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.

H.B. Lee is Professor of Phonetics and Linguistics, Seoul National University, Korea.
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 in it a format suitable for publication. I owe special 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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<td>active</td>
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<td>Adj./adj.</td>
<td>Adjective/adjectival</td>
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<td>adjectival clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.(rel.)ph.</td>
<td>adjectival relational phrase</td>
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<td>Adv./adv.</td>
<td>Adverb/adverbial</td>
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<td>adv.cl.</td>
<td>adverbial clause</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv.ph.</td>
<td>adverbial phrase</td>
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<td>animate</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>(i) Consonant in chapter II, Phonetics and Phonology</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Complement</td>
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<td>Expansion</td>
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<td>Interj./interj.</td>
<td>Interjection/interjectival</td>
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<td>mdf.</td>
<td>modifying</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<td>N/n</td>
<td>Noun/nominal</td>
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<td>Animae noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.ina.</td>
<td>Inanimate noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.hon.</td>
<td>Honorific noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.num.</td>
<td>Numerical noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.ind.</td>
<td>Non-independent noun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Plain noun</td>
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<td>Nucleus</td>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<td>Progressive</td>
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<td>prop.</td>
<td>Propositive</td>
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<td>Relational</td>
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<td>retros.</td>
<td>Retrospective</td>
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<td>Subject</td>
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<td>Sat./sat.</td>
<td>Satellite</td>
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<td>sfx.</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
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<td>Stem</td>
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<td>t.</td>
<td>Tense</td>
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<td>tr.</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/v.</td>
<td>(i) Vowel in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em> (ii) Verb/verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaux.</td>
<td>Auxiliary Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vc.</td>
<td>Copula Verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>Descriptive Verb</td>
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<td>V.intr.</td>
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<td>V.tr.</td>
<td>Transitive Verb</td>
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<td>Verbal Phrase</td>
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<td>ve.</td>
<td>Voice</td>
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<td>Z/z.</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
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### Symbols and notations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>Phonemic transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>(i) Phonetic transcription (ii) Translation fill-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Optional, e.g. (S)P \rightarrow P or SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>Rewrite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Hypothetical or unreal form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Plus juncture within a transcribed passage (addition sign elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>Tentative juncture within a transcribed passage (comma elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>Terminal juncture in a transcribed passage (period elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>; : ;</td>
<td>Quantity (length) in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em>, and in a transcribed passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/C-form</td>
<td>Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/a</td>
<td>Form selected by vowel harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Stress marker in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em> tone markers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| space in | (i) Stress group boundary in phonemic transcription, e.g. /ne' nala so'sig/ (ii) Word boundary in morphophonemic transcription, e.g. ne nala sosig | transcribed passages
I

INTRODUCTION

I.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. (Seungbo Cho 1967, Hūsūng 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 (Sūngnyǒng 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 agglutinative in morphological formations. However, there are some scholars who do not readily approve of the Altaic theory (Popp 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 kindergarten to university level, and of all cultural activities including the press and broadcasting.
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 as inadequate as well as inconvenient. Inadequate or not, however, this practice went on until 1446 A.D. when Sejong, the fourth king of the Yi Dynasty, promulgated ‘Huminjöngüm’ /huminjöngim/[^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 Huminjöngüm, 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 ‘Huminjöngüm’, which means literally ‘The right sounds to teach the nation’.

Huminjöngüm 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 producing the sounds represented by the letters. For instance, the letter ㄱ [g 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 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, ㅏ [a] or ㅗ, ㅓ [or ㅜ] and ㅔ [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, Huminjöngüm, 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 Huminjöngüm 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 /num/ ‘eye’ would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

```
/mag/ : ㄱㅏ < ㅗ = m, ㅗ = a, ㅗ = g

/num/ : ㄴゥ < ㅗ = n, ㅗ = u, ㅗ = n
```

With the three characteristics of Huminjöngüm 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, 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


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):

\[
\begin{align*}
/j\varepsilon/ & \quad \| < \| /j\varepsilon/ + \| /\varepsilon/ \\
)/j\varepsilon/ & \quad \| < \| /j\varepsilon/ + \| /\varepsilon/
\end{align*}
\]

The semi-vowel /w/ is represented graphemically either by \(\sim /o/\) or \(\sim /\varepsilon/\) depending on the vowel following with which /w/ forms a diphthong:

\[
\begin{align*}
/w\varepsilon/ & \quad \| < \| /w\varepsilon/ + \| /\varepsilon/ \\
)/w\varepsilon/ & \quad \| < \| /w\varepsilon/ + \| /\varepsilon/
\end{align*}
\]

The current alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, fifteenth-century Hunminjeongum, 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" as initiated and developed by the London School, namely, a multi-dimensional approach characterized by the establishment of phonetic units on the one hand, and the abstraction and assignment of prosodic features to and over the phonetic 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{VoicessLess } & \text{VoicessLess } & \text{VoicessLess } & \text{Voiced } \\
\text{unaspirated} & \text{aspirated} & \text{gloslalized} & \text{nasal} \\
\hline
\text{bi-labial } & /b/ & /p/ & /m/ \\
\text{plosive} & /p/ & /\varepsilon/ & /\varepsilon/ \\
\text{alveolar } & /d/ & /t/ & /\varepsilon/ \\
\text{plosive} & /d/ & /t/ & /\varepsilon/ \\
\text{velar } & /\varepsilon/ & /k/ & /\varepsilon/ \\
\text{plosive} & /\varepsilon/ & /k/ & /\varepsilon/
\end{array}
\]

---

Chapter 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 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, upward or downward. For instance, a word may bypass the level of phrase and occur as 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'.

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1. THE TYPE OF KOREAN DESCRIBED IN THIS BOOK

There are seven main dialects 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, Gangwon and Hwanghae Province, (iv) Chungcheong Province dialect, (v) Gyeongsang Province dialect, (vi) Jeolla 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'.

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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

가다리던 눈이 밝이 오너 나의 기분이 좋다
/gidalidan nuni mani oni, nae gibuni jota/
‘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) 가다리던 눈이 밝이 오너
/gidalidan nuni mani oni/
‘As the snow that I have been waiting for falls in plenty’
(b) 나의 기분이 좋다
/nae gibuni jota/ ‘My mood is good.’

(iii) Phrase

(a) 가다리던 눈
/gidalidan nun/ the snow that I have been waiting for
(b) 밝이 오너
/mani oni/ ‘as it’ falls in plenty’
(c) 나의 기분
/nae gibun/ ‘my mood’

(iv) Word

가다리던 /gidalidan/ ‘[that I] have been waiting for’
눈 /num/ ‘snow’, 이 /i/ subject particle
밝이 /mani/ ‘in plenty’, 오니 /oni/ ‘as it comes’
 좋다 /jota/ ‘is good, feels fine’

(v) Morpheme

가다리 /gidal-/ ‘to wait for’,
더 /-ta/ retro.sfx, -/n/ adj. end.
눈 /num/ ‘snow’, 이 /i/ subject.pcl.
밝 /mani/ ‘to be plenty’, 이 /i/ adv.sfx.
오 /-o/ ‘to come, fall’, -/ni/ non-final adv. end.
나 /na/ ‘I’, 의 /e/ (< ii) ‘of’,
기분 /gibun/ ‘mood’, 좋 /-jo/ ‘to be good’,
다 /-ta/ (< -da) decl.md.end.

(vi) Downward rank shift

The adjectival clause /gidalidan/ functions as a word (adjective) in
the nominal phrase
/gidalidan nun/ ‘the snow that I have been waiting for’
Exp. H.

(vii) Upward rank shift

The word /jota/ ‘is good’ bypasses the level of phrase and functions
as a constituent (predicate) of the clause
/nae gibuni jota/ ‘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.
II
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 [p] and [b] 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 [p] 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 [p], [pʰ] and [b] also occur in Korean but are phonemized differently; [pʰ] and [b] form two separate phonemes /p/ and /b/; e.g. /pal/ 'grass' and /pal/ '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.

Chapter II

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:

\[ /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, /\hat{i}, /\hat{u}/ \]

Examples

\[ /\hat{a}/ 'rain'; /\hat{e}/ 'hemp cloth'; /\hat{i}/ 'pear'; /\hat{o}/ 'rope'; /\hat{u}/ 'wrapping cloth'; /\hat{\hat{u}}/ 'wealth'; /\hat{\hat{u}}/ 'street' \]

2.2.2. Consonants

There are nineteen consonants:

\[ /p/, /\hat{b}/, /\hat{p}/, /b/, /\hat{m}/, /\hat{n}/, /\hat{l}/, /\hat{\hat{r}}/ \]

Examples

\[ (a) /b/ 'bael/ 'foot'; /\hat{b}/ 'bal/ 'hairdressing'; /\hat{p}/ 'lib/ 'mouth'; (b) /p/ 'pal/ 'arm'; /\hat{p}/ 'bipa/ 'lute'; (c) /c/ 'cal/ 'sucking'; /\hat{c}/ 'ipal/ 'tooth'; (d) /d/ 'dal/ 'moon'; /\hat{d}/ 'bedal/ 'delivery'; /\hat{\hat{d}}/ 'god/ 'soon'; (e) /t/ 'tal/ 'trouble'; /\hat{\hat{t}}/ 'ital/ 'separation'; (f) /l/ 'tal/ 'daughter'; /\hat{\hat{l}}/ 'baofal/ 'bundle'; (g) /\hat{\hat{l}}/ 'gal/ 'Well'; /\hat{\hat{l}}/ 'saaja/ 'lion'; (h) /s/ 'cal/ 'to kick'; /\hat{s}/ 'gica/ 'train'; (i) /l/ 'cal/ 'salty'; /\hat{l}/ 'baecag/ 'closely'; (j) /g/ 'gal/ 'go'; /\hat{g}/ 'saga/ 'apple'; /\hat{\hat{g}}/ 'gag/ 'angle'; (k) /\hat{\hat{k}}/ 'kal/ 'knife'; /\hat{\hat{\hat{k}}}/ 'samjwe/ 'refreshing'; (l) /\hat{k}/ 'kal/ 'colour'; /\hat{\hat{k}}/ 'bakad/ 'outside'; (m) /n/ 'sal/ 'flesh'; /\hat{\hat{n}}/ 'osa/ 'investigation'; (n) /\hat{n}/ 'sal/ 'rice'; /\hat{\hat{n}}/ 'bisan/ 'expensive'; (o) /\hat{\hat{o}}/ 'cal/ 'sun'; /\hat{\hat{o}}/ 'ihc/ 'understanding'; (p) /\hat{\hat{p}}/ 'mal/ 'horse'; /\hat{\hat{p}}/ 'ima/ 'forehead'; /\hat{\hat{\hat{p}}}/ 'sam/ 'three'; (q) /\hat{\hat{\hat{q}}}/ 'nal/ 'day'; /\hat{\hat{\hat{q}}}/ 'binu/ 'soap'; /\hat{\hat{\hat{q}}}/ 'san/ 'mountain'; (r) /\hat{\hat{r}}/ 'saja/ 'shark'; /\hat{\hat{r}}/ 'san/ 'table'; (s) /\hat{s}/ 'gili/ [giri] 'length'; /\hat{s}/ 'il/ 'one' \]
2.2.3. Semi-vowels

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

\[ /je/ , /je/ , /ja/ , /jo/ , /ju/ , /jw/ , /wi/ , /we/ , /wa/ , /wv/ . \]

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**

\[ /je/ 'example' , /je/ 'yes' , /je/ 'haje/ 'haj' 'is white' , /ja/ 'Look!' , /ja/ 'woman' /hojja/ 'engagement' , /jo/ 'sweat' , /jo/ 'insult' , /jo/ 'religious' , /ju/ 'six' , /ju/ 'ju/ 'milk' , /ja/ 'jaj/ 'male' , /ja/ 'ja/ 'bone' , /wi/ 'above' , /wi/ 'top' , /wi/ 'dwi/ 'rear' , /wi/ 'gwi/ 'ear' , /we/ 'we/ 'why' , /we/ 'bule/ 'bulge' , /we/ 'displeasure' , /we/ 'fruit' , /we/ 'hajangwan/ 'entrance-hall' , /we/ 'enemy' , /we/ 'gangwen/ 'garden' , /ja/ 'ja/ 'chair' , /ja/ 'sail/ 'thanks' \]

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 /ː/ and the short one unmarked, e.g.

\[ /gim/ 'a surname' , /gim/ 'laver, seaweed' , /sal/ 'deaf' , /sal/ 'to live' , /gijjja/ 'structure' , /gijjja/ 'rescue' , /budong/ 'inequality' , /budong/ 'dissimilarity' , \]

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.

\[ /be/ 'ship, boat' [be] , /be/ 'double, twice' [be] , /be/ 'by boat' [bero] , /be/ 'twice as much/many' . \]

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.

\[ /sa/ /sal/ = ['sa'] /'sal/' 'person' , /wa/ /wal/ = ['wa'] /'wal/' 'some person' , /gijjja/ /gijjja/ = ['gijjja'] /'gijjja/' 'competition' , /ja/ /ja/ = ['ja'] /'ja/' 'free competition' \]

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'.


With the lips slightly rounded.

\[ /a:/ = [a:] , /a:/ = [a:]+ , /k/ = [k] , /k/ = [k] , /i/ = [i], \]

Chapter II

2.3.1.1. /i/

/ [i] 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 [i], e.g.

- 일 /’i:ld/ 'affair, business, work'
- 심 /’s materials, 'interest'
- 미지 /’mij/ 'unknown', 기자 /’ji:’/ 'reporter'

2.3.1.2. /e/

/ [e] 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 [e]. The unstressed short [e] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and retracted tongue position than for the stressed long vowel [e], e.g.

- 세 /’se’/ 'rent', 하 /’ha’/ 'meeting'
- 외국 /’wegug’/ 'foreign land'
- 어제 /’aj/e/ 'yesterday' 세계 /’sege’/ 'world'

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

- 아 /’e’/ 'baby, child'
- 배 /’gegi’/ 'story', 해방 /’he:ban’/ 'liberation'
- 부채 /’buce’/ 'debt', 서쪽 /’se:cg/’/ 'policy'

2.3.1.4. /a/

/ [a] 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 /’sa:ja/ 'lion', 백 /’ba:m’/ 'chestnut'
- 가족 /’gagog’/ 'melody, song'
- 이발 /’e:bal’/ 'hairdressing'
- 바다 /’ba’da/ 'sea'

2.3.1.5. /o/

/ [o] 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 [o]. The English vowel occurring in words like 'box', 'cock' etc. is very different in quality from the Korean /’o/ or /a/; 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 /’so’/ 'cow', 맥 /’od ’/ 'clothes'
- 보물 /’bo:mul’/ 'treasure', 진보 /’jinbo’/ 'progress'
- 보도 /’bo:do’/ 'report'

2.3.1.6. /u/

/ [u] 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.

- 우고 /’udko’/ 'to laugh and'
- 헛 /’jek/ a traditional Korean game
- 교수 /’gyousu’/ 'professor'
- 우산 /’u’san’/ 'umbrella'

2.3.1.7. /a/

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

- 발 /’bwal’/ ‘[bwal] ‘bee’, 발 /’b-bal’/ ‘[b-bal] ‘punishment’
- 살 /’sal, sall/ ‘New Year’s Day’, 살 /’sal/ ‘theory’
- 할 /’hbal’/ ‘[h-bal] ‘old, worn out’
- 연설 /’jansal’/ ‘[jansal] ‘speech’

2.3.1.8. /i/

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

- 그림 /’girim’/ ‘[girimm] ‘painting’
- 뎄 /’di:l/ ‘[du:li] ‘field’
- 아이들 /’aidil/ ‘[aidil] ‘children’
- 느린 /’ni:lin/ [nu’r in] ‘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., [i] 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 [i] occurs usually in the V position in the syllable structure (C1 V C (see 2.4, Syllable Structure)), e.g.

(i) Long unstressed vowel

말이 /má:i/ 'what'
마디 /má:di/ 'thread'

(ii) Short stressed vowel

작다 /já:t/ 'to write down'
쓰다 /sú:td/ 'to use or write'
특명 /tár'man/ '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 [i] is close to that of the stressed long vowel like [i]. 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, zveolar, and velar plosives

(a) In the initial position, these phonemes are pronounced with little or no aspiration, i.e., [p', t', k'] or [b, d, g]. These are lax consonants and are pronounced very lightly and softly, e.g.

발 /bal/ 'foot'
달 /dal/ 'moon'

(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 /gabá:n/ 'brief-case'
사다리 /sadá:ri/ 'ladder'

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.

пал /pal/ 'arm'
팔 /pal/ 'arm'
칼 /kal/ 'knife'
작 /kapjo/ 'ticket'
사탕 /satáŋ/ 'sugar'
석간 /sigká:n/ 'kitchen knife'
석탄 /saktan/ 'coal'

2.3.2.3. /b, d, g/ Bi-labial, zveolar, and velar plosives

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 [i] is close to that of the stressed long vowel like [i]. For further information about the vowel and consonant quantity, see 2.5, ‘Syllable Quantity and Stress’.

2.3.2.4. /j, c, ć/ 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 /j, c, ć/ are pronounced with spread lips.

Examples

/j/ 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.

산 /jám/ 'sleep'
말 /ja:b/ 'house'
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/jido/ [jido] ‘map’
/hija/ [hija] ‘chair’
/si:jaŋ/ [si:jaŋ] ‘market’
/janjan/ [janjan] ‘war’

/ʃ/ is voiceless and strongly aspirated syllable-initially and it does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.
/c/ [ca] ‘tea’
/cre/ [cre] ‘book’
/can/ [can] ‘window’
/gica/ [gica] ‘train’
/jukce/ [jukce] ‘body’

/ʃ/ is a voiceless unaspirated sound pronounced with a considerable tension in the articulatory organs, and consequently it sounds very hard or tense compared to /ʃ/ which is lax. This consonant occurs only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, e.g.
/cada/ [cada] ‘salty’
/cam/ [cam] ‘time, space’
/gaca’/ [gaca’] ‘fake’
/gojko/ [goko] ‘tune, melody’

2.3.2.5. /s, ʃ/ 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.
/san/ ‘mountain’, /sul/ ‘wine’
/sisa/ ‘doctor’, /jus/ ‘tide’

/s/, when followed by /i/ or /j/, is palatalized, i.e., [ṣ], e.g.
/sin/ [ṣin] ‘footwear’
/buṣjar/ [buṣjar] ‘Break [it].’

/ʃ/ 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. /ʃ/, like /s/, occurs only syllable-initially and sometimes, though rarely, syllable-finally too when the succeeding syllable begins with the same sound, e.g.
/ʃal/ [ṣal] ‘rice’
/silim/ [ṣirim] ‘wrestling’
/sag/ [ṣak] ‘sprout’
/saga/ [ṣak’a] ‘to rot’

Like /s/, /ʃ/ is palatalized when followed by /i/ or /j/, e.g.
/ṣi/ [ṣi] ‘seed’
/ṣita/ [ṣita] ‘to wash’

2.3.2.6. /h/ Glottal fricative

/h/ is realized as the palatal fricative [c] before [i] or [j], as the velar fricative [x] before [i], as the labio-velar fricative [w] or [u] before /u/ or /w/, and sometimes as the voiced [h] between voiced sounds. Elsewhere it is realized as [h], e.g.
/halabai/ [halabai] ‘grandfather’
/hes/ ‘sun’, /him/ ‘kim’ ‘strength’
/hjan/ [hjan] ‘brother’
/hig/ [kuk] ‘soil’
/huwa/ [huwa] [hwayan] or [yuwan] ‘later trouble’

2.3.2.7. /m/ Bilabial nasal

/m/ = [m], e.g.
/mul/ ‘water’, /ima/ ‘forehead’
/mim/ ‘burden’,
/simjan/ [simjan] or [ṣimjan] ‘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.
/nim/ ‘naim’ ‘beloved’
/ɲhaj/ ‘hajla’ ‘mermaid’
/son/ ‘hand’,
/don/ ‘money’
/mun/ ‘door’

2.3.2.9. /ŋ/ Velar nasal

/ŋ/ is like the ‘ng’ sound as in ‘sing’, ‘king’, e.g.
/ṣang/ [ṣang] ‘surname’
/ŋbaj/ [baj] ‘room’
/ṣŋja/ [ṣunj] ‘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 [ɾ], i.e., a flapped ‘r’. For the
sake of convenience [r] is replaced by [l] 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/ [gil]  'road'
돌멩이 /dolmenji/ [dolmenji] 'stone'
민리 /palli/ [palli] 'quickly'
길 /gil/ [gil] 'length'
소리 /sori/ [sori] 'sound'
전화 /gxialham/ [gxialham] 'shortcomings'

2.3.3. Semi-vowels

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

hill /bjil/ [bjil] 'star', or [bjal]
우유 /uju/ [uju] 'milk' or [uju]
제 /we/ [we] 'why'
무어 /mwe/ [mwe] 'what'

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

의무 /iimu/ [iimu] 'duty'
의무 /i:ii/ [i:ii] 'dissent'

The particle /i/ 'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), which is usually unstressed, is realized as /e/ or /e/, e.g.,

나의 /nae kum/ [nae kum] '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 the initial consonant and C' the final consonant. The elements in the brackets are optional:

Korean syllable structure: (C) V (C')

Examples

(i) V : 오 /oi/ 'this', 채 /che/ 'child'
(ii) CV : 싸/ma/ 'I', 뽀 /so/ 'cow'
(iii) VC : 알 /al/ 'egg', 밀 /mil/ 'business'
(iv) CVC : 살 /sal/ 'flesh', 임 /jam/ 'enemy'

영원 /jamwang/ 'eternity'

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

송아지 /sonajji/ 'calm'
밥 /ban/ 'room'
다리 /dalii/ 'bridge'
치로 /calo/ 'by car'

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

/b/  /p/  /m/  /n/  /l/  /ŋ/

However, /s/ + /j/ sequence is very common in verbal suffixes, such as 하셨다 /hasjatda/ etc. There are only seven consonants which can fill the position C': they are

/b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/.

Examples

/b/: 바 /bab/ 'meal', 바위 /babwi/ 'sideline'
/d/: 과 /god/ 'at once', 바 /bad/ 'field'
/g/: 국 /gug/ 'soup', 걸자 /kagga/ 'Let’s cut it.'
/m/: 길 /jim/ 'burden', 잡사 /gamsa/ 'thanks'
/n/: 산 /san/ 'mountain', 손자 /sonja/ 'grandson'
/ŋ/: 상 /sang/ 'prize', 영국 /janggug/ 'England'
/l/: 살 /sal/ 'rice', 빌다 /mildha/ 'to push'

미움도 /maullo/ '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

1 Ung Hê, Kgô ímmun (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 /mo:ja/ [mo:ja] ‘mother and child’ the stressed syllable /mo:/ is longer than /ja/ which is unstressed. Similarly, the word /moja/ [moja] ‘hat’ in citation form is pronounced [mo:ja] where /mo:/ is phonetically longer than /ja/.

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

모자 /mo:ja/ [mo:ja] ‘mother and son’
모자 /moja/ [moja] ‘cap, hat’

/mo:/ is longer than /mo/, and /mo/ may be more accurately represented phonetically as [mo:], 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 (C)V or (C)V:C, e.g.

보조 /bo:jo/ [bojo] ‘support’
시조 /si:jo/ [si:jo] ‘founder’

연구 /ja:nyu/ [ja:nyu] ‘research’
방송 /ba:nyo:/ [ba:nyo:] ‘broadcasting’

(ii) If the stressed syllable includes a lexically short vowel and is of (C)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.

이미 /i:mi/ [i:mi] ‘already’ or /i mi/ [i mi]

On the other hand, if the stressed syllable with a lexically short vowel has the structure (C)V:C, then it is the final consonant C, 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 /ba:l/ [ba:l] ‘punishment’

cf. 벌 /ba:l/ [ba:l] ‘bee’

밤 /bam/ [bam] ‘night’

cf. 밤 /bam/ [bam] ‘chestnut’

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전도 /’jando/ [’jando] ‘mission, transmission’

cf. 전도 /’jando/ [’jando] ‘fall’

작다 /’jakt’a/ [’jakt’a] ‘to write down’

cf. 작다 /’jakt’a/ [’jakt’a] ‘small’

The observation of the lengthening of the final consonant in the stressed syllable of (C)V:C 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

‘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 /’mu:a/ ‘What?’
무어 /’mu:jo/ ‘What?’

만 무어야 /mandu:ja/ ‘What about you?’
그림 /gi:lam/ ‘Of course.’

나 무어하고 엄마 /namu:ha:go:omi/ ‘What are you doing?’

Two stress groups

네 /ne ‘Yes, yes.’

함 /’ham/ ‘Go safely.’

마Ł도 함 /maal’do: hal:ka/ ‘[Do you think] I can do it?’

왜 감사비 니다 /we: ’gasa:bi: da:ni/ ‘Why are you leaving so suddenly?’

Three stress groups

하나 몇 개 /han:ga ‘one, two, three’

오늘은 날씨 좋구나 /o:ni:li: guessa: ‘It is cold today.’

1 Hyun-Bok Lee, ‘A Study of Korean Intonation’, 1964, 310. For further details concerning the stress group and various related problems see also 301–16, pp. 61–80.
2.6.1. 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)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga 'joassa ha' nile gu' limi 'xhiba/

(b) Fast tempo (four stress groups)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga 'joassa ha' nile gu' limi 'xhiba/

(c) Faster tempo (two stress groups)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga 'joassa hanile gu' limi 'xhiba/

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.

‘The weather’
‘in the sky’
‘the cloud’

cf. ‘nalsi’ ‘ga’

(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.

/o-nilin 'nalsiga 'joassa ha' nile gu' limi 'xhiba/

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
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The forward shifting of the stress from the second syllable to the first in the words of (CV CV(C) C) seems to be not frequent when they occur in isolation or in citation, e.g. /moja/ ‘cap’ (cf. 2.5(a)). Notice that /moja/ is more frequent than /moja/ 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 /onlin nalsigago sas hanile gu limi sana/ ‘As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky’, /nts/ ‘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 /abo/jigabane/ translates ‘Father in the room’, when it is pronounced as /abo/jiga bane/ with a short break between /ga/ and /ba/, but it means ‘In the father’s briefcase’, if the same sequence is pronounced as /abo/ji gabane/ with a break between /ji/ 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 /abo/ji gabane/ ‘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 [p]. On the other hand, in /abo/ji gabane/ ‘in Father’s briefcase’ it is the syllable /ji/ which is prolonged and the /a/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless sound [a] or [k]; whereas the /b/ in /gabane/ 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 /a/baji/ and /a/bajiga/ are phonetically realized as [a’baji] and [a’bajiga] 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.
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) 오늘 아침 신문을 읽으셨나요?
/o-nil-acimsimmun/, 'have you read this morning’s paper?'

1(b) 오늘 아침 신문을 읽었습니다.
/o-nil-acimsimmun/, 'I have read this morning’s paper today?'

2(a) 네 카야.
/nega-gajaa(+)/, 'you must go.'

2(b) 네 카야.
/nega-gajaa/, 'I will work only when you go there.'

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

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:

미 Sexy 음식이 있다.
/magko + 'iddedia/.

[He] may be having his meal [now].

미 Sexy 음식이 있다.
/magko /'iddedia/.

[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 /ba-nil + /'magko/, 'after eating'
박보와 거지 /'babowa + /'ga:j/ 'a fool and a beggar'.

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

보리 밥 /bo-lii + /'sal/, 'barley and rice'
보리 밥 /bo-liilaj/, 'barley (grains)'

but they are not in

공부 하라 /ki'na + ba-lija/, 'Cut it off.'
공부하라 /ki'nahala/, '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 듣 /'ha-na 'dul/, 'one, two' may be junctorially realized as

/ha-na + /'dul/.

하나 듣 /'ha-na /'dul/.

/ha-na /'dul/.

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 for purposes not directly related to grammatical or syntactic

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 /ney/ ‘Yes’
2. High Fall /ney/ ‘Yes’
3. Full Fall /ney/ ‘Yes’

**Rising Tunes**

4. Low Rise /ney/
5. High Rise /ney/
6. Full Rise /ney/

**Falling-Rising Tunes**

7. Low Fall-Rise /ney/
8. High Fall-Rise /ney/

**Rising-Falling Tunes**

9. Low Rise-Fall /ney/
10. High Rise-Fall /ney/

**Falling-Rising-Falling Tunes**

11. Low Fall-Rise-Fall /ney/
12. High Fall-Rise-Fall /ney/

**Rising-Falling-Rising Tunes**

13. Low Rise-Fall-Rise /ney/
14. High Rise-Fall-Rise /ney/

**Level Tunes**

15. Low Level Tune /ney/
16. Mid Level Tune /ney/
17. High Level Tune /ney/

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) 채요 /we/ ‘Why?’ /wejo/ ‘Why?’

(b) 가십시요 /gasibšijo/ ‘Please go!’

(c) 가 /go/ ‘Go?’ /halliga/ ‘Go quickly?’

(d) 채 /wrgajo/ ‘Why are you going?’

(e) 채 /manjangani/ ‘Are you going first?’

(f) 그채요 /gilejo/ ‘Is that so!’

(g) 날아 갑니까? /nula’gmnika/ ‘Is it flying away?’

(h) 그는 김성에 떠나자 돌아 왔다 /ginin-janjeni –kinnaja, dola, wadia/ ‘[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-Rise-Fall

(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
   부가 가 /nuga-ga/ 'Someone is going.'

(b) Intoneme HF
   부가 가 /nuga-ga/ 'Who is going?'

(c) Intoneme R
   부가 가 /nuga-ga/ 'Is anyone going?'

(d) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
   막고 잡아 /mago-ja/ 'He is eating.'

(e) Intoneme LF + Intoneme LF
   막고 잡아 /mago-ja/ '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., /bi/ 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'; 헤비 '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 빛 /bic/ 'the light'; 헤비 /bibi/ '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.,

- 막가 /machka/ 'bank of a stream'
- /<ne/ 'stream' + /ga/ 'side, edge'
- 막간 /machan/ 'inside of clothes'
- /<od/(<os) 'clothes' + /an/ 'inside'

In the compound word /machka/, 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 '사 이 시 속' /saisido/. This additional /d/ is something that cannot be explained in terms of these general rules, whereas the change /g/ to /k/ is a straightforward case. Similarly, the word /machan/ is not the form that one would expect in the light of the general rules, i.e., /makan/.

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/j/s > /p/, /β/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a plosive consonant, e.g.
   잡고 ibgo > /ibko/ 'to wear and'
   양타 Abda > /Abia/ 'to carry on the back'
   석 달 sag dal > /sagial/ 'three months'
   각보 agbo > /agbo/ 'musical note'
   드워 doge > /doge/ 'Help [him],'
   밝지 badji > /badji/ '[I will] take [it],'
   밑도 midso > /midso/ '[I] believe so.'

2. b/d/g/j/s > /p/, /β/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a /l/-final word, and by a /l/-final morpheme in many Sino-Korean words, e.g.
   바람 /galip hag > /galilep hag/ 'a wall to cover'
   밖 달 jad dal > /jadlab/ 'ten months'
   잘 고 cal goj > /calgoj/ 'a ball to kick'
   살 집 saj jib > /sajlb/ 'a house to buy'
   유사리 ol salam > /olsalam/ 'a person to come'
   발달 balal > /ballal/ 'development'
   결속 galag > /galag/ 'masterpiece'
   실수 silsu > /silssu/ 'mistake'

3. l/g/j/s > /l/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in m/n or l/b/l/p/l/g/l/m/b/s/n, e.g.
   갑다 gamda > /gamina/ 'to close'
   남가 namge > /namge/ 'Stay behind.'
   심사 simja > /simja/ 'Let's sow [seeds].'
   신세 sinse > /sinse/ 'Let's put on [shoes].'
   양다 talbda > /talbda/ 'thin' (> /talab/ cf. rule 8)
   올이 /lipa > /lipa/ 'Let's recite' (> /ibca/ cf. rule 8)
   할다 haltda > /haltsa/ 'to stick' (> /cf. rule 6 and 2)
   임시 gijigi > /gijiga/ '[Does he] scratch?' (> /gijega/ cf. rule 6 and 1)
   임소 palmo > /palmo/ 'You are young.' (> /pamsu/ by rule 7)
   임다 sbuda > /sbdia/ 'to lack' (> /sbvia/ cf. rule 4)
   임부 anjda > /anjia/ 'to sit' (> /anjiae/ cf. rule 7)

4. p/b/s > /b/ in the environment — C/#, e.g.
   스파 gabg > /gabg/ 'price'
   갈다 gipda > /gipda/ (> /gibia/ cf. rule 1)

5. t/s/j/c > /d/ in the environment — C/#, e.g.
   잔고 gatgo > /gadgo/ 'is the same and' (> /agdo/ cf. rule 1)
   막게 basge > /badge/ 'Take off [shirt].' (> /badke/ cf. rule 1)

6. k/k/g/s/l > /g/ in the environment — C/#, e.g.
   부루 buku > /buku/ 'kitchen'
   남다 nakda > /nagda/ 'to catch [fish]' (> /nagia/ cf. rule 1)
   산서 sags > /sag/ 'fee, wage'
   당달 dalg > /dag/ 'chicken'

7. im/t/ny > /m/, /t/, /n/ in the environment — C/#, e.g.
   족 salin > /sam/ 'life, living'
   간다 jandla > /jandla/ 'to be young' (> /jandia/ cf. rule 3)
   할고 halago > /halag/ 'to lick and' (> /halko/ cf. rule 2)
   임계 anlige > /angle/ 'Sit down.' (> /anke/ cf. rule 3)

8. lb/lp > /l/ or /b/ in the environment — C/#, e.g.
   달다 jaldla > /jaldla/ 'short' (> /alala/ cf. rule 2)
   족다 ilpda > /ilda/ 'to recite' (> /ilfa/ cf. rule 2)
   /ilda/ (> /ilda/ cf. rule 1)

9. h/b/g > /m/, /n/, /n/ in the environment — m/n, e.g.
   밥 맛 bab mas > /bammad/ 'appetite' (> /bammas/ cf. rule 5)
   잠 gibe > /gimme/ '[She] is sewing.'
   잠나 gada > /gama/ 'Are you walking?'
   음악 날개 jangug nasi > /jangunsali/ 'English weather'

10. n > /l/ in the environment — l or l-, e.g.
    천 빌 cpal > /callal/ 'a thousand leagues'
    인 나타 jaxlna > /jxllala/ 'ten countries'
    잡 남 gal nal > /gallal/ 'day of departure'

11. d/l > /d/ in the environment — hi, /d/ or /j/ in the environment — d, e.g.
    단위 tada > /danda/ 'to be closed'
    잔 기 gati > /gachi/ 'together'
    고시 gudi > /gugi/ 'firmly'

12. Verb stem final (n/lh g/dl/d) > (/n/lh, (n/lh), (n/lh)c/, e.g.
    종고 joch 'to be good' + -go > /jogko/}
    망 터만 만יח 'to be many' + -da > /manita/
    몇 자 olhi 'to be correct' + -ji > /olci/
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 or the components rearranged, and in the case of words comprising more than one morpheme, the order of morphemes is also fixed. For instance, in the following examples,

장난하다 *bisnaganda* /binnaganda/ 'It is going astray.'
< *bis-* 'astray' prfx. + *naga-* 'to go out' V,st. + *nda* inflx.sfx.

두더지 *pugwasi* /pudkwasil/ 'unripe fruits'
< *pug-* '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 *weguje gamnida* 'He is going abroad.'

V as a non-final clause
가변 *gamjim* jota. 'It is good if [you] go.'

V as an adjectival clause
가는 사람 *gami* satalm 'the one who is going'

V as a nominal clause
갑다 *gami* swibia 'Going is easy.'

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.

창 jib 'house' N
연해 suje 'When?' N
잘라 guila [H] is long.' V
오 o 'Oh!' Interj.
천천히 canchungh '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 jangwu 'research'
친구 chingu 'friend'
성 서울 saul or ñawał / 'Seoul'
구조 gujo 'structure'
두해 trong 'struggle'
자동차 ja'donca 'car'
소리가 창 좋다 so'liga 'cam' 'jota 'The sound is very good,'
친구가 오는 날 chingu ga o'nin 'nal 'the day when a friend is coming'
자동차를 본 아이 ja'doncalil 'bon' 'ai '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 analyzed 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.

히 'sun' 달 'moon'
나무 'tree' 여름 'summer'
 Wrest 'puss' 'calm' love < put- 'unripe' prfx. + sal 'love'
ስላ 'new [crop] rice' < ለይ ḳ 'new' + ወል 'rice'
이상적 'isaj' 'ideal' < isaj 'ideal' N + jag 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.

나방 포자 napalkod 'morning-glory' < napal 'bugle' + kod 'flower'
쌀밥 salabab 'rice food' < ለይ ሚ 'rice' + hab 'rice' [boiled food]
쌀밥 ለይ ሚ 'new rice food' < ለይ ሚ 'new prfx.' + salabab
자폭사자 jalamogosai 'turtle-neck' < jala 'turtle' + mog 'neck'
+ -agi diminutive sfx.
 stil usuro jukolipul Veronica kiusiana < jau 'fox' + koli 'tail'
+ put 'plant, grass'
돈벌이 donpsi 'money-making' < don 'money' + bal '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. Participle [Pel.]
6. Interjection [Int.]}

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', 'honorable', '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. + -a tense + -da inflx.end.
감皖나 kakannii ['Did] [you] cut [it]?' < kak- 'to cut' V.st. + -s tense + -ni inflx.end.
보셨으면 dumb i saissammida ['She] has seen [it].' < bo- 'to see' V.st. + -s- honorific + -s- tense + -bni inflx.end.
받으으니가 balgiomrika 'Is [it] bright? ' < balge- 'to be bright' V.st. + -o- 'humble' + -buka 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. 3.5.5), (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) 사장님다 saam ida 'He is a man.'
누구이었으면와u nuugi isimmika 'Who was it?'

(b) 바다로 bada lo 'to the sea'
자유의 노래 jaju i neol 'a song of freedom'

(c) 텔레비전 televi bawson 'television broadcast'

(d) 인 세상 on sesay '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 se ca 'a new car'
이 시간 i sigan 'this time/hour'
어느 것 om gdo 'Which one?'

(b) 이 데 새 옷 sni se od 'Which new clothes?'
한 원 보자 han hun 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 sen-
tence, is an adverb class word, e.g.

(a) 잘 갔다 jal ganda 'He is going well.'
참 좋아 cam jota 'It is very good.'
준비 잘 한다 uj jol handa 'He is doing very well.'

(b) 너무도 비싸다 nmuudo bisada 'It is far too expensive.'
말리는 안 한다 maliin anganda 'He is not going far.'

(c) 빨리 palli 'Quickly,'
심사 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 san nobla 'The mountain is high.'

l - subject marker

(b) 난을 했다 tokil buladla 'I caught a rabbit.'

til - object marker

(c) 멀리하다 alinddo handa 'She is doing [it] so quickly.'

do - emphasis

(d) 만다리 파 놓혔다 aldusipi nisadne 'As you know, I am late.'

nin contrast

(e) 저녁 gase gilja 'Let's go.'

gilja 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 'Okay!'

(b) 훌리 olle 'Splendid!'
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

\[ \text{Processive Verb} \]

\[ \text{\( b \)-} \text{bo- 'to see'}\]
\[ \text{\( j \)-} \text{ju- 'to give'}\]
\[ \text{\( n \)-} \text{dangji- 'to throw'}\]
\[ \text{\( n \)-} \text{dol- 'to play'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{swi- 'to rest'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{an- (< any-) 'to sit'}\]

Examples

\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{hanilil bonda [He] is looking at the sky.} \]< \text{bo- 'to see'}\]
\[ +\text{-n- pres.sfx. + -da inflx.end.} \]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{aiya 'the child is sitting down.'} \]< \text{\( a \)-} \text{an- 'to sit'}\]
\[ +\text{-nin- pres.sfx. + -da.} \]

Descriptive Verbs

\[ \text{\( b \)-} \text{balg- 'to be bright'}\]
\[ \text{\( j \)-} \text{ki- 'to be big'}\]
\[ \text{\( j \)-} \text{jo- (< jov-) 'to be good'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{gil- 'to be long'}\]
\[ \text{\( c \)-} \text{ca- 'to be cold'}\]

Examples

\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{ginin jamia [She] is young.'} \]< \text{\( a \)-} \text{jam- 'to be young'}\]
\[ +\text{-da} \]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{nol cda 'It is cold.'} \]< \text{\( c \)-} \text{ca- 'to be cold'}\]
\[ +\text{-da.} \]

3.4.1.1. Copula Verb

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

\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{i- da 'This is a stone.'} \]

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

\[ \text{\( b \)-} \text{balg- (a) as V.p. 'to dawn, become bright'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{balg- (b) as V.d. 'to be bright'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{nol- (a) as V.p. 'to become late'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{nol- (b) as V.d. 'to be late'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{ki- (a) as V.p. 'to grow'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{ki- (b) as V.d. 'to be big'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{ris- (a) as V.p. 'to stay'}\]
\[ \text{\( a \)-} \text{ris- (b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{gesi- (a) as V.p. 'to stay'}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{gesi- (b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'}\]

(gesi- is the the honorific counterpart of \( a \)-\( i \)-)

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

\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{balg- 'The day is bright.'} \]< \text{\( b \)-} \text{balg- V.p. + -da}\]
\[ \text{\( s \)-} \text{balg- 'The day is dawn.'} \]< \text{\( b \)-} \text{balg- V.p. + -nin- pres.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.

\(^1\) Cf. 3.4.1.4 for correlations between alternative sub-classifications of verbs:
Transitive Verbs

- 맘 mag- 'to eat'
- 밀 mil- 'to push'
- 누르 null- 'to press'
- 부르 buli- 'to call'
- 닫 닃다- 'to shut'
- 임 pat- 'to sell'

Examples

- 밥을 먹니 'Are you eating cake?'
- 맘 mag- 'to eat' + -ni inflix.end.
- 맘 먹니 'Are cake being eaten?'
- 맘 mag- 'to eat' + -hi passive voice sfx. + -ni

Intransitive Verbs

- 잡 any- 'to sit'
- 서 사- 'to stand'
- 쉬 swi- 'to rest'
- 노 nap- 'to be high'
- 하하 hahah- 'to be white'

Examples

- 하고 어져 있다 iijae anninda 'He is sitting on a chair.'
- 잡 any- 'to sit' + -ni pres.sfx. + -da
- 안 닥다 andagi nodi- 'The hill is high.'
- 노 nap- 'to be high' + -ni

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 cannot 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
- 잡 주서 jabsusi- 'to eat'
- 주서 jumsi- 'to sleep'
- 거서 gesi- 'to be, to exist'

Plain Verbs
- 맘 mag-
- 자 ja-
- 있 is-

Examples

- 아버지가 잡 주서 jabsusi-nda 'My father is dining.'
- 동생의 맘 mag- 'My brother is eating.'
- 이 순서 젖어서 gesi- 'Is there an adult?'
- 아저씨 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'
- 잡 any- 'to open'
- 잡 any- 'to be small'
- 쓰 so- 'to shoot'
- 잡 any- 'to be shallow'

Examples

- 소년이 책을 읽는다 sonjan cegi igninda 'A boy is reading a book.'
- 읽 ilg- 'to read' + -ni pres.sfx. + -da inflix.end.
- 선생이 책을 읽으신다 sensegi cegi digisinda 'A teacher is reading a book.'
- 읽 ilg- 'to read' + -isi- hon.sfx. + -ni pres.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-adjective 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-adjective 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 ju- 'to do something as a favour'
3. 드리 diffi- the honorific counterpart of ju-
4. 데 de- repetition
5. 병 sakt- repetition, continuation
6. 비리 bari- 'to do something' completely or thoroughly'
7. 지 ji- (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
   (b) unintentional, when preceded by a V.intr.
   (c) progressive verb formative with the meaning 'progression or to become' when preceded by a V.d.
8. 의 do- (a) unintentional when preceded by a V.p.
   (b) progressive 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. 는 noh- completion, retention
12. 나 na- progression, completion, V.intr.
13. 내 ne- 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 progressive verb formative when preceded by a V.d.
16. 만다 mandi- the same as ha-
(ii) Descriptive Auxiliary Verbs
17. 업 is- (a) retention
   (b) progressive tense formative when preceded by a V.p.
18. 십 sip- 'to want to, to wish to'
(iii) Processive and Descriptive Verbs
19. 아니나 aniha- negation;
20. 못하 mosha- negation, 'to be unable to'
21. 못말 mala- negation in imperative and propositive sentences

Examples

중이가 흔들 신다 jangga qiy jinda '[A sheet of] paper is torn.'
V.tr. Vaux.
qiy- 'to tear', ji- passive voice formative

중을 마시고 있다 sulil musigo idla 'He is drinking wine.'
V.tr. Vaux.
musi- 'to drink', is- (>id-/) progressive tense formative
Futher 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. 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 ji- (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

바리 bari- (a) 'to throw' as full verb
   (b) [doing something] completely as auxiliary verb

농 nenh- (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 떨어 진다 koci jinda 'The flower is falling.'
V

그가 깨어 진다 svega ksk̚a jinda 'The iron is broken.'
V Vaux.
< ksk̚a- 'to break' + ji- pasv. ve. ftnv.

책을 보아라 cegil boala 'Look at the book.'
V

책을 읽어 보아라 cegil ilg̑ boala 'Try reading the book.'
V Vaux.
< ilg̑- '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) 적히 jigha- '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, men or do may intervene between jigha and ha of jigha-, e.g.

막침(도) 하다 magim jigh(do)hada '[It] is worth eating (too).'
The verbs *janja*- and *csgha*- are used only after an adjectival clause formed with *-nin* and *-*in, and *banha*- only after the one formed *-*il, e.g.

우울하다 unjun jonjin all 'I don't feel well.'
어머니 죽다 apin csggil 'I tried to kill my mother.'
나침 달렸다 daicil ban(do)jeheda 'I was even nearly hurt.'

The modifying particle, *nin, man, and do*, can occur within the stem of the post-adjectival auxiliary verbs given above, and the object particle *lit/el* (cf. 3.4.5.2) can occur within the stem of the verbs *janja*-, *csgha*-, and *banha*.

As an alternative analysis, all post-adjectival clause auxiliary verbs may be treated as phrases consisting of the non-independent nouns such as *jan, csg/ce, ban* etc., on the one hand, and the verb *ha*- on the other. This alternative analysis will involve the setting up of such words as *jan, csg/ce, ban* 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) 설 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 *-kai/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*- (4.3.1.5.1), *-ila* (4.3.5.1.4.1), *-binda* (4.3.5.1.1) and *-ji* (cf. 4.3.5.1.5), e.g.

*기모 도가 gina box / gannaba 'I have a good idea.'
*것을 놓고 usninga bobdina / usninga bonnida 'I put it down.'
*말* [they] are laughing.'
*영화는* 살아 jajplinga sipda / jajplinga sibia '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

(ii) Intransitive V ——— Descriptive V
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 salam ‘man, person’
- 아이 ai ‘child’
- 개 ge ‘dog’
- 집 jib ‘house’
- 하늘 hanil ‘sky’
- 물 mul ‘water’
- 기차 gica ‘train’
- 사랑 salari ‘love’
- 생각 sengag ‘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 말을 나가 mja.cinni ‘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’
- 두 dul ‘two’

3.4.2.1.1.2. Sino-Korean Cardinal Numerals

- 일 il ‘one’
- 둘 dul ‘two’
- 세 sul ‘three’
- 네 ne ‘four’
- 다섯 das ‘five’
- 여섯 jes ‘six’
- 일곱 ilgob ‘seven’
- 아홉 ahob ‘nine’

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

- 열 하나 jaxl hana ‘eleven’
- 열 두 jaxl dul ‘twelve’
- 열 삼 jaxl sam ‘thirteen’
- 열 사 jaxl sa ‘fourteen’
- 열 오 jaxl o ‘fifteen’
- 열 여섯 jaxl seis ‘sixteen’
- 열 일곱 jaxl ilgob ‘seventeen’
- 열 아홉 jaxl ahob ‘nineteen’

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

- 일 삼 jaxl sam ‘thirty’
- 일 사 jaxl sa ‘forty’
- 일 오 jaxl o ‘fifty’
- 일 여섯 jaxl seis ‘sixty’
- 일 일곱 jaxl ilgob ‘seventy’
- 일 아홉 jaxl ahob ‘ninety’

- 일 천 jaxl ch ‘ten thousand’
- 일 천 천 jaxl chch ‘hundred thousand’

- 일 천 천 천 jaxl chchch ‘million’

일천 천 천 천 천 jaxl chchchch ‘billion’
3.4.2.1.3. Korean and Sino-Korean Ordinal Numerals

The Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing suffix -e c to the Korean cardinal numerals except 'first', which has the special ordinal form 첫(c) csech(c), e.g.

- 둘(e) e 'second'
- 세(e) sesch(e) 'third'
- 넷(e) nesch(e) 'fourth'
- 다섯(e) dasch(e) 'fifth'
- 여섯(e) ye'sesch(e) 'sixth'
- 일(e) jel(e) 'tenth'
- 십스 jabol sib 'eightieth'
- 열십스 jelol sib sa 'seventy-fourth'

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

- 첫일 jel 'first'
- 첫십 reserv e 'fifteenth'
- 첫세 jel sesch 'eighteenth'
- 첫십세 jelol sib sa 'seventy-fourth'

3.4.2.1.4. 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 dasch salt 'five people' < dasch 'five' Korean num.
- 사백 sabol 'man' Kor. N.
- 오 البلد ol 'five persons' < ol 'five' Sino-Kor. num. + in 'person'
- 사백이 salt 'thirty years of age' < sabol sib 'thirty'
- 사백이 사백 이발 sbol sib 'eightieth'
- 사백이 사백 이발 sbol sib sa 'seventy-fourth'
- 사백이 사백 이발 sbol sib sa 'seventy-fourth'

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 distinguished 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).

Chapter III

(i) First Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>나/네 na/ne</td>
<td>I (formal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>자/저 ja/je</td>
<td>I (informal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Second Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>너/네 na/ne</td>
<td>You (informal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>자네 ja/ne</td>
<td>You (formal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Third Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>이/이 이 'he, she'</td>
<td>그/가 'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns of, say, English are in fact very frequently expressed in Korean by nouns or noun phrases. Typical examples are the noun 선생님 (sahnjungnim) 'teacher' for 'you (sometimes also 'he/she') and one of the deictic adjectives (cf. 3.4.3.2), i 'this', gi 'that' and ja 'that' and an appropriate noun. For the difference between gi and ja, see 3.4.3.2, e.g.

- 이/이 'he, she or this person'
- 그/가 'he, she or this person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or this person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or this person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'
- 자네 ja/ne | 'he, she or that person'

3.4.2.1.3. Interrogative Sentences

Nouns whose meanings vary according to whether they occur in interrogative or non-interrogative sentences are interrogative nouns. In each of the fol-
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lowing examples the first English meaning given is associated with the interrogative and the second with non-interrogative sentence.

(a) 누 / 누구 (nu/nugu) ‘who’ ‘someone’
(b) 무엇 (mu(s)) ‘what’ ‘something’
(c) 몇 (mjag) ‘how many’ ‘a few, several’
(d) 언제 (anje) ‘when’ ‘sometimes’

Examples
누가 했니 nuga heani ‘Who did it?’
누가 했니 nuga heani ‘Someone did it.’
몇개를 샀니 mjageul samni ‘How many did you buy?’
몇개를 샀니 mjageul sadni ‘[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’
어제 aje ‘yesterday’
지금 jigen ‘now’
이제 jigi ‘here’
언제 nje ‘etc. when, sometime’

Examples
오늘이 지난다 onil jinaida ‘Today has passed.’ onil as subject (N).
내가 오늘 간다 nega 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 1. 무 occurs before the particle 가 and 무가 elsewhere.
2. The noun ajeg 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.
바리 mali ‘[head(s) of] animal’
장 jaey ‘[sheet(s) of] paper’
전 gwann ‘[volume(s) of] book(s)’
그루 gilu ‘[number of] trees’
데 de ‘[a set of] machines’
치 ci ‘[inch] length’
성 sum ‘[sack of] grain’
명 mjag ‘[number of] person(s)’

Examples
발 두마리 mal du mali ‘two horses’ (lit. ‘horse two heads’)’
종이 다섯 장 jageul dasad jaey ‘five sheets of paper’ (lit. ‘paper five sheets’)’
책 두 권 ceu du gwann ‘two volumes of books’ (lit. ‘book two volumes’)’
나무 여섯 그루 nomu jaseu gilu ‘six trees’
테레비 한 대 telebi han de ‘a set of television’

All classifiers can combine with the noun 수 ‘number’ to form compound nouns as follows:
바리수 mali/sumi/ ‘number of animals’
장수 jaey/sumi/ ‘number of sheets of paper’
전수 gwann/sumi/ ‘number of volumes of books’

Examples
장수가 많다 jaey/sumi 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 gan ‘thing’
것 소스 ‘place’
것 주 ‘ability’, ‘guess’
데모 lemun ‘reason’
볼로 deto ‘as, like’
만큼 / 만치 mangu/mansen ‘as (much) as’

Examples
우리의 것 tilie gand ‘ours, our thing’
박은 것 mangu gand ‘that which eats, thing to eat, that fact that one eats’

etc.
Inanimate Nouns

산 san 'mountain'
학교 hagjo 'school'
자동차 jadogu 'motor car'
방 bang 'room'
집 jib 'house'
정부 jagbu 'government'
아톰 ahob 'nine'
것 gas 'thing'

Examples

아이에게 ai ege 'to a child' < ai 'child'
게에게 ge ege 'to a dog'

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

영문 malsim 'word, speech'
전지 jinji 'food, meal'
생합 saghun 'name'
하느님 haninim 'god'
아버지 abramim 'father'
어머님 mirmim 'mother'
할아버지 halabrim 'grandfather'
선생님 sanseginim 'teacher'

Plain Nouns

방 lay 'earth'
옷 os 'clothes'
말 mul 'horse'
사랑 salag 'love'

All honorific nouns are paired by the corresponding plain nouns:

Honorific Nouns : Plain Nouns

영문 malsim : 말 mul 'word, speech'
전지 jinji : 밥 bab 'food, meal'
The lexical concord operating between the honorific nouns and the honorific verbs (cf. 3.4.1.3) is not as binding as some grammatical concord 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**

아버님을 주무신다 *eburume jumusinda* ‘[My] father is sleeping.’

N.hon. V.hon.

선생님을 친절히 치수신다 *sanseubumi jingil tabubsinda*

N.hon. N.hon. V.hon.

‘The teacher is having his meal.’

할아버지가 장례 가신다 *hahalabumi jang gasinda*

N.hon.

‘[My] grandfather is going to the market.’

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 잔소 *gunini bage gesiso* ‘A soldier is in the room.’

*N*

gam ‘to be’ V.hon.

(Contex: 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 adjectival class: (i) ‘Numeral Adjectives’, (ii) ‘Deictic Adjectives’ (iii) ‘Interrogative Adjectives’, and (iv) ‘Qualitative Adjectives’.

3.4.3.1. **Numeral Adjectives**

Numerical adjectives are those which are derived from the Korean numerals (cf. 3.4.2.1–4) and occur before a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1) or an independent noun. The numerical adjectives form a small sub-class, of which the most common members are as follows:

- **han** ‘one’
- **du** ‘two’
- **세/세** *se/se/SAG* ‘three’
- **네/네** *ne/ne/NAG* ‘four’
- **다섯** *das* ‘five’
- **셋** *jes* ‘six’
- **첫** *ce* ‘first’

The selection of one or the other of the three alternant forms of each of the two sets *se/se/SAG* and *ne/ne/NAG* is collocational: *sa* and *na* collocate with nouns such as *mal* ‘unit of measure’ or *dwe* ‘unit of measure’, e.g., *sa* *mal*, *sa* *dwe*, *na* *mal*, *na* *dwe*. *Sag* and *Nag* collocate with nouns such as *jan* ‘cup’, *glass’ or *som* ‘sack’, e.g., *sag* *jan*, *sag* *sam*, *nag* *jan*, *nag* *sam*, and *se* and *ne* collocate with all other nouns, e.g., *se* *ceg* ‘three books’ *ne gaji* ‘four kinds’, etc. *das* and *jes* occur only with such nouns as *mal* and *dwe*, e.g., *das* *mal*, *jes* *dwe*, and with all other nouns the numeral nouns *dasas* ‘five’ and *jesas* ‘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 hasaeng* ‘one pupil’
  - N
- 한 두 학생 *han du hasaeng* ‘one or two pupil(s)’
  - 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) 이는/이런 ani/a lain ‘which’, ‘some, certain’
(ii) 무슨 musin ‘what’, ‘some, certain’
(iii) 뭐 wen ‘what kind of’, ‘some, certain’
(iv) 어떤 alm ‘what sort of’, ‘some sort of’

Examples

어느 곳에 갔니 ani gosè guni ‘Where (lit. ‘which place’) did [he] go?’
어느 곳에 갔니 ani gosè gadi ‘[He] went somewhere (lit. ‘to some place’).’
무슨 일에 됐니 munin ilil henni ‘What (lit. ‘what work’) did you do?’
무슨 일에 됐니 munin ilil hedia ‘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.

예 se ‘new’, 할 han ‘old, worn out’
온 on ‘entire, whole’, 외 we ‘only, lone’

Examples

세 옷 se od ‘new clothes’
한 번 모자 han han moja ‘an old hat’
온 세상 on sesag ‘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 'well, nicely'
- 덱된 'quickly'
- 계란히 'slowly'
- 깊이 'deeply'
- 솔솔 'softly, gently'
- 빨리 'quickly'
- 맥시 'in plenty'

Examples

- 잘 가라 jal gala 'Farewell!' (lit. 'Go well')
- 덱된 읽이 allin litga 'Read it quickly.'
- 바람이 솔솔 분다 balami solsol bunda 'The wind blows gently.'

3.4.4.2. Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.d.)

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

- 매우 'very'
- 심 'very, considerably'
- 대단히 'very, greatly'
- 참 'extremely, very'
- 가장 'most'

Examples

- 매우 좋다 meu joje 'It is very good.'
- 매우 잘 한다 meu jal iwinda '[He] runs very well.'

3.4.4.3. Processive-Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.p.d.)

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 'too much' as Adv.p.
- 'too . . .' as Adv.d.
- 강하게 'very much' as Adv.p.
- 'very . . .' as Adv.d.
- 아주 'for good, definitely, completely' as Adv.p.
- 'very, extremely' as Adv.d.
- 상당히 'remarkably or fairly much/many' as Adv.p.
- 'quite, fairly' as Adv.d.
- 확실히 'definitely, clearly'

Examples

- 너무 많다 namu manita 'There are too many.'
- 너무 깊다 namu jada 'She slept too much.'
- 너무 깊다 namu gipi jada 'She slept too soundly.'
- 아주 빨리 aju pali mpaninda 'Has [he] left for good?'
- 아주 흰니다 aju himinda 'It is completely white.'
- '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:

- why 'in the interrogative sentence.
  'by the way, as you know/remember' in the non-interrogative sentence.
- 'somehow' in the non-interrogative sentence.

Examples

- why amona why doesn't [he] come?
3.4.4.5. Sentence Adverb (Adv.)

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 gilsæna 'but, however'
또 loi 'and, furthermore'
그래서 gilhsan 'therefore'
다가나 dagnun 'furthermore, on top of that'
아울범 hanilimja 'furthermore, in contrast to that, in spite of that'
여서 ani 'by the way, why'

Examples

그러나 장군은 계속 싸웠다 gilsæna, janggunin gesog sawadi
'But the general kept on fighting.'
나는 그러나 설명했다 nân gilsæna, sîmagnhedda
'But I was disappointed.'
다가나 이는 목이 말았다는 dagnun, atinn mogulmatda
'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 gilgilo 'and' 'afterward'
또히 iontin 'or'
또히 god 'namely, in other words'

Examples

영국 그리고 불란서를 보아라 janggul gilgilo bullansil boala
'See England and France.'
네국은 서시히 그리고 우아하게 불란서 한다 igogin sasshi gilgilo uahage bullunha haanda
'This melody should be sung slowly and gracefully.'
그리고 그는 서울을 떠났다 gilgilo, ginin sasul hanidia
'And he left Seoul.'
김치 또는 보리가 필요함마다 ganja tonin boliga piljohannida
N N
'[They] need some potatoes or barley.'
또한 이렇게 할 수 있음니다 iontin, ilskhe saltsi isinnida
'Or you can do it this way.'
곧 너는 운동이 부족하다 god, namin undongi 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/가 gu/i V/C-form.1

Examples

나무가 높다 namuga nobia 'The tree is high.'
S
동생이 빼가 아파다 dosgegi bega 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, gu 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): 개시 kesa, 에서 esa. kesa 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.

사장님이시 오십니라 sagnnim kesa osimnida ‘The director is coming.’
N.hon. S

아버님이시 주무실시냐 absnim kesa jumusimnida
N.hon. S

‘[My] father is asleep.’
esa is sometimes used after an inanimate noun representing a group, social body or institution such as hvesa ‘company’ or hagjio ‘school’, etc., e.g.

우리 학교에서 우승했다 uli hagjioesa usihesedda
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): 중/을 ill/it V/C-form.

Examples

창문 닫았니 nagil daedi ‘Did you shut the window?’
V.tr.

기차를 못탔다 gicali modudal ‘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),
한데 hanite (after an animate noun in the colloquial style of speech),
게 ke (after an animate honorific noun).

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

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 / 원래 / 캐 e/egae/hante/ke ‘to, toward’, e.g.

다음에 dule ‘to the moon’
기지에게 ganeje ‘to a beggar’
왕에게 wangje ‘to the king’

2. (에서) egesa ‘at, from’ (after N.inanimate), e.g.

여기에서 모르니 adgesa oni ‘Where are you coming from?’

3. 에서 egesa ‘from’ (after N.inanimate), e.g.

일주에서 원지가 갔다 cingu egesa pionija wadja ‘A letter came from my friend.’

1 See 3.4.5.3 for the distribution of these particles.
Chapter III

3.4.5. 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.

아 / 오 ja/a V/C-form (low plain style)

그 / 이 Zero/i V/C-form (high plain or medium style)

이 / 이/이 ja/ija V/C-form (formal style)

Examples

나무야 namjuja ‘Namju’ (= a girl's name)

밤은 달야 balgin dala ‘Bright moon!’

동우 dogsu Zero ‘Dongsu!’ (= a man's name)

한복이 wonbogi ‘Wonbogi!’ (= a man’s name)

친구야 cinguja ‘Dear friend!!’

그리분 님여야 gilun nimija ‘My dear! (lit., ‘Darling I miss!’)

북동야 bolguya, boliwa ‘Bolgong, come quickly!’

아니 북동야 bolguya, wesan gani ‘By the way, Bolgong, why don't you go?’

어번가니 bolguya, weon gani ‘By the way, why don't you go, Bolgong?’

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 나무하라고 환자ITYOJi nanulago handmade

‘[We] call it “wood”.

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

나는 잔손이라고 합니다 nanin capsunilago 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 Hage je gagesilagogageokeul

‘[He] promised that he would go to school.’

3.4.5.2. Quotative Particles

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

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

Examples

사람과 동물 salamgwa dominul 'man and animal'
나무와 물과 하늘 ramuwa mulgwa hamil 'the tree, water, and sky'
심장과 심사가 나무고 잔다 simpanhago sansuga datug o idia
'The referee and a player are quarrelling.'
책이나 신문을 보여 주시오. cegina simmunil boya jupio
'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 sansengwa haengse 'a teacher and a pupil'
선생과 갓다 sansengwa gatda '[They] left with a teacher.'
선생과 같이 피난하다 sansengwa geci inanda
'[(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:

- 밖 (은) man’fin '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-at 'to know, be aware of', 모르 몰- 'to be ignorant of', 느끼 niki- 'to feel or realize', 들다- 'to hear (of)', 먹다- 'to see', 정하 /j0mngha- 'to guess', etc., eg.

이미 놓쳤습니다 (은) 감사합니다 ini njisinnida man(in) gabisida
'It is already late but let us go.'
해가 비친다 (은) 날이 좋다 hega bicinda man(in) nal ciubida
'Although the sun is shining it is cold.'
그는 만의한이 되겠습니다 (은) 숨🕉습니다 ginin minin iwai dwesinnida man(in) sipsinnida
'He became an MP but he was sad.'
자네가 달리지 (는) 나는 빅방에 magega atda sipi nanin bopine
'As you know, I am busy.'
당신이 부탁하신 아이의 아버지 다방보 adopsini boadja sipi aiga apassio
'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: 그리고 gilja 'exclamatory', 과 jo 'speech style modulator'. The particle gilja 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 -나 /-나, -지 or -니 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, eg.

- 날이 좋습니까 그리고 nali cubsimnida gilja 'What a cold day it is!'
- 자네도 놓쳤습니다 그리고 magega njisinnida gilja 'You have grown old too!'
- 우리가 감사합니다 그리니 gabisida gilja 'Let us go!'
- 눈이 녹아요 nuni nogo jo 'The snow is melting.'

\[ Z \]
\[ Z \]
\[ Z \]
\[ Z \] (medium)
\[ Z \] (low formal)
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 if the first three particles nin/in, mon 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. 느/슨 nin/in V/C-form, emphasis, contrast, e.g.
   나는 먼다 nanin ganda ‘I am going (though you are not).’
   S
   저장은 박면서 sugwanin magunida ‘[She] eats apples (not pears).’
   O
   그가 마음으로 giga mainin joxa ‘[She] is kind (though not bright)’
   S O
   밀을 같은 한타 mati jain handa
   Adv.
   ‘[He speaks well (though not clearly).]’
   나에게는 주시요 naege nin jusio ‘Give [it] to me (though not to others).’
   naege adverbial relational pcl.
   하고는 싶다 ankoon sida
   ‘[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 갑니 naman gani ‘Are you going alone?’
   S
   책만 보니 cegman boni ‘Are you reading books only (not newspapers)?’
   O
   이것이 집만 gisa jimman dwenda
   C
   ‘This becomes only a burden (nothing else).’
   공을 떨어낸 찬다 gojil malleman canda
   ‘[He] kicks the ball only far (not accurately).’
   malle ‘far’ Adv.
   다방에만 가시요 dajang man gasio
   adv.ph.
   ‘Do you go only to a tea room (not elsewhere)?’
   냉장 같은 혀다 wiwji man motage hajjida
   ‘[I] just did not allow him to run (though I approved of other things)’
   wiwji concat. form
3. 도 do 'also, too, as well', e.g.
아이도 우리 aio do uni 'Is the child crying also?'

이제 축구도 한타 je cugkudo handa 'Now [he] even plays football.'

타자들 허리로 칠다 taqatil palido cindla 'She types fast too.'
pelll 'fast' Adv.

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

최소 갈라도 간다 svega sallado jinda 'The iron can also be cut.'
salle 'cutting' concat. form

4. 미타 mada 'every, each', e.g.
별보다 나를 보는 듯 하였다 bjle:mada nalit bonindid hajsida

'SEvery star seemed to gaze at me.'

5. 부터 buła 'first, from, beginning with', e.g.
사진부터 모라 sajinbuta boolu 'Look at the photo first.'

6. 끝까지 kaqi 'even, as far as', e.g.
블랙까지 나갔다 buikaji nigadla 'Even the light has gone out.'

7. 조차 joca 'even, up to', e.g.
한미니는 곤치조차 아꼈다 halmi nin golicijoca apsida
S1 S2

'Granmy even had a headache.'

8. 야말로/이야말로 jamalde/ijamallo V/C-form 'as for, in particular', e.g.
이 영화야말로 꼭 보자야한다 tjalghwejamallo kog bosa jahanda

'O one must see this film in particular.'

9. 라도 / 이라도 lada/ida/do V/C-form
'for lack of anything better, even though unsatisfactory', e.g.
라도 마시라 calado masirrida

'O have some tea (for lack of anything better at the moment).'
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) 강다 jab’a ‘Catch [it].’ < jab- ‘to catch’ V.st. + -a inflx.end.
(ii) 강았어 jabais’a ‘[He] has caught [it].’
< jab- + -aś- past t.sfx. + -a inflx.end.
(iii) 강았어 jabais’a ‘[He] has been caught’
(iv) 강암이 jabais’a ‘[He] has been captured.’
(v) 강암이 jabais’daksaamaidda
‘[He] may have been captured.’ < jab- + -hi- + -si- + -aśgeś- 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.

\[ \text{가 ga- ‘to go’} \]
\[ \text{오 o- ‘to come’} \]
\[ \text{놀 nol- ‘to play’} \]
\[ \text{자 자 jah- ‘to sleep’} \]
\[ \text{먹 mag- ‘to eat’} \]
\[ \text{으로 joh- ‘to be good’} \]
\[ \text{etc.} \]

4.2.1.1.1. Prefixed Simple Stems

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

(i) 싸 jis- ‘at random, violently’, e.g.

\[ \text{짐 짤 jidhab- ‘to trample down’ < jis- + balb- ‘to stamp on’} \]
(ii) 싸 jas- ‘secretly’, e.g.

\[ \text{였들 jasid- ‘to overhear’ < jas- + did- ‘to hear’} \]
(iii) 시 si- ‘deep, very’, e.g.

\[ \text{시켜 망 sipsh- ‘deep blue’ < si- + pshb- ‘blue’} \]
(iv) 옛 ol- ‘early’, e.g.

\[ \text{음때 ol.dw ‘to be precocious’ < ol- + dw ‘to become’} \]
(v) 시 ci- ‘up, upward’, e.g.

\[ \text{치림 cimil- ‘to push up, to well up’ < ci- + mil- ‘to push’} \]

4.2.2. 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’
검물 ganbulg- ‘to be dark red’ < gan- ‘dark’ + bulg- ‘red’
물침 buljab- ‘to grab’ < bul- ‘to stick’ + jab- ‘to catch’

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 invariant 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-Stem:

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’
세 se- ‘to count’
보 bo- ‘to see’
세 se- ‘to leak’ ‘to dawn’

Examples:

이도 washing ‘Where are you going?’ < ga- + -a inflx.end.
짐에 같다 jibe ganda ‘I am going home.’
< ga- + -n t.sfx. + -de inflx.end.
보았습니다 boaśinminds ‘I have seen it.’
< bo- + -as t.sfx. + ibnida ‘inflx.end.

4.2.2.1.2. Variable V-Stems

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 suffix or ending.

/ʌ/ + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/
/ʌ/ + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/
/o/ + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/

Examples

/ʌi- + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/ ‘to crawl’
/ʌo- + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/ ‘to see’
/ʌʌ- + /ʌ/ > /ʌʌ/ ‘to give’

In more careful speech, however, /gʌ/, /bʌ/, and /jʌ/ tend to occur more frequently than the diphthongized forms.

4.2.2.1.3. 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:

察看 j십시오 ‘to lock’ ≃ li- ‘to float’
_decrypt ‘to tear open’ ≃ si- ‘to use or write’
Decrypt kí ‘to grow, to be big’

Examples:

ㅅsi- ‘to use or write’
Decrypt sdo ‘even if you write’ > ㅅsi- + -ndo
Decrypt sdo ‘Write!’ > ㅅsi- + -ndo
Decrypt cf. ㅅso. sio ‘Please write!’
Decrypt ㅅspó sigo ‘writing’

4.2.2.1.2.2. li-final Stems

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

이로 il- ‘to arrive or reach’
וצי ge ‘to be blue’
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Examples

어 뿐 iilla 'on arriving' < illi + -a
어 뿐하다 iilla:da/iilla:da/ 'They arrived [there].'
< illi + -a:s past t.sfx. + -da
cf. 거의에 iilConstraints lagil 지 '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 /u/-initial suffix or ending. There is only one verb of this type: 우 pu- 'to draw (water)'.

Examples

파다 pda 'Draw!' < pi- + -ala
파도 pado 'even if [you] draw [water]'
cf. 무고 pugo 'drawing' < pu- + -go

4.2.2.1.2.4. l-doubling Stems

Some l-final stems appear in l-final allomorphs when followed by an /a/-initial suffix or ending:

나 뿐 nati- 'to carry'
부 뿐 buli- 'to call'
자 뿐 cali- 'to cut'
까 뿐 cili- 'to pierce'
호 뿐 hili- 'to flow'
가 뿐 gali- 'to divide'
바 뿐 puli- 'to be fast'

Examples

물러 bulla:sa 'Call [him]', < buli- + -ala
물러서 bulla:sa 'call [him] and' < buli- + -a:s

cf. 무르 부들선 bulimjan 'if [you] call [me]' < buli- + -mjan

If the last vowel in the verb stem is o or a, the a allomorph of the a/a form (see 4.3.0.2) is used: 뿐 moti- 'not to know', 물라 motta.

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 ha:/ occurring before a/a-initial suffixes or endings, and the form that occurs after the /a/ or ha: initial verbs is a-form according to the rule of vowel harmony (cf. 4.3). The sequence aja of hajaj sometimes coalesces into e, thus giving rise to he. However the full form hajaj is used more often in a slow and formal style of speech as well as in written language, and the coalesced form e in colloquial language.

Chapter IV

한 ha- 'to do, to say'
한하 ha:s 'to be soft'
창한 camha- 'to be nice or pretty'
창한 jagh:a- 'to decide'
통한 tonha- 'to pass'
een ha:jha- 'to be soft'
창한 camha:ja- 'to be nice or pretty'
창한 jagh:a- 'to decide'
통한 tonha- 'to pass'

Examples

하이 하이 ha:jha:he 'Do and' < haj + -a (> he)
창한 dida camha:jja:ja:ha:sa 'She was nice.'
< camha:jja + -a:s past t.sfx. + -da (> camhe:sa)
창하하도/창하하도 jagh:jja:he:jja:he:do 'Even if [I] decide [on it].'
< jagh:jja:he + -do (> jagh:ja:he:do)

The verb stem dwe- 'to become' also has the coalesced form dwea for dwea in colloquial language, and similar coalescences occur in, for instance, bonea '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:

밥 쌀 'to tear'
석 sim- 'to sow'
먹 mar- 'to eat'
엘 ieb- 'to wear'
먹 basa- 'to take off, to undress'
작 jag- 'to be small'
Need ssa- 'to mix'
een.

Examples

이것을 찾은 쫓길 iaga:si:ja:li:ka 'Will [he] tear this?'
석을 심사 si:si:simni 'Are you sowing seeds?'
집이 작은 jibi jakgun '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 /m/, /s/, /b/ or /v/:

갈 gal- 'to plough'
날 nald- 'to fly'
알 ald- 'to know'
말 mal- 'to roll or stop'
갈 gal- 'to hang'
팔 pal- 'to sell'
een.
4.2.2.2.2. d-final Stems

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

들 did- ‘to hear’ 케달 keadal- ‘to understand or realize’
吉林 gild- ‘to walk’ 삼 sid- ‘to load’
ثم mad- ‘to ask’

Examples

물허나 mutsla ‘Ask!’ < mud- + -sla
물허나 muninji ‘If [he] asks’ < mud- + -inji

cf. 물고 모도로 mudo ‘to ask’
물허나 muninji ‘If [he] asks’ < mud- + -inji

4.2.2.2.2. 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:

즉 jis- ‘to build’ 절 is- ‘to connect’
즉 gis- ‘to draw or mark [a line]’ 절 jaas- ‘to stir’
즉 bus- ‘to pour’

etc.

Examples

지어라 jilal ‘Build [it].’ < jis- + -sla
지으리 jilal ‘In order to build’ < jis- + -ia
지여서 jaasa ‘building and’ < jis- + -asa

cf. 짝는다 jinsinda ‘[He] is building [it].’
즉여서 jaasa ‘Let us build [it].’

If the s-less allomorph ends in the vowel a, the a allomorph of the a/أ form (see 4.3) is used: ‘나 nas- ‘to be better’ nia 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:

들 did- ‘to hear’ 케달 keadal- ‘to understand or realize’
吉林 gild- ‘to walk’ 삼 sid- ‘to load’
ثم mad- ‘to ask’

etc.

Examples

물허나 mutsla ‘Ask!’ < mud- + -sla
물허나 muninji ‘If [he] asks’ < mud- + -inji

cf. 물고 모도로 mudo ‘to ask’
물허나 muninji ‘If [he] asks’ < mud- + -inji

4.2.2.2.4. b-final Stems

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

즉 nub- ‘to lie down’ 쿠단 доб- ‘to help’
가 Sociology gab- ‘to be near’ 쿠단 gub- ‘to grill’
즉 gib- ‘to mend or darn’

etc.

Examples

도우면 doumjan ‘If [you] help’ < dob- + -imjan
도우니가 doumika ‘Because [you] help [me]’ < dob- + -inka

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- + -imjan > dou- + -imjan.

cf. 물고 dobgo ‘helping’ < dob- + -go
물고 dobji ‘[I] will help,’ < dob- + -ji
물고 dobse ‘Let us help,’ < dob- + -se

When forms beginning with a/أ are added to verb stems with a u-final allomorph, au is regularly contracted to wa: 즉 nub- ‘to lie down’, 다 위 누와; and if the vowel before the b/-u is a or o the allomorph a of a/أ is used (and the Korean spelling adapted accordingly):
가 Sociology gab- ‘to be near’ 가가wa gabawa
즉 nub- ‘to help’ 다와 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. V/C-form

There are some suffixes and inflectional endings which have two phonologically conditioned forms or allomorphs, 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

나 / 준이 -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
감으니 jahmni ‘As [I] grab [it]’ < jahb- + -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/a-form

Some suffixes and inflectional endings have two different forms or allomorphs, the selection of which 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/a-form’, a-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and /form when the preceding vowel is /i/, /u/, /e/ , /e/, /i/ or /j/. The only exception to this vowel harmony rule is the past tense suffix /-a/-, which is always followed by a-form and not a-form (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

아라 / 이라 - ala/-ala, a/a-form
잡아라 jahbala ‘Catch it.’
바라 mabara ‘Eat it.’
하라 hajxala ‘Do it.’
아 / 오 /오 - /a/- /a/-, a/a-form
소원도 sosando [He] shot but < so- + -a- + -ando
주임도 jusando [He] gave [it] but < ju- + -a- + -ando
 haciando [He] did [it] but < haj- + -a- + -ando

In colloquial speech there is a tendency nowadays to use the a-form rather than a-form even after the /a/ vowel. Thus, jahbala ‘Catch it’ is just as common as jahbala, and /budando/ ‘even if you receive it’ as /budando/.

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. 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, k, V, e.g.

담이 dapi ‘to be covered’ < dapi ‘to cover’ + -i-
홍이 huli- ‘to be hacked’ < huli- ‘to hack’ + -i-
감이 k ele ‘to be broken’ < kel- ‘to break’ + -i-
감이 sahpi ‘to be piled up’ < sahpi ‘to pile up’ + -i-
보이 boi ‘to be seen’ < bo- ‘to see’ + -i- (/b(w)e/-, /ba/- or /bi/-)

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

얼이 shbi- ‘to be carried [on the back]’
< sb- ‘to carry [on the back]’ + -hi-
갈이 dadhi- ‘to be closed’ < dad- ‘to close’ + -hi-
벽이 mghi- ‘to be eaten’ < mgh- ‘to eat’ + -hi-
소마 kozhi- (/koci/) ‘to be inserted’ < koj- ‘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. 4.2.2.2.3), e.g.

끌어 killi- ‘to be drawn’ < kil- ‘to draw’ + -li-
별이 bali- ‘to be earned’ < bal- ‘to earn’ + -li-
물이 bulli- ‘to be called’ < bull- ‘to call’ + -hi-
들리 dla- ‘to be heard’ < dildla ‘to hear’ + -li-

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

감기 gumgi- ‘to be wound’ < gam- ‘to wind’ + -gi-
감기 angi- ‘to be embraced’ < an- ‘to embrace’ + -gi-
해당기 peasgi- ‘to be snatched’ < peas- ‘to snatch’ + -gi-
끌기 coegi- ‘to be chased’ < coeg- ‘to chase’ + -gi-
끌기 kinhgi- (/kinki/-) ‘to be disconnected’
< kinh- ‘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 ‘be’, and has the following phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) -u-, (ii) -i-, (iii) -gi-, (iv) -li-, (v) -hi- and (vi) -hu-.

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

비수 bui- ‘to empty’ < hi- ‘to be empty’ + -u-
세수 seui- ‘to keep vigil’ (lit. ‘to cause dawn to break’)
< se- ‘to dawn’ + -u-
Chapter IV

사진이나 singinda ['Shoes'] are put on.' or
ITIVE [She] makes [someone] put on shoes.'

남긴다 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 /cegi boinda/ 'The book is seen.' — pass.
책을 보인다 /cegi bolinda/ ['He'] shows a book.' — caus.

주어가 남긴다 /jogiga nallinda/ 'The paper is flown.' — pass.
주어를 남긴다 /jogil 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

담신이 잠시하라 dapsini jahisti‘jim 'If you are captured.'

< jah- 'to capture' + -hi- passv.sfx. + -si- + -jim

의사가 환자를 살리시다 bsga hwangojil sahlishida

'The doctor has saved a patient.'

< sa- 'to live' + -li- caus.v.sfx. + -si- + -shi- past t.sfx. + -da

감사하시오 jibisbio 'Please pick [it] up.'

< jib- '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/-n-

V/C-form, present tense
(c) -a/-s-
a/s-form, past tense
(d) -ge-
future tense

(ii) Retrospective Tense Suffix
(e) -di/-da-
The past tense suffix -a/-s- may be reduplicated and/or combined with the future tense suffix -ge to give the compound tense suffixes as follows:
(f) -asa/-sas-
V/C-form, past perfect tense
(g) -asge/-sge-
V/C-form, past presumptive tense
(h) asgege/-sgege-
V/C-form, past perfect presumptive tense

The retrospective suffix -di/-da- may combine with any tense suffixes except the present tense suffix -ni/-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>보이 웃다 bomi onda ‘Spring comes.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>보이 웃다 bomi oada ‘Spring came/has come.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>보이 오나 bomi on ‘Is spring coming?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retrospective Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>보이 오나라 bomi odala ‘Spring came I remember.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>보이 웃다 봅다 bomi oadal ‘Spring had come I remember.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>보이 웃다 bomi obikla ‘Was spring coming [as you recall]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 들 ‘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.

4.3.3.1.1. Direct Tense

4.3.3.1.1.1. Simple Tense

4.3.3.1.1.2. Present 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. 기타 gada ‘to go’, 맹다 mga ‘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’, 맡다 malga ‘to be clear’, etc., e.g.

가 다 gada ‘to go, [I] go/went,’ < 가다 ‘to go’ + -다
임시에 자다 js:se jada ‘[I] sleep/slept at ten,’ < ja ‘to sleep’ + -다

4.3.3.1.1.2. Present Tense

Present tense suffix -ni/-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-/n-in-; (ii) all desinfective 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

달이 낮아지다 nali d. basibinda ‘It is warm.
< dasb- ‘to be warm’ + Zero + -sinbida

하늘이 푸르다 hanli pulida ‘The sky is blue.
< puli- ‘to be blue’ + Zero + -da

세가 울다 sega unda ‘The bird is singing.
< ul- ‘to sing’ + -n + -da

사과를 먹는다 sagwall’n- smgninda [He] is eating an apple.
< mag- ‘to eat’ + -sin- + -da

내일 피낭미나 neil l onbnda ‘I am leaving tomorrow.
< l.ona- ‘to leave’ + Zero + -bnda.

또 오지 ooji ‘I will come again.’ < o- ‘to come’ + Zero + -ji

4.3.3.1.1.3. Past Tense

Past tense suffix: -aš/-aš-, a/’a-form

The past tense is formed with the past tense suffix -aš/-aš- and represents (a) ‘simple past’, i.e., completion of an action or event in the past, always with descriptive verbs but, with non-descriptive verbs, only when accompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, (b) present perfect, i.e., continuation to the present tense of the past event, with descriptive verbs if unaccompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, e.g.

(a) Simple Past

(전자) 길이 좁았다 ja. men gillijobašida ‘The road was narrow (before).’

(어체) 이 꽃이 빛났습니다 ja. iko ci buzhisibinda ‘This flower was red (yesterday).’

(작년) 보았습니다 ja. gnyone boasibinda ‘I saw it last year.

(지난달) 일을 했습니다 ja. indane lili hešibinda ‘I did the work last month.’

(b) Present Perfect

신문을 보았습니다 sinmunil boasibinda ‘I have seen the paper.

일을 벌었습니다 ilili hešibinda ‘I have done the work.

밤을 먹었습니다 babili magšisibinda

[He] has had his supper [and is full].

4.3.3.1.1.4. Future Tense

Future Tense Suffix: -geš-

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix -geš-, and represents (a) ‘intentional 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) Intensive Future

네가 하겠다 negera hagešo ‘I will do it.’

우리가 대일 사셨습니다 uliga neil sagesibinda

‘We will buy [it] tomorrow.’

네가 먹겠습니다 negera mgešeš ‘Will you eat it?’

다음절이 기다리겠습니다 dagsindili gidaligešo ‘Will you wait [for it]?’

(b) Presumptive Present or Future

할머니가 곧 오시겠습니다 halma. niga god osigešda

‘Granny might come soon.’

학교에 늦었습니다 hagšoe nišgesibinda

‘You/He may be late for school.’

기차가 늦었습니다 gica nišgesibinda ‘Is the train going to be late?’

기본이 좋으시겠습니다 gibimi jošigesibinda ‘You may be feeling fine.’

-ši/ši- is also a future tense suffix representing ‘intentional future’ but it is restricted in distribution compared to the suffix -geš-, e.g.

내일 하러다 neil halta ‘I will do it tomorrow.’

방에 몸들리다 bame mukilida ‘I will bind it at night.’

4.3.3.1.1.5. Past Perfect Tense

Past perfect tense suffix: -aš/-aš-, a/’a-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 갔다 hangeš gaššida

[He] had gone (and is there now).’

cf. 한국에 갔다 hangeš gašša

[He] has gone to Korea (and is there now).’

아버지가 오셨다 atšiga osiššida

‘Uncle had come (and is not here now).’

cf. 아버지가 오셨다 atšiga osišša ‘Uncle has come (and is here now).’
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 gaššagešida 'He might have gone to Korea.'
어제에 오셨겠다 ajš'iga osšiaššagešida 'Uncle might have come.'
어제에 밥을 먹었겠습니다 molsi jumjihasjiasšisšešibnida
'[Mother] might have been worried.'
어제가 전에는 더 길었겠습니다 idaliga jumjen našgiššibišnida
'This bridge might have been longer before.'

(b) Simple Past Presumptive

물이 참 다웠겠다 multi cam dawasš'į
'The water was very hot.'

4.3.3.1.1.6. Past Presumptive Tense

Past presumpotive tense suffix: 얻었/었겠 -aššgeš/-aššgeš, a/a-form

The past presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past tense but in addition it expresses presumption: (a) 'past presumptive' and (b) 'present perfect presumpive', e.g.

(a) Past Presumptive

(전년) 전에 주었다 jumjen giti jop'agešida
'The road may have been narrow (before).'</n
어제에 조금 읽었었습니다 (ajši) ikoci bulgšagešibnida
'This flower may have been red (yesterday).'
작년에 보았겠습니다 mognjine bosaššgiešibnida
'[You] might have seen it last year.'
지난 달에 일을 했겠습니다 jinancede till heššgiešibnida
'[He] might have done the work last month.'

(b) Present Perfect Presumptive

신문을 보셨겠습니까 simunnil bosjšgiešibnida
'You may have seen the paper.'
밥을 먹었겠습니다 babil muššgiešibnida '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 -m jak 'if', e.g.

내가 갔으면 나도 갔겠다 nega gaššimja, nado gaššgešda
'If you had gone, I might have gone too.'

4.3.3.1.1.7. Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Past perfect presumptive tense suffix: -aššgeš/-aššgeš, a/a-form

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 is-. The compound tense is possible only with progressive verbs or processive verbal phrases (cf. 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.1.1.2. Present Progressive Tense

Vst. + -go is- + pres. t.sfx.

아침을 먹고 있다 akimil maggo isda 'He is having breakfast.'
isda < is- + Zero t.sfx. + -da

4.3.3.1.1.2.2. Past Progressive Tense

Vst. + -go is- + past t.sfx.

눈이 오고 있었다 munti ago isšjį 'It was snowing.'
isšjį < is- + -šj past t.sfx. + -jį

4.3.3.1.1.2.3. Future Progressive Tense

Vst. + -go is- + fut. t.sfx.

Like the future tense, the future progressive tense represents 'intensive future' 'progressive' and 'future present or future' 'progressive' (see 'Future Tense', 4.3.3.1.1.4., for details).

내가 책을 읽고 있었다 nega cegi ilgo isgešda
'I will be reading a book.'
4.3.3.1.2.4. Past Progressive Presumptive Tense

Vst. + -go lis- + past presumpt.sfx.

분세가 고향에 남으셨다.

The machine was already out of order [as I recall].

Since the past tense suffix is -go, the past progressive presumptive tense is formed by adding -go + past presumpt.sfx. to the present tense stem. Examples are:

- lisa ngege goygoj na "The machine was already out of order [as I recall]."

Descriptive verbs do not occur with the past progressive tense, e.g.,

미라가 빛은 모네다.

There is no past progressive tense for descriptive verbs, as they are not transitive.

However, a descriptive verb which has formed a processive verbal phrase with a processive verb formative, e.g., the auxiliary verb je- (cf. 5.2.1.1.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3), can occur with the past progressive tense, e.g.,

미라가 줄어 지었다.

"The hair had become short [I recall]."

4.3.3.1.2.3. Future Retrospective Tense

The future retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the future tense suffix -ge- 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.,

미라가 흐든다.

"It looked like raining [I recall]."

그도 빛음더다.

"[He] would run too [I thought]."

물이 차질에.

"Water might be cold [I thought]."

하늘에 깃들던.

"Would the sky be clear [you thought]?

As shown by the second example above, the future tense suffix -ge- 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-

4.3.3.1.2.4. 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 recalled by the speaker or listener, e.g.,

미라가 빛심다.

[He] might have been short of money [I thought]."

사람이 시작했음더다.

"The match might have started [I thought]."

아이들이 싸웠다.

"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/-da- or one of the retrospective endings. There are three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.2. 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. 4.3.3.1.2.1), refers to a past progressive event as recollected by the speaker, e.g.

종을 치고 있더라 조기 죽고 이사이다
‘[They] were ringing a bell [I recall].’
아이가 죽고 있던 아이를 이사이다
‘Was the child jumping around [as you recall}?’

4.3.3.1.2.2. 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 event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

공부를 하고 있겠더라 고부리고 할게이다
‘He might have been studying, [I thought].’
전화를 하고 있겠다 잔바리고 할게이다
‘Might [she] have been telephoning [as you recall].’

4.3.3.1.2.2. 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.

많은 보고 있겠더라 빌리고 할게이다
‘[She] might have had been looking at the moon [I thought].’
부모님 치고 있겠더라 지주자고 할게이다
‘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) -/-a-

V/C-form: before inflectional endings

-nida, -na, -mjan, -mja, -ni, -njo

(b) 옥/-o.-ob/-io.

V/C-form: before inflectional endings

-naida, -naika, -sosa, -siyo, -go, -dnado

(c) 사./sao-

C-form: before the same inflectional endings as listed in (a)

(d) 사./-sao-

C-form: before inflectional endings -nida and -naika

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and -/-a- and -ob/-io. 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 -sao- of (c) and (d) cannot be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously, e.g.

난이 자꾸만이다 nari caobnida ‘It is (very) cold.’
어디로 가서올려다 adito gasiobnaida ‘Where are you going?’
비를 내리 주시으소시 bitli neijsa justiobosa ‘Please give us rain!’
꽃이 뿌어짐으로 buei bulgasaobjjo ‘Flowers are red.’
되으시나서나 ijisa saon ‘although you have forgotten’
책을 다리하시서오니 cegil dolalhisi saon
‘as [you] have spoilt the book’

4.3.4.1. Difference between Honorific and Humble Suffix

The honorific suffix -si/-isi- (cf. 4.3.3.2) 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 sanseunini osinda
‘The teacher is coming.’ -si- hon.sfx.
[Context: a child speaking to his friends.]

The sentence particle jo is compulsory when the inflectional endings -a- and -ni are preceded by the humble suffix.
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아이가 가운데 aigce gaaobnida 'The child is going.' -o- 'humble sfx.'
[Context: a child speaking to his teacher.]

한미님이 오실어요 halminim 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 오실어요 saesegnim osiobnida '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 main 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 -naiwa, consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:

(a) ㄴ / 옷 -b-/ib- high formal style sfx.
(b) ㄴ -ni- indicative mood sfx.
(c) ㄴ -si- volitive sfx.
(d) ㄴ -di- retrospective sfx.

4.3.5.1.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

These three classes of suffix combine to give the following inflectional endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nida</td>
<td>interrogative mood sfx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o-</td>
<td>imperative mood sfx.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These inflectional endings will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.3.5.1.2.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) -nida / -oona -bnida/-tjbnida V/C-form

(b) 나이나, an archaic form whose use is restricted to the literary style and religious service

Examples

밤이 깊습니다 bami gibnida 'The night is long.'

제가 쓴다 (서) 읽니다 gilji ceotjbnida 'They are chasing a dog.'

온 바나님나이대로 god banege-nada 'I will leave soon.'

4.3.5.1.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) -nida / -oona -bnida/-tjbnida V/C-form

(b) 나이나, an archaic form, cf. -nida in 4.3.5.1.1.

Examples

왜 안 오시나? we anobnida 'Why is [he] not coming?'

길이 좀 (서) 오시나 gildi tojbnida 'Is the road narrow?'

언제 오시셨나이 다ime osiisnada 'When did he come?'

The -/ in the declarative and interrogative mood endings -tjbnida and -bnida is optional.

4.3.5.1.3. Imperative Mood Endings

-tsibio/-tisibsio 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.

별이 약간시오 pali hasibsio 'Please do it quickly.'

하지만 집으로시오 hanaman jibisbsio '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 말으시다 cantunhi bobsida ‘Let us see [it] slowly.’

같이 그림거십시오 gatt gitsibsida ‘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 / 오 / -o-/io V/C-form

소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero 1.sfx.)

(b) 구리 -gulja interjective (always preceded by a non-Zero 1.sfx. when it occurs with a processive verb)

Examples

나도 할 수 있다 neba haljul oo ‘I know how to do [it] too.’

물이 맑다 muli malgo ‘Water is clear.’

달이 밝다 dal i so gulfja ‘The moon has risen.’

4.3.5.1.2.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

오 / 오 / -o-/io V/C-form

소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero 1.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 7.3.2.2.2), e.g.

내일 미나시오 neil imasio ‘Are you leaving tomorrow?’

4.3.5.1.2.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 오 / 오 / -o-/io V/C-form

소 -so

(b) 구리 -gulja (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.

주워라 하시오 jutijit hasio ‘Be careful.’

여서 드소 asa diso ‘Help yourself (lit. ‘take quickly’).’

마음대로 하시오 maindeyo hasileyo ‘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.

순정한테 물어보시다 sungjaphante mulabobsida ‘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) 데 -nde

(b) 드세 / 응세 -nse/-imses V/C-form (promissive)

(c) 더 -de (retrospective ending)

(d) 단데 -dande (retrospective ending)
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Verbs with the ending -mase/-me can have as their subject the first person pronouns only, i.e., na 'I', ni '?' etc., and indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. -mase/-me is not found with any tense suffix except the Zero t.sfx., e.g.

어제 사주 얻으니 agun anboine 'It is totally out of sight.'
내가 해 중간 neka aengmume 'I will do it for you.'
강화 키리 가해 gibhi jhi godes 'She went there in a hurry [I recall].'
누가 있어가져 hasi idake 'He was lying in bed [I remember].'

4.3.5.1.3.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 / 오나 -ma/ima V/C-form, promissive

(b) 나가 -guna interjedival

Like -mase/-me (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 interrogative 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 progressive 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.

웃이 찬다 koci pinda 'The flower is blooming.'
웃이 꾸미다 koci gokdua 'The flower was pretty', [I remember].
내가 사오려 nekga gmura 'I will buy [it]'. (lit. 'I will buy and come'.)
너도 갔나 nado ksiguna 'You have grown up too.'
당이 임박을 nali dabguna 'It is hot.'
내가 가는구나 ije gainunguna 'You are going now.'

Interjedival endings such as 어리 -ila (after a noun) and 어리 -itiila (after a verb) may also be listed under this heading.

4.3.5.1.3.3. Imperative Mood Ending

체 -ge, e.g.

어제 끝까지 ije gwasige 'Rest now.'
내가 오로 gege 'Come down.'

4.3.5.1.3.4. Propositive Mood Ending

체 -ge, e.g.

보내지 마세요 bongji mase 'Let us not send [it].'
자 한잔 하세요 ca hangan 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 -da-, retros.t.sfx.)

(c) 마 / 오마 -ma/ima V/C-form, promissive

(d) 나가 -guna interjedival

4.3.5.1.4.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 / 오나 -ni

(b) 나가 -ninja after V.p.

(c) 나 / 오나 -nja/-inja V/C-form, after V.d.

(d) 띠 / 편 / 신 -di/-de/-sun 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.

자나 jani 'Are you sleeping?'
소리가 나오너 soliga nanjina 'Is there any sound?'
푸르이나 pulinja 'Is it blue?'
어느것이 길으니 nekga cilbija 'Which one is short?'
무엇을 하더 inwsil hadi 'What did [he] do [as you recall]?'
노래를 하던 nolei hodon 'Did [she] sing [as you recall]?'

4.3.5.1.4.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 어리 / 어리 -alal/-ela a/-la-form

(b) 거라 -gala
(e) 나라 -nsla (found only with -o ‘to come’)

The ending -alo/alo may be suffixed to any processive verbs, but -gala to only a few verbs, such as -go ‘to come’, -a ‘to sleep’, is ‘to stay’, etc., e.g.

- 돌아 ecalala ‘Follow [him].’
- 고자라 모자를 맞는 mojap balsla ‘Take off your hat.’
- 교회에 가약라 goswae galala ‘Go to the church.’
- 이리 오너라 ilil onsla ‘Come here.’
- 외산을 다 하이라 cesanil da hajsla ‘Do your best.’

4.3.5.1.4.4. Propositive Mood Ending

자 -ja, e.g.
- 자야 cajja ‘Let’s find [it].’
- 대일 못하면 nelu buja ‘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 / 이 -a-/a/-a-/a-form

(b) 지 -ji suspactive

(c) 곧 -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 ulsa ‘The child is crying.’
- 구두가 잘 맞아 gudaga jal manja ‘The shoes fit me well.’
- 누가 열었어요 mug a jla slsa ‘Someone has opened [it].’
- 동이 받지 doni manhi ‘[He] has plenty of money.’
- 준이 꽤 자 doni sgojga ‘Your hand is pretty.’

4.3.5.1.5.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 아 / 이 -a-/a/-a-/a-form

4.3.5.1.5.3. Imperative Mood Ending -a/ -a/-a-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.

- 여기 앉아요. asa anga jo ‘Please sit down.’ (lit. ‘quickly sit down’)
- 잘 먹어 jal maja ‘Eat carefully.’

4.3.5.1.5.4. Propositive Mood Ending -a/-a/-a/-a-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 un ‘we’ serves as the marker of the propositive mood ending, e.g.

- 이제 놀아 ije nola ‘Let’s play now.’
- 우리도 바려국 uldo neljja 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.
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other tense suffix, (c) in distribution with tense suffixes and (d) in distribution with the adjectival auxiliary verbs:

(i) -nim is suffix 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 and occurs with auxiliary verbs didha-, jagha- and cgha- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

사람 체 검사[en]_ge the sleeping dog

(ii) -nim may be suffixed to any verb but its time reference varies according to the 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:

바람 서민 사람 'the man who ran/has run'

침은 돌 jiban_dor 'the pebble that I picked up'

with descriptive verbs:

작은 포차 jassin moja 'a small cap'

긴 걸 gin_gag 'a long river'

The ending -nim may occur with auxiliary verbs didha-, jagha- and cgha- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

좋은 쟁 농장 mos bon caghan 'She pretends that she did not see [you].'

(iii) -/il may be suffixed to any verb and refers to the future time or prospective, e.g.

공을 집을 아이 jogil_jibil_ai 'the child who will pick up a ball'

말을 빛을 때 dalil_balgi_le 'the time when the moon is/may be bright'

-/il may be preceded by the past tense suffix -as/-.as- very freely and by the future tense suffix -ges- only rarely, e.g.

건을 깨어 알아 jalašil_adil 'the son who might have grown up'

즉석을 꼬는 jugglest_gj_center 'the situation in which you might feel like dying'.

As an exception, -nim may be preceded by the future tense suffix -ges- when they occur with the verb jeg- to die, e.g., jugglest_in salem 'The person who may be dying.'
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. 4.3.3.1.1.2). 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-‘and’, e.g.
   고-‘and’, e.g.
   "고-‘and’, e.g.
   "고-‘and’, e.g.
   "고-‘and’, e.g.
   "고-‘and’, e.g.
   "고-‘and’, e.g.

2. 터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.

3. 고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.
   "고서-‘and’, e.g.

4. 터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.
   "터어-‘and’, e.g.

5. 가-ja ‘as soon as’ Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ja suffixed to the verb mak-‘to stop’.] E.g.
   가-ja ‘as soon as’ Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ja suffixed to the verb mak-‘to stop’.] E.g.
   가-ja ‘as soon as’ Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ja suffixed to the verb mak-‘to stop’.] E.g.
   가-ja ‘as soon as’ Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ja suffixed to the verb mak-‘to stop’.] E.g.
13. 하야 / 여야 -াja/-sja a/s-form  ‘only if, only when’, e.g.
라야-лая (after V.e) Zero t.sfx.
악을 먹어 하니가 magja nasja
‘[You] will get well only when/if you take some pills.’
예쁜 천사라지 jępín cęglaJa ‘Only if it is a pretty book.’

14. (더러) 이도 / 이도 -드/드도/-드도 a/s-form
로지안 / 로지안 -Ỉימי안/-Ỉימי안 V/C-form  ‘even if/though’
로지라적 / 로지라적 -İ릴도/-İ릴도 V/C-form
로망/ 로망 -만야/-만야 V/C-form
돌 / 돌 -нд/нд V/C-form
돌아.savu ‘Even if you did not know’
해가 걸어 당신이 jęga jisilmaŋsiŋ dal išda
‘Even if the sun has set, there is the moon.’
부자인들 이렇게 해 busa indil a/she he
‘Even though [he] is a rich man, what can he do?’

15. 지만 -jıman
전반-ganman V/C-form  ‘although ...’
나 / 나 -나/-ina V/C-form  ‘... but’

Although identical in form, -na/-ina of (15) and -на/-ина of (11) are different endings. The former occurs in double form whereas the latter occurs in single form, e.g.

능이 오지마 술가하다 nunj ašjiman cubja anhdha
‘Although it is snowing it is not cold.’
신부는 있으나 신랑은 없구나 sinbun išına sinkegin xbguna
‘The bride is there but the bridegroom is not.’

16. 릴반 / 오염 -ıjanman/-ıjanman
V/C-form ‘might/would ... but’ V/C-form, e.g.
사진이 많으려면 할 수도 없다 sažini manhıjanman hanagdo xbd̆a
‘There might have been many photos but there isn’t even one.’

17. 아서 / 어서 -аš/aš/a/s-form ‘and then; as, since, because’;
Zero t.sfx., e.g.
우표를 사(서) 못이래 upjolil sasa butisla
‘Buy a stamp and stick it on.’
달이 맛이(서) 기르다 nali matgsa gipisla
‘I am happy as the weather is fine.’

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18. 프로 / 오르로 -мilo/-имilo V/C-form, ‘as, since, because’, e.g.
길이 프로 방도 많다 jibí kimilo buydo manhda
‘As the house is large, there are many rooms too.’

19. 나(가) / 은(가) -ника/-иника
V/C-form Time: ‘when, as’; Cause: ‘because, as, since’, e.g.
다시 비나 응락하십시오 dasi bini jogsixisbgo
‘As I apologize once more, please forgive me.’
나를 보니가 가볍다 níil bonika xipisīla
‘I was happy to see you’ (lit. ‘because I met you’).

20. 논에 -нинде (after V.p.)
-던 / 논-нин/nde (after V.d.)  ‘and’ (topic introducer)
공부를 하는데 해 nousí gopsulí haninde we uni
‘I am working — why are you crying?’
이가 분데 놀라구나 kīga kinde iunjinhaguna
[She] is tall and [yet] plump.

21. 저 -нот마 may/might ... but’
파티에 가지 않기 위해서나 putie gudwe jemıa xhage išda
‘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 / 아 -а/-a a/s-form: Concatenating Ending I
(b) 고 -go
(c) 게 -ge
(d) दी -di

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 -а/-a, -ge and -di, e.g.

 살아 진다 / sažuna jindo ‘It is getting boiled’
 살아 있다 / sažano išda ‘She is boiling it’
 크게 하여 / kīga xajıda ‘Make it loud’
 크지 않다 / kīja anhda ‘It is not big’
Chapter 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 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 지기있는 jampil jagi inmin ‘the pencil which is there.’

The usual order of the two constituents of the above phrase is:

지기있는 연필 jampil jagi inmin

Exp. H.

Examples

- 집 jib ‘[a] house’
- 새 집 se jib ‘[a] new house’
- 새 집 ja se jib ‘that new house’
- 아름다운 새 집 alindaun ja se jib lit. ‘beautiful that new house’
- 아름다운 한 새 집 mni alindaun han se 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 원 가방 ja han gaban ‘that old brief-case’
- 큰 하늘 pulin hanil ‘[the] blue sky’
- 나는 것 mi gas ‘Which one?’ (lit. ‘which thing’)
- 두 권 du gwann ‘two volumes’
- 아는 책 anin ce ‘pretending to know’
- 남산 서울운동장 nsibin suulondongjang ‘Wide Seoul Stadium’
  suulondongjang N.compl

< saul ‘Seoul’ + undongjang ‘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 ya/ina ‘or’ or by a conjunctive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.6) such as giligo ‘and’ and lonin ‘or’ as the coordinator, e.g.

- 새와 고양이 sewa gojangi ‘a bird and a cat’
- 산과 나무 sangwa namu ‘the mountain and tree’
- 물과 강과 mu gwa gangwa be ‘water, river and ship’

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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, N₁ and N₂ each forming a stress group, N₁ is usually marked by Intoneme L, e.g.

한 교수. *hangjoseu ‘Professor Han’, or -han, gjosu

문 대통령 jun deotyonjag ‘President Yun’, or -jun, deotyonjag

The order of N₁ and N₂ may sometimes be reversed, especially when N₁ includes both family name and given name, resulting in N₂ + N₁, e.g.

강진 가 김진 bang gamcan ‘General Gang Gamchan’

성승 윤 인호 samsu ju inho ‘the player, Yu Inho’

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 N₁ and N₂, whereas nouns linked paratactically have the potentiality of taking a coordinator between every two member nouns.

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

강 교수. *gingjoseu or -ging, gjosu ‘Professor Kim’

cf. 김 교수 gong wa gjosu

(b) Nouns in parataxis

사과, 삼 vacwa, baum ‘apple and chestnut’

cf. 사과와, 삼 vacwa(vacwa), baum
(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 -junho -sunsu ‘the player, Yu Inho’

(b) **Nouns in parataxis**

자동차, 비행기 ja. dooce, bi. heggi ‘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 \( N^n \) are subordinating(s). The subordinating may be further analysed as consisting of the last noun as the head and other nouns preceding it as the subordinating(s), and so on, e.g.

여행 준비 jhegy jumbi

\[ N^1 N^2 \]

‘preparation for a journey’ (lit. ‘journey preparation’)

영국 사람 jangug sadae ‘Englishman’

\[ N^1 N^2 \]

미국 정부 시책 niguug jangbi sibee ‘American government policy’

\[ N^1 N^2 \]

인구 계획 작성 찬도 janggu geheug jagaye walljo

\[ N^1 N^2 N^1 N^2 \]

‘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) ‘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 jhegy jumbi ‘preparation for journey’ can be rewritten as

*여행 준비 jhegy jumbi ‘General Kim Bogdong’ cannot be rewritten as

여행 준비 jhegy jumbi ‘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 jhegy jumbi ‘preparation for journey’ cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 jumbi jhegy, which is either meaningless or means ‘preparation journey or test journey’, but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 gimbogloj jangun ‘General Kim Bogdong’ can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 jangun gimbogloj.

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 (천) sasibo (wun) ‘forty five (won)’

\(< sasibo ‘forty five’ compound numeral\)

\(< sasibo + o > wun \) monetary unit, classifier

삼백 육십칠 (聿) sambej jibshi cil (gwun) ‘three hundred and sixty seven volumes’

\(< sambej jibshi cil ‘367’ compound numeral + gwun ‘volume’, classifier\)

아흔 한 (머리) 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:

\[ N + \text{Compound Numeral Expression} \]

**Examples**

백 이십오 케이주스보 구미

\[ N \]

‘twenty five volumes of books’ (lit. ‘books twenty five volumes’)

자동차 열 십대 ja. dooce jalj jasad de

\[ N \]

‘sixteen cars’ (lit. ‘cars sixteen sets’)

*but an appositional construction 김복동 장군 gimbogloj jangun ‘General Kim Bogdong’ cannot be rewritten as

"김복동의 장군 gimbogloj jangun ‘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 jhegy jumbi ‘preparation for journey’ cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 jumbi jhegy, which is either meaningless or means ‘preparation journey or test journey’, but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 gimbogloj jangun ‘General Kim Bogdong’ can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 jangun gimbogloj.

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사십오 (천) sasibo (wun) ‘forty five (won)’

\(< sasibo ‘forty five’ compound numeral\)

\(< sasibo + o > wun \) monetary unit, classifier

삼백 육십칠 (聿) sambej jibshi cil (gwun) ‘three hundred and sixty seven volumes’

\(< sambej jibshi cil ‘367’ compound numeral + gwun ‘volume’, classifier\)

아흔 한 (머리) 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:

\[ N + \text{Compound Numeral Expression} \]

**Examples**

백 이십오 케이주스보 구미

\[ N \]

‘twenty five volumes of books’ (lit. ‘books twenty five volumes’)

자동차 열 십대 ja. dooce jalj jasad de

\[ N \]

‘sixteen cars’ (lit. ‘cars sixteen sets’)
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5.13. 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.

5.13.1. 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 ja ceg 'that book' (JA Adj.deic.)
새 집 se jib 'a new house' (se Adj.qual.)
여섯 고장 mi gojag 'Which locality?'
여섯 세 고장 mi se gojag 'Which new locality?'
여섯 한 세 책 mi han se ceg 'a certain new book' (han Adj.num.)

5.13.2. 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 ionin ‘or’, or by parataxis, e.g.,

사람 ganin salam 'the man who is going' (lit. 'going man')
집에 오는 아이 jibe onin ai
'home coming child"
사과를 사는 여자 산가월 물 cagun
'the girl who will pick apple(s)' (lit. 'apple picking girl')
등은 소 nila so 'an old cow' (lit. 'a cow which is old')

Adjectival clauses linked by coordinator:

감고 그리고 어린 신부 jahnin giligo ajipin sinbu
'a young and beautiful bride' (lit. 'a bride who is young and beautiful')

Adjectival clauses linked by parataxis:

사랑이 많은 복잡한 거리 salami manhin bogcapan gali
'the crowded (and) busy street' (lit. 'the street where people are numerous and which is complicated')

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.,

감고 그리고 어린 신부 jahnin giligo ajipin sinbu
'a young and beautiful bride'

' única y buena esposa'

 Cf. 'una y buena esposa'

 Cf. 'una y buena esposa'

 Cf. 'una y buena esposa'

 Cf. 'una y buena esposa'
5.1.3.3. Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion

One or more adjectival relational phrase(s) (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) structure as follows:

\[ N^1 \ i i \ N^2 \ i i \ N^3 \ i i \ \ldots \ldots \ldots \ N^n \]

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 엄마님 nae maanim 'my mother'
동무의 애간지 dongmwi ajsi 'my friend's uncle'
교육의 정교 yuugi jikyo 'the power of education'
어머니의 아버지의 사진 mamnii abari sajin
[kim's mother's father's photo]
교수의 연구의 결과 juosui jiknyoo jikogwa
['the results of the professor's research']
(-literary 'the results of research of the professor')
친구의 아저씨의 선생님 chungui ajsiil sasanglim
[kim's 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 ii 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cuingui ii ajsii saseqgi ii laal} \\
\text{gosuui jungii gislgwa}
\end{align*}
\]

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 생각한 청년 han saggikan camgiamn 'a brave young man'
Adj. adj.cl.

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} & \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{H} \\
\text{H} & \rightarrow \text{NP}' \\
\text{NP}' & \rightarrow \text{Exp.'} + \text{H'} \\
\text{NP} & \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{Exp.'} + \text{H'}
\end{align*}
\]

Very often a tentative juncture occurs after Exp. in the above formula, thus separating Exp. from Exp.', e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nega ban, saulii gali} & \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{Exp.'} + \text{H'} \\
\text{the streets of Seoul that I saw}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{alimdaun, jaajii mogsioli} & \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{Exp.'} + \text{H'} \\
\text{the beautiful woman's voice}
\end{align*}
\]

A nominal phrase of the structure \(\text{Exp.} + \text{Exp.'} + \text{H'}\) may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance, \(\text{alimdaun jaajii mogsioli} 'the beautiful woman's voice'}\) 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.', the nominal translates 'the woman's voice which is beautiful', but if it is made between Exp.' and H', the same phrase translates 'the voice of the beautiful woman'. The two different IC cuts may be shown by the following diagrams.
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(i) 아름다움 여자의 목소리
   alindaun jaga ii mogsoli 'the woman's voice which is beautiful'
   Exp. EXP. H
   NP H

(ii) 아름다움 여자의 목소리
   alindaun jaga ii mogsoli 'the voice of the beautiful woman'
   Exp. EXP. H.
   NP

alindaun '(who/which) is beautiful' adj.c.; jaga 'woman' N; ii 'of' Pcl.adj.; mogsoli 'voice' N.

The IC analysis of (i) refers to the structure of an NP comprising an embedded NP as its head, i.e., Exp. + Exp. + 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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
<td>Satellite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**
   니바 가다 nama gada 'to go over' < nama 'crossing' + gada 'to go'
   장가 구어 박아 jaba gua magla 'to catch, grill and eat'

(ii) **Nucleus + Satellite**
    가고 싶다 gago sibio 'I want to go.'
    Nuc. Sat.
   < gago 'going' + sibio 'to want to'
   장가 지다 jida jida 'to be picked up'
   Nuc. Sat.
   < jida 'picking up' + jida pasv.fmv.
   장가 가고 싶어하고 있다 lwis gago sips hago idda
    Nuc. Sat.
   'to be wanting to go running' < lwis 'running' + gago 'going'
   + sips 'wanting to' + hago proc.fmv. + idda prgr.fmv.

(iii) **Expansion + Head**
    장하다 jal hada 'to do [something] well' < jal 'well' + hada 'to do'
    Exp. Nuc.
   H
   알된 뒤여가야 allin lwis gada 'to go running quickly'
    Exp. Nuc.
   H
   < allin 'quickly' + lwis gada 'to go running'
5.2.1.1. 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’ Vtr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any descriptive verb or by some processive verbs such as nilge- ‘to grow old’, magdil- ‘to be bruised’, etc., e.g.

\[ \text{위어 간다 \textit{twis ganda} [He] is running away} \]
\[ \text{< \textit{liw} \text{to run} Vp,} \]
\[ \text{느러 보한다는 \textit{nilge boinda} [He] looks old} \text{< \textit{nilg} \text{to get old} Vp,} \]
\[ \text{점지 보답니다 \textit{jaln boindula} [She] looks young,} \]
\[ \text{< \textit{jaln} \text{to be young} Vd.} \]

5.2.1.1.1. 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

\[ \text{발을 잡아 간다 \textit{bamil jaba ganda} O \textit{Vtr. Vintr.} } \]
\[ \text{Nuc.} \]
\[ \text{[They] are taking the tiger with them’ (lit. ‘they have caught the tiger and are going away’).} \]

\[ \text{발을 잡아 풀었다 \textit{babil anja magann} O \textit{Vintr. Vtr.} } \]
\[ \text{Nuc.} \]
\[ \text{‘Did you eat your supper sitting down?’} \]
Korean Grammar

The auxiliary verb *anhda*, negation, selects the concatenating ending *-ji* for the immediately preceding verb *sip* - 'to want to', which in turn selects the concatenating ending *-go* for the full verb in the nucleus *mag* - 'to eat'.

(i) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite adds to or modifies the meaning of the verb(s) in the nucleus. For example in '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 *mag* - 'to eat'.

(ii) 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 *ji* - e.g.

\[ \text{작아 집다 jaga jinda} \]

is a head of processive type and behaves syntactically as a processive verb such as *ga*- 'to go'.

\[ \text{작아 집다 gago isda} \]

\[ \text{[He] is going.} \]

\[ \text{작아 지고 집다} jaga jigo isda \]

\[ \text{[It] is becoming small.} \]

\[ \text{cf. 작아 집다 gago isda} \]

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 *mag* - 'to be small'. For instance, a head of descriptive type like

\[ \text{작아 집다 gago sipda} \]

\[ \text{[I] want to go.} \]

\[ \text{V.p. Vaux.} \]

cannot be directly followed by the auxiliary verb *sip* - '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*- , *ji* - dwe- etc.

**Examples**

\[ \text{작아 지고 집다 jaga jigo isda} \]

\[ \text{[It] is becoming small.} \]

\[ \text{V.d. Vaux. Vaux.} \]

\[ \text{작아 집다 gago sipda hago isda} \]

\[ \text{V.p. Vaux. Vaux. Vaux.} \]

\[ \text{[He] wants to go' (lit. He is wanting to go).} \]
Some auxiliary verbs supplement and extend the morphological formations of voice and tense, i.e., passive voice formation by the auxiliary verb *jī*- *pasv.mtnx.* and progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb *is*- (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g.:

- [Image -13x-71 to 590x851]

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/-.⁴ (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 모 *bo*-  
2. 주 *ji*-  
3. 도 *dili*-  
4. 해 *de*-  
5. 먹 *bali*-  
6. 아 *sal*-  
7. 저 *ji*-  
8. 가 *ga*-  
9. 그 *o*-  
10. 독 *noa*-  
11. 달 *naa*-  
12. 빌 *ne*-

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. 모 *is*-  
2. 있 *sp*-

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 *anilha*- ‘negation’ or *moshaka*- ‘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

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 disordered 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\left[ x^1 \right] \\
\left[ x^2 \right]
\end{array} \right\} \\
Y & \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
y^1 \\
y^2
\end{array} \right\}
\end{align*}
\]

Nucleus \quad 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 \( x \) or \( y \) in the satellite, either of which may in its turn be followed by \( x^1 \) or \( y^1 \), or \( x^2 \) or \( y^2 \) 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.,

\( x^1 y^1, x^1 y^2, x^2 y^2, y^1 x^1, y^1 x^2, y^2 x^2, y^2 x^1 y^1 x^2, y^1 x^1 y^2 x^2, y^1 x^1 y^2 x^2 \).

Thus the following sequences are possible:

(a) \( X x^1 y^1 \): 먹기 하고 싶다 magke hago sibda 'I want to make him eat,'
(b) \( x^1 x^1 y \): 먹고 싶어 한다 magko sips handa 'She would like to eat,'
(c) \( x^1 y^1 x^2 \): 먹지 못하게 하고 싶다 magci motage hago sibida
   'I want him not to eat,'
(d) \( y^1 x^1 y^1 \): 맛지 않아하다 naulga jigo idla 'It is getting clear.'
(e) \( y^1 x^1 y \): 맛지 않게 되었다 magci anke dwesxdia
   'It has not become clear.'

\( Y \ y^1 x^1 \): 먹지 않게 만들고 싶어 한다 magci anke mandilgo sips 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:

\( i \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
Y \\
y \end{array} \right\} & \quad X \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
Y \\
y \end{array} \right\} \ p \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( ii \)

\[
\begin{align*}
p & \quad \rightarrow \quad ji-, ha-, dwe-, etc., Processive fmtv., e.g., \\
X y^1 x^1 & \rightarrow X y^1 p \\
Y x^1 & \rightarrow Y p
\end{align*}
\]

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, \( ji-, ha-, dwe-, etc. \):

\( iii \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
Y \\
y^1 y^2 \end{array} \right\} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\{ mosha- \} anih- \\
\{ anih- \} anih- \end{array} \right\}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( anih- \) unless \( y^1 \) is preceded by \( sip- \) 'to want to' when \( mosha- \) does not occur, and \( y^1 \) by \( anih- \).

Examples

\( Y y^1 \): 맛지 않게 싶다 magci motaji anta
   lit. [It] is not not bright' (It is bright.)
\( X y^1 y^2 \): 먹고 싶지 않다 magko sips 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.
5.2.1.2.3.1. Verbal Heads with Simple Satellite

5.2.1.2.3.1.1. With the Group I Auxiliary Verbs

1.  
   a. be- V.paux., 'to try [doing] [to see how it is]'
      ilga badlia  [He has read/ tried reading [it].]
      X  X
      mus ilga bogedla  ['I will try and read [it] lying.'
      X  X
   
   b. ju- V.paux., 'to do something for someone as a favour'
      jibas julika  ['Shall I pick [it] up for you?'
      X  X
   
   c. dili- V.paux., 'to do something for someone as a favour'
      cegil bata ditigisimida  'I will find the book for you [sir].'
      X  X
   
   d. de- V.paux., repetition, continuation
      The collocability of this auxiliary verb is very limited compared with sah-, which may collocate with almost any verb. Verbs which collocate with de- are: nil mag- 'to eat', nil ul- 'to cry', nilli nollit- 'to tease', kalul kalul- 'to behave flippantly', etc.
      국수를 먹이 맛나가 gusalil maga denda  ['He is eating noodles again.'
      X  X
      놀리 했더니 nollit denni  'Did you tease him too much?'
      X  X
   
   e. sah- V.paux., repetition, continuation
      왜 못해 넋이 nos saarni  'Why do you keep on laughing?'
      X  X
      임을 살아 빛이 죽습니다 alil salma maga sadha
      X  X
      ['We boiled eggs and ate them without end.'
   
   f. bali- V.paux., 'to do something completely, or thoroughly'
      시 밤이 되었다 ja balida  ['He went to bed straight away.'
      X  X
      놀러 했더니 nulls balidedi  'You pressed it completely, didn't you?'
   
   g. ji- V.paux.,
      (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
      사진이 찍어진다 sayiis ciga jinda  'The picture is being taken.'
      X  X

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감아 깔아 jalla jinda  ['It is broken/cut.'
      X  X
   
   (b) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.
   잠아 잡아 anju jini  'Can you sit?'
      X  X
      (lit. 'Do you find yourself sitting [even if you don't intend to]?')
   잡아 갔다 jib 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'
      꼬이 놀러 자졌다 koci bulga jigedia
      X  X
      'The flower is likely to become red.'
   아주 어우러 짐니가 anju xula jinnuka  'Is it getting very dark?'
      X  X
   
   8. 가 거- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker or near-completion
      아저씨가 놀러 갔다 ajjiga nilga ganda  'My uncle is getting old.'
      X  X
      부산에 도착하여 갔다 busane dookaja ganda
      X  X
      ['We are getting near Pusan.'
   
   9. 오 오- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from past to present or towards the speaker
      노인은 이들동안 기도를 해 왔다 noin ititlopan gidalit he wadla
      X  X
      'The old man has prayed for the past two days.'
      임을 잡아 하여 왔다 itil gaci haja wadla  'We have worked together.'
      X  X
   
   10. 꼬 noh- V.paux., completion, retention
      This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.
      고기를 잘라 놋았으니가 gogiiit jalla noasinnika
      X  X
      'Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?'
      우산 알라 uusn ala noala  'Find about it first of all.'
      X  X
11. 내 no- V.paux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.intr. such as 죽 pi- 'to blossom', 죽 sos- 'to rise or soar', 차라 jala- 'to grow', 살 sul- 'to leave', etc., e.g.
매가 소야 난다 hega sosya nanda 'The sun is rising/coming out.'
아이가 자라 남다 aiga jula nuda 'The child has grown up.'

12. 내 ne- V.paux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.tr. such as 건다 gisadi- 'to endure', 하는 ha- 'to do', 이기 egi- 'to win', 걱 jil- 'to devise, compose or make', etc., e.g.
건다 네갈다 gisadi negelda '[I can stand [it] and will be all right].' 아이가 숙제를 해 냈다 aiga sugesel hel neda
'The boy is doing his homework (and he can finish it alone).'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.2. With the Group II Auxiliary Verbs

1. 있 is- V.daux., progressive tense formative

점을 깔고 있다 jibit jikko idita '[They] are building a house.'

눈이 오고 있었다 nwai ogo isadita
'It was snowing' (lit. 'The snow was coming.')

2. 잡 sip- V.daux. 'to want to, to wish to'

내가 살 가고 있으나 nami gago sibso
'Do you want to go over the mountain?'

어머니는 돈을 보내고 싶었다 amminin doni bonego sipseta
'[His] mother wanted to send some money'

3. 만 mut- V.paux., negation

사고 멈았다 sago malada '[I] have bought it at last.'

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 lli/illi 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

망을 맛고 싶다 panji magko sibia 'I would like to have some bread.'
망이 맛고 싶다 panji magko sibia 'I would like to have some bread.'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3. With the Group III Auxiliary Verbs

1. 하 ha- V.paux.

(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 atili jage haja

'OX x

'Let's make the baby sleep.' (jage 'to sleep' V.intr.)

망을 줄을 맛에 참시다 mani pufi magke habaidda

'O O x

'Let's make the horse eat grass.' (magke 'to eat' V.tr.)

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

소리를 작게 하겠다 soliil jage hajada

'OY x

'He turned the volume down' (lit. 'made the sound small').

책상을 높게 하니까 cegsanyi nobke hani

'O Y x

'Are you making the table [to be] high?'

2. 만다 mandi- V.paux.

This auxiliary verb is identical to ha- in every respect except that it is more emphatic than the latter.
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. 이제 adverb

이제 왔다 

This child does not walk yet.

2. 모허 mosha-

놀라지 못하다 nollass didi etatjella 

'It is not clear today [regrettably].'

A slight semantic difference is observed between anihá- and mosha-, both of which are used to form negative constructions. anihá- 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 sulii saoji masejo 

Please do not buy wine and bring it with you.'

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, anihá- and mosha- are in complementary distribution with mal- in relation to the types of sentence; that is, anihá- and mosha- occur in declarative and interrogative sentences only, whereas mal- occurs in imperative and propositive sentences only. As an
two separate headings, X and Y, the former representing the nucleus of processive type and the latter that of descriptive type.

5.2.1.1.2.3.2.2. X Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

X x x  맹이 보게 하셨다

ography hasinda  [He] allows me to try and eat [it].

X x x

이어 주시 않으시다

[She] is reading [it] again and again [for you].

X x x

X y y  입이 보고 싶다

ibha bogo sibia  ‘[I] would like to try and wear [it].’

X x y

그림이 그려져 있고 있다

gilimi gilja jigo idia  ‘The picture is being drawn.’

X x y

X y y  않고 있지 않다

anko idci ania  ‘[She] is not sitting.’

X y y

놓고 싶지 않다

nukbo sibci ania  ‘[He] does not want to lie down.’

X y y

X y y  자고 싶게 하였다

gago sibke hajsida  ‘[I] had him want to go.’

X y y

증고 쉽게 만들었다

jolgo idke manettisida  ‘[He] made him drowsy.’

X y y

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

X x x  욱게 만들어 놓아 왔다

ulga mandila noa bwa

X x x

‘Try and make her cry [and leave her crying].’

X x y

그리저 가고 있다

gilja jja gago idte

X x y

‘[The] picture is nearly finished’ (lit. ‘is being drawn’ [and] almost done).

X x x

X x x  절라 빼고 싶게 한다

jalla balsog sipa handa  ‘[She] would like to cut it off.’

X x y

X y y

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

X x x x  음여 놓게 하여 보라

ulsa dejja haja hoada  ‘Try to stop her crying on and on.’

X x x x

X x x x  (lit. ‘try making her not to go on crying’).

X x x x

X x x x  무서 놓게 해주지 말네

busja dejo sipa haja malge

X x x x

‘Stop wishing to destroy [it] completely.’

X x x x

X x x x  깊게 나게 하고 싶어 한다

gi juna nga dwego sipa handa

X x x x

X x y y

‘[He] would like to find himself standing it [somehow].’

X y y y y

X y y y  눅여 있고 싶지 않거나 없다

nukidko sibci anci anada  ‘[He] did not dislike to be lying down.’

X y y y y

(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

X x x x  술이 넘겨 바리 지지 않게 하여 주어라

usmanja bali jija anke haja jusa

X x x x x

‘Do not allow [it] to be laughed away [for her sake].’

X x x x x

X x x x x  집회 가지 않게 해 주고 싶어 한다

japjyaaj anke he jago sipa handa

X x x x x

X x x x

‘[She] wants to make him not to be arrested and taken away [for his sake].’

X y y y x
5.2.1.2.3.2.2. Y Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x  야기 지 머리었다
malga jis balsilxia ‘It has become completely clear.’
Y x x

Y x y  결계 되어 몸과
jisanke dweug bolka ‘Shall I try to become young?’
Y x x

Y x y  물게 하고 싶나
butke hago simni ‘Do you want to make it red?’
Y x y

Y x y  크게 만들고 있다
kige mantaigoldia ‘They are making it big.’
Y x y

Y x x  갤지 없게 되었다
gilji anke dweuda ‘[It] somehow became not long.’
Y x x

Y x x  높지 못하게 하여라
nobei motage hajida ‘Don’t let it get high.’
Y x x

Y y y  크지 않지(는) 않다
kiji anci anci anta
Y y Pel. y

‘It is somewhat big’ (lit. ‘It is not not big.’)

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x x  야기 지게 하 보라
balga jige he buja ‘Let us try to make it bright.’
Y x x x

Y x x y  막게 하여 주고자
mudke haja, jago idla ‘[He] is making [it] fit her.’
Y x x y

Y x x x  유명하게 되고 싶어 하니
jumshapde dweug sips hani
Y x y y

‘Do you want to become famous.’

Y x x x  어려 지고 싶지 않았다
silja jige sibei ansida
Y x y y

‘[She] did not wish to become young.’

Y x x x  죽지 않게 만들어 놓아라
jobe anke mantaigolda
Y y x x

‘Don’t make it narrow’ (lit. ‘Make it not to be narrow’).  

Y x x x  아프지 않게 되고 싶다
apiji anke dwego sibla
Y y x x

‘I don’t wish to be ill’ (lit. ‘I wish to become not ill’).  

Y x x x  죽지 않게(는) 않게 되었다
nobei anci anci anci dweuda
Y y Pel. y x

‘It has become somewhat high’
(lit. ‘It has become not not high’).

Y x x x  썩지 않지 않지 않다
siiri 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  죽비 지게 하여 주지 말자
silps jige haja, jigi malfo ‘Let us not make her sad.’
Y x x x x

Y x x x x  죽비 지게 하여 주지 말자
nijs jigi anke hago sibla
Y x x x y

‘I would like to make [her] not to be late.’

Y x x x x

‘[She] wanted it to become short.’

Y x x x x  가볍지 않게 해 주여 물까
giljexe bei anke he, mju bolka
Y y x x x

‘Shall I try to make you not to feel itchy?’

Y x x x x  불편하지 않게 하고 싶어 하지
buljoxanhaji anke dwego sips haji
Y y x x x

‘[She] wishes to become not uncomfortable.’
5.2.1.2. 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.

네우 흥지 않아요 meu joci anadila ‘It was not very good.’

방이 넓적히 줄어 들다 baqi dedanhi joba sjadila

‘The room has become very small.’

그 금이 보인다 pag nilga boinda ‘She looks very old.’

가장 긴 보험입니다 sagaj ko bojašimnida ‘He looked the tallest.’

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 바라 naμa joci ma-la ‘Do not sleep too much.’

너무 둘개 만들었다 naμa joke mandiladila ‘She made it too good.’

상당히 쉽게 sagdahi swibci ‘It is very easy.’

상당히 마시고 오겠지 sagdahi masigo ogedci

‘He will come very drunk.’

5.2.1.2.4. Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A nominal phrase of the structure Adj./adj. + mankim/manci may occur
5.2.1.2.5. Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A relational phrase of the structure Adj./adj. cl. + jadu + to, may occur before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

그 정도로 비싸게 하였노 gijadudo bissage hajado Vd.

'Even if [you] make [it] that expensive.'

병원에 갔 정도로 아프게 되었다 hajwone gadudolo api ge dweedia Vd.

'She became so ill that she went to a hospital' (lit. 'to the extent that she went to a hospital').

느랄 정도로 맛들나 rollad jadudolo maynindu Vp.

'[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 mean pahmanda 'He does it very well.' (mean 'very' Adv.d.)

sub. H V.p.

adv.ph.
(i) *Directive Particle as Relatum*

- 집에 있어. *jibe idla* 'She is at home.'
- 빌로 가자. *bakilo jeja* 'Let's go out.' (lit. 'to out')
- 나무로 만들었다. *namulo mandilida* 'They made it with wood.'
- 렛터서 받 수 있다. *tandansa man bolil idla* Pcl.

> "One can see it only in London."

구장에도 가니. *gicega do guni* 'Do you go to the theatre too?'

Pcl.

mdf.

(ii) *Quotative Particle as Relatum*

그도 시골에 오겠다고 한다. *gido sigole ogediago handa*

>'He says that he will come to the country side too.'

이것을 읽어주라고 부른다. *tigasi iniago bulinda* 'We call it silver.'

(iii) *Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum*

그책을 보았다면 다시 보고 싶다. *gicgil boadiluman dasi bogo sibia*

>'I saw/read the book but I would like to read it again.'

나도 알라서 더 시간이 없다. *nado aladisti sigani sibia* '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. *janggigil gopwan* 'parks of England'

N

- 젊은 날의 꿈. *jalnin 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. *smilela ii sosig* 'the news [of] from Seoul'

adver.

adj.

- 전투에게서의 편지. *cinguegessi ii pjatji* 'a letter [of] from a friend'

adj.

adj.

- 어머니에게 편지. *smxniege ii gamsa* 'thanks [of] to mother'

adj.

adj.

- 자식으로의 도리. *jasigilo ii doli* 'duty [of] as a son'

adj.

adj.

- 교장과의 긴 대화. *ginjaukwa ii gin dechwa* '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 joesimnida  ‘It is nice.’
자고 싶어합니다 jago sipa hamnida  ‘[He] wants to sleep.’

(ii) N/NP + Copula Verb- as Clause

인필이다 janphida  ‘This is a pencil.’
빨간 꽃이다 palgan koe ida  ‘[It] is a red flower.’

(iii) Expansion + Predicate (Head) as Clause

꽃이 피었습니다 koci pixada  ‘The flower has blossomed.’

S  P

사람이 아주 많다 sadami aju mantu  ‘There are many people.’

S  Adv.  V

개가 고양이를 향하다 senga gojanjil kondinda  ‘A dog is chasing a cat.’

S  O  P

나는 오늘 머리가 아프다 nonin onil maliga apiida  ‘I have headache today.’

S1  A  S2  P

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 hanii magia  ‘The sky is clear.’
P
음답 빼먹다 kamill shininda  ‘[They] are chewing gum.’
P
교회에 가다 gjoywee gani  ‘Are you going to the church?’
P
책을 뽑시다 cegil bodsida  ‘Let’s look at the book.’
P

(ii) Non-Final Clause

하늘이 맑으면 hanii matginja  ‘if the sky is clear’
P
음답 빼먹으면 kamill shinimja  ‘while chewing gum’
P
교회에 가면 gjoywee ganimja  ‘[He] who is going to the church’
P
책을 뽑으면 cegil bomja  ‘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 jī- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) in
the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object, e.g.,

풍을 찔다 gogil canda  ‘He kicks the ball.’
P.tr.

여러 놓지 않았다 ilganoci anadita
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.,

있다 arsida  ‘She sat down.’
P.intr.

놀고 있치 nolgo icći  ‘They are playing.’
P.intr.

누어 쉬고 있다 nua swigo idita  ‘I am in bed resting.’
P.intr.

6.2.1.3. Descriptive Predicate (P.de)
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 gisin maini jota
S S P.de

‘He is kind’ (lit. ‘his heart is nice’).

영감이 돈이 많지 않았다 Jagoami doni menci anadita
S S P.de

‘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.,

강아지 jagni idita  ‘It is a rose.’
C P.eq.

6.2.1.5. Passive Predicate (P.pasv.)
The passive predicate consists of (a) a passive verb, i.e., a transitive verb in-
cluding 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 jī-
in the satellite, e.g.,

주의가 끊긴다 jiija kilinda  ‘His attention is [being] drawn.’
P.pasv.

잠시히 빛이게 갔다 japis mitik gadla
V.pasv. V.pasv.
P.pasv.

‘He was caught, bound and taken away.’

나무가 절라 간다 namuga jalla jinda  ‘The tree is being cut.’
Vtr. Vaux.
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 insilg magiga  ‘Let us feed [him].’
P.caus.

애를 놀려다 elil nollfadla  ‘She made the child play.’
P.caus.

소녀가 영문을 읽으셨다 sojiga algul buklislida
P.caus.

‘The girl blushed’ (lit. ‘reddened her face’).
6.2.2. Subject

The subject is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject particle 
\( \text{ga} / \text{ga} / \), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). In spoken Korean, a noun or NP occurs frequently as S without being accompanied by one of the particles mentioned above, e.g.

\[ \text{vi bi ga onda} \quad \text{It is raining.} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{sani nobso} \quad \text{The mountain is high.} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{ol salamin misjinfa} \quad \text{[in Pcl. mdf.] How many people are due to come?} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{pajin(ga) jwia} \quad \text{There is no letter.} \]

6.2.3. Object

The object is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the object particle 
\( \text{lit} / \text{lit} / \) (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.

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{calil tanda} \quad \text{[She] rides in a car.} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{mwo sil magilka} \quad \text{What shall we eat?} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{mugun gabang do boneni} \quad \text{Are you sending the heavy briefcase too?} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{sinmunit bomba} \quad \text{I am reading the newspaper.} \]

6.2.4. Complement

The complement is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject

\[ \text{ga} / \text{ga} / \text{or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Like S and O, the element C} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{bami maji dwemjaw} \quad \text{If the night becomes the day.} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{a shinti dwedkuna} \quad \text{You have become a man!} \]

When the predicate is expressed by the copula verb \( \text{i} \), the complement occurs without the particle, e.g. 
\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{mulita} \quad \text{[It] is water.} \]

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.

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{ai ege magi jia mala} \quad \text{Don't make the child eat \([it]\).} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{nui do ipi taka} \quad \text{[shall I] make my sister wear \([it\) also]?} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{magi jia mala} \quad \text{Don't make the child eat \([it\).} \]

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{cingu hante budi jia mala} \quad \text{She was held by a friend.} \]

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 \( \text{lit} / \text{lit} / \) (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 + \( \text{lit} / \text{lit} / \), 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

\[ \text{vi} \quad \text{nui jang gaire gageso} \quad \text{I will go to the station tomorrow.} \]
provides the basis for analyzing 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 Aq, and (ii) S and A. The cohesion between P and O/C/Aq, whose presence or absence is potentially 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. 6.3.1.1), e.g.,

소년이 공을 칠다 sonjani gonjal canda The boy is kicking a ball.

A dog is chasing a boy there.

'Really he worked hard yesterday.'

Transitive clause structures of marked (emphatic) type, which are less frequent than the unmarked one, are (O)(SP), (P)(S)O and P(O)(S), in each of which the first element is brought into focus, e.g.,

' Shall I try and read the book?'

'Yes, let's read the book together.'

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
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:

\[
(S) + (O^1) + (O^2) + P, \text{ e.g.,}
\]

\[
\text{신사름 옷을 밝혔다 sissalil batil badilad}
\]

\[
O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P
\]

'He stepped on the gentleman's foot'

(lit. stepped [on the gentleman [on his foot]].

cf. 신사름 옷을 밝혔다 sissalil batil badilad.

\[
\text{아들을 불가를 치다 aalil bolgilil cxil}
\]

\[
O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P
\]

'He spanked his son [on the buttocks].

(cf. 아들을 불가를 치다 edil bolgilil cxil)

\[
\text{너 책상을 다리를 못지린다 na cegsan dalili bunjilami}
\]

\[
S \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P
\]

'Did you break a leg of the table?'

(cf. 너 책상을 다리를 못지린다 na cegsan dalili bunjilami)

\[
\text{책을 열기를 희웠다 cegil jalkwanil ilgan}
\]

\[
S \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P
\]

'Have you read ten books?'

(cf. 책 열기를 희웠다 cegil jalkwanil ilgan)

Marked (emphatic) structures of the transitive clause with split objects are

\[
(O^1)(O^2)(P)(S) \text{ and } (S)(O^2)(P)(O), \text{ e.g.,}
\]

\[
\text{담배를 두들기를 피니 dambelit dambelit pini nega}
\]

\[
S \quad O_2 \quad P \quad S
\]

'Are you smoking two cigarettes?'

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:

\[
(S) + P, \text{ e.g.,}
\]

\[
\text{치마에 조용히 앉아라 ilga sojogini angala}
\]

\[
A \quad P
\]

'Sit on the chair quietly.'

\[
\text{천천히 목사를 포교로 오고 cancanci mognsani gjohvelo ogo}
\]

\[
S \quad A \quad P
\]

'The priest comes slowly to church and (can)canchi 'slowly' Exp. of ogo]

\[
\text{누가 더 빨리 뛰니 nuga ds jallini twini}
\]

\[
S \quad P
\]

'Who runs faster?'

The structure of the marked intransitive clause is \( P(S), \text{ e.g.,}

\[
\text{계발라 먹ameda 배우는 jepali ixneda beumini}
\]

\[
A \quad S \quad P
\]

'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 "Descriptive 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 'possession' 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:

\[
\text{나는 머리가 아프다 nanin mlgita apida}
\]

\[
S \quad C \quad P
\]

'I have headache' (lit. 'I head am sick').

the elements \( S \) and \( C \) may combine into a new subject nati mali ga 'my head', where the subject noun \( na 'I' \) and the complement noun \( mali 'head' \) constitute
a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle _Output(1)'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 nannin gega silla
S C P
'I dislike dogs' (lit. 'I am loathsome').

the subject na 'I' and the complement noun ge 'dog' cannot combine into a
single nominal phrase nani ge '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 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 rein-
forced 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 repre-
sented 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') + (S') + P where S' corresponds to C, and S' 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:

말 manh- 'to many, much or plenty'
크 크- 'to big, tall, large'
길 길- 'to long', 악 를 ap- 'to be ill'
슬 슬- silpi- 'to be sad'

etc.

The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type I are
(S') + (S') + P, e.g.,

목사는 밤이 흔히 아랐다 mognanin bali mobsi apadla
S1 S1 P
'The priest's foot was aching' (lit. 'priest foot was aching').

1 Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, p. 45.

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cf. 목사(의) 밤이 흔히 아았다 mognanin bali mobsi apadla
S P

아버지는 키가 크다 abajjini kiga kilda
S1 S2 P
'The father was tall' (lit. 'The father the height was tall').

The school playground is large
hagkja gonya undongjagi kida
S P

'Student playground is large'.

The woman's hands were small.

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:

골림 gisab- 'to miss or long for'
성 sist- 'to dislike', 무 적 mubab- 'to be afraid of'
반갑 bangab- 'to happy to [meet or hear from]
좋 jogo- 'to be good, fond of'
사용하 ssunha- 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable'
하소서 ssomshor- 'to miss [someone or something]
슬 슬- silpi- 'to be sad over'
억하 아니다 aguha- 'to be unjust, to feel robbed'
것 삼십 삼십 ginsimshab- 'to be worried'

etc.
The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type II are \((S) + (C) + P\), e.g.

\[
\text{The mother missed [her] daughter.}
\]

\[
\text{The officer was sad over the death of a soldier.}
\]

\[
\text{How much are you afraid of a tiger?}
\]

Less frequent but marked structures of the descriptive clause of type II are \((S)(P)(C), (P)(S)(C), (C)(P)(S), (P)(C)(S)\), e.g.

\[
\text{I was anxious to hear from you.}
\]

\[
\text{He is a singer.}
\]

\[
\text{A cat was chased by a dog.}
\]

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 \((S) + C + P\). No \(NP\) occurring in the equational clause as the element \(C\) is not followed by the complement particle \(i\) 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.

\[
\text{He is a singer.}
\]

\[
\text{A cat was chased by a dog.}
\]

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 \((S) + (A) + P\) where the elements \(S\) and \(Ag\) are transformationally related to \(O\) and \(S\) respectively of the transitive clause as diagrammatically shown below.

\[
(S) + (O) + P_{tr.} = \text{transitive clause}
\]

\[
(O) + (A) + P_{pass} = \text{passive clause}
\]

**Examples**

- \(\text{A dog chased a cat.}\)

- \(\text{A cat was chased by a dog.}\)

**Examples of Passive Clause Type I**

- \(\text{A thief was caught by a policeman.}\)

- \(\text{The floor gets cleaned well today (lit. 'the floor cleans well today').}\)
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) + (O) + (O) + P type (cf. 6.3.1.1), exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag) + (C/O) + P, where the elements S and Ag are transformationally related to O and S respectively of the transitive clause, and (C/O) to O, as diagrammatically shown below:

\[ \begin{align*}
(S) + & \quad O \quad O \quad P, \text{transitive clause} \\
(S) + & \quad (Ag) + \quad (O) + \quad P, \text{transitive clause} \\
\end{align*} \]

**Examples**

- 게이 도둑을 손에 놓쳤다: *giga dodugil sonil muljalsa*
  
  'A dog bit the thief on the hand.'

- 도둑이 재한테 손을 놓쳤다: *dodugil chante soni/soai muljalsa*
  
  'The thief was bitten by a dog on the hand.'

**Examples of Passive Clause Type II**

- 아이가 어머니에게 팔을 잡쳤다: *aiga sunniege patil jajpajada*
  
  'The child's arm was held by his mother.'

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:

노동자를 갑에 잡아 빼냈다: *nodojajana kape chilkjalda*

'S A worker's foot is pricked by a knife.'

감이 노동자로 갑을 빼냈다: *kali nodojajal balit chilkjalda*

'A knife pricked a worker's foot.'

Marked structures of the passive clause type II are (S)(Ag)P(O), (S)(C/O)P(Ag), (Ag)(C/O)P(S) and (C/O)(Ag)P(S), e.g.,

- (S)(Ag)P(O) 조사 송아지에게 등을 받았다: *soga sojaiceje jasil palinda*
  
  'The cow's back (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.'

- (S)(C/O)P(Ag) sogajasi palinda sojaiceje
  
  'The cow's back (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.'

- (Ag)(C/O)P(S) sojaiceje jasil palinda soga
  
  'The cow's back (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.'

**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 ‘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)(O)(A)(O)P
(d) (S)(A)(O)(O)P
(e) (S)(O)(A)(O)(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 hold-
ing between the underlying clause and the corresponding causative clause is as
follows:

\[(S) + P = \text{underlying clause} \]
\[(S) + (O) + P_{\text{caus.}} = \text{causative clause} \]

Examples

아버지가 아들을 오게 했다 abajiga adiligoge hedia
'The father made his son come.'

derived from the intransitive clause

아들이 왔다 adilig weada 'The son came.'

The element S in the causative clause, such as abajį ‘father’ in the example
above, is an invented element which is not expressed in any form in the cor-
responding non-causative clause structure, e.g.

(a) Causative Clause derived from Intransitive Clause

아님니는 말을 얻었다 smaninini ilali ancildiya
'A mother made her daughter sit up.'

< 엄마 얻었다 ilali anjilida 'The daughter sat up.'

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누가 누를 놀라게 했다 nuga n-nilollage henii
‘Who surprised you?’

< 내가 놀랐다 nuga nollani ‘Were you surprised?’

국을 섞지마라 gugil sikiji mal ‘Don’t make the soup get cold.’

< 국이 섞어 gugil sigindan ‘The soup gets cold.’

(b) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause

전공이 빛을 물린다 jangogi bicil bakindiga
‘An electrician makes the light bright.’

< 빛이 밝다 bicil bagia ‘The light is bright.’

이 동료를 준게 받았는데 itupnili jokbe mandilja
‘Let’s make the passage narrow.’

< 이 동료가 준다 itupnoga jokba ‘This passage is narrow.’

(c) Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause

누가 줄을 꺾어지게 했다 nuga julil kina jige hedia
‘Someone caused the string to be broken.’

< 줄이 꺾였다 julil kina jjsxidya ‘The string was broken.’

사과를 잘 판매해 냈다 sagwali jgal pallige he jwadu
‘[They] made the apples sell (lit. ‘to be sold’) well.’

< 사과를 잘 판했던 sagwaga jgal palljxidya
‘Apples sold well’ (lit. ‘were sold’).

6.3.6.2. Causative Clause of (S)(O/C')(C)P

The causative clause of (S)(O/C')(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) + (C) + Pequ. = underlying clause
(S) + (O/C1) + (C) + Pcaus. = 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, e.g.

\[ \text{사랑하는 제자를 인간이 되게 했다} \]
\[ \text{sanneugin yejalgin ingi dwege hedida} \]
\[ S \quad O \quad C \quad P \]
\[ 'The teacher made his pupil to become a man.' \]
\[ < \text{제자가 인간이 되었다} \]
\[ jejaga ingi dwege hedida \]
\[ S \quad C \quad P \]
\[ 'The pupil became a man.' \]

\[ \text{꿈이 현실이 되게 하려라} \]
\[ \text{kumi hjavnсли dwege hajsla} \]
\[ C_i \quad C \quad P \]
\[ 'Make your dream a reality.' \]
\[ < \text{꿈이 현실이 된다} kumi hjavnсли dweve \]
\[ S \quad C \quad P \]
\[ 'A dream becomes a reality.' \]

6.3.6.3. Causative Clause of \((S)(O/C)(O'/C')\)P

The causative clause of \((S)(O/C)(O'/C')\)P type is derived from (a) the descriptive clause type I of \((S')S\)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:

\[ (S'/S) + (S'/C) + P\text{des.} = \text{underlying cl.} \]
\[ (S) + (O/C) + (O'/C') + P\text{caus.} = \text{causative cl.} \]

Examples

(a) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type I

\[ \text{그는 나을/내가 개울/개어 아프게 했다} \]
\[ ginin nali/nega balit/bali apíge hedida \]
\[ S \quad O / C \quad O_1 / C_i \quad P \]
\[ 'He made my foot [to be] painful.' \]
\[ < \text{나는 맹이 아프다} namin batí apída 'My foot is painful' \]
\[ S_i \quad S_2 \quad P \]

(b) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type II

\[ \text{그들은 나을/내가 개울/개어 쉽게 만들었다} \]
\[ gidilin nati/nega getil/gega silke mandùlida \]
\[ S \quad O / C \quad O_1 / C_i \quad P \]
\[ 'They made me dislike dogs.' \]
\[ < \text{나는 개가 싫었다} namin gege silùlida \]
\[ S \quad C \quad P \]
\[ 'I disliked dogs.' \]

6.3.6.4. Causative Clause of \((S)(O'/Ag.)(O')\)P

The causative clause of \((S)(O'/Ag.)(O')\)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:

\[ (S) + (O') + P\text{tr.} = \text{underlying cl.} \]
\[ (S) + (O'/Ag.) + (O') + P\text{caus.} = \text{causative cl.} \]

The above diagram shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O' or Ag., e.g.

\[ \text{아이가 개울 물을 먹인다} \]
\[ aiga getil mutil magínda \]
\[ S \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P \]
\[ 'A child makes a dog drink water.' \]
\[ < \text{개울 물을 먹인다} gege mutil magínda \]
\[ S \quad O \quad P \]
\[ 'A dog drinks water.' \]

\[ \text{부인은 거지에게 옷을 입게 했다} \]
\[ bujin gajije osil ibikle hedida \]
\[ S_\text{Ag.} \quad O \quad P \]
\[ 'The lady made a beggar put on clothes.' \]
\[ < \text{거지가 옷을 입게 했다} gajije osil iblsùla \]
\[ S \quad S_2 \quad P \]
\[ 'A beggar put on clothes.' \]

6.3.6.5. Causative Clause of \((S)(Ag.)\)P

The causative clause of \((S)(Ag.)(O')(O')\)P type is derived from a transitive clause with split objects, i.e., \((S)(O')\)P type, and their structural relation is as follows:

\[ (S) + (O') + (O') + P\text{tr.} = \text{underlying cl.} \]
\[ (S) + (Ag.) + (O') + (O') + P\text{caus.} = \text{causative cl.} \]
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 expressed causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-caused causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative ha- or mandi- (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.

아머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리를 주르르게 한다

*amniga adileg halmunil dalilil jumulil handa*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & Ag. & O_1 & O_2 & P \\
\end{array}
\]

'The mother makes her son massage his granny on the leg.'

< 아들이 할머니의 다리를 주르르게 한다

*adili halmunil dalilil jumululinda*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O_1 & O_2 & P \\
\end{array}
\]

'The son massages his granny on the leg.'

The split objects \(O_1\) and \(C\) 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 \((S)(O^2/Ag.)\) type (cf. 6.3.6.4), except that the element Ag. cannot alternate with \(O^2\), i.e., cannot be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the example given earlier may be rewritten as follows:

아머니가 아이들에게 할머니 다리를 주르르게 한다

*amniga adileg halmoni dalilil jumulil handa*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & Ag. & O & P \\
\end{array}
\]

'The mother makes her son massage his granny's leg.'

6.3.6.6. Causative Clause of \((S)(O^2/C')(Ag.)\) type

The causative clause of \((S)(O^2/C')(Ag.)\) type is derived from a passive clause of \((S)(Ag.)/(C)/P\) type (cf. 6.3.5.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
(S) & + & (A_1) & + & (O/C) & + & P \text{ (passv. = underlying cl.)} \\
\downarrow & & \downarrow & & \downarrow & & \downarrow \\
(S) & + & (O^2/C') & + & (A_1) & + & (O/C) & + & P \text{ (caus. + caus.cl.)} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Examples**

그는 선사를 선사가 아이에게 받을 받았어 받아

*ginin sinsalil/sinsaga eige balil/bali balpighe hedila*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O_1 & C_1 & Ag. & O_2 & C_2 & P \\
\end{array}
\]

'She made the gentleman's foot to be stepped on by a child.'

선사가 아이에게 받을 받아 받아

*sinsaga eige balil/bali balpighe hedila*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & Ag. & C_1 & O & P \\
\end{array}
\]

'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...
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

가가 닭을 본다 gega dagil bonda 'A dog looks at a hen.'

may be internally restructured as

(a) gega bondu dagil
    S  P  O

(b) dagil bondu gega
    O  P  S

(c) bondu dagil gega
    P  O  S etc.

where P is followed by O, S or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

가가 닭을 본다 gega degil bom 'That a dog looks at a hen.'

may be restructured only as

닭을 가가 본 degil gega 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 singular 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).

Examples

한국 연금을 실시함 palwol sangcil sikiham
A  O  P
'the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August').'

오늘 시험을 본 onil sikiham bom 'taking an exam today'
A  O  P

이약는 두통에 특효임 ifagin dutune tikjo im
S  A  C  P
'this medicine being specially good for headaches'


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세 나무 se name 'a new tree'
나의 나무 nai namu 'my tree'

but a nominal clause like

학교에 간 hagjkoe gam 'going to school'

cannot be preceded by an expansion:

아 학교에 갔 i hagjkoe gam 'this going-to-school'
나 학교에 갔 nai hagjkoe 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 it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2).

인생의 기쁨 insep ii gipim 'the joy of life'

but 밥을 먹을 기쁨 babil magim ii gipim 'the joy of eating dinner'

연구의 결과 jsangu ii gjsdgwa 'the results of research'

but 부디기의 결과 cokkigi ii gjsdgwa 'the results of being chased'

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

관심에 선거를 실시함 palwol sangcil sikiham
A  O  P
'the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August').'

오늘 시험을 본 onil sikiham bom 'taking an exam today'
A  O  P

이약는 두통에 특효임 ifagin dutune 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 예이이다 aiga ulgiga jesa iida
SPCP
'It is usual that a baby cries' (lit. 'A baby crying is a common thing').
그 여자가 머리가 좋았기로 한다 gijaga maliga jookdiga swidha
S1S2PP
'She is likely that she had good brains'
(lit. 'That she had good brains is easy').

(ii) As O
소년이 학교에 갑을 왔다 sonjini hagkjo gamin bwanni
SAPP
'Did you see a boy going to school?'
(lit. 'A boy to school, going you saw?')
당이 밥기를 가다리 nali baltkilt gidaliga
SPP
'Let's wait for the dawn to break.'

(iii) As C
소녀는 값이 볼에도 안타깝다 sonjini kumi keajim anatapwida
SSPP
'The girl was sorry that her dream was shattered.'
협이 택에 타인이 부서하 hajagi dchage danimi bulawwida
SAPP
'[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 보기보다 좋다 cegililikiga ailil bogi bota jota
S ncl Fcl P
'adv.rel.ph.
'Reading a book is better than looking after a baby.'

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여론을 이해함에 그치지 ilonil ilcham e gisidci
ncl Pcl P
adv.rel.ph.
'[She] just understood the theory (and no more)' (lit. 'She stopped at understanding the theory').
중기 때문에 일찍 한다 cubi temurne ileig wadja
ncl 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, -niu, -n-in and -i-li (cf. 4.3.5.2.2). An adjectival clause has practically the same syntactic functions as an adjectival, 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 in such as in Korean, e.g., se 'new', han 'old, worn-out', etc., which are comparable to adjectives in European languages (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.4.3), e.g.

아름다운 꽃 aitdnaun kod
adj.
'a beautiful flower' (lit. 'a flower which is beautiful')

미리가 좋은 가수 maliga join gosu
adj.
'a clever singer' (lit. 'a singer who is clever/whose brain is good')

내가 다닌 학교 nega danin hagkjo
adj.
'the school I went to' (lit. 'I-have-attended school')

나의 마음에 펴 볼 날 naii maini pjwntal nal
adj.
'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 소년이 e ne de bon sojan
S A P H
adj.cl.
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 jın ‘which is good’ < jol- ‘to be good’ V.d. + -in
‘which [I] bought’: 산 an ‘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 negay san ceg ‘The book which I bought’
adj.cl. H

but H + adj.cl. may also occur (although rare) as in

책 내가 산 ceg negasan
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 책 negay san ceg ‘which I bought’ can occur on its own as a minor sentence in reply to such a question as 무슨 책 musin ceg ‘What book?’

Chapter VI

6.4.3.1.1 Adjectival Clause + Adjectival Auxiliary Verb

The adjectival clause may be followed by an auxiliary adjectival auxiliary verb, e.g., jagha-, cagha-, banha-, etc. (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

가는 양처럼 ganin jaghethdi ‘[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/S', (b) O/O', (c) O'/Ag. or O², or (d) A of a final clause from which the adjectival clause is derived.

(a) S/S' as H

영화를 본 것 jaghvatal bon wad ‘the king who saw the film’
O P S
adj.cl. H

(b) O/O' as H

우리가 바라는 것 uliga balanin gād ‘the thing which we want’
S P O
adj.cl. H

아이가 먹고 싶어 하는 우유 aiga magko sips hanin tju ‘Milk which a baby would like to drink’
S P O
adj.cl. H

무언이 받은 선사 bui bui bui sin saa
O P
adj.cl. H

‘A gentleman whose foot a lady stepped on’

(c) O'/Ag. or O² as H

The underlying clause in which the elements O'/Ag. and O² occur is a causative clause of (S)(O'/Ag.)(O²)P type (cf. 6.3.6.3).
4.3.2.2. Extra-Clausal Element as H

The dog which a soldier made to drink water

The clothes which a mother made her son wear

Water which a soldier made the dog drink

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

Bong jyut oni ganin neil "tomorrow when my daughter is going to nursery school"

My daughter is going to school tomorrow"

A nursery school to which my daughter is going tomorrow"
Korean Grammar

(b) Adverbial Clause as Subordinate to Other Clauses

배를 타고 여행을 떠니 beli tago jahegi henni
advcl.
‘Did you travel on board a ship?’ (lit. ‘Riding a ship, travelled?’)

점심을 먹었다 가 버라. jumg-sim mi ga bura da
advcl.
‘As I had had my meal, my stomach is full.’

동가가 비싸서 살기가 힘들어도 mukgaga bissassalgiga himdilado
advcl.
‘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 coordinate relation (semantically) is expressed in the form of an adverbial clause, without any conjunctive word occurring 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) 날씨 좋/오늘 밤에 달리다 nali joh/imi, baki nagaja
advcl. f.cl.
‘As it is fine, let us go out.’

(b) As/ it is fine, let us go out.
subcl. main cl.

(c) 아는 아침을 밤고 학교에 갔다
ainin aceum mi-ga-go, havgjo gaseida.
advcl. 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

Chapter VI

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 coordinate 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. 고시 -gos‘and then, afterward’, e.g.
나는 영화를 보고서 집에 돌아 오겠다
nanin jaghwall boggas, jibe dola ogedda
S O P f.cl.
advcl.
‘I will come home after seeing the film’
(lit. ‘I see the film and then will come home’).

2. 멀시 / 오며시 -mi-ja/-mi-j‘while, at the same time’, e.g.
장사가 가면서 노래를 한다 jagaga gamja-j‘nsas, notelil handa
S P f.cl.
advcl.
‘While walking away, the vendor is singing.’
Korean Grammar

3. **다(기) -dalga** ‘interruption, transference’, e.g.
   
   니는 책을 읽다가 차니 **namin eegi iljaga jan**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘Are you asleep while reading a book?’

4. **리 / 오르러 -lijja/-iljja**
   리고 / 오르러 -lijja/-iljja
   조차 -goja
   
   호텔에 가려고 그는 책을 닫았다 **hotele galisgo ginnin tegisil tadia**
   
   advercl. 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-ecentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -mjia/-nimja and -asja/-sa express two different meanings depending on whether the subject of the adverbial clause formed with one of them, symbolized S1, functions as the subject of a succeeding clause, symbolized S2, or is different from S2.

1. **미 / 오르러 -mjia/-nimja** ‘and’ when S1 ≠ S2, ‘while’ when S1 = S2
   
   S1 = S2: 아는 손을 벌어 القرار 된다 **amin usimja, gennin twinda**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.’

   S1 ≠ S2: 아는 손을 벌어 결려 왔다 **amin ujmil maxmjja usadla**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘A baby smiled while having milk.’

2. **아 (서) / 이 (서) -asja/-sa** ‘as, since, because’ when S1 ≠ S2; ‘and then’ when S1 = S2, e.g.
   
   S1 = S2: 같이 미끄러워서 움직이 어렵다 **gilli mikil awasja unjiun simja aljaja**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘As the road is slippery driving is difficult.’

   S1 ≠ S2: 아는 손을 벌어 결정 된다 **amin usimja, gennin twinda**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘As soon as I came home I read the letter.’

3. **고 -go**
   
   *and*, e.g. 눈을 감고 너는 기도를 하니 **munnin gamko namin gidoli hani**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘Are you offering your prayer with your eyes closed?’
   (lit. ‘Are you closing your eyes and doing your prayer?’)

   S1 = S2: 아는 손을 벌어 결정 된다 **amin usimja, gennin twinda**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘You are going away and so am I.’

4. **서-ja ‘as soon as’, e.g.** 백가 그자리 시험을 시작되었다 **biga gieja, shabi siagaweble**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.’

   S1 = S2: 아는 손을 벌어 결정 된다 **amin usimja, gennin twinda**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘As soon as I came home I read the letter.’

   S1 ≠ S2: 아는 손을 벌어 결정 된다 **amin usimja, gennin twinda**
   
   advercl. f.cl.
   
   ‘You are overworking yourself!’
   (lit. ‘Until you are exhausted, you are working.’)
6. 려 수속으로 수속 동사 -iṣūlog/-iṣūlog 'the more ... the more', e.g.
사람을 인용수속 소녀는 기렸다 saṃjīr ṣiṃisulog sonjānin gihādīna
S₁ P S₂ P
advcl. f.cl.
'The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became.'
어머니가 높은수속 아들은 승려지만 amānīgā nilgiṣulog, adūn sīlpādēman
S₁ P S₂ P
advcl. n.cl.
'The older his mother became, the more the son was worried but.'

7. 려 불러다 / 응 불러다 -iṣūlogs/-iṣūlogs 'not only ... but also', e.g.
그는 응을 받아주었고 높이 올라다 ginīna donī bād sīlpālogs bāksā do sādīna
S₀ O P A P
advcl. f.cl.
'He not only got the money but also already spent it.'
하늘이 주름들이 헹만이 강하다 hamāli ṣuḥilūndaḥ łepīcī gahādā
S₁ P S₂ P
advcl. f.cl.
'Not only is the sky blue but also the sunlight is strong.'

8. 가나 -gana
든 / 요나 -dīn(t)ī)
거르지 않아도 되는 거래 gudānji angadānji, ne mānsādelo helā
P P A P
advcl. f.cl.
'Whether you go or not, do as you like.'
눈이 오나 맑다 오나 나는 좋다 nūrī onō biga onō namr jōda
S₁ P S₁ P S₂ P
advcl. f.cl.
'Whether it snows or rains, I am all right.'

9. 면 / 응면 -iṃjān/-iṃjān
거르 -gudān
'if, when', e.g.
양을 얻어 줄 약속한 나를 보내려라 ilī palli kinnegudān, nāha nāna onslā
O P A P
advcl. f.cl.
'If you finish the work early, come to me.'
남이 약속하면 우리도 사냥을 합니다 nālī māsājīnū tad sānja hābdāda
S₁ P S₂ O P
advcl. f.cl.
'If the weather is fine, let's go hunting.'

10. 아야 / 야야 -ajā/-ajā
리아 -ajā
부모는 자식이 잘 외아난 가인이 가 bumōnin jasigijal dwejīman gihīna
S₂ S₁ P P
advcl.
'Are parents happy only when their sons become successful?'

In the above example, S₁ and P of the final clause are discontinuous, being interrupted by the adverbial clause.
시험에 빠져 야야 네도 망을 안다 sīhāmā dwejī bāja, nādo māsāl ānda
A P S O P
advcl. f.cl.
'You know the feeling only when you have passed the exam.'

11. 다리토 / 이토 -adisājado.-ado
= 지연점 / 응지연점 -iṣīmāj/-iṣīmāj
= 지연보 / 응지연보 -iṣilado/-iṣilado
= 발장 / 응발장 -imāj/-imāj
= 없음 / 응없음 -ndii/-indii
작동어 연절 모 두 바람이다 ḫuṣīlāmāj, ginīn mitām ānda
P S C P
advcl. f.cl.
'Even if [he] is small, he is handsome.'
내가 집에 온더라도 나는 가더라도 nega jībe adīslado, namr giddatīdāla
S₁ A P S₂ P
advcl. f.cl.
'Even though you are not at home, I will wait for you.'
12. 지만 -jiman  
경만 -guman  
현만 -suman  
나 / 요나 -na/-ina  
\(\text{'although ... ' 'but', e.g.}\)

\[\text{the wadeiman, sonjnin isayhedia}\]
A | P | S | P  
---|---|---|---
advcl. | f.cl. |  
\(\text{The boy came home but he felt strange.}\)

13. 편란 / 오리란 --jiman/ iljiman 'might/would ... but', e.g.  
아프란만 노인은 병정한다  
\(\text{apiljiman, ninnin md}'wphedia}\)
S | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{The old man might have been ill but he was all right.}\)

14. 보로 / 보로로 --milo/-imilo 'as, since, because', e.g.  
한마라니는 지금 하리가 아프므로 처리하다  
\(\text{halm,mninig higha am milo, swisinda}\)
S | A | S | P | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{As my granny now has lumbago, she is resting.}\)

15. 나오(가) / 오니(가) -nitka/-initka  
\(\text{\{Time: when, as\}}\)
\(\text{\{Clause: because, as, since\}, e.g.}\)

\(\text{nega kebonitka, sigani dusa jidia}\)
S | S | C | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.}\)

\(\text{nega pali ganitka, mannas mahela}\)
S | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{As you are leaving early see him and tell him.}\)

16. 눈데 -ninde  
\(\text{\{and\} (topic introducer), e.g.}\)
\(\text{노데 / 눈데 nde//inde}\)
\(\text{\{and\} (topic introducer), e.g.}\)

\(\text{nega illi haninde, apsila}\)
S | O | P | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{I was working and I had headache.}\)

\(\text{ikoci sohinde, we amboni}\)
S | P | A | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{This flower is nice and why don't you look at it?}\)

17. 외 -dwe [may/might] ... but', e.g.  
\(\text{\{and\} (topic introducer), e.g.}\)

\(\text{돈을 쓰면 조심을 하여라}\)
\(\text{donil sidwe, posimil hajida}\)
O | P | O | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{You may spend the money, but be careful.}\)

\(\text{바람이 불리 면 안한다 batali butdwe, binin anonda}\)
S | P | S | P  
advcl. | f.cl.  
\(\text{The wind is blowing, but it is not raining.}\)
Chapter 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 tones 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

강, dal ‘The moon.’ N
이고, ‘Ah!’ Interj.
내일, ‘Tomorrow!’ N.adv.
먹어, ma’ga ‘Eat [it].’ V and clause
새차, sse.ca ‘A new car.’ NP
발리, gimbida ‘Let’s go quickly.’ VP and clause
겨울의 노래, gwaute, nolte ‘The song of winter.’ NP
오시지 마세요, o’siiji ‘nasejo ‘Please do not come.’ VP and clause.
우리가, u ‘lo dov ‘Let us go too!’
내가, 해도, 나는, nage, he, do, na, ‘nin an-he
adv, 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

종아, sseul ‘It is cold.’
해가 언제 떠나시리, hega’na je, limniga ‘When does the sun rise?’
봄이 오면, maebyeon, lai, tagdeki ‘It will be warm when spring comes.’
영화를 보고, changhay, hamtada, jaghwa, ‘Let us do it slowly after seeing the film.’

(ii) Minor Type Sentences

저, ‘we’ ‘Why?’
네, ‘Yes.’
어디, ‘adi ‘Where to?’
저수를 먼저 하고, sesul bok, ma, hanja, hago ‘After washing my face first.’
서울에 봄이 오면, saule, bok, ma, hanja ‘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 relations 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.vz) + (vocat,ph) + (adv.cl) + (Final Cl. + (Pcl,z), e.g.,

그러나, 여보, 네일, 종으로, 벌나서, 그리고

gi, lam, ja, bo, neul, jo, min, ja, naseul, gil, sa
Adv.vz, vocat, adv.cl, fcl. Pcl.z
ph.

‘However, if it is all right tomorrow, [friend], let’s leave!’

ta, gwa, ssamgum, dol, je, gie, jeol, gwa, na, ‘고

dag, na, sang, ssa, ta, ssa, gi, pe, gie, mida, gil,
Adv.vz, adv.cl, fcl. Pcl.z

‘Furthermore, since you have received the prize money, you must be happy!’
Chapter VII

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 -jì, the declarative mood ending of the medium style, which is marked by Intoneme LF only, e.g.

비가 옵니다 bìga omnida ‘It is raining.’
아저씨는 목을 잡아 빌려다 a jāsin’ donit mani bìga omnida
‘His’ uncle makes a lot of money.’
나는 집에 갔다 naminjibae gamnida ‘I am going home.’
언어 작품에 있던 jāni jī-húg ‘îme ‘The kite is on the roof.’
이 꽃을 했다가 i kocī ‘lagkuna ‘You have picked this flower!’
잘 됨 다도 jakji bō 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/-a of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1-4).

(iii) -jì 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/mu 'who', mmas 'what', mye 'when', etc. (cf. 3.4.2.1.3), the interrogative adverb, e.g., sun 'which', mmas 'what', etc. (cf. 3.4.3.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., we 'why' or side '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 떠나실니까 ?mye jihana 'When are you leaving?'
두 가지 또는 하나가 i gasin -gamanika 'How much is this?'
누가 오셨소 nu gu osseo 'Who has come?'
자녀는 무엇을 했는가 ja neun nu-sil 'what did you do?'
책을 몇 권 썸크 cegul-nyakwan -sammi 'How many books did you buy?'
어느것이 좋아 x-nossi 'joa 'Which is better?'

(ii) 'Yes/No'-Type Interrogative Sentences
나도 강나 날부가 mu-gan-lighta 'Am I going too?'
당신이 약속을 하셨소 dapsini-fajhwal hasi gesso 'Would you like to telephone?'
신문을 읽어 왔어 si numul ilg-sbassa 'Did you read the paper?'
앞으로 왔나 ja naptido 'sammi 'Don’t you even have a pencil?'
구경을 많이 했어 sigejalakun 'imanumli 'Were there many spectators [as you recall]?'

7.3.2.2.1. The interrogative sentence whose P is inflected with -ji (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.

\[ \text{네는 언제 가지 nuni nanjeqagi 'When are you going?'} \]

\[ \text{cf. 네는 언제 가지 nuni nanjeqagi 'When are you going?'} \]

(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.

\[ \text{내가 \_deu \_nu gada 'You did [it], didn’t you?'} \]

\[ \text{cf. \_deu \_nu gada 'You did [it]?'} \]

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-te. Where intonation fails to distinguish the mood of a modally neutral sentence, it is ultimately the context of situation which determines it, e.g.

\[ \text{이리 오십시오 ilio sibso 'Please come here.'} \]

\[ \text{당신이 이번주를 부치오 dapsini-iptayui bu-aeto 'You post this letter.'} \]

\[ \text{자녀는 여기 \_neun \_nagi 'idke 'You stay here.'} \]

\[ \text{신문을 봐다 simuni-l hasa 'Look at the newspaper.'} \]

\[ \text{별리 \_deu \_nu gada 'Do not run fast.'} \]

7.3.2.4. Prepositional Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the prepositional mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a prepositional sentence. The prepositional 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 prepositional 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 prepositional sentence with a modally neutral ending includes frequently the pronoun tli 'we' as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

\[ \text{친절히 걷보다 canenshi-ga-sibida 'Let us walk slowly.'} \]

\[ \text{제일 앞에 떠나십시오 nen-itig jeun-sibida 'Let us leave early tomorrow.'} \]

\[ \text{오늘은 \_deu \_nu gada o-nilin haji 'mase 'Let’s not do it today.'} \]

\[ \text{우리도 \_deu \_nu gada "ga 'Let us go to the market too.'} \]
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 - 설가 무고 이산다 ‘The bird was singing.’

가문 아랫단에 빠졌다 - 가문 a-남단에 피.ssn ‘Has the flower blossomed beautifully?’

게가 까야 나도 하겠다 - 게가 해야 나도 간다 ‘I will too.’

‘Only when/ if you do it, I will too.’

너도 가고 나도 간다 - 나도 가고 나도 간다 ‘You go and I go too.’

‘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 paraetically 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 빠다 갔다 - 개가 빠다 갔다 ‘The dog is jumping, it’s stopped now.’

주머 문 닫아 - 주머 문 닫아 ‘It is cold, shut the door.’

혼다 발리 숨어 - 혼다 발리 숨어 ‘He is coming, hide quickly.’

먹이다 식는다 - 먹이다 식는다 ‘Eat it quickly, it is getting cold.’

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 sentence of which they form a constituent, e.g.

(a) 신문 - 신문 ‘A newspaper.’

[In response to mwo-sil boni ‘What are you reading?’]

cf. 신문을 본다 - 신문 읽다 ‘I am reading the paper.’

(b) 미국에서 - 미주스есс ‘From America.’

[In response to adlesa osisado ‘Where did you come from?’]

cf. 미국에서 왔다 - 미주스есс, 왔다 ‘I have come from America.’

(c) 그가 오면 - 그가 오면 ‘What if she comes [here]?’

cf. 그가 오면 어떻게 해 - 그가 오면 어떻게 해 ‘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, Intonem E/H functions as the phonological exponent of the declarative mood, and Intonem 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 Intonem E/H just like the ‘Q’-type interrogative sentences, e.g.

(i) Minor Sentences of Declarative Mood

돈 - 돈 ‘Money.’

cf. 돈을 찾았다 - 돈을 찾았다 ‘They have found the money.’
(ii) Minor Sentences of Interrogative Mood

(a) 'Yes/No'-Type

학교에서 hagjoesa ‘At the school.’
cf. 학교에서 는.Alignment -hagjoesa no tarda ‘[I played at the school.]

(b) ‘Q’-Type

누가 nu’ga ‘Who?’
cf. 누가 울어 nungae la ‘Who is crying?’
언제 anje ‘When?’
cf. 언제 주었어? -nije mu’ja ‘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. 3.4.5.3), e.g.

(i) Exclamatory Type

아! a ‘Ah!’
지인 ja ‘Tun ‘Good gracious!’
자 ja ‘Well!’
아이 ‘age ‘Oh!’
취 스와 Hush!’, ‘Quite!’

(ii) Vocative Type

목동아 hagjoe ‘Bodong (personal name)’
님 이 머 mija ‘My dear!’
김기문 ginyaengun ‘General Kim’
박신형 hagjoesan ‘Mr. Pak!’
이보 ja’bo ‘Darling!’

etc.

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Appendix

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