʌn

'when you see a doctor at the hospital'

(b) Adverbial Clause as Subordinate to Other Clauses

배를 타고 여행을 했니 *belil tago jʌheŋil henni*
         adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Did you travel on board a ship?' (lit. 'Riding a ship, travelled?')

점심을 먹었더니 배가 부르다 *jʌmsimil mʌgʌdìʌni bega bulida*
                adv.cl.   f.cl.

'As I have had my meal, my stomach is full.'

물가가 비싸서 살기가 힘들어도 *mulkaga bis̀asʌ salgiga himdilʌdo*
                  adv.cl.   nf.cl.

'Even if life is difficult, as prices are high'
(lit. as prices are high, even if life is difficult').

6.4.4.2. *Types of Adverbial Clause*

The adverbial clause in Korean, although similar to a subordinate clause in English both syntactically and semantically, differs sharply from the latter in construction. The Korean adverbial clause is formed inflectionally with an adverbial clause ending, whereas the English subordinate clause is formed with, or introduced by, a subordinate conjunction such as 'if', 'when', etc. Furthermore, in Korean, the co-ordination of a clause to another is also effected by an adverbial clause ending and not by a conjunctive word as in English. That is to say, the first of the two Korean clauses standing in co-ordinate relation (semantically) is expressed in the form of an adverbial clause, without any conjunctive word occuring between them. Thus both the co-ordination and the subordination of clauses are effected in Korean by verbal inflection, i.e., by an adverbial clause ending. In IC (Immediate Constituent) terms, a Korean adverbial clause would be analysed into two bound constituents, i.e., the adverbial clause ending which is bound on the one hand and the rest preceding the adverbial clause ending which is also bound, on the other. The following examples from Korean and English will contrast the different analysis as applying in the two languages:

(a) 날이 좋 / 으니 밖에 나가자 *nali joh-/-ini, bake nagaja*
                      adv.cl.   f.cl.

'As it is fine, let us go out.'

(b) As/ it is fine, let us go out.
    sub.cl.   main cl.

(c) 아이는 아침을 먹고 학교에 갔다
    ainin acimil mʌg-/-go, haggjoe gas̀da.
         adv.cl.   f.cl.

'The boy took his breakfast, and went to school.'

(d) The boy took his breakfast and went to school.
         clause 1   clause 2

The two Korean examples (*a*) and (*c*) above show that both subordinate and co-ordinate constructions are formed inflectionally, and the IC boundary comes immediately before the inflectional endings, thus yielding two bound constituents, whereas the corresponding English examples (*b*) and (*d*) show that subordination and coordination are both effected by a conjunction and the IC analysis yields two free forms. In view of the evidence presented so far it is clear that on surface structure at least there is not formal distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses in Korean, and consequently, Korean adverbial clauses cannot be classified into subordinate and co-ordinate types as in English.

Instead, Korean adverbial clauses may be classified according to the relationship between the element S of an adverbial clause and that of another clause with which the adverbial clause is in subordinate relation. Those adverbial clauses whose S must function also as the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric Adverbial Clauses' and those adverbial clauses whose S may (i) function also as the S of a succeeding clause or (ii) be different from the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric-Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' or simply 'Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' in short. That is to say, a concentric adverbial clause has its subject shared with a succeeding clause to which the former is subordinate, whereas an eccentric adverbial clause is free to have either one common subject shared by both clauses, or a subject of its own, which is different from that of a succeeding clause. As will be indicated in 6.4.4.2.2, some eccentric adverbial clauses express different meanings depending on whether their S functions as the S of a succeeding clause or is different from the latter.

6.4.4.2.1. *Concentric Adverbial Clause*

A concentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings:

1. 고서 *-gosʌ* 'and then, afterward', e.g.
   나는 영화를 보고서 집에 돌아 오겠다
   nanin jʌŋhwalil bogosʌ, jibe dola ogedìa
    S   O   P   f.cl.
   ───────────────
        adv.cl.
   'I will come home after seeing the film'
   (lit. 'I see the film and then will come home').

2. 면서 / 으면서 *-mjʌ(nsʌ)/-imjʌ(nsʌ)* 'while, at the same time', e.g.
   장사가 가면서 노래를 한다 *jaŋsaga gamjʌ(nsʌ), nolɛlil handa*
                S   P   f.cl.
              ───────────────
                 adv.cl.
   'While walking away, the vendor is singing.'

3. 다(가) -*da(ga)* 'interruption, transference', e.g.

너는 책을 읽다가 자니   *nʌnin cɛgil igʲaga ɟani*

$$\underbrace{\underset{S}{\quad}\ \underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underset{\text{f.cl.}}{P}$$

'Are you asleep while reading a book?'

4. 려 / 으려 -*l(j)ʌ/-il(j)ʌ*
려고 / 으려고 -*ljʌgo/-iljʌgo* } 'in order to'
고자 -*goɟa*

호텔에 가려고 그는 택시를 탔다
hotele galjʌgo ginin tɛgs̀ilil tadʲa

$$\underbrace{\underset{A}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S}{\quad}\ \underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

As shown in the examples given above the element S is overtly expressed only once; either in the adverbial clause or in the succeeding clause.

6.4.4.2.2. *Eccentric Adverbial Clause*

A concentric-eccentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -*mjʌ/-imjʌ* and -*asʌ/-ʌsʌ* express two different meanings depending on whether the subject of the adverbial clause formed with one of them, symbolized S^1, functions as the subject of a succeeding clause, symbolized S^2, or is different from S^2.

1. 며 / 으며 -*mjʌ/-imjʌ*   'and' when $S^1 \neq S^2$, 'while' when $S^1 = S^2$

$S^1 \neq S^2$: 아이는 웃으며 개는 뛴다
ainin usimjʌ, gɛnin ìwinda

$$\underbrace{\underset{S_1}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S_2}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.'

$S^1 = S^2$: 아이는 우유를 먹으며 웃었다
ainin ujulil mʌgimjʌ usʌdʲa

$$\underbrace{\underset{S_1}{\quad}\ \underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underset{\text{f.cl.}}{P}$$

'A baby smiled while having milk.'

2. 아(서) / 어(서) -*a(sʌ)/-ʌ(sʌ)* 'as, since, because' when $S^1 \neq S^2$; 'and then' when $S^1 = S^2$, e.g.

$S^1 = S^2$: 길이 미끄러워(서) 운전이 어렵다
gili mik̀ilʌwʌ(sʌ) unɟani ʌljʌbʲa

$$\underbrace{\underset{S_1}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S_2}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'As the road is slippery driving is difficult.'

$S^1 = S^2$: 의사를 만나(서) 얘기를 하여라
iisalil manna(sʌ), jɛgilil hajʌla

$$\underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'Meet the doctor and have a word.'

시청을 지나서 학교에 갔다.
sicʌŋil ɟina(sʌ) haggjoe gas̀da

$$\underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{A}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'Passing by the city hall, (he) went to the school.'

3. 고 -*go*
     요 -*jo* } 'and', e.g. 눈을 감고 너는 기도를 하니
                   nunil gamk̀o nʌnin gidolil hani

$$\underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S}{\quad}\ \underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'Are you offering your prayer with your eyes closed?'
(lit. 'Are you closing your eyes and doing your prayer?')

너도 가고 나도 간다 *nʌdo gago nado ganda*

$$\underbrace{\underset{S_1}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S_2}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'You are going away and so am I.'

4. 자 -*ɟa* 'as soon as', e.g. 비가 그치자 시합이 시작되었다
                        biga gicìɟa, sihabi siɟagìweʌdʲa

$$\underbrace{\underset{S_1}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{S_2}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.'

내가 집에 오자 편질 봤다 *nɛga ɟibe oɟa, pjʌnɟil bwadʲa*

$$\underbrace{\underset{S}{\quad}\ \underset{A}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'As soon as I came home I read the letter.'

5. 도록 -*dolog*
     게 -*ge* } 'until, so that', e.g.

당신은 지치도록 일을 하는구려
daŋsinin ɟicidolog ilil haninguljʌ

$$\underbrace{\underset{S}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{adv.cl.}}\quad \underbrace{\underset{O}{\quad}\ \underset{P}{\quad}}_{\text{f.cl.}}$$

'You are overworking yourself!'
(lit. 'Until you are exhausted, you are working.')

개가 뛰어 오게 네가 불러 봐
gega iwiʌ oge nega bullʌ bwa

S₁	P	S₂	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'You call the dog so that she can come running.'

6. ㄹ 수록 / 을수록 *-lsulog/-ilsulog* 'the more ... the more', e.g.

사탕을 얻을수록 소녀는 기뻤다 *sataŋil ʌdilŝulog sonjʌnin giṗʌdìa*

	O	P	S	P

              adv.cl.   f.cl.

'The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became.'

어머니가 늙을수록 아들은 슬펐지만
ʌmʌniga nilgilŝulog, adilin silpʌdćiman

S₁	P	S₂	P

    adv.cl.   nf.cl.

'The older his mother became, the more the son was worried but.'

7. ㄹ 뿐더러 / 을 뿐더러 *-lṗundʌlʌ/-ilṗundʌlʌ* 'not only ... but also', e.g.

그는 돈을 받았을뿐더러 벌써 다 썼다
ginin donil badʌŝilṗundʌlʌ bʌlŝa da ŝʌdìa

S	O	P	A	P

        adv.cl.   f.cl.

'He not only got the money but also already spent it.'

하늘이 푸를뿐더러 햇빛이 강하다
hanili puliṗundʌlʌ heṗici gaŋhada

S₁	P	S₂	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Not only is the sky blue but also the sunlight is strong.'

8. 거나 *-gʌna*
든 (지) *-din(ji)* } 'whether ... or', e.g.
나 / 으나 *-na/-ina*

가든지 안가든지 네 마음대로 해라
gadinji angadʌnji, ne maimdelo hɛla

P	P	A	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Whether you go or not, do as you like.'

눈이 오나 비가 오나 나는 좋다
nu:ni ona biga ona, nanin jota

S₁	P	S₂	P	S₃	P

        adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Whether it snows or rains, I am all right.'

9. 면 / 으면 *-mjʌn/-imjʌn*
거든 *-gʌdin* } 'if, when', e.g.

일을 빨리 끝내거든 나한테 오너라
ilil ṗalli ḱinnɛgʌdin, nahante onʌla

O	P	A	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'If you finish the work early, come to me.'

날이 맑으면 우리도 사냥을 합시다
nali malgimjʌn ulido sanjaŋil habŝida

S₁	P	S₂	O	P

'If the weather is fine, let's go hunting.'

10. 아야 / 어야 *-aja/-ʌja*
라야 *-laja* } 'only if, only when', e.g.

부모는 자식이 잘 되어야만 기쁜가
bumonin jasigi jal dweʌjaman giṗinga

S₂	S₁	P	P

              adv.cl.

'Are parents happy only when their sons become successful?'

In the above example, S₂ and P of the final clause are discontinuous, being interrupted by the adverbial clause.

시험에 되어 봐야 너도 맛을 안다
sihʌme dweʌ bwaja, nʌdo masil anda

A	P	S	O	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'You know the feeling only when you have passed the exam.'

11. 더라도 / 어도 *-(dʌl)ado/-ʌdo*
ㄹ 지언정 / 을지언정 *-ljiʌnjʌŋ/-iljiʌnjʌŋ*
ㄹ 지라도 / 을지라도 *-ljilado/-iljilado* } 'even if/though', e.g.
ㄹ 망정 / 을망정 *-lmaŋjʌŋ/-imaŋjʌŋ*
ㄴ들 / 은들 *-ndil/-indil*

작을지언정 그는 미남이다
jagilċiʌnjʌŋ, ginin minam ida

P	S	C	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Even if [he is] small, he is handsome.'

네가 집에 없더라도 나는 기다리겠다
nega jibe ʌ:bìʌlado, nanin gidaligedìa

S₁	A	P	S₂	P

    adv.cl.   f.cl.

'Even though you are not at home, I will wait for you.'

12. 지만 *-jiman*
    건만 *-gʌnman*
    언만 *-ʌnman*
    나 / 으나 *-na/-ina* } 'although ...' '...but', e.g.

집에 왔지만 소년은 이상했다
jibe wadčiman, sonjʌnin isaɲhedia

A P	S P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'The boy came home but he felt strange.'

생각은 좋으나 실천이 어려웠다
seɲgagin joina, silcʌni ʌljʌwʌdia

S₁ P	S₂ P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'The idea was good but the practice was difficult.'

13. 런만 / 으런만 *-ljʌnman/-iljʌnman* 'might/would ... but', e.g.

아프런만 노인은 멀정했다
apiljʌnman, noinin mʌlčʌɲhedia

adv.cl.	S P
	f.cl.

'The old man might have been ill but he was all right.'

손님이 많이 오런만 주인은 태평했다
sonnimi mani oljʌnman, juinin tɛpjʌɲhedia

S₁ P	S₂ P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'There would be many guests coming, but the host was not worried.'

14. 므로 / 으므로 *-milo/-imilo* 'as, since, because', e.g.

할머니는 지금 허리가 아프므로 쉬신다
halmʌninin jigim hʌliga apʌmilo, swisinda

S₁ A S₂ P	P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As my granny now has lumbago, she is resting.'

네가 떠나므로 나는 심심하겠다
nega t̀ʌnamilo, nanin simsimhagedia

S₁ P	S₂ P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As you are leaving, I will be lonely.'

15. 니(까) / 으니(까) *-ni(k̀a)/-ini(k̀a)* { 'Time: when, as'
                               'Clause: because, as, since', e.g.

내가 깨어보니(까) 시간이 두시였다
nega k̀ɛʌboni(ka), sigani dusiʌ jʌdia

S₁ P	S₂ C P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.'

네가 빨리 가니(까) 만나서 말해라
nega p̀alli gani(ka), mannasʌ malhɛla

S P	P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As you are leaving early see him and tell him.'

16. 는데 *-ninde*
    ㄴ데 / 은데 *-nde/-inde* } 'and' (topic introducer), e.g.

내가 일을 하는데 아팠다
nega ilil haninde, apʌdia

S O P	P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'I was working and I had headache.'

이꽃이 좋은데 왜 안보니
ikoci johinde, wɛ anboni

S₁ P	A P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'This flower is nice and why don't you look at it?'

17. 되 *-dwe* '[may/might] ... but', e.g.

돈을 쓰되 조심을 하여라
donil šidwe, josimil hajʌla

O P	O P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'You may spend the money, but be careful.'

바람이 불되 비는 안온다 *balami buldwe, binin anonda*

	S₁ P S₂ P
	adv.cl. f.cl.

'The wind is blowing, but it is not raining.'

VII
SENTENCE

7.1. DEFINITION OF THE SENTENCE

The sentence is here defined phonologically as a stretch of speech which ends with one of the seventeen tunes of the Korean intonation system (cf. 2.8) and has the potentiality of being immediately preceded and followed by the terminal juncture (cf. 2.7). This exclusively phonological definition of sentence is desired since it is the only criterion uniformly applicable both to the major and minor types of sentence, the two main types of sentence which will be discussed in the following sections. A Korean sentence thus defined may consist of a word, a phrase, a clause, final or non-final, or any combination of these units. A sentence including more than one final clause will be analysed as a compound sentence (cf. 6.3).

Examples

달 ˏdal 'The moon.' N
아 ˆa 'Ah!' Interj.
내일 ʹnɛil 'Tomorrow?' N.adv.
먹어 mʌˋgʌ 'Eat [it].' V and clause
새차 sɛˏca 'A new car.' NP
빨리 갑시다 -ṗalli ˏgabṡida 'Let's go quickly.' VP and clause
서울로 ˇsʌullo 'To Seoul?' adv.rel.cl.
겨울의 노래 -gjʌule ˏnolɛ 'The song of winter.' NP
오시지 마세요 oʹsiʃi ˆmasejo 'Please do not come.' VP and clause.
책을 읽기 ˏcɛgil ʹilki 'Reading a book?' nf.cl.
우리도 가 uʹlido ˆˆga 'Let us go too!'
네가 해도 나는 안해-nega hɛˋdo, ṅaʹnin anˋhɛ
                adv.cl.   f.cl.
  'Even if you do, I will not.'

7.2. MAJOR AND MINOR SENTENCE

There are two main types of sentence, 'Major' and 'Minor' types. A major sentence consists of or includes a final clause, and a minor sentence does not consist of or include a final clause. A major sentence in its minimal form may be represented by a single verb inflected with a final ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) since such a single verb may also occur as a final clause (cf. 6.1).

(i)   *Major Type Sentences*

춥다 ˏcubìa '[It] is cold.'
해가 언제 뜹니까 hɛga⁻ ʌnʃe ˏìimnika 'When does the sun rise?'
봄이 오면 따뜻하겠지 bomiˏomjʌn, ìaìiˏtagedèi
  'It will be warm when spring comes.'
영화를 보고 천천히 합시다 jʌŋhwalilbogo, -cʌncʌni ˏhabṡida
  'Let us do it slowly after seeing the film.'

(ii) *Minor Type Sentences*

왜 ˋwɛ 'Why?'
네 ˏne 'Yes.'
어디로 ʌdiˋlo 'Where to?'
세수를 먼저 하고 -sesulil mʌnʃʌˏhago '[After] washing my face first.'
서울에 봄이 오면 ˏsʌule -bomiˏomjʌn 'When spring comes to Seoul.'

7.3. MAJOR SENTENCE

The major sentence is the largest unit in the grammatical hierarchy by reference to which systematic statements of grammatical structures and relation may be made. This definition of sentence does not preclude the possibility of setting up a larger unit, e.g., 'Paragraph' in which inter-sentential relations may be studied, but such a unit is outside the scope of this book.

7.3.1. *Structure of Major Sentence*

A major sentence may include, in addition to a final clause which is obligatory, a non-final adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.4.1), a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.4.5), a vocative phrase (cf. 3.4.5.5) and a sentence particle (cf. 3.4.5.7). The usual unmarked order of these elements is as follows:
  (Adv.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + (adv.cl.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.), e.g.

그러나 여보 내일이 좋으면 떠납시다 그러
giˏlʌna, jʌˏbo, ˏnɛili ˏjoimjʌn, ìʌˏnabṡida giljʌ
Adv.z. vocat.   adv.cl.   f.cl.   Pcl.z.
     ph.
  'However, if it is all right tomorrow, [friend], let's leave!'

더구나 상금을 탔으니 기쁘겠읍니다 그러
dʌguˏna, -saŋgimilˏtaṡini, giˏpigeṡimnida giljʌ
Adv.z.   adv.cl.   f.cl.   Pcl.z.
  'Furthermore, since you have received the prize money, you must be happy!'

애 오늘은 학교에 안가니 *´jɛ, oni´lin ´haɡk̇joe ´aŋani*
                        vocat.   f.cl.
                        ph.

    'Hey, aren't you going to school today?'

그러니 자네가 가야 될듯하네 *gilʌ´ni, ja´neɡaɡaja ^dwel̀itane*
                     Adv.z.   adv.cl.   f.cl.

    'Therefore, it looks as if it will succeed only if you go.'

또 네가 오래 보고 가져와도 상관이 없어
´to, negao‾lɛ bo-go gaȷʌwa´do, ´saŋwani ^ʌ:b̀ʌ
Adv.z.   adv.cl.₁   adv.cl.₂   f.cl.
                  adv.cl.

    'And even if you would return [this book] after reading it for a long time, it doesn't matter.'

그러나 여행을 하고 내년에 돌아와서 사업을 하면 늦지 않겠오
gi´lʌna, jʌ-hɛŋilhago nɛ-njʌnedolawasʌ ´saʌbilhamjʌn ´nidc̀i ´ankes̀o
Adv.z.   adv.cl.₃   adv.cl.₂   adv.cl.₁   f.cl.
                  adv.cl.

    'Will it not be [too] late if I make some trips and come back next year to start a business?'

As illustrated by the last two examples above, the non-final adverbial clause occurring with the final clause in the sentence structure may consist of more than one clause.

    The less frequently occurring marked structures are as follows:

(i)   (Adv.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (adv.cl.), e.g.

그러니 철수 잠간만 있어요 바쁘겠지만
gi-lʌni ˎcʌls̀u, -jamk̇anman ˎis̀ʌ jo, bap̀iˎgedc̀iman
Adv.z. vocat.   f.cl.   Pcl.z.   adv.cl.
      ph.

    'Therefore stay a while, Chulsoo, though you may be busy.'

(ii) (Adv.z.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + (adv.cl.), e.g.

그러니 잠간만 있어요 철수 바쁘겠지만
gi-lʌni -jamk̇anman ˎis̀ʌ jo, ˎcʌls̀u, bap̀iˎgedc̀iman
Adv.z.   f.cl.   Pcl.z. vocat.   adv.cl.
                      ph.

(iii) (Adv.z.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (adv.cl.) + (vocat.ph.), e.g.

그러니 잠간만 있어요 바쁘겠지만 철수
gi-lʌni -jamk̇anman ˎis̀ʌ jo, bap̀iˎgedc̀iman, ˎcʌls̀u
Adv.z.   f.cl.   Pcl.z.   adv.cl.   vocat.ph.

7.3.2. *Major Sentence Categories*

The major sentences may be classified into four sentence categories on the basis of the inflectional mood endings (cf. 4.3.5.1) occurring with the element P. They are (i) 'Declarative Sentence', (ii) 'Interrogative Sentence', (iii) 'Imperative Sentence' and (iv) 'Propositive Sentence'. Intonation plays an important role in distinguishing some sentence categories, since not only is the selection of certain types of intonation fairly regularly related to a particular sentence category but also it can sometimes characterize a sentence which is modally ambiguous.

7.3.2.1. *Declarative Sentence*

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the declarative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a declarative sentence. A declarative sentence is phonologically marked nearly always by Intoneme LF (LOW FALL) or HF (HIGH FALL) (cf. 2.8) occurring with the last stress group, except the one whose P is inflected with -ȷi, the declarative mood ending of the medium style, which is marked by Intoneme LF only, e.g.

    비가 옵니다 *biga ˎomnida* 'It is raining.'
    아저씨는 돈을 많이 법니다 *a´ȷʌs̀inin ´donil -mani ˎbʌ:mnida*
        '[His] uncle makes a lot of money.'
    나는 집에 갑니다 *naninȷibeˎgamnida* 'I am going home.'
    연이 지붕에 있네 *´jʌ:ni ȷi-buŋe `inne* 'The kite is on the roof.'
    이 꽃을 땄구나 *i´k̇ocil ^ȷagk̇una* 'You have picked this flower!'
    잘 집어 나도 *ȷalȷi´bʌ na`´do* 'I pick [it] up well too.'

7.3.2.1.1. *Sentences Neutral in Mood*

Sentences whose P is inflected with one of the following endings are modally neutral without intonation. It is in such sentences that intonation plays its major role as a phonological marker of the grammatical mood category.

(i)   *-o/-io* and *-so* of the low formal speech style as to the declarative, interrogative and imperative mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.1–3).

(ii) *-a/-ʌ* of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1–4).

(iii) *-ȷi* of the medium speech style as to the declarative and interrogative mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1–2).

7.3.2.2. *Interrogative Sentence*

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the interrogative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is an interrogative sentence. There are

two types of interrogative sentence in Korean, 'Q'-type interrogative sentence and 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence. The 'Q'-type includes an interrogative element such as the interrogative noun, e.g., *nu/nugu* 'who', *muʌs* 'what', *ʌnɟe* 'when', etc. (cf. 3.4.2.1.3), the interrogative adjective, e.g., *ʌni* 'which', *musin* 'what', etc., (cf. 3.4.3.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., *wɛ* 'why' or *ʌiʌke* 'how' (cf. 3.4.4.4). On the other hand, the 'Yes/No'-type does not include such an interrogative element.

The 'Q'-type and 'Yes/No'-type are also different in the choice of intonation tunes. The 'Q'-type interrogative sentence, except the one discussed in 7.3.2.2.1, is usually marked by one of the falling intonations, i.e., Intoneme LF/HF. On the other hand, the 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence is typically marked by Intoneme R, e.g.

(i) 'Q'-*Type Interrogative Sentences* [Q element is underlined]

언제 떠나십니까 *ʌnɟe ɨʌna˴simnika* 'When are you leaving?'

이것은 얼맙니까 *i 'gʌsin ˴ʌlmamnika* 'How much is this?'

누가 오셨오 *nuga^osɟʌšo* 'Who has come?'

자네는 무엇을 했는가 *ɟa 'nenin mu-ʌsil `hɛnninga*

　　'What did you do?'

책을 몇권 샀니 *cɛgil-mɟʌdkʷʌn ˴sanni*

　　'How many books did you buy?'

어느것이 좋아 *ʌ-nigʌsi ^ɟoa* 'Which is better?'

(ii) 'Yes/No'-*Type Interrogative Sentences*

나도 갑니까 *nado 'gamnika* 'Am I going too?'

당신이 전화를 하시겠오 *-daŋsini -ɟʌ:nhwalil hasi ˴gesso*

　　'Would you like to telephone?'

신문을 읽어 봤어 *¯sinmunil 'ilgʌbwašʌ* 'Did you read the paper?'

연필도 없니 *ɟʌnpildo `'ʌ:mni* 'Don't you even have a pencil?'

구경꾼이 많이 있디 *'gu:gɟʌŋkuni ^'maniidìi*

　　'Were there many spectators [as you recall]?'

7.3.2.2.1. The Interrogative sentence whose P is inflected with *-ɟi* (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.2) is different from all other interrogative sentences in the choice of intonation as follows:

(*a*) It is marked by Intoneme R when occurring as a 'Q'-type interrogative sentence, whereas all other 'Q'-type interrogative sentences are marked by Intoneme LF/HF, e.g.

너는 언제 가지 *nʌni 'nʌnɟegaɟi* 'When are you going?'

cf. 너는 언제 가니 *nʌni ˴nʌnɟegani* 'When are you going?'

(*b*) It is marked by Intoneme HF when occurring as a 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence, whereas all other 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentences are marked by Intoneme R, e.g.

네가 했지 *nega`hɛdči* 'You did [it], didn't you?'

cf. 네가 했어 *nega'hɛšʌ* 'Did you do [it]?'

7.3.2.3. *Imperative Sentence*

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the imperative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is an imperative sentence. The intonation associated with the imperative sentence is Intoneme LF/HF, as in the case of the declarative sentence. However, Intoneme LF/HF occurring with the imperative sentence is very often, though not always, distinguished from the same intoneme associated with the declarative sentence by (*a*) having a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (*b*) being realized with a stronger stress, than the latter. This pitch-stress characteristic is particularly noticeable with Intoneme LF/HF accompanying the imperative sentences whose P is inflected with a modally neutral ending, e.g., *-a/-ʌ*. Where intonation fails to distinguish the mood of a modally neutral sentence, it is ultimately the context of situation which determines it, e.g.

이리 오십시오 *ilio˴sibšio* 'Please come here.'

당신이 이편지를 부치오 *˴daŋsini, i-pjʌnɟilil bu˴cio*

　　'You post this letter.'

자네는 여기 있게 *ɟane`nin ɟʌgi`idke* 'You stay here.'

신문을 봐라 *˴sinmunil ˴bwala* 'Look at the newspaper.'

빨리 뛰지마 *'pallìiwiɟi ^ma* 'Don't run fast.'

7.3.2.4. *Propositive Sentence*

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the propositive mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a propositive sentence. The propositive sentence is not distinguishable intonationally from the imperative sentence since both are marked by Intoneme LF/HF coupled with the pitch-stress feature referred to in 7.3.2.3. Therefore, the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending can be distinguished from the corresponding imperative sentence only by the context of situation. It is noted that the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending includes frequently the pronoun *uli* 'we' as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

천천히 걸읍시다 *-cʌncʌnhi ˴gʌ:libšida* 'Let us walk slowly.'

내일 일찍 떠나십시다 *nei˴lilčig ɨʌna˴sibšida*

　　'Let us leave early tomorrow.'

오늘은 하지 마세 *o-nilin haɟi ˴mase* 'Let's not do it today.'

우리도 시장에 가 *u-lido -si:ɟaŋe ˴^ga* 'Let us go to the market too.'

7.4. SIMPLE AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

If a simple sentence is defined as consisting of a single final clause, and a compound sentence of more than one final clause, the majority of Korean sentences are simple sentences since they include only one final clause.

7.4.1. *Simple Sentences*

It is to be noted that following the definition of simple and compound sentences as given above, many sentences which have traditionally been treated as compound sentences are analysed here as simple sentences, e.g.

새가 울고 있었다 ˴sɛga ˌulgo iŝʌdta 'The bird was singing.'
꽃이 아름답게 피었니 ˌk̇oci a-limdaḃke pi˴ʌnni
    'Has the flower blossomed beautifully?'
네가 해야 나도 하겠다 nega˴hɛja, nadoha˴gedìa
                    nf.cl.   f.cl.
    'Only when/if you do [it], I will too.'

너도 가고 나도 간다 nʌ˴do gago nado˴ganda
                    nf.cl.   f.cl.
    'You go and I go too.'

당신이 가면 나는 안간다 ˴daŋsini gamjʌn nanin˴anganda
                            nf.cl.   f.cl.
    'If you go, I will not go.'

7.4.2. *Compound Sentences*

Compound sentences, of which two-clause type is most common, are all coordinate sentences, and the constituent clauses are linked paratactically in quick succession. Either a plus juncture or a tentative juncture may intervene between the constituent clauses but never a terminal juncture, e.g.

개가 뛴다 섰다 gɛga˴ìwinda, ˴sʌdìa
              f.cl.   f.cl.
    'The dog is jumping, it's stopped [now].'

추어 문 닫어 ˆˌcuʌ, ˆmundadʌ 'It is cold, shut the door.'
          f.cl.   f.cl.

온다 빨리 숨어라 ˴onda, ˌp̣allisumʌla '[He] is coming, hide quickly.'
              f.cl.   f.cl.

먹어라 식는다 mʌ-gʌla ˴siŋninda 'Eat [it] quickly, it is getting cold.'
          f.cl.   f.cl.

As exemplified by the examples above, most compound sentences are relatively short and are characterized by 'impatience', 'anxiety', etc., on the part of the speaker.

There are many compound sentences in Korean in which the two final clauses, usually of interrogative type, stand in semantic contrast or opposition.

꿈이냐, 생시냐 ˴kuminja, ˴sɛŋsinja 'Is it dream or reality?'
할까요, 말까요 ˈhalk̇ajo, ˴malk̇ajo 'Shall I do it or not?'

7.5. MINOR SENTENCES

The minor sentences, which, by definition, do not include a final clause, may be further divided into 'Elliptical' and 'Initiating' types.

7.5.1. *Elliptical Type*

Minor sentences of the elliptical type are all referable to major sentences containing the same word, phrase or non-final clause. These often constitute responses to a previous utterance and are replaceable by a major type sentence of which they form a constituent, e.g.

(*a*)   신문 ˴sinmun 'A newspaper.'
        [in response to mwʌsil boni 'What are you reading?']
    cf. 신문을 본다 ˴sinmunil˴bonda 'I am reading the paper.'

(*b*)   미국에서 ˴migugesʌ 'From America.'
        [in response to ʌdiesʌ osiʌŝo 'Where did you come from?']
    cf. 미국에서 왔오 -migugesʌ ˴waŝo 'I have come from America.'

(*c*)   그이가 오면 gi-iga o˴mjʌn '[What] if she comes [here]?'
                        nf.cl.
    cf. 그이가 오면 어떻게 해 gi-iga o˴mjʌn ʌìʌke˴hɛ
        'What shall I do if she comes?'

The category of the declarative/interrogative mood is found operating in the minor sentences of the elliptical type with intonation as its exponent. As in the major type sentences, Intoneme LF/HF functions as the phonological exponent of the declarative mood, and Intoneme R as the exponent of the interrogative mood. However, a minor sentence consisting of, or including, an interrogative element (cf. 7.3.2.2) is marked by Intoneme LF/HF just like the 'Q'-type interrogative sentences, e.g.

(*i*)   *Minor Sentences of Declarative Mood*
        돈 ˴don 'Money.'
    cf. 돈을 찾았다 -donil ca˴jadìa '[I] have found the money.'

학교에서 `*hagḱjoesʌ* 'At the school.'

cf. 학교에서 놀았다 -*hagḱjoesʌ noˌladìa* '[I] played at the school.'

(ii)   *Minor Sentences of Interrogative Mood*

(*a*) 'Yes/No'-Type

학교에서 ´*hagḱjoesʌ* 'At the school?'

cf. 학교에서 놀았니 -*hagḱjoesʌ no ´lanni* 'Did you play at the school?'

엄마가 ˇ*ʌmmaga* 'Mummy?'

cf. 엄마가 더 좋아 -*ʌmmaga dʌ ´joa* 'You like your mummy more?'

(*b*) 'Q'-Type

누가 *nu`ga* 'Who?'

cf. 누가 울어 *nugau`lʌ* 'Who is crying?'

언제 `*ʌnje* 'When?'

cf. 언제 주었어 -*ʌnje juʌ`šʌ* 'When did you give [it me]?'

7.5.2. *Initiating Type*

Minor sentences of the initiating type are used to initiate a discourse and are not referable to major sentences of which they may be a constituent. Minor sentences of the initiating type may be further divided into the 'Exclamatory Type' and 'Vocative Type', the former being expressed by an introductory interjections (cf. 3.4.6.2) and the latter by a personal name, a title or by both with or without a vocative particle (cf. 3.4.5.5), e.g.

(i)   *Exclamatory Type*

아 `*a* 'Ah!'

저런 *jʌ ´lʌn* 'Good gracious!'

자 ^*ja* 'Well!'

아이구 `*aigu* 'Oh!'

쉬 -*swi* 'Hush!', 'Quiet!'

(ii)   *Vocative Type*

복동아 `*bogìoŋa* 'Bogdong (personal name)!'

님이여 *niˌmijʌ* 'My dear!'

김장군 ^*gimjaŋgun* 'General Kim!'

박선생 *bagšʌn`sɛŋ* 'Mr. Pak!'

여보 *jʌ^`bo* 'Darling!'

etc.

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Appendix

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