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 it in a format suitable for publication. I owe especial thanks to Professor Skillend for his warm friendship, and to Miss Diana Matias for the painstaking work which she has put into preparing the manuscript for publication.

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

London
July, 1986

Hansol Hyun Bok Lee
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## Abbreviations

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

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

Symbols and notations
/ / phonic transcription
[ ] (i) phonetic transcription
   (ii) translation fill-in
( ) optional, e.g. (S)P → P or SP
→ rewrite
* hypothetical or unreal form
+ plus juncture within a transcribed passage (addition sign elsewhere)
; tentative juncture within a transcribed passage (comma elsewhere)
. terminal juncture in a transcribed passage (period elsewhere)
/:/ Quantity (length) in chapter II, Phonetics and Phonology,
   and in a transcribed passage
V/C-form Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form
a/\ Form selected by vowel harmony
   stress marker in chapter II, Phonetics and Phonology
tone markers
space in (i) stress group boundary in phonemic transcription, e.g.
   transcribed /ne' nala so' sig/
   passages (ii) word boundary in morphophonemic transcription,
   e.g. ne nala sosig
INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

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

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

The Korean language is spoken today by nearly 64 million Koreans, of whom about 60 million live in the Korean peninsula and the remaining 4 million abroad, mainly in China, Japan, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. It is the official language in Korea as well as the medium of education from 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 most inadequate as well as inconvenient. Inadequate or not, however, this practice went on until 1446 A.D., when Sejong /sejong/, the fourth king of the Yi Dynasty, promulgated 'Hunminjongum' /hunminjōgum/,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 Hunminjongum, 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 'Hunminjongum', which means literally 'The right sounds to teach the nation'.

Hunminjongum was unique in many respects and it certainly deserves to be more widely known and understood. First, it was based on the articulatory phonetic theory. That is to say, the shape of the basic letters was modelled on the actual shape of the articulatory organs involved in pronouncing the sounds represented by the letters. For instance, the letter र /g or k/ represents the velar sound since it resembles the shape of the tongue blocking the 'throat'; the letter स /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 व /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, /a, o, e/ and 1 [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, Hunminjongum, 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'.

The third characteristic of Hunminjongum 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 /m/ 'curtain' and /n/ 'eye' would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

/m/ : र < न = m, न = a, र = g

/n/ : न < न = n, न = u, न = n

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

1.2.2. The Present Alphabet

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


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

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

**Vowel Graphemes** (10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㅏ/ㅏ</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅑ/ㅑ</td>
<td>/ja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅓ/ㅓ</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅐ/ㅐ</td>
<td>/ae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅔ/ㅔ</td>
<td>/jja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅖ/ㅖ</td>
<td>/ye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅗ/ㅗ</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅕ/ㅕ</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅛ/ㅛ</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅜ/ㅜ</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonant Graphemes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㄱ/ㄱ</td>
<td>/g/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㄴ/ㄴ</td>
<td>/n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㄷ/ㄷ</td>
<td>/d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㄹ/ㄹ</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅁ/ㅁ</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅂ/ㅂ</td>
<td>/b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅅ/ㅅ</td>
<td>/s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅈ/ㅈ</td>
<td>/j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅊ/ㅊ</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅋ/ㅋ</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㅔ/ㅔ</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅖ/ㅖ</td>
<td>/ye/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㄲ/ㄲ</td>
<td>/kk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㄸ/ㄸ</td>
<td>/tt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅃ/ㅃ</td>
<td>/pp/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅆ/ㅆ</td>
<td>/ss/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2. The Korean Alphabet and the Prosodic Analysis

The current alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, fifteenth-century Hunminjongum, 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 phonematic units on the one hand, and the abstraction and assignment of prosodic features to and over the phonematic units on the other. This can be exemplified by the Korean consonant letters. Of the 19 consonant letters, the following 16 are chosen for the purposes of this discussion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Voiceless unaspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless aspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless glottalized</th>
<th>Voiced nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ㅂ/ㅂ</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅅ/ㅅ</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>//</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ㅈ/ㅈ</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>//</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3. THE TYPE OF KOREAN DESCRIBED IN THIS BOOK

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

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

---

\(^{1}\) Hyônggyu Kim, Kogó sa ('History of the Korean Language'), 1956, pp. 200-1.

---

1.4. THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

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

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

---

\(^{2}\) 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'.

---

Korean Grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Type</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>post-alveolar affricates</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar fricatives</td>
<td>/s/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u} /\text{b}/ & = ʰ /
\text{u} /\text{p}/ = \text{q} /\text{m}/ \\
\text{t} /\text{t}/ & = \text{u} /\text{t}/ = \text{q} /\text{i}/ \text{t}/ = \text{n} /\text{m}/ \\
\text{g} /\text{k}/ & = \text{u} /\text{k}/ = \text{q} /\text{n}/ \text{k}/ = \text{n} /\text{n}/ \\
\text{j} /\text{c}/ & = \text{u} /\text{c}/ = \text{q} /\text{c}/ \text{c}/ = \text{n} /\text{c}/ \\
\text{s} /\text{s}/ & = \text{u} /\text{s}\end{align*}
\]
Korean Grammar

Examples

(i) Sentence

/Kidalida noni ma:+ 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) /Kidalida noni ma:+ oni/
‘As the snow that I have been waiting for falls in plenty’

(b) nai noni oni/
‘as it falls in plenty’

(iii) Phrase

(a) /Kidalida noni/
‘the snow that I have been waiting for’

(b) ma:+ oni/
‘in plenty’

(c) nae gibuni jota/
‘my mood’

(iv) Word

/Kidalida/ ‘to wait for’

(e) /da/ /retros.t.sfx., /-n/ /adj.cl.end.

(d) /noni/ ‘snow’, /i/ /subject.pcl.

(f) /ma:+/ ‘to be plenty’, /i/ /adv.deriv.sfx.

(g) /o-/ ‘to come, fall’, /ni/ /non-final adv.cl.end.

(h) /na/ ‘1’, /e/ (<ii) ‘of’, /gibun/ ‘mood’

(i) /jota/ ‘is good, feels fine’

(v) Morpheme

/Kidalida/ /gidi-/ ‘to wait for’,

d /da/ /retros.t.sfx., /-n/ /adj.cl.end.

(e) /noni/ ‘snow’, /i/ /subject.pcl.

(f) /ma:/ ‘to be plenty’, /i/ /adv.deriv.sfx.

(g) /o-/ ‘to come, fall’, /ni/ /non-final adv.cl.end.

(h) /na/ ‘1’, /e/ (<ii) ‘of’,

(i) /gibun/ ‘mood’, /jota/ ‘to be good’,

d /ta/ (< -da) /decl.md.end.

(vi) Downward rank shift

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

/Kidalida noni/ ‘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 [pʰ] 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 [pʰ], [p] and [b] also occur in Korean but are phonemicized differently: [pʰ] and [p] form two separate phonemes /p/ and /pʰ/, e.g. /pul/ 'grass' and /pul/ 'horn', whereas they form a single phoneme in English as shown earlier. [b] forms yet another phoneme /b/ with [t], 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&/a/, /e/, /e'/, /a'/, /u', /u/, /i/, /i'/ \\
&/a/ \\
&/e/ \\
&/e'/ \\
&/a'/ \\
&/u'/ \\
&/u/ \\
&/i/ \\
&/i'/
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e'/</td>
<td>/e'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a'/</td>
<td>/a'/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/u'/</td>
<td>/u'/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i'/</td>
<td>/i'/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2. Consonants

There are nineteen consonants:

\[
\begin{align*}
&/b/, /d/, /s/, /j/, /g/, \\
&/p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /h/, \\
&/m/, /n/, /s/, /k/, /l/, \\
&/w/, /n/, /h/
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>발/ bal/ 'foot', 이발/ ibal/ 'hairdressing', 임/ ib/ 'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>발/ pal/ 'sucking', 이발/ ipal/ 'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>발/ dal/ 'moon', 배달/ bdal/ 'delivery', 광/ god/ 'soon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>탈/ tal/ 'trouble', 이탈/ ital/ 'separation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>절/ jal/ 'daughter', 모바리/ boali/ 'bundle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>감/ gal/ 'Well!', 자가/ saja/ 'lion'</td>
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<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>카/ cal/ 'to kick', 기가/ gia/ 'train'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>살/ sal/ 'salty', 바삭/ baicag/ 'closely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>알/ al/ 'to go', 자기/ sagwa/ 'apple', 각/ gag/ 'angle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>말/ mal/ 'horse', 아이/ ima/ 'forehead', 삼/ sam/ 'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>날/ nal/ 'day', 비난/ binu/ 'soap', 산/ san/ 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>사/ sa/ 'shark', 삼/ san/ 'table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>길이/ glii/ [giri] 'length', 임/ ii/ 'one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter II

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&/a'/ \\
&/u'/ \\
&/u/ \\
&/i/ \\
&/i'/
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

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<td>/e'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a'/</td>
<td>/a'/</td>
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<td>/u'/</td>
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<tr>
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<td>/u/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
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</table>

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\begin{align*}
&/b/, /d/, /s/, /j/, /g/, \\
&/p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /h/, \\
&/m/, /n/, /s/, /k/, /l/, \\
&/w/, /n/, /h/
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

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<td>길이/ glii/ [giri] 'length', 임/ ii/ 'one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/, /ja/,
- /wi/, /we/, /we/, /wa/, /wa/.

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

Examples

- 예 /je/ 'example, yes', 노예 /noje/ 'slave'
- 예 /je/ 'Hey, you!' 하예 /haje/ 'is white'
- 아 /ja/ 'Look!', 혼동 /honjag/ 'engagement'
- /jog/ 'swear, insult', 종교 /gongjo/ 'religion'
- /jug/ 'six', 우유 /uju/ 'milk'
- 여자 /ja:ja/ 'woman', 백 /pja/ 'bone'
- 위 /wi/ 'above, top', 위 /dwi/ 'rear'
- 외국 /we:gu/ 'foreign land', 기회 /gihwe/ 'opportunity'
- 왼 /we/ 'why', 평계 /bulke/ 'displeasure'
- 과실 /gwasil/ 'fruit', 현관 /hanjagwan/ 'entrance hall'
- 찰수 /wanju/ 'enemy', 정원 /ja:jwaj/ 'garden'
- 적자 /iija/ 'chair', 사례 /sai/ '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/ 'liver, seaweed'
- /sal/ 'flesh'
- /sal/ 'to live'
- /gjwaj/ 'structure'
- /gjwaj/ 'rescue'
- 분주 /budoge/ 'inequality', 'dissimilarity'
- /budoge/ 'immobility'

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

- /be/ 'ship, boat' [be:]
- /be:/ 'double, twice' [be:]
- cf. /be:/ 'by boat' [bhe:]
- /be:lo/ 'twice as much/many'

### 2.2.4.1. Vowel Quantity and Stress

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

- 사랑 /sada:n/ = ['sada:n] 'person'
- 맘사람 /wansa:dad/ = ['wa:ssa:n] 'some person'
- 경쟁 /gja:jwaj/ = ['gja:jwaj] 'competition'
- 자유경쟁 /ja:jgja:jwaj/ = [ja:jgja:jwaj] 'free competition'

The effect of stress on the syllabic 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'.

- /i:/ = [iː], /i/ = [i], /e:/ = [ɛː], /e/ = [ɛ], /oː/ = [oː], /o/ = [ɔ], /aː/ = [aː], /a/ = [æ], /uː/ = [uː], /u/ = [ʊ]

The English vowel sounds are listed here, with the lips slightly rounded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>/ɛː/</td>
<td>/ɔː/</td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the lips slightly rounded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/iː/</th>
<th>/ɛː/</th>
<th>/ɔː/</th>
<th>/æ/</th>
<th>/ʊ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>/ɛː/</td>
<td>/ɔː/</td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:l/ ‘affair, business, work’
실 /'sil/ ‘thread’, 이/ /'i:ja/ ‘interest’
미지 /'mi:ji/ ‘unknown’, 기자 /gi'/ja/ ‘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’
목 /'weug/ ‘foreign land’
제 /'aje/ ‘yesterday’ 세계 /'sege/ ‘world’

2.3.1.3. /e/ /e/ is like the English vowel occurring in words such as ‘eat’, ‘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.

메 /'me:/ ‘baby, child’
매기 /'jege/ ‘story’, 내 /'ne/ ‘liberation’
부채 /'be:ce/ ‘debt’, 시 /'seeg/ ‘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’ 발 /'ba:m/ ‘chestnut’
가수 /'ga:go/ ‘melody, song’
아마 /'i:ba/ ‘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 Eng-

lish vowel occurring in words like ‘box’, ‘cock’ etc. is very different in quality from the Korean /'a:/ or /o/: 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’ 윗 /'ot/ ‘clothes’
보통 /'bo:mul/ ‘treasure’ 전보 /'ji:nbo/ ‘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.

웃고 /'utko/ ‘to laugh and’
웃 /'ju:x/ a traditional Korean game
교수 /'gyo:su/ ‘professor’
우산 /'u'san/ ‘umbrella’

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

별 /'bæl/ [ˈbaːl] ‘bee’
별 /'bæl/ [ˈbaːl] ‘punishment’
설 /'sæl/ [ˈsæl] ‘New Year’s Day’
설 /'sæl/ [ˈsæl] ‘theory’
현 /'hæn/ [ˈhæn] ‘old, worn out’
현실 /'hænsal/ [ˈhænsal] ‘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 /a/ 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 /'ɡiril/ [ˈɡiːrɪl] ‘painting’
등 /'dil/ [ˈduːl] ‘held’
아이들 /'aɪdil/ [ˈaɪdɪl] ‘children’
느린 /'niˈlin/ [nuˈrɪn] ‘slow’
Korean Grammar

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 (C,) V C (see 2.4, ‘Syllable Structure’), e.g.

(i) Long unstressed vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>/ma:i/ 'ma:'i/ ‘She is kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>/na:unu/ ‘You may go later’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Short stressed vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>/jog/ 'to write down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>/sind/ 'to use or write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>/tum/ ‘special order’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, alveolar 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>/bal/ ‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>/dal/ ‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>/gan/ ‘river’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiced Plosive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>/kam/ ‘to write down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>/pam/ ‘to use or write’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>/pal/ ‘arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>/tal/ ‘trouble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>/kal/ ‘knife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.3. /b, p, k/

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>/bll/ ‘horn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>/pll/ ‘to wear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>/kl/ ‘young’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affricate</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>/jam/ ‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>/jib/ ‘house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/c/ is voiceless and strongly aspirated syllable-initially and it does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{차} /ca/ \quad [c\acute{a}] & \quad \text{‘tea’} \\
\text{AGAIN} /ca\text{g}/ \quad [c\acute{a}\text{g}] & \quad \text{‘book’} \\
\text{청} /ca/ \quad [c\acute{a}] & \quad \text{‘window’} \\
\text{가사} /ica/ \quad [i\acute{c}a] & \quad \text{‘train’} \\
\text{육체} /ju\text{g}/ \quad [ju\acute{g}] & \quad \text{‘body’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{먹다} /ca\text{d}/ \quad [c\acute{a}\text{d}] & \quad \text{‘salty’} \\
\text{맞} /ca\text{m}/ \quad [c\acute{a}\text{m}] & \quad \text{‘time, space’} \\
\text{가짜} /ga\text{c}/ \quad [g\acute{a}\text{c}] & \quad \text{‘fake’} \\
\text{주조} /go\text{g}/ \quad [g\acute{o}\text{g}] & \quad \text{‘tune, melody’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2.5. /s/, /\s/ \quad \text{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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{산} /sa\text{n}/ & \quad \text{‘mountain’} \\
\text{으시} /sa\text{i}/ & \quad \text{‘doctor’} \\
\text{조수} /sa\text{u}/ & \quad \text{‘tide’}
\end{align*}
\]

/s/, when followed by /i/ or /j/, is palatalized, i.e., /\si/, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{신} /sa\text{n}/ & \quad [si\acute{n}] \quad \text{‘footwear’} \\
\text{무서하} /bus\text{j}a\text{la}/ & \quad [bus\j\acute{a}\text{ra}] \quad \text{‘Break [it]’}
\end{align*}
\]

/\s/ 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. /\s/, like /s/, occurs only syllable-initially and sometimes, though rarely, syllable-finally too when the succeeding syllable begins with the same sound, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{찰} /sa\text{l}/ & \quad [s\acute{a}\text{l}] \quad \text{‘rice’} \\
\text{색들} /si\text{lim}/ & \quad [s\acute{i}\text{r}\acute{u}\text{m}] \quad \text{‘wrestling’} \\
\text{싹} /sa\text{g}/ & \quad [s\acute{a}\text{g}] \quad \text{‘sprout’} \\
\text{삭} /sa\text{g}/ & \quad [s\acute{a}\text{g}] \quad \text{‘to rot’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{실} /si\text{g}/ & \quad [s\acute{i}\text{g}] \quad \text{‘seed’} \\
\text{속} /si\text{t}/ & \quad [s\acute{i}\text{t}] \quad \text{‘to wash’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2.6. /h/ \quad \text{Glottal fricative}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{할비지} /ha\text{la}\text{b}a\text{ji}/ & \quad [\text{ha}\text{la}\text{b}a\text{ji}] \quad \text{‘grandfather’} \\
\text{해} /he/ & \quad \text{‘sun’, \‘him’} \\
\text{점} /ji\text{m}/ & \quad [\text{ci}\text{m}] \quad \text{‘strength’} \\
\text{혈} /hi\text{g}/ & \quad [\text{ki}\text{u}] \quad \text{‘soil’} \\
\text{추한} /hu\text{han}/ & \quad [\text{wu}\text{wan}] \quad \text{or \‘later trouble’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2.7. /m/ \quad \text{Bilabial nasal}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{물} /mu\text{l}/ & \quad \text{‘water’, \‘ima’} \\
\text{임} /ji\text{m}/ & \quad [\text{ji}\text{m}] \quad \text{‘burden’,} \\
\text{삼장} /si\text{m}\text{ja}\text{n}/ & \quad [\text{si}\text{m}\text{ja}\text{n}] \quad \text{or \[\text{si}\text{m}\text{ja}\text{n}\] ‘heart’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2.8. /n/ \quad \text{Alveolar nasal}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{님} /ni\text{m}/ & \quad [\text{n}\acute{i}\text{m}] \quad \text{‘beloved’} \\
\text{해나} /he\text{na}/ & \quad [\text{he}\text{na}] \quad \text{‘mermaid’} \\
\text{손} /so\text{n}/ & \quad [\text{so}\text{n}] \quad \text{‘hand’,} \\
\text{돈} /do\text{n}/ & \quad [\text{do}\text{n}] \quad \text{‘money’} \\
\text{문} /mun/ & \quad [\text{mun}] \quad \text{‘door’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2.9. /\w/ \quad \text{Velar nasal}

/\w/ is like the ‘ng’ sound as in ‘sing’, ‘king’, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{실} /sx\text{a}/ & \quad [sx\acute{a}] \quad \text{‘surname’} \\
\text{방} /ba\text{n}/ & \quad [ba\text{n}] \quad \text{‘room’} \\
\text{손} /su\text{m}/ & \quad [su\acute{a}] \quad \text{‘trout’}
\end{align*}
\]

/\w/ does not occur after pause or a consonant.

2.3.2.10. /\w/ \quad \text{Lateral and Flap}

The /\w/ phoneme has two allophones, [\w] and [r], i.e., a flapped ‘r’. For the
sake of convenience [r] is replaced by [ɾ] elsewhere in this book. [l] occurs syllable-finally and after another /l/, and [ɾ] 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.

腭 /gil/ [gil] 'road'
동양어 /do:lmeŋi/ [do:lmeŋi] 'stone'
박 /palli/ [pallil] 'quickly'
전 /giri/ [giri] 'length'
소리 /soli/ [sori] 'sounded'
침발 /gjaslimu/ [gjaslim] '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.

는 /bjad/ [bjad] 'star', or [bjad]
우유 /uju/ [uju] 'milk' or [uju]
제 /je/ [ję] 'why'
두어 /nwa/ [nwa] 'what'

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

의부 /'iim/ [iim] 'wife', or [iim] 'duty'
아리 /'iai/ [iai] 'arise' or ['iam] 'dissent'

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

나그네 /naij kum/ [näq 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 : ə /i/ 'this', 여 /e/ 'child'
(ii) CV : ɐ+t/na/ 'I', 쪼 /so/ 'cow'
(iii) VC : ʃal /'egg', 월 /iʃ/ 'business'
(iv) CVC : ʃsal /'flesh', ʃʃ /ʃʃ/ 'enemy'

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.

중아 /sonaj /'call'
방 /ban/ 'room'
나리 /dali/ 'bridge'
파로 /calo/ 'by ear'

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/ /j/ /ŋ/ /l/

However, /s/ + /j/ sequence is very common in verbal suffixes, such as

야생사 /hasaj, sada/, etc.

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

Examples

/b/ : 밥 /bab/ 'meal', 무염 /busab/ 'sideline'
/d/ : 옛 /god/ 'at once', 반 /ban/ 'field'
/g/ : 국 /gug/ 'soup', 원 /jang/ 'Khacca' 'Let's cut it.'
/m/ : 삶 /jim/ 'burden', 감사 /gamsa/ 'thanks'
/n/ : 산 /san/ 'mountain', 손자 /sonaj/ 'grandson'
/ŋ/ : 생 /saŋ/ 'prize', 영국 /jangug/ 'England'
/l/ : 발 /sal/ 'rice', 말다 /milda/ 'to push'

미용 /maillö/ '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 Hŏ, *Kočo imunan* (*Korean Phonology*), 1968, p. 73.
lexically long vowel. However, it cannot be a complete account of the overall effects of stress because the stress affects not only the lexically long vowels but also short vowels and consonants. In other words, the stress affects the syllable as a whole. The following is a brief description of the effects of stress on the syllable quantity.

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

Similarly, the word 모자 / mo:ja/ '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 / mo:ja/ ['mo:ja] '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 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/ ['bo:jo] 'support'
시조 / si:jo/ ['si:jo] 'founder'
학부 / j'angu/ ['j'angu] 'research'
방송 / ba:sonj / ['ba:sonj] '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.,
사다리 / sa'dali/ ['sa da:ri] 'ladder'
이미 / i'mi/ ['i mi'] 'already'

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 / b'al/ ['b'al] 'punishment'
cf. 벌 / b'al/ ['b'al] 'bee'
밤 / ba:m/ ['ba:m] 'night'
cf. 밤 / ba:m/ ['ba:m] 'chestnut'

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**

우에 / 'nu/' / 'What?'
우에요 / 'nujo/' / 'What?'

우너아 / nan 'muaja/' / 'What about you?'
그럼 / 'gi lam/' / 'Of course,'
너 우너하 그니 / 'nan muhagoinni/' / 'What are you doing?'

**Two stress groups**

내아 / ne 'ne/' / 'Yes, yes.'
갈아 / jal 'ga/' / 'Go safely,

나라도 하고 / na 'lado 'halka/' / '[Do you think] I can do it?'
왜 갑자기 떠나니 / we 'gabčagi ta nani/

'Why are you leaving so suddenly?'

**Three stress groups**

하나 솟 빛 / ha na 'dudl 'sed/' / 'one, two, three'

또는 옷 / o nilin na 'li 'cubkuna/' / 'It is cold today.'

---

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

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

(a) Slow tempo (six stress groups)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga jo:asa ha'ile gu'limi 'abia/

(b) Fast tempo (four stress groups)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga jo:asa ha'ile gu'limix:bia/

(c) Faster tempo (two stress groups)
/o-nilin 'nalsiga jo:asa hanile gu'limix:bia/

2.6.2.1. 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.

나눌게 / 'nalsiga/ 'the weather'

하늘 / ha'ile/ 'in the sky'

구름이 / gu'limi/ '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 jo:asa ha'ile gu'limi 'abia/

\[
P \quad S \quad A \quad S \quad P
\]

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

2.6.2.2. Position of Stress within a Stress Group

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

2.6.2.2.1. Syllable Structure as Determining Factor

(i) If a stress group has the syllable structure (C)V(C)V(C) CV(C) C... it is usually the second syllable which carries the stress unless the first
syllable has a lexically long vowel, in which case the first syllable is stressed, e.g.

우아 /u’a/ 'elegance, grace'

따calar /’a’cl/ 'baby'

두어 /mu’l/ 'what'

이버니 /’a’man/ 'mother'

하다가 /’a’daga/ 'while doing'

도서지 /do’la/ 'Chinese bellflower'

노래로 /no’lelo/ 'in song'

화양의 날 /hi’majen/ 'the day of hope'

서울대학교 /sa’uldehakjo/ 'Seoul University'

함사라 /ji’bala/ 'Pick it up,'

가졌으 /ga’gešo/ 'Will you go?'

but

사람 /’sa’lam/ 'man, person'

이도령 /’i’doλjo/ 'Mr/Master Lee'

보관소 /’bo’gwanso/ 'depository'

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

적다 /japja/ 'to be small'

양보 /janjmo/ 'foster mother'

영국사람 /jaunju’sa’lam/ 'Englishman'

언제부터 /ja’nejbuto/ 'Since when?'

박슬니다 /ma’sinmida/ '[He] is eating,'

cf. /ma’ga’sinmida/ '[He] ate.'

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

2.6.2.2. Lexically Long Vowel

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

2.6.2.2.3. Attitude as Determining Factor

The attitude1 of a speaker, which is closely related to 'Intonation', may determine the stress position within a stress group. For instance, the stress shifted to the last syllable of a stress group, especially of a last stress group in a sentence, indicates a warm and friendly attitude on the part of the speaker towards a listener. On the other hand, the stress may shift to the first syllable of a stress group to show a solemn authoritative attitude, e.g.

이래서 /’a’česa/ 'Why?' = normal

/’ačesa’ /’a’česa/ 'Why?' = friendly

/’ačesa’ /’a’česa/ 'Why?' = authoritative

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

Chapter II

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

2.6.2.2.4. Emphasis as Determining Factor

This factor is concerned with a long stress group, i.e., one consisting of many syllables, and accounts for the way in which the speaker places the stress on a word which he considers to be important within the stress group. For instance, in 오늘은 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없다 /onilin’nasigayo’gas anhile gu’limi /’a’hiba/ 'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky,' /nališi/ '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 /’abaji’gabaije/ translates 'Father in the room', when it is pronounced as /’abaji’gabaije/ with a short break between /ga/ and /ba/, but it means 'In the father's briefcase', if the same sequence is pronounced as /’abaji’gabaije/ 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 /’abaji’gabaije/ '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 /’abaji’gabaije/ 'in Father's briefcase' it is the syllable /ji/ which is prolonged and the /g/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless sound [g] or [k] whereas the /b/ in /gabaije/ 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’ba’ji/ are phonetically realized as [a’baji] and [a’ba’ji] 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 신문왔니
/o'nilacim, 'sinmunbwanni./ 'Did you read a newspaper this morning?'

(b) 오늘 아침신문 왔니
/o'nil (+) acimisinmun, 'bwanni./ 'Did you read this morning's paper?'

(c) 오늘 아침신문 왔니
/o'nil, a'cimisimun +/, 'bwanni./ 'Have you read a morning paper today?'

(d) 오늘 아침신문 왔니
/o'nil, a'cim, 'sinmunbwanni./ 'Did you read a paper today, in the morning.'

2(a) 내가 가야 한다
/nega'gaja( + )/ dwenda./ 'You must go.'

(b) 내가 가야 한다
/nega'gaja, 'dwenda./ 'It will work [only] when/if you go/[are there].'  

3(a) 밥을 먹고 왔었다
/babil +/, 'magko + 'idkedta./ ['He] may be having his meal [now].'

(b) 밥을 먹고 왔었다
/babil +/, 'magko, 'idkedta./ ['He] may be staying [there] after having his meal.'

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

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

말고 얻겠다 /magko + 'idkedta./
['He] may be having his meal [now].'

말고 얻겠다 /magko, 'idkedta./
['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'bil +/, 'magko./ 'after eating'
바보와 거처 /'babowa +/, 'ga:jj/ 'a fool and a beggar'

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

보리 백/bo'lii + 'sal/ 'barley and rice'
보리알/bo'lisal/ 'barley (grains)'

but they are not in

끓어 버리 /ki'na + ba'ilja/ 'Cut it off.'
끓어버리/ki'na balja/ '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 동/ha'na 'dul/ 'one, two' may be juncturally realized as

/ha'na + 'dul./
하나 들 /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 elsewhere¹ 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 /'ne/ 'Yes'
2. High Fall /'ne/ 'Yes'
3. Full Fall /'ne/ 'Yes'

Rising Tunes
4. Low Rise /'ne/
5. High Rise /'ne/
6. Full Rise /'ne/

Falling-Rising Tunes
7. Low Fall-Rise /'ne/
8. High Fall-Rise /'ne/

Rising-Falling Tunes
9. Low Rise-Fall /'ne/
10. High Rise-Fall /'ne/

Falling-Rising-Falling Tunes
11. Low Fall-Rise-Fall /'ne/
12. High Fall-Rise-Fall /'ne/

Rising-Falling-Rising Tunes
13. Low Rise-Fall-Rise /'ne/
14. High Rise-Fall-Rise /'ne/

Level Tunes
15. Low Level Tune /'ne/
16. Mid Level Tune /'ne/
17. High Level Tune /'ne/

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

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

(a) 까 /'we/ 'Why?'

(b) 가실시요 /gasibšjo/ 'Please go!'

(c) 가 /'ga/ 'Go?'

(d) 왜 /'we/ 'Why?'

(e) 왜 /'we/ 'Why?'

(f) 그래요 /'gitejo/ 'Is that so!'

(g) 남아 감니까? /nala'gamnika/ 'Is it flying away?'

(h) 그는 전쟁이 끝나자 돌아 왔다 /ginin-janjenji kinnaja, dola wadia/
2.9. Intonemes

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

(i) Intoneme LF (Low Fall):
   (a) Low Fall, (b) Low Rise-Fall, (c) Low Fall-Rise-Fall

(ii) Intoneme HF (High Fall):
   (a) High Fall, (b) Full Fall, (c) High Rise-Fall, (d) High Fall-Rise-Fall

(iii) Intoneme R (Rise):
   (a) Low Rise, (b) High Rise, (c) Full Rise
   (d) Low Fall-Rise, (e) High Fall-Rise,
   (f) Low Rise-Fall-Rise, (g) High Rise-Fall-Rise

(iv) Intoneme L (Level):
   (a) Low Level, (b) High Level, (c) Mid Level

Syntactical contrasts exhibited by intonemes may be exemplified as follows:

(a) Intoneme LF
   슈가 가 /nuga ga/ ‘Someone is going.’

(b) Intoneme HF
   슈가 가 /nuga ga/ ‘Who is going?’

(c) Intoneme R
   슈가 가 /nuga ga/ ‘Is anyone going?’

(d) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
   맹고 얻다 /mangko -ida/ ‘[He] is eating.’

(e) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
   맹고 얻다 /mangko -ida/
   [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 in principle morphemic or morphophonemic in that every morpheme or word is uniformly represented by its base form wherever it occurs. For instance the Korean words for ‘light’ and ‘comb’ are both pronounced the same, i.e., /bid/ when they occur in isolation or are followed by a word that begins with a consonant, but they are spelt differently in the Korean orthography, i.e., $\text{ condiciones'}$ ‘light’; $\text{ condiciones'}$ ‘comb’.

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

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

Spacing /nedka/ ‘bank of a stream’

 Milky /an/ ‘inside of clothes’

In the compound word /nedka/, 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 ‘사이사이’/ssaisiod/. 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 /odan/ is not the form that one would expect in the light of the general rules, i.e., /osan/.

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

1. b/d/g/j/s > /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a plasive consonant, e.g.
   잡고 /ibgo/ ‘to wear and’
   잡다 /abda/ ‘to carry on the back’
   식 당 /sag dal/ /sakjial/ ‘three months’
   보 보 /agbo/ ‘musical note’
   뒤 개 /dobge/ /dobke/ ‘Help [him],’
   받지 /badji/ /badči/ ‘[I will] take [it],’
   보소 /midso/ /midso/ ‘[I believe so.’

2. b/d/g/j/s > /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a /l/-final word, and by a /l/-final morpheme in many Sino-Korean words, e.g.
   가 물 /gallet buxg/ /galjipjag/ ‘a wall to cover’
   앞 단 /ja:l dal/ /ja:xtial/ ‘ten months’
   천 동 /cals gox/ /calkon/ ‘a ball to kick’
   천 접 /sal jib/ /salčib/ ‘a house to buy’
   월 사람 /salam/ /olsadam/ ‘a person to come’
   발남 /balDal/ /ballal/ ‘development’
   감길 /galjag/ /galčag/ ‘masterpiece’
   심수 /silsu/ /silšu/ ‘mistake’

3. d/g/j/s > /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/, /s/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in /m/ or /bl/ /pr/ /lg/ /lm/ /bs/ /mj/, e.g.
   간다 /ganda/ /gamba/ ‘to close’
   남게 /namge/ /namke/ ‘Stay behind.’
   심자 /simja/ /simča/ ‘Let’s sow [seeds].’
   신세 /sinse/ /sinče/ ‘Let’s put on [shoes].’
   한다 /jaltla/ /jualb/ ‘thin’ (> /jaltia/ cf. rule 8)
   옆서 /iplja/ /ipča/ ‘Let’s recite’ (> /iβca/ cf. rule 8)
   할다 /halDal/ /halča/ ‘to lick’ (cf. rule 7 and 2)
   금치 /gilgi/ /gilči/ ‘[Does he] scratch?’ (> /gilči/ cf. rule 6 and 1)
   절소 /jalsmo/ /jalčso/ ‘[You are] young.’ (> /jamsčo/ by rule 7)
   한다 /xalda/ /xalča/ ‘to lack’ (> /xalča/ cf. rule 4)
   만나 /anjda/ /anja/ ‘to sit’ (> /anja/ cf. rule 7)

4. p/bs > /b/ in the environment – C/#, e.g.
   간 /gabs/ /gbab/ ‘price’
   간다 /gipda/ /giba/ (> /giba/ cf. rule 1)

5. s/t/s/j/c > /s/ in the environment – C/#, e.g.
   간고 /gatgo/ /gadgo/ ‘is the same and’ (> /gadčo/ cf. rule 1)
   받게 /basge/ /badge/ ‘Take off [shirt].’ (> /badče/ cf. rule 1)

Chapter II

6. k/k/gs/lg > /g/ in the environment – C/#, e.g.
   부의 /bux/ /bux/ ‘kitchen’
   날다 /nakda/ /nagda/ ‘to catch [fish]’ (> /nagia/ cf. rule 2)
   쌓 /sals/ /sag/ ‘fee, wage’
   달 /dal/ /dag/ ‘chicken’

7. lm/t/nj > /m/, /l/, /n/ in the environment – C/#, e.g.
   살 /salm/ /sam/ ‘life, living’
   살 /smnda/ /smnda/ ‘to be young’ (> /smnía/ cf. rule 3)
   할 /halgo/ /halgo/ ‘to tick and’ (> /halčo/ cf. rule 2)
   앉게 /anje/ /anče/ ‘Sit down.’ (> /anje/ cf. rule 3)

8. lb/lp > /l/ or /b/ in the environment – C/#, e.g.
   할다 /calbda/ /calda/ ‘short’ (> /calča/ cf. rule 2)
   옆서 /iplda/ /ildĎa/ ‘to recite’ (> /ildča/ cf. rule 2)
   /lβda/ (> /lβca/ cf. rule 1)

9. b/d/g/j/s > /m/, /n/, /l/ in the environment – m/n, e.g.
   맳 /bambas/ /bammad/ ‘appetite’ (> /bambas/ cf. rule 5)
   급 /gine/ /ginče/ ‘[She] is sewing.’
   급 /galna/ /gamlča/ ‘Are you walking?’
   영국 /gjugganud/ /gjuggančči/ ‘English weather’

10. n > /l/ in the environment – l or l-, e.g.
    천 려 /calti/ /calti/ ‘a thousand leagues’
    날라 /ja:ltal/ /ja:ltal/ ‘ten countries’
    날 /galal/ /galal/ ‘day of departure’

11. d/l > /c/ in the environment – hi/i; d > /y/ in the environment – i, e.g.
    날하 /dagda/ /dăcida/ ‘to be closed’
    같이 /gati/ /gacči/ ‘together’
    같이 /gutl/ /guči/ ‘firmly’

12. Verb stem final (n/lh + g/d/1 > /n/lk, (n/l)t, (n/l)c, e.g.
    음주 /joch/ ‘to be good’ + -go > /jokčo/
    맛다 /manh/ ‘to be many’ + -da > /mančča/
    월 자 /ohl/ ‘to be correct’ + -ji > /olčči/
13. Verb stem final ih + n/s > /In/, /Is/, e.g.
   열일 'to be ill' + -ne > /alle/ (cf. rule 10)
   열소 'to be ill' + -so > /also/ (cf. rule 2)

14. Verb stem final h + n/s > /dn/, /ds/, e.g.
   좋히 'to be good' + -ne > /jodne/ (cf. rule 9)
   좋소 'to be good' + -so > /jodso/ (cf. rule 1)

15. d/t > /s/ when followed by /s/, e.g.
   믿소 /midso/ '(I) believe so.' > /misso/ (cf. rule 1)
   좋소 /jodso/ '(It) is good.' > /jossso/ (cf. rule 1)

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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,

" Mishna 'his' + nag 'to go out' + -nd 'INFLX' + 'at large' "

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 weege gannida 'He is going abroad.'

V as a non-final clause
가외 좋다 gomjip jota 'It is good if [you] go.'

V as an adjectival clause
가는 사람 gann saclam 'the one who is going'

V as a nominal clause
갑이 싶다 gani 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.

jib 'house' N

3.2.1. Simple Word

Every word which consists of a single free morpheme, with or without one or more bound morphemes, is a simple word. The morpheme may be defined as a minimal meaningful form which cannot be further analysed into smaller units. A free morpheme can occur on its own, whereas a bound morpheme never occurs except as part of a free morpheme or with another bound morpheme, e.g.

he 'sun' dal 'moon'

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.

napalkod 'morning-glory' < napal 'bugle' + kod 'flower'

3.3. Word Classes

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

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

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

3.3.1. Verb

Every word which includes at least a stem and an inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5) is a verb class word. Between a verb stem and an inflectional ending
may be found one or more stem-extending suffixes representing such grammatical categories as ‘voice’, ‘honorific’, ‘tense’ and ‘humble’ (cf. 4.3). The majority of verbs, when appropriately inflected, may occur alone as a major type sentence (cf. 7.2), but verb stems alone are bound forms and can never occur without an inflectional ending, e.g.

(41) 온다 onda [He] is coming. < o- ‘to come’ V.st. + -n tense + -da inflix.end.
    (42) 삐다 같이 ‘[He] went along’ < bibliography
    (43) 네가 같이 [Did] you cut [it]? < kak- ‘to cut’ V.st. + -a- tense + -ni inflix.end.
    (44) 소리 듣다 bosissinnida [She] has heard [it]. < bo- ‘to hear’ V.st. + -si- honorific + -s- tense + -sindia inflix.end.
    (45) 뭐소리냐 batgiomninka ‘Is [it] bright?’ < balg- ‘to be bright’ V.st. + -io- ‘humble’ + -bnika inflix.end.

3.3.2. Noun

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

(a) 사람이다 sałam ida ‘[He] is a man.’
    (46) 누가 이 모양이나 nugu isšinnika ‘Who was it?’
(b) 바다로 bada lo ‘to the sea’
    자유의 노래 jaju ü note ‘a song of freedom’
(c) 텔레비전 방송 telebi bapsog ‘television broadcast’
(d) 온 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’
    (47) 이 시간 i sigan ‘this time/hour’
    어느 것 ni gsd ‘Which one?’
(b) 어느 새 옷 sni se od ‘Which new clothes?’
    한 번 보자 han hxn mooja ‘an old cap’

3.3.4. Adverb

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

(a) 갑 간다 jal ganda ‘[He] is going well.’
    갑 간다 cam jota ‘[It] is very good.’
    아주 잘 한다 ayu jal hanida ‘[He] is doing very well.’
(b) 너무도 비싸다 nusudo bishada ‘[It] is far too expensive.’
    말리는 핫간다 mašliin anganda ‘[He] is not going far.’
(c) 빨리 palli ‘Quickly.’
    삼십 salsał ‘Gently.’

3.3.5. Particle

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

(a) 산이 높다 sani nobia ‘The mountain is high.’
    (48) i – subject marker
    (49) 토끼를 잡았다 tokilil jabadía ‘[I] caught a rabbit.’
    (50) līl – object marker
(b) 엄준한 alloło handa ‘[She] is doing it so quickly.’
    (51) do – emphasis
(c) 검은 거다 gusinjina anta ‘[It] is not black [although it may be big].’
    (52) nin contrast
(d) 말리 ‘As you know, I am late.’
    (53) aldisi nijoxtne sipi conj.pcl.
(e) 가새 그에 gase gilja ‘As you know, let’s go.’
    (54) 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! ‘Oh!’
    (55) olci ‘Splendid!’
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-pres.t.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

- bol- 'to see'
- dol- 'to throw'
- swi- 'to rest'
- bol- 'to give'
- dol- 'to play'
- swi- 'to rest'

Examples

하늘을 본다 han'il bōnda 'He is looking at the sky.' < bol- 'to see'
+ -n-pres.t.sfx. + -da infix.end.

아이가 잡는다 aiga anninda 'The child is sitting down.' < anj- 'to sit'
+ -nin-pres.t.sfx. + -da.

Descriptive Verbs

- bol- 'to be young'
- dol- 'to be big'
- swi- 'to be long'

Examples

그는 젊다 gin-inja 'She is young.' < jum- 'to be young' + -da
남아 차다 nali cada 'It is cold.' (lit. 'The weather is cold'). < ca- 'to be cold' + -da.

3.4.1.1.1. Copula Verb

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

돌 이리 dol ida 'This is a stone.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Processive</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bol- 'to dawn, become bright'</td>
<td>(a) as V.p. 'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nij- 'to become late'</td>
<td>(b) as Vd. 'to become late'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki- 'to grow'</td>
<td>(a) as Vp. 'to be big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is- 'to stay'</td>
<td>(b) as Vd. 'to be, to exist'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

날아 볼다 nali bolga 'The day is bright.' < bolg- Vd. + -da
날아 볼다 nali bolga 'The day is dawn.' < bolg- Vp.
+ -nin-pres.t.sfx. + -da

3.4.1.2. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

As an alternative classification, 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

- 밥 mag- ‘to eat’, 밥 ilg- ‘to push’
- 수비 nulli- ‘to press’, 수비 buli- ‘to call’
- 담 dad- ‘to shut’, 잔 pal- ‘to sell’

Examples

- 밥을 밥니 lag magi ‘Are you eating cake?’
- 수비로 nulli magi ‘Is cake being eaten?’

Intransitive Verbs

- 안 any- ‘to sit’, 서 sax- ‘to stand’
- 쉬 swi- ‘to rest’, 퍼 nopen- ‘to be high’
- 하향 hajah- ‘to be white’

Examples

- 하향이 눈에 단지 magi ‘[He] is sitting on a chair.’
- 수비로 nulli magi ‘The hill is high.’

3.4.1.3. Full Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs

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

3.4.1.3.1. Full Verbs

3.4.1.3.1.1. Honorific Full Verbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific Verbs</th>
<th>Plain Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>잡수사 jabsusi- ‘to eat’</td>
<td>밥 mag-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 수부사 jumusi- ‘to sleep’ | 죽 ja-
| 계시 gesi- ‘to be, to exist’ | 글 l-

Examples

- 아버지가 잡수사나 jabsusinda ‘My father is dining.’
- 동생이 밥이니 dagse magi ‘My brother is eating.’
- 어른이 계시야 xilni gesi ‘Is there an adult?’
- 아이가 있다 aiga ini ‘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:

- 밥 ilg- ‘to read’
- 밥 ilgi- ‘to open’
- 밥 jaka- ‘to be small’
- 음 주오- ‘to shoot’

Examples

- 소년이 책을 읽는다 sonjani cegi hyunginda ‘A boy is reading a book.’

3.4.1.3.2. Auxiliary Verbs

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

3.4.1.3.2.1. Auxiliary Verbs

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

(i) Processive Auxiliary Verbs

1. 그 bo- ‘to try [doing]’
2. 그 ik- ‘to do something as a favour’
3. 드리 dili- the honorific counterpart of ju-
4. 데 de- repetition
5. 뱄 sah- repetition, continuation
6. 비리 bśli- ‘to do something’ completely or thoroughly
7. 자 ji- (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
   (b) unintentional, when preceded by a V.intr.
   (c) processive verb formative with the meaning ‘progression or to become’ when preceded by a V.d.
8. 왜 dwe- (a) unintentional when preceded by a V.p.
   (b) processive verb formative with the meaning ‘to become’ when preceded by a V.d.
9. 가 ga- (a) progression [toward a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker
   (b) near-completion
10. 오 o- progression [toward a goal] from past to present or toward the speaker
11. 죽 noh- completion, retention
12. 나 na- progression, completion, V.intr.
13. 내 ne- progression, completion, V.tr.
14. 두 du- retention, preservation
15. ha- (a) causative voice formative when preceded by a V.p.
   (b) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded by a V.d.
16. 만들 mandil- the same as ha-
   (ii) Descriptive Auxiliary Verbs
17. 이 is- (a) retention
   (b) progressive tense formative when preceded by a V.p.
18. 실 sip- ‘to want to, to wish to’
   (iii) Processive and Descriptive Verbs
19. 아니며 aniha- negation
20. 도 모 mosha- negation, ‘[to be unable to]’
21. 네 mal- negation in imperative and propositive sentences

Examples
- 출하가 빼앗아 진다 jongiga eji jinda ‘A sheet of] paper is torn.’
  V.tr. Vaux.
- 빗방울 머리속에 넣다 sutul musago idla ‘He is drinking wine.’
  V.tr. Vaux.
- 일시 무시고 삶이다 ssutul masago idla ‘It is worth eating (too).’
  V.tr. Vaux.

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

3.4.1.3.2.1. 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.
- 자 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
- 비리 bśli- (a) ‘to throw’ as full verb
  (b) ‘[doing something] completely’ as auxiliary verb
- 죽 noh- (a) ‘to place or put down’ as full verb
  (b) retention as auxiliary verb
- 가 ga- (a) ‘to go’ as full verb
  (b) progression as auxiliary verb

Examples
- 뿐이 잎다 koci jinda ‘The flower is falling.’
  V
- 왜가 깨어 진다 swega khA jinda ‘The iron is broken.’
  V Vaux.
  < khA ‘to break’ + ji- pasv. vc.mtv.
- 책을 보다 cegil baola ‘Look at the book.’
  V
- 책 읽기 보다 cegil ilgA baola ‘Try reading the book.’
  V Vaux.
  < ilg- ‘to read’ + bo- ‘to try doing.

3.4.1.3.2.2. Post-nominal Auxiliary Verbs

The most common post-nominal auxiliary verbs are:

(i) 작하, jigha- ‘is likely to, is worth [doing],’ Vd.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),
-nim/tn, man or do may intervene between jigha and ha of jigha-, e.g.
- 먹음지(도) 하다 nigmim jighadada ‘It is worth eating (too).’
(ii) *ha* - 'admission or recognition' of the action or event represented by the predicate in the preceding nominal clause. V.d.aux.

This verb is always preceded by a nominal clause formed with the suffix 

\[-gi\], and the modifying particle *nin, man* or *do* occurs obligatorily before *ha*. *ha*-verb behaves as a processive or descriptive auxiliary verb according as to whether the predicate of the preceding nominal clause is processive or descriptive type, e.g.

오기도 한다 ogido handa 'He does come too, I admit.'

* V.p.

해기는 하다 hiiginin hada 'It is white, I admit.'

* V.d.

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

오기도 한다 해기는 하다

ogido onda and hiiginin hida

3.4.1.3.2.3. Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs

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

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

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with 

\[-n/in\, -i/-il\], or 

* -nin if the predicate is processive, e.g.

* gan dishada 'It seems that [he] has gone.'

* gal dishada 'It seems that [he] is going to leave.'

* ganin dishada 'It seems that [he] is going.'

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

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with the ending 

\[-i/-il\], e.g.

* bol monhambilida 'It is worth seeing.'

(iii) 빌하 bxbhha - 'to be likely to' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with 

\[-i/-il\], e.g.

비가 올바다 biga of bxbhada 'It looks like raining.'

(iv) 생각 *jagh* - 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

(v) 쓴 / 끝 역시 *cgha-ceha* - 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

(vi) 만하 *bxna* - 'nearly [did]' V.p.aux.

The verbs *jagh* and *cgha-ceha* occur only after an adjectival clause formed with 

\[-nin/ -n/in\, and *bxna* only after the one formed 

\[-i/-il\], e.g.

우리향 하자마다 *nin jag(in)hajta mala* 'Don't pretend to cry.'

아난 심 했으면서 api *cghfilhesibinda* '[I] pretended to be ill.'

다칠 했어 *daci bxdo/malsida* '[I] was even nearly hurt.'

The modifying particle, *nin/in, man, and do*, can occur within the stem of the post-adjectival auxiliary verbs given above, and the object particle 

\[-/i/\] (cf. 3.4.5.2) can occur within the stem of the three verbs 

* jagh*-ceha- and *bxna*-

As an alternative analysis, all post-adjectival clause auxiliary verbs may be treated as phrases consisting of the non-independent nouns such as 

* jagh, cgha-ceha, bxna* etc., on the one hand, and the verb *ha*- on the other. This alternative analysis will involve the setting up of such words as 

* jag, cgha-ce, bxna* 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 *-ka/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/ -a (4.3.5.1.5.1)\, -da (4.3.5.1.4.1)\, -bnida (4.3.5.1.1.1) and *-ji (cf. 4.3.5.1.5), e.g.

\[* \quad \text{ganda boja gasna boa} / \text{gannaba} / '[He] is gone, I think.'

\[\text{홍 cường 클너 usninga boginda / usninga bomanida} / 'I think [they] are laughing.'

\[\text{언원인가 클러 jarpilainga sipda / jarpilainga 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

Descriptive V  Intransitive V
or

(ii) Transitive V ↔ Processive V
Intransitive V ↔ Descriptive V

All transitive verbs are processive, but intransitive verbs are either processive or descriptive, or conversely, processive verbs are either transitive or intransitive, but descriptive verbs are all intransitive.

3.4.2. Sub-classes of Nouns

Noun class words are first sub-divided into 'Independent' and 'Non-independent' Nouns, each being further divided into smaller sub-classes. As an alternative classification, nouns are divided into 'Animate' and 'Inanimate' nouns, and as a second alternative classification, they are divided into 'Honorable' 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 saalam 'man, person', 아이 ai 'child'
개 ge 'dog', 집 jib 'house'
하늘 hanil 'sky', 물 mul 'water'
기차 gica 'train', 사랑 salay 'love'
생각 seggag '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 맞습니까 mjx.cimnaka '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 han'a 'one'
둘 dul 'two'

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

열 하나 ja:1 han'a 'eleven' < ja:1 'ten' + han'a 'one'
열 두 ja:1 dul 'twelve' < ja:1 'ten' + dul 'two'
스물 다섯 simul das:5 'twenty five'
< simul 'twenty' + das:5 'five'
여섯 여덟 ja:1 dul 'eighty eight'
< ja:1 'eighty' + dul 'eight'
아홉 아홉 ahob 'ninety nine'
< ahin 'ninety' + ahob 'nine'

3.4.2.1.1.2. Sino-Korean Cardinal Numerals

일 il 'one'
두 gu 'two'
삼 sam 'three'
사 sa 'four'
오 o 'five'
육 jug 'six'
칠 cil 'seven'

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

이십 i sib 'twenty' < i 'two' + sib 'ten'
삼십 sam sib 'thirty' < sam 'three' + sib 'ten'
사십 sa sib 'forty' < sa 'four' + sib 'ten'
오십 o sib 'fifty' < sib 'ten' + o 'five'
이십오 i sib o 'fifty five' < i sib 'twenty' + o 'five'
오백 o beg 'five hundred' < o 'five' + beg 'hundred'
육백십사 jug beg cil sib sa 'six hundred and seventy four' < jug 'six' + beg 'hundred' + cil 'seven' + sib 'ten' + sa 'four'
일천추백육십팔 il can gu beg jug sib pal '1968'
Korean Grammar

< il 'one' + cu 'thousand' + gu 'nine' + jug 'hundred' + sib 'ten' + pal 'eight'

3.4.2.1.3. Korean and Sino-Korean Ordinal Numerals

The Korean ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizing suffix -ce to the Korean cardinal numerals except 'first', which has the special ordinal form ces<u> /cesce</u>, e.g.

- dace 'second'
- sesce 'third'
- nesce 'fourth'

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

- 채일 jeil 'first'
- 채십 jebib 'tenth'
- 채십 세세 jebib sib 'eightieth'

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 daso salam 'five people' + salam 'man' Kor. N.

The pronouns of, say, English are in fact very frequently expressed in Korean by nouns or noun phrases. Typical examples are the noun 선생 (lit. suense(n)iim) '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.

- 이문 i bun 'he, she or this person'
- 그문 gi bun 'he, she or that person'
- 이자 i ja 'he, she or this person'
- 이자 gi ja 'he, she or that person'
- 이자 빈 nue 'he, this man'
- 이자 나나 'he, this woman'
- 이것 i gas 'this (thing)'
- 이것 gi gas 'this (thing)'
- 이것 ja gas 'that (thing)'

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).
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 mx(s) 'what' 'something'
(c) 몇 mjxc 'how many' 'a few, several'
(d) 언제 anje 'when' 'sometimes'

Examples
누가 했니 nuga henni 'Who did it?'
누가 했니 nuga hedia 'Someone did it.'
몇개를 샀니 mjashedel sanni 'How many did you buy?'
몇개를 샀니 mjashedel sadci '[II] bought several.'

3.4.2.2.1. 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 jijin 'now'
어기 jagi 'here'
 언제 mje etc. 'when, sometime'

Examples
오늘이 지났다 onil jiinjilja 'Today has passed.' onil as subject (N).
내가 오늘 간다 nge 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 nu occurs before the particle gu and nugu elsewhere.
2 The noun anje is a member of two different noun sub-classes: interrogative and adverbial noun.

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

마리 mali 'head(s) of animal'
장 jang 'sheet(s) of paper'
권 gwon 'volume(s) of book(s)'
그루 gilu 'number of trees'
데 de 'a set of machines'
치 ci 'inch' length'
성 sam 'sack of grain'
명 mjung 'number of person(s)'

Examples
물 두마리 mal du muli 'two horses' (lit. 'horse two heads')
통이 다섯장 jang jang jang 'five sheets of paper' (lit. 'paper five sheets')
책 두권 ceg du gwon 'two volumes of books' (lit. 'book two volumes')
나무 여섯그루 nanu jang jang gilu 'six trees'

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

바리수 mali su/malisu/ 'number of animals'
장수 jang su/jangsu/ 'number of sheets of paper'
권수 gwon su/gwonsu/ 'number of volumes of books'

Examples
장수가 많다 jang suga manta
'Ve have plenty of sheets.'

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 gos 'thing'
이 i 'person'
곳 gos 'place'
 좀 ju 'ability', 'guess'
때문 temun 'reason'
대로 delo 'as, like'
만 큼 mane manci 'as (much) as'

Examples
우리의 것 ilie gos 'ours, our thing'
먹는 것 mungin gos 'that which eats, thing to eat, that fact that one eats'
3.4.2.3. Alternative Classifications of Nouns

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

(i) Animate and Inanimate Nouns

(ii) Honorific and Plain Nouns

3.4.2.3.1. Animate and Inanimate Nouns

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

Animate Nouns

= "you"
학생 hagsay 'pupil'
아이 ai 'child'

Plain Nouns

= "dog"
호랑이 jinji 'food, meal'

Inanimate Nouns

산 san 'mountain'
자동차 jadogca 'motor car'
집 jib 'house'
아홉 ahob 'nine'

Examples

 아이에게 ai ege 'to a child' < ai 'child'
에게 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

발음 mal'sim 'word, speech'
사성 sahyam 'name'
아버지 abnim 'father'
어머니 marnim 'mother'
할아버지 halabnim 'grandfather'
선생님 sansepnim 'teacher'

Plain Nouns

발 lag 'earth'
옷 os 'clothes'
말 mal 'horse'
사랑 salag 'love'

All honorific nouns are paired by the corresponding plain nouns:

Honorific Nouns : Plain Nouns
발음 mal'sim : 말 mal 'word, speech'
사성 sahyam : 명 mun 'name'
아버지 abnim : 아버지 ab 'father'
어머니 marnim : 어머니 am 'mother'
할아버지 halabnim : 할아버지 han 'grandfather'
선생님 sansepnim : 선생 san 'teacher'

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

Examples

아버님이 주무신다 abnini jumusinda ‘[My] father is sleeping.’
N.hon. V.hon.

선생님이 점심을 하신다 sunegnini jinjili jabsusinda
N.hon. N.hon. V.hon.

‘The teacher is having his meal.’

할아버지가 장례 가신다 halabnimi jaye gasinda
N.hon.

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

gasinda < ga- ‘to go’ V.pl. + si- hon.sfx. + nda

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

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

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

Examples

군인이 방에 계시요 gunini bagë gesiJo ‘A soldier is in the room.’
gunin ‘soldier’ N.pl., is- ‘to be’ V.pl.

(Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being within sight or earshot.)

3.4.3. Sub-classes of Adjectives

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

3.4.3.1. Numeral Adjectives

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

한 han ‘one’
두 du ‘two’
세 / 서 / 석 se/sa/sag ‘three’
네 / 너 / 네 ne/na/nag ‘four’
다섯 das ‘five’
여섯 jas ‘six’
첫 csa ‘first’

The selection of one or the other of the three alternate forms of each of the two sets se/sa/sag and ne/na/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. sa and na collocate with nouns such as jan ‘cup’, glass’ or sag ‘sack’, e.g., sag jan, sag saram, nag jan, nag saram, and se and ne collocate with all other nouns, e.g., se eg ‘three books’ ne goi ‘four kinds’, etc. das and jas occur only with such nouns as mal and dwe, e.g., das mal, jas dwe, and with all other nouns the numeral noun dasas ‘five’ and jasas ‘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 haegyeng ‘one pupil’

한 두 학생 han du haegyeng ‘one or two pupil(s)’
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 adjectives are listed below, where the first English meanings refer to those which they have in the interrogative sentence, and the second to those which they have in the non-interrogative sentence.

(i) 어느/어떤 *mi*/*ān* 'which'; 'some, certain'

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

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

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

Examples

어느 곳에 갔니 *mi* *gose* *ganni* 'Where (lit. 'which place') did [he] go?'

어느 곳에 갔니 *mi* *gose* *gadia*

'[He] went somewhere (lit. 'to some place').'

무슨 일로 했다 *musin* *ilil* *henni* 'What (lit. 'what work') did you do?'

무슨 일로 했다 *musin* *ilil* *hedla* '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.

(i) 새 *se* 'new', 찰 *han* 'old, worn out'

(ii) 온 *on* 'entire, whole', 의 *we* 'only, lone'

Examples

새 옷 *se* *od* 'new clothes'

찰 한 모자 *han* *han* *maja* 'an old hat'

온 세상 *on* *sesa* 'the whole world'

의 아들 *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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{잘 jal ‘well, nicely’} & \quad \text{많은 allin ‘in plenty’} \\
\text{천천히 camcachi ‘slowly’} & \quad \text{감망히 gweqjaqhi ‘very much’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{잘 gala jal ‘Farewell!’ (lit. ‘Go well’)} & \quad \text{많은 ilga ‘Read [it] quickly.’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.4.4.2. Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.d.)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{매우 meu ‘very’} & \quad \text{약 약 ‘very, considerably’} \\
\text{대단히 dedanhi ‘very, greatly’} & \quad \text{가장 gabaj ‘most’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{매우 좋다 meu jota ‘[It] is very good.’} & \quad \text{가장 gaba ‘very, very’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{너무 nanu ‘too much’ as Adv.p.} & \quad \text{‘too…’ as Adv.d.} \\
\text{강장히 gweqjaqhi ‘very much’ as Adv.p.} & \quad \text{‘very…’ as Adv.d.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{너무 많다 nanu manta ‘There are too many.’} & \quad \text{‘too…’ as Adv.d.}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{왜 why in the interrogative sentence.} & \quad \text{by the way, as you know/remember in the non-interrogative sentence.}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{왜 안오나 we anona ‘Why doesn’t [he] come?’}
\end{align*}
\]
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).

Examples

그러나 gilsa ‘but, however’
또 lo ‘and, furthermore’
그러나 gilmi ‘therefore’
다구나 diguna ‘furthermore, on top of that’
하물미 hamilmjja ‘furthermore, in contrast to that, in spite of that’
아니 ani ‘by the way, why’

3.4.4.6. Conjunctive Adverb (Adv.conj.)

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

그리고 giligo ‘and’ ‘afterward’
또는 ionin ‘or’
곧 god ‘namely, in other words’

Examples

영국 그리고 불려사를 보아라 janggug gigilo bullannsil bolala
‘See England and France.’

어느 한국어로 그리고 우아하게 불리어야 한다
igogin sasachigiligo uahage bullja handa
‘This melody should be sung slowly and gracefully.’

그리고 그는 서울을 떠났다 gigilo, ginin sasul lnadad
‘And he left Seoul.’

감자 또는 보리가 필요합니다 ganyu ionin boliga piljoahnmin
N N
‘[They] need some potatoes or barley.’

또는 이렇게 하느니라 ionin, ilskhe halss iqmnnida
‘Or you can do it this way.’

군은 운동이 부족하다 god, ninin undogi bujokada
‘In other words, you lack exercise.’

3.4.5. Sub-classes of Particles


3.4.5.1. Subject/Complement Particle

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

Examples

나무 가 높다 namuga nobia ‘The tree is high.’
S

동생이 배가 아프다 dongsagi 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, go 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): 에서 kesa, 에서 esa.

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

사장님께서 오실니다 sajaonim kesa osimnida 'The director is coming.'

N.hon.

S

아저씨께서 주무시니 abjata kesa jumusinnida 'My father is asleep.'

N.hon.

S

[My] father is asleep.

desa is sometimes used after an inanimate noun representing a group, social body or institution such as hwsa 'company' or ksggo 'school', etc.. e.g.

우리 학교에서 우승했다 uli hagkjoesa usighedia '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): 들/을 lil/lit V/C-form.

Examples

장안 닫으니 cajj daedanni 'Did you shut the window?'

V.tr.

기가를 만들다 gicatil modtadia '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),

예게 ege (after an animate noun),

한테 hante (after an animate noun in the colloquial style of speech),

계 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 / 왔다 / 계 ege/hante/ke 'to, toward', e.g.

간에 dale 'to the moon'

저지에게 gajjege 'to a beggar'

 맞게 wajke 'to the king'

2. 에서 esisa 'at, from' (after N.inanimate), e.g.

아직에서 오니 adesia oni 'Where are you coming from?'

3. 에게서 egesia 'from' (after N.animate), e.g.

친구에게서 천지가 왔다 cingu egesia pajnjiga wadia 'A letter came from my friend.'

See 3.4.5.3 for the distribution of these particles.
of any class, phrase, clause, or sentence and marks it as a quotation. The quotation 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.
   이것은 나무라고 한다.
   *igasî namulago hando
   ‘We call it “wood”.’

(b) 야 lago (after any quotation ending in a consonant), e.g.
   나는 장순이라고 한다.
   *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.
   *hagkjeo gagdedilago jagsokedria
   ‘He promised that he would go to school.’

3.4.5.5. Vocative Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by a vocative particle is syntactically independent of other sentence elements in a sentence, where it may occur (i) initially, (ii) immediately after a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.5.4), 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 / 아 ja/a V/C-form (low plain style)
와 / 오 Zero/i V/C-form (high plain or medium style)
여 / 이여 ja/ila V/C-form (formal style)

Examples

남주아 namjuja ‘Namju’ (= a girl’s name)
밤은 달아 balgin dala ‘Bright moon!’
동수 dogsu Zero ‘Dongsu’ (= a man’s name)
한복이 wambogi ‘Wontog!’ (= a man’s name)
친구여 cingula ‘Dear friend!’
그리고 남이 gilin nimija ‘My dear!’ (lit. ‘Darling I miss.’)
복동아 범위방 boggoya, pallwa ‘Bogdong, come quickly!’
아니 복동아 폐안가니 ani boggoya, wean gani
   ‘By the way, Bogdong, why don’t you go?’
   ani ‘by the way’ Advz.
아니 폐안가니 복동아 ani weangani boggoya
   ‘By the way, why don’t you go, Bogdong?’

3.4.5.4.2. 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:

- 와/와: wa/gwa V/C-form ‘and’
- 하고: and
- 나/이나: na/ina V/C-form ‘or’

Examples:

사람과 동물: saramwa dongmul ‘man and animal’
나무와 물과 햇빛: namuwaa mulgwa hanil ‘the tree, water and sky’
심판하고 선수가 다두고 있다: simpanhago ssusaga datugu idia
‘The referee and a player are quarrelling.’
책이나 신문을 보여 주세요: cegina sinmunil boja jusio
‘Please show me a book or a newspaper.’

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

Examples:

선생과 학생: sanseogwa hagsh ‘a teacher and a pupil’
선생과 갑다: sanseogwa gadia ‘[They] left with a teacher.’
선생과 같이 떠나다: sanseogwa gacii mana
‘I am leaving with a teacher.’

3.4.5.6.2. Clausal Conjunctive Particles

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

There are two such particles:

- 만(은) man(in) ‘although, but’
- 시피 sipi ‘as’

The verbs that may occur in the final clause preceding the particle sipi are limited to a few processive verbs and can be inflected for the low plain declarative mood only. Furthermore, the present time reference for such verbs is expressed by the neutral tense (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1). The processive verbs most commonly found in such a clause are: 알- ‘to know, be aware of’, 모르- moth ‘to be ignorant of’, 듣기 niki ‘to hear or realize’, 듣- ‘to hear’ (cf.), 보- bo- ‘to see’, 감각 jimgagha- ‘to guess’, etc., e.g.

이미 뭐였슬니다(은): 감사히 imi nij:simmida man(in) gabsida
‘It is already late but let us go.’

해가 비린다(은): 날이 출다 hega bicinda man(in) nali cubia
‘Although the sun is shining it is cold.’

그는 민의원이 되었슬니다(은): 습것없습니다 ginin miniwani dwexsimnida man(in) si1psimmida
‘He became an MP but he was sad.’

자미가 알리사피 나는 바쁘니 janega alda sipi nani bapine
‘As you know, I am busy.’

당신이 몹리사피 아이가 아프소: daysini boadja sipi aiga apsanso
‘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: 줄 아시다 gilja ‘exclamator’, 조 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 -/1, -/2 or -/1 of the medium speech style, or -/1 or -/2 of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3), and after any minor sentence, elevating such medium or high plain speech style to the level of low formal style, e.g.

 날이 출슬니다 그리 nali cubsimnida gilja ‘What a cold day it is!’
 자네도 늙슬네 그리 janejo nilgsimne gilja ‘You have grown old too!’
 우리가 감사히 그리 uliga gabsida gilja ‘Let us go!’

눈이 녹아요 nuni noga jo ‘The snow is melting.’

Z (medium)
Z (low formal)
Korean Grammar

3.4.5.9. 'Modifying Particle

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

1. 는/은 nin/in V/C-form, emphasis, contrast, e.g.
나는 간다 nanin ganda 'I am going (though you are not).'
사과는 익는다 sagwanin mənində 'She eats apples (not pears).'
그가 마온다 giga mainin joxta 'She is kind (though not bright)'
발을 잘한 한다 mətə jələn handa

2. 만 man 'only, solely', e.g.
너만 가니 nəman gani 'Are you alone?'
책만 보니 ceqman boni 'Are you reading books only (not newspapers)?'

Examples

1. The particle jo may occur also within a sentence, after the sentence elements like subject, object, complement, etc., especially in women's speech, e.g.
개가요 내일 가지요 jega jo, neil gaji jo 'I will go tomorrow.'
이 아이는요 치스>Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipisicing elit, sed do eiusmod tempor incididunt ut labore et dolore magna aliqua.

2. This child does not like cheese.'

3.4.5.8. Adjectival Particle

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

Examples

너의 연필 naii jənpił 'your pencil' (lit. 'pen of you')
나 'you', jənpił 'pencil'
책의 내용 ceqg nejog 'the contents of the book'
ceq 'book', nejog 'content'
세 노래의 곡조 se nolıe gəqə 'the melody of the new song.'
se 'new', nolıe 'song', gəqə 'melody'
3. 도 do 'also, too, as well', e.g. 
아이도 우리 aido uni 'Is the child crying also?' S
이제 축구도 한다 ije egukudo handa 'Now [he] even plays football.' O
타자를 빨리도 한다 tajal palido cinda 'She types fast too.' palli 'fast' Adv.
있으면도 간다 apilodo ganda 'It goes forward too.' apilo 'to front' adv.rel.ph.
그가 참라도 한다 swega jallado jinda 'The iron can also be cut.' jalla 'cutting' concat. form

4. 마다 mada 'every, each', e.g. 
말마다 나올 보는ところ 바랐다 bjkal mada natil bonindid hajdildia S
'Every star seemed to gaze at me.'

5. 부터 buta 'first, from, beginning with', e.g. 사전부터 보라 sajinbuta boatu 'Look at the photo first.' O

6. 가지 ka'i 'even, as far as', e.g. 붙까지 나갔다 bukakji nagadia 'Even the light has gone out.' S

7. 조차 joca 'even, up to', e.g. 한마디는 음치조차 아꼈다 halm.ninin golcijoca apsiditya S1 S2
'Granny even had a headache.'

8. 아말로/아마말로 jamallo/ijamallo V/C-form 'as for, in particular', e.g. 
이 영화아말로 볼 보아야한다 ije.jghwajamallo kog boajahnanda O
'One must see this film in particular.'

9. 하다 / 이라도 ludo/ilado V/C-form 'for lack of anything better, even though unsatisfactory', e.g. 
차라도 마셔라 calado masjсла O
'Have some tea (for lack of anything better at the moment).'

10. 나 / 아니 na/ina V/C-form 'even though unsatisfactory, as [much/many] as', e.g. 
자네가 가례 janena gage 'You go (though perhaps it is not satisfactory).' S
혈명이나 빼내 jlanjina wanne 'As many as ten people have come.' S

11. 듯니 / 아니 듯니 dinji/idinji V/C-form 'any, no matter what', e.g. 
 어느것이든지 삼시다 snigsidinji sabuida 'Let us buy anything.' O

3.4.6. Sub-classes of Interjections

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

3.4.6.1. Response Interjections

네 ne 'Yes' (formal style) 
그래 gile 'Yes' (plain style) 
늘에 giise 'well, presumably, possibly' 
어 a [a or i] 'er' (expression of hesitation) 
어서 ig [arj] or more commonly [alig] or [al] 
'Yes, that's right'; 'Really, is that so?' 
무어 mm [mm or m] 'what?!
히히 hsha 'ha ha' (laughter, pleasure or pity) 
히임 im [um] or [ur] 'hum', 'yes' 
히임 [nmm] 'hum', (expression of distaste, sneer) etc.

3.4.6.2. Introductory Interjections

아 a 'Ah!' 
아이구 aigu 'Oh!, Ouch!, Goodness!' 
자 ja 'Well, now!' 
취 swi 'Hush!' 
아 / 하 ja/hja 'Hey!' 
아이보 jabo 'Hey, you!' 
아이보세요 jbosejio 'Hello, you!' etc.
IV
STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

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

4.1. ELEMENTS WITHIN THE VERB

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

(i) 장아 jab- 'Catch [it]' < jab- 'to catch' V.st. + -a inflx.end.
(ii) 장하려 jabasa [He] has caught [it].
< jab- + -as- past t.sfx. + -a inflx.end.
(iii) 장하려 japisasi [He] has been caught
< jab- + -hi- pasvxc.sfx. + -as- past t.sfx. + -a.
(iv) 장하시려 japisisia [He] has been caught.
< jab- + -hi- pasvxc.sfx. + -si- hon.sfx. + -as- + -a.
(v) 장하시려 japisisikelkeomaonida [He] may have been captured.
< jab- + -hi- + -si- + -asge- 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.

- ga- 'to go'
- o- 'to come'
- sol- 'to play'
- sa- 'to sleep'
- magh- 'to eat'
- joh- 'to be good'

etc.

4.2.1.1. Prefixes Simple Stem

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) 짓 jis- 'at random, violently', e.g.
- 짓별 jidbab- 'to trample down' < jis- + balb- 'to stamp on'
(ii) 짓 jas- 'secretly', e.g.
- 워 jasid- 'to overhear' < jas- + did- 'to hear'
(iii) 시 si- 'deep, very', e.g.
시바람 sipab- 'deep blue' < si- + psab- 'blue'
(iv) 오 ol- 'early', e.g.
오되 oldwe- 'to be precocious' < ol- + dwe- 'to become'
(v) 치 ci- 'up, upward', e.g.
치절 chimil- 'to push up, to well up' < ci- + mil- 'to push'

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4.2.1.2. Compound Stems

The compound stems consist of two verb roots.

Examples

4.2.2. Stem Classes

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

4.2.2.1. V-Stems

4.2.2.1.1. Invariable V-Stems

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

Examples

4.2.2.1.2. Variable V-Stems

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

4.2.2.1.2.1. i-dropping Stems

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

Examples

4.2.2.1.2.2. li-final Stems

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

Examples
Examples

아르려 illa 'on arriving' < illi- + -a
아르려 illisida/illisida/ 'They arrived [there].'
< illi- + -as- past t.sfx. + -da
cf. 되커래 아르려 gogie illimjan '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 /a/-initial suffix or ending. There is only one verb of this type: 추 pu- 'to draw (water).

Examples

퍼다 pula 'Draw!' < pi+ + -sla
퍼도 pxdo 'even if [you] draw [water]'
cf. 투고 pugo 'drawing' < pu+ + -go

4.2.2.1.2.4. 1-doubling Stems

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

나리 nali- 'to carry'
카리 cali- 'to cut'
하리 hili- 'to flow'
배리 pali- 'to be fast'
아르 lii- 'to be early'

Examples

물러라 bullisla 'Call [him].' < buli- + -sla
물러써 bullisla 'call [him] and' < buli- + -sas

cf. 무르 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: 모르 moli- 'not to know', 물러 molla.

4.2.2.1.2.5. ha-Stem

The verb stem ha- 'to do, to say' and all other verb stems ending in ha- have the allomorph haj occurring before a/a-initial suffixes or endings, and the form that occurs after the haj- or haj-final stems is a-form according to the rule of vowel harmony (cf. 4.3. The sequence aj of haj sometimes coalesces into e, thus giving rise to he. However the full form haj 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.

Examples

하 ha- 'to do, to say'
참 camha- 'to be nice or pretty'
동 togha- 'to pass'

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Examples

하아/하아 haja/go 'Do and' < haj- + -a (> he)
참하디다/참하디 camhaj.xida/camhe.sida 'She was nice.'
< camhaj- + -as- past t.sfx. + -da (> camhe.sida)
장하디/장하디 jahaj.xdo/ jahkedo 'Even if [I] decide [on it].'
< jahaj- + -ado (> jahkedo)

The verb stem dwe- 'to become' also has the coalesced form dwe for dwe in colloquial language, and similar coalescences occur in, for instance, bone for bonje '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 combination with various suffixes or endings:

세 cij- 'to tear'
심 sim- 'to sow'

물 mix- 'to eat'

물 bs- 'to take off, to undress'

식 saks- 'to mix'

Examples

것을 빼자 ik.sili cijjilka 'Will [he] tear this?'

물 서니 sili simni 'Are you sowing seeds?'

침이 적군 jibi jaggun '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. 1-dropping Stems

All il-final verb stems appear in the i-less allomorphs when they are followed by a suffix or an ending which begins with /ii/, /as/, /bi/ or /oi/:

갈 gal- 'to plough'

달 dal- 'to fly'

알 al- 'to know'

말 mal- 'to roll or stop'

갈 gal- 'to hang'

상 pal- 'to sell'

etc.
Examples

아니 aeni 'Do you know?' < a/- + -ni
아니 aesi 'Do you know?' < a/- + -si-sfx. + -o
합이다 abnida ['I] know.' < a/- + -bnida
하오 acv ['I] know.' < a/- + -o
cf. 알고 algо 'understanding' < a/- + -go
알라도 aldado 'though [I] know.' < a/- + -ado

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:

ㅈिं jis- 'to build'
ㅈिग gis- 'to draw or mark [a line]'
ㅈिझ jisa- 'to stir'
ㅈिझ bus- 'to pour'

Examples

지이나 jisla 'Build [it].' < jis- + -sla
지으나 jilna 'in order to build' < jis- + -ila
지으서 jisasa 'building and' < jis- + -asa
cf. 째나다 jininda ['He] is building [it].'
ㅈिझ jisya 'Let us build [it].'

If the s-less allomorph ends in the vowel a, the a allomorph of the a/а form (see 4.3) is used: 각 nas- 'to be better', 나나 naa

4.2.2.2.3. d-final Stems

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

뜸 did- 'to hear'
唸 kedad- 'to understand or realize'
;left gadd- 'to walk'
뜸 mud- 'to ask'

Examples

물여라 mulsla 'Ask!' < mud- + -sla
물으면 mulimjan 'If [he] asks' < mud- + imjan

cf. 물고 mudgo 'asking'
물자 mudja 'Let us ask.'
물도욱 muddolog 'So that [he] asks'

4.2.2.2.4. b-final Stems

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

쯤 nuв- 'to lie down', 돼 dob- 'to help'
가잡 gabab- 'to be near', 굴 sab- 'to grill'
칠판 gib- 'to mend or darn' etc.

Examples

도우면 dounjan 'If [you] help' < dob- + -imjan
도우니가 dounika 'Because [you] help [me]' < dob- + -nija

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- + -mijan.

cf. 물고 dobgo 'helping' < dob- + -go
물자 dobji 'I] will help' < dob- + -ji
물자 dobse 'Let us help.' < dob- + -se

When forms beginning with a/а are added to verb stems with a u-final allomorph, ua is regularly contracted to wa: ※ nuв- 'to lie down', 누위 nuwa; and if the vowel before the -b/-u- is a or o the allomorph a of a/а is used (and the Korean spelling adapted accordingly):

가잡 gabab- 'to be near' 가가와 gakawa
DOMContentLoaded?

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

구 / 오니 -ни/-ни 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 jabni 'As [I] grab [it]' < jab- + -ini C-form

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

2. a/x-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/x-form', a-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and x-form when the preceding vowel is /e/ or /i/. The only exception to this vowel harmony rule is the past tense suffix -as/-s-, which is always followed by x-form and not a-form (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

아라 / 어라 -ala/-sla, a/x-form
잡아라 jabala 'Catch it.'
먹어라 magsla 'Eat it.'
히어라 hajsla 'Do it.'
알 / 알 -as/-s-, a/x-form
소 돌아서 sotasdo [He] shot but < so- + -as- + -sdo
주 돌아서 jutsasdo [He] gave [it] but < ju- + -as- + -sdo
하려토 hajsadao [He] did [it] but < haj- + -as- + -sdo

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

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

4.3.1. Voice Suffix

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

4.3.1.1. Passive Voice Suffix

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

(i) -i- after stems ending in p, t, k, h, V, e.g.
들여 dapsi 'to be covered' < daps- 'to cover' + -i-
온히 hullti 'to be hacked' < hullt- 'to hack' + -i-
얻어 kaski 'to be broken' < kaks- 'to break' + -i-
슐어 sasli 'to be piled up' < sals- 'to pile up' + -i-
보이 boi- 'to be seen' < bo- 'to see' + -i- (/b[w]e-/, /b[o]a- or /bi-)

(ii) -hi- after stems ending in b, d, g, j, e.g.
원히 abbi- 'to be carried [on the back]' < sb- 'to carry [on the back]' + -hi-
당히 dadhi- 'to be closed' < dad- 'to close' + -hi-
말히 msgi- 'to be eaten' < msg- 'to eat' + -hi-
꼽히 koji- (/koci/) 'to be inserted' < koj- 'to insert' + -hi-

(iii) -gi- after l-final stems and l-doubling stems (4.2.2.1.2.4) and after the d-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.2.2.3), e.g.
끌어 kili- 'to be drawn' < kil- 'to draw' + -gi-
볼리 boli- 'to be earned' < boli- 'to earn' + -gi-
몰리 buli- 'to be called' < buli- 'to call' + -gi-
들리 dilli- 'to be heard' < didill- 'to hear' + -gi-

(iv) -gi- after stems ending in m, n, s, c and nh, e.g.
강기 gangi- 'to be wound' < gam- 'to wind' + -gi-
안기 angi- 'to be embraced' < an- 'to embrace' + -gi-
뻐탁기 peagsi- 'to be snapped' < peas- 'to snatch' + -gi-
끌기 cokgi- 'to be chased' < cok- '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 -i- 'to be', and has the following phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) -u-, (ii) -i-, (iii) -gi- and (iv) -hi-.

(i) -u- after stems ending in i or e, e.g.
비우 biwi- 'to empty' < bi- 'to be empty' + -u-
세우 seu- 'to keep vigil' (lit. 'to cause dawn to break') < se- 'to dawn' + -u-
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(i) -i- after stems ending in a vowel other than i, e, or after those ending in g, e.g.

보이 boi- `to show' < bo- `to see' + -i-
주이 cui- `to cause ... to dance' < cu- `to dance' + -i-
먹이 magi- `to feed, to make ... to eat' < mag- `to eat' + -i-

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

남기 namgi- `to leave behind, to make ... to remain' < nam- `to remain' + -gi-
선기 singi- `to cause [someone] to put on [shoes]' < sin- `to put on [shoes]' + -gi-

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

입히 ibhi- `to clothe' < ib- `to wear' + -hi-
남히 nslbhi- `to widen' < nslb- `to be wide' + -hi-
알히 ilghi- `to make ... to read' < ilg- `to read' + -hi-
석히 sghhi- `to cause ... to decay' < sgh- `to decay' + -hi-
목히 mughi- `to cause ... to lie idle' < mug- `to stay [idle]' + -hi-

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

남이 nallli- `to fly [something]' < nali- `to fly' + -li-
울리 ulli- `to make ... cry' < ul- `to cry' + -li-
간히 gslhi- `to make ... walk' < gsl- `to walk' + -li-
흘히 hlli- `to make ... flow or drop' < hli- `to flow' + -li-

(v) -hi/-hu- after j-final stems, e.g.

맞히 / 맞히(맞추) maghi-maghu- `to get [something] correct' < mag- `to be correct' + -hi/-hu-
짝히 / 짝히(짝추) njhi-njhu- `to slow down' < nj- `to be slow' + -hi/-hu-

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

보인다 boinda `[It] is seen.' or `[He] shows [it].'

영원히 abhindu `[It] is carried on the back.' or `[She] makes [someone] carry [someone] on the back.'

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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.

가산이 가산마다 gianginda `[He] is going.' < ga- `to go' + -si- + -nda

도리이 도리마다 dorinda `If you are captured.'

아이사 외야차 살사시이다 isasa hwangalil salsisida

The doctor has saved a patient.'

< sal- `to live' + -li- caus.vc.sfx. + -si- + -nd

점수를 일부 jibisibio `Please pick [it] up.'

4.3.3. Tense Suffixes

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

(i) Basic Tense Suffixes

(a) Zero neutral and present tense

(b) -n/-nin- V/C-form, present tense
4.3.3.1. Tense System

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

**Direct Tense**

볼이 온다 *bomi onda* ‘Spring comes.’

볼이 왔다 *bomi oada* ‘Spring came/has come.’

볼이 오너 *bomi oni* ‘Is spring coming?’

**Retrospective Tense**

볼이 오타라 *bomi otdara* ‘Spring came [I remember].’

볼이 왔타라 *bomi oadtara* ‘Spring had come [I remember].’

볼이 오타라 *bomi abdika* ‘Was spring coming [as you recall]?’

Tense, direct or retrospective, is either simple or compound according to the manner in which it is formed. The simple tense is formed with the tense suffixes and the compound tense is constructed with an auxiliary verb. In other words, Korean tense is constructed in two different ways and represented at two different levels; by suffixation at the word level, and by auxiliary verb construction at the syntactic (phrase) level. All compound tenses are constructed with the auxiliary verb *-da ‘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.
4.3.3.1.1.4. Future Tense
Future Tense Suffix: -geois-

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix -geois- and represents (a) 'intensive 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
내가 하겠어요 nega hageo 'I will do it.'
우리가 내일 사겠어요 uliga neil sageõšibnida 'We will buy [it] tomorrow.'
네가 먹겠어요 nega mgaesëni 'Will you eat it?'
당신들이 기타려겠어요 dagsindilli gidalingeõ 'Will you wait [for it]?'

(b) Presumptive Present or Future
항하니가 곧 오시겠어요 halmsniygg god osigeõšada 'Granny might come soon.'
학교에 늦겠어요 haggjoe nigjeõšibnida 'You/he may be late for school.'
가자가 늦겠어요 gicaga nigjeõšibnida 'Is the train going to be late?'
가분이 좋으시겠어요 gibunõ joišeõšibnida 'You may be feeling fine.'

-li/-illi- is also a future tense suffix representing 'intensive future' but it is restricted in distribution compared to the suffix -geois-, e.g.
내일 하라다 neil halida 'I will do it tomorrow.'
방에 몸으러다 bame mukilida 'I'll bind it at night'

4.3.3.1.1.5. Past Perfect Tense
Past perfect tense suffix: -aši/-aši- , 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 descriptively, (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 갔다고 hangugeガかつ다
'He has gone has been to Korea (and is here now).'

(b) Present Perfect

신문을 보았다고 sinsmnil boasibnida 'I have seen the paper.'

4.3.1.1.3. Past Tense
Past tense suffix: -aš/-aš- , 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 processive verbs, only when accompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, (b) present perfect, i.e., continuation to the present time of the past event, with processive verbs if unaccompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, e.g.

(a) Simple Past

(конц.) 길이 좁았다 jiosen gil jobašida 'The road was narrow (before).'

이제 이 꽃이 피었음다 (ije) ikoci bulgabõšibnida 'This flower was red (yesterday).'

작년에 보았음니다 jognjome boašibnida '[I] saw it last year.'

지난날에 일을 했음니다 jinnalale iliš hešibnida '[I] did the work last month.'

(b) Present Perfect

신문을 보았음니다 sinsmnil boasibnida 'I have seen the paper.'

일을 했음을니다 iliš hešibnida 'I have done the work.'

밤을 밝혔음니다 babil mgašibnida 'He has had his supper [and is full].'

The present tense is formed in two different ways according to the type of verbs and inflectional endings involved: (i) processive verbs occurring with -da ending form the present tense with the present tense suffix -n/-nin-; (ii) all descriptive verbs as well as those processive verbs occurring with an inflectional ending other than -da form the present tense with Zero. The present tense has present time reference, and with processive verbs it may indicate 'present progressive' or, when accompanied by an adjunct of future time, it has future time reference, e.g.

그가 물을 마신다 giga mulil masinda 'He drinks water.'

< masi 'to drink' + -n + -da

달이 넘수니 달이 dãsõšibnida 'It is warm.'

< dãs 'to be warm' + Zero + -sibnida

하늘이 푸르다 hanili pulida 'The sky is blue.'

< puli 'to be blue' + Zero + -sibnida

제가 온다 sega unda 'The bird is singing.' < ul 'to sing' + -n + -da

사과를 먹는다 sagwàli m-šnindida 'He is eating an apple.'

< mag 'to eat' + -nïn + -da

내일 마신다 neil Ònabnida 'I am leaving tomorrow.'

< Òna 'to leave' + Zero + -bnida.

또 오지 oj oji 'I will come again.' < o 'to come' + -Zero + -ji

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The past perfect presumpetive 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 presumpetive, e.g.

(a) Past-past Presumptive

If he might have gone to Korea.'

어제에 오셨어요 a-jagi osji sagesida 'Uncle might have come.'

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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 processive verbs or processive verbal phrases (cf. 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.1.2. Present Progressive Tense

V.st. + -go i s- + pres.t.sfx.

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

4.3.3.1.2.2. Past Progressive Tense

V.st. + -go i s- + past t.sfx.

눈이 흐려 있었어 nuni ogo i s-sji 'It was snowing.'
i s-sji < i s - -s- past t.sfx. + -ji

4.3.3.1.2.3. Future Progressive Tense

V.st. + -go i s- + fut.t.sfx.

Like the future tense, the future progressive tense represents 'intensive future' and 'presumptive present or future' progressive' (see 'Future Tense', 4.3.3.1.4., for details).

네가 책을 읽고 있다 nega cegil ilgo isgesida
'I will be reading a book.'
4.3.3.1.2.4. Past Progressive Presumptive Tense

V.st. + -go is- + past presumpt.sfx.

진화를 하고 있었겠습니까 jahnwail hago isšgešibnida

isšgešibnida < is- + -šgeš- past presumpt.sfx. + -nida

4.3.3.1.2. Retrospective Tense

The retrospective tense is formed by adding to verbs inflected with a direct tense suffix the retrospective tense suffix, of which there are two allomorphs -di/-du-. -di- occurs only in the declarative and interrogative mood of the high formal speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.1) and -du- in the declarative and interrogative mood of the low plain speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1-2) as well as in the adjectival and adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.2-3).

Besides the retrospective tense suffix -di/-du-, there are four inflectional endings which represent the retrospective tense. They are -de/-dun, of the declarative mood of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), and -de, -de, and -dan of the interrogative mood of the low plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.2). Therefore, these four inflectional endings, called 'Retrospective Endings', will be taken as forming part of the retrospective tense system along with the retrospective tense suffixes proper. There are four simple and three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.1. Simple Retrospective Tense

4.3.3.1.2.1.1. Present Retrospective Tense

The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero present tense suffix either -di/-du- or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past event as recollected by the speaker or, if it occurs in the interrogative sentence, by the listener, e.g.

아이가 울었더라 aiga udlida ‘The child cried [I remember].’

그대 보았더라 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’

집이 크더라 jibi kidi ‘Was the house large, [as you recall]?”

4.3.3.1.2.1.2. Past Retrospective Tense

The past retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past tense suffix either the retrospective suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past-past event as recollected by the speaker or the listener, e.g.

4.3.3.1.2.1.3. Future Retrospective Tense

The future retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the future tense suffix -geš- either the retrospective tense suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to the presumption of an event in the past or past-future, e.g.

비가 오겠더라 biga ogešdida ‘It looked like raining [I recall].’

그대 보았더라 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’

물이 차겠더라 muli cagede ‘Water might be cold [I thought].’

가늘어 밝겠더라 hanili madgešdǎn ‘Would the sky be clear [you thought]?”

As shown by the second example above, the future tense suffix -geš- and the retrospective tense suffix -di- are discontinuous, being separated by -ib- 'high formal speech style'. Such discontinuity also occurs between other tense suffixes and the retrospective suffix when they co-occur with -ib-.

4.3.3.1.2.1.4. Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

The past presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past presumptive, either the retrospective suffix, or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a presumptive past-past event as recollected by the speaker or listener, e.g.

돈이 없겠더라 doni xbsssgešdida

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

시합이 시작되었었더라 sihabi stjagdwesšgešdida

‘The match might have started [I thought].’

아이들이 싸웠더라 aildili sawsšgešdidi

‘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-
four different allomorphs conditioned both phonologically and morphologically, e.g.

(a) 3. / 2. -o-/io-

V/C-form: before inflectional endings
-нida, -на, -мина, -ми, -ни, -н(о)1

(b) 3. / 2. -об-/иоб-

V/C-form: before inflectional endings
-наida, -наика, -нис, -н(и)о, -н(о)1, -н(о)2

(c) 3. -сао-

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

(d) 2. -саоб-

C-form: before inflectional endings -наida and -наика

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and -о-/ио- and -об-/иоб- of (a) and (b) may be preceded by the honorific suffix -си/-иси- and/or a tense suffix, except for the present tense suffix -н/-нин-, but -сао- and -саоб- of (c) and (d) cannot be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously, e.g.

нади сьезд оно мадио 'It is (very) cold.'

ади сьезд оно мадио 'Where are you going?'

билин сьездо синя синя 'Please give us rain!'

кови бугса 'кои бугса' Flowers are red.'

ипи ипреда пода ипреда 'although you have forgotten'

чуги дасьиби ипредо 'as [you] have spoilt the book'

4.3.3.1.2.2.3. Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense

The past progressive presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the past progressive presumptive tense, refers to a past past progressive presumptive event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

감을 보고 있었겠디라 dali bogo is.xgэdsla

'she might have had been looking at the moon [I thought].'

قتل: fcppjak gago is.xgэdsla

'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
The humble suffix is similar in function to the high and low formal speech style inflectional endings as they both show the speaker’s respect to the addressee.

4.3.5. Inflectional Endings

The inflectional endings which are the last elements occurring within the verb are grouped into three different categories on the basis of the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform. They are (i) ‘Final Endings’, (ii) ‘Non-Final Endings’, and (iii) ‘Concatenating Endings’. A verb inflected with a final ending can function as the predicate of a final clause, the one with a non-final ending as the predicate of a non-final clause, and the one with a concatenating ending as a concatenating form in the verbal phrase structure (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1).

4.3.5.1. Final Endings

Five speech styles, and in each speech style four kinds of mood, are distinguished by the final endings: (i) ‘High Formal’, (ii) ‘Low Formal’, (iii) ‘High Plain’, (iv) ‘Low Plain’ and (v) ‘Medium’ styles.

4.3.5.1.1. High Formal Style

The high formal style is the most polite form of speech whereby the speaker expresses respect toward the addressee(s). It is used on formal occasions, in conversation between strangers, by younger people to their elders, and by people of lower social status to those of a higher one. All inflectional endings of the high formal styles except -naida and -naika, consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:

(a) /- / -b/-ib- high formal style sf.

(b) -ni- indicative mood sf.

(c) -sii- volitive sf.

di-di- retrospective sf.

e) da-da declarative or propositive mood sf.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sii</td>
<td>volitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di</td>
<td>retrospective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-da</td>
<td>declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.3.5.1.1.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) 니마다 / 음니다 -bnida/-sibnida V/C-form

(b) 나이다 -naida, An archaic form whose use is restricted to the literary style and religious service

Examples

- 낐따 / 음따 -bnida/-sibnida V/C-form

- 나이다 -naida, an archaic form, cf. -naida in 4.3.5.1.1.1.

Examples

- 낐따 / 음따 -bnida/-sibnida V/C-form

- 나이다 -naida, an archaic form, cf. -naida in 4.3.5.1.1.1.

Examples

- 낐따 / 음따 -bnida/-sibnida 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.

- 발리 하십시오 -sfx. 'Please do [it] quickly.'

- 항상 친절히 -sfx. 'Please take only one.'
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4.3.5.1.4. 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 몽시다 csic:nhi bobsida 'Let us see [it] slowly.'
같이 그러십시오 gati gilsibsida '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 / 오오 -o/-io V/C-form
소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

(b) 구려 -gulja interjictival (always preceded by a non-Zero t.sfx. when it occurs with a processive verb)

Examples

나도 할 줄 아요 nado haljul ao 'I know how to do [it] too.'
물이 맑소 muli malgso 'Water is clear.'
달이 빛나다 dali isgulja 'The moon has risen.'

4.3.5.1.2.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

오 / 오오 -o/-io V/C-form
소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

These endings, although identical in form to those of the declarative mood, differ from the latter intonationally. Interrogative sentences formed with one of the interrogative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme R, whereas declarative sentences formed with one of the declarative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme LF or HF (cf. 7.3.2.1.1 and 7.3.2.2), e.g.

내일 비나서요 neil lnasio 'Are you leaving tomorrow?'

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4.3.5.1.2.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 오 / 오오 -o/-io V/C-form
소 -so

(b) 구려-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.

주의를 하시오 juilil hasio 'Be careful.'
여서 도소 asa diso 'Help yourself (lit. 'take quickly').'
마음대로 하구려 maimdeio hagulja '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.

순경헌테 몹시다 sungjAijhante mulbobsida '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) 다 -de
(b) 도 / 도니 mse/-imse V/C-form (promissive)
(c) 데 -de (retrospective ending)
(d) 단토 -dande (retrospective ending)
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Verbs with the ending -mse/-imse can have as their subject the first person pronouns only, i.e., na 'I', uli 'We', etc., and indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. -mse/-imse is not found with any tense suffix except the Zero t.sfx., e.g.

아주 안 보이네 *My anboine 'It is totally out of sight.'
내가 왜 줄지 *nega hejumse 'I will do it for you.'
그대는 자리 가네 *bibi juli gade 'She went there in a hurry [I recall].'
누가 있는데 *nus isdan 'He was lying in bed [I remember].'

4.3.5.1.3.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 -na (after V.p. only)

(b) 느 / 음가 -nga/-inga V/C-form (after V.d. only)

(c) 느가 -ninga (after V.p. only)

(d) 느 / 음 / -ka/-ika V/C-form — uncertainty

 언제 보나요? *mye boasha 'When did you see?'
 어느것이 좋은가? *nigasi johinga 'Which one is good?'
 신문을 읽었는가? *sinmunil ilg.sininge 'Did you read the newspaper?'
 정말 읽었으나? *jajmal ulsilka 'Has she really cried [I wonder]?'

4.3.5.1.3.3. Imperative Mood Ending

개 -ge, e.g.
네가취게 *ije swige 'Rest now.'
내가 오게 neli oge 'Come down.'

4.3.5.1.3.4. Propositional Mood Ending

세 -se, e.g.
보내지 마세요 bongji mase 'Let us not send [it].'
차 한잔 하세요 ca hanjan 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.)

4.3.5.1.4.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 -ni

(b) 느나 -ninja after V.p.

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

(d) 느 / 음 / -di/-de/-dan retrospective ending

Of the first three endings, -ni is more colloquial and more used between close friends than -ninja or -nja/-inja, which is used usually by adults in talking to youngsters, e.g.

자니 *jani 'Are you sleeping?'
소리가 나나? *soliga naninja 'Is there any sound?'
푸르나 *pullinja 'Is it blue?'
어느것이 불으나? *nigasi cabinja 'Which one is short?'
무엇을 하더 *mwasli hadi 'What did [he] do [as you recall]?'
노래를 하던 *noletil hadan 'Did [she] sing [as you recall]?'

4.3.5.1.4.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 아라 / 아라 -ala/-sla a/A-form

(b) 거라 -gsla

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

(d) 느나 -guna interjunctival
(c) 나타 -nsla (found only with -o 'to come')

The ending -ala/-sla may be suffixed to any processive verbs, but -gsla to only a few verbs, such as -ga- 'to come', -ja- 'to sleep', -is- 'to stay', etc., e.g.

줄어다 쓰는 -gansu 'Follow [him].'
모자임 빛나다 mjoeji bas/sla 'Take off your hat.'
고화해 가라다 gijohwee gag/sla 'Go to the church.'
이리 오너니 ill on/sla 'Come here.'
최선을 다 하이라 cuw/ninsil da hajs/sla 'Do your best.'

4.3.5.1.4.4. Propositional Mood Ending

자 -ja, e.g.
창자 쌀라 'Let's find [it].'
내일 물이자 neil b0cjiya '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 ja 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.4.5.7).

4.3.5.1.5.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) 아 / 이 -a/-e a/e-form

(b) 지 -ji suspensive

(c) 존 -gun interjunctival

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.

아가 웃어 aiga ul'a 'The child is crying.'
구두가 잘 맞아 guduga jaal maja 'The shoes fit me well.'
누가 생각하시요 nuga jal/sa jo 'Someone has opened [it].'
돈이 많지 doni manhji ['He] has plenty of money.'
손이 급투 soni goygun ['Your'] hand is pretty.'

4.3.5.1.5.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 아 / 이 -a/-e a/e-form

(b) 지 -ji suspensive

The first two endings, although identical in form to the declarative endings, are different from the latter intonationally (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.2), e.g.

이주나 나가고 있어 ala nagago is'a 'It the adult going out?'
내가 맘해지 naga majashi 'Am I not right?'

4.3.5.1.5.3. Imperative Mood Ending

-a/-e a/e-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.

아서 안야요. asa anya jo 'Please sit down.' (lit. 'quickly sit down')
잘 먹어 jal mga 'Eat carefully.'

4.3.5.1.5.4. Propositional Mood Ending

-a/-e a/e-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 Intone 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 propositional mood, the presence of a first person pronoun uli 'we' serves as the marker of the propositional mood ending, e.g.

아 새 논아 ije nola 'Let's play now.'
우리도 내리가 ulido nelja gaa 'Let us go down too.'

4.3.5.2. Non-Final Endings

The non-final endings are classified into three different types according to the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform: they are (i) 'Nominal Clause Ending', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause Ending', and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause Ending'. Unlike the final endings, the non-final endings do not distinguish the five styles of speech.

The non-final endings may be preceded by an appropriate voice suffix and/or the honorific suffix, but the humble suffix is only rarely found with the non-final endings. Any restriction on the occurrence of tense suffixes with the non-final endings will be noted in the relevant sections.
4.3.5.2.1. Nominal Clause Endings

There are two nominal clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as a noun.

(a)  

(b)  

There is some difference, both distributional and semantic, between the two endings:

(a) Distributional difference

The endings -m/-im and -gi are different in their distribution with the nominal auxiliary verbs. -m/-im occurs only with -jigha (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), whereas -gi only with -ha- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), e.g.

(b) Semantic difference

-m/-im refers to the abstract side of the meaning of a verb to which it is added whereas -gi emphasizes (i) 'actual process' in the case of a prescriptive verb, or (ii) 'degree' in the case of a descriptive verb, e.g.

4.3.5.2.2. Adjectival Clause Endings

There are three adjectival clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as an adjective:

(i)  

(ii)  

(iii)  

The three adjectival clause endings are different from one another (a) in distribution with verbs, (b) in time reference when they are not preceded by any other tense suffix, (c) in distribution with tense suffixes and (d) in distribution with the adjectival auxiliary verbs:

(i) -nin is suffixed to processive verbs only and refers to the present time or to an action or event in progress. It is never found with any other tense suffix and occurs with auxiliary verbs didha-, japha-, and cağha- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

(ii) -n/-in may be suffixed to any verb, but its time reference varies according to the type of verb to which it is suffixed: with processive verbs it refers to the past time or to an action or event that has been completed, but with descriptive verbs it refers to the present time, e.g.

with processive verbs:

와 사람 *iwin salam* ‘the man who ran/has run’

징은 줄 *jibin doel* ‘the pebble that I picked up’

with descriptive verbs:

작은 모자 *jagin moja* ‘a small cap’

긴 강 *gin gapi* ‘a long river’

The ending -n/-in may be preceded by the retrospective tense suffix -da- or the past tense suffix -as/-as- plus -da-, e.g.

응인 안에 *uldun ana* ‘the wife who, [I remember], cried/was crying’

우국에 젊은 장군 *weguge gaiden jagun* ‘the general who had been abroad [as I remember]’

Like -nin, the ending -n/-in may occur with auxiliary verbs didha-, japha- and cağha- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

뜻 쌓는 말 *mos bon cağhanda* ‘[She] pretends that she did not see [you].’

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

달은 집을 아기 *gopil jibil ai* ‘the child who will pick up a ball’

달이 밝게 빛 *dali balgil i* ‘the time when the moon is/may be bright’

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

자랑을 아들 *jalasil adil* ‘the son who might have grown up’

죽겠을 경우 *jugejil gijsiu* ‘the situation in which you might feel like dying’

1 As an exception, -nin may be preceded by the future tense suffix -ges- when they occur with the verb *jeg- to die*, e.g., *jagisel nin salam* ‘The person who may be dying’.
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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- go 'and', e.g.
   자네는 가고 나는 온다 janenin gago nanin onda
   'You are going and I am coming.'
   아침을 먹고 하겠다 acimil mago hagesda 'I will do it after breakfast.'
   요-jo 'and' (after Vc. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   선수이요. 코치이야 sansu ijo koci ida 'He is a player and coach.'

2. 머 / 오머 mjÀ/-immjÀ V/C-form 'and', e.g.
   세상 노래를 했으며 꽃이 피었다 sega noltil heÁmmjÀ koci usÁvida
   'Birds sang and flowers smiled.'

3. 고서- go(sA) 'and then, afterward' (after Vp. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   일을 하고 (서) 먹나차 jil hago(sA) imuja
   'Let's do the job and then leave.'

4. 머 (-서) / 오머(-서) mjÀ/-immjÀ(nsA) V/C-form 'at the same time, while'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   품을 꺾며 자니 kumil kmjÁ jani 'Are you sleeping while dreaming?'
   들으면서 보다 djinjÁnsA bonda 'They see while listening.'

5. 자-ju 'as soon as' Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ju suffixed to the verb mal- 'to stop.'] E.g.
   예수 받지 keÁ maljÁ
   'as soon as [he] wakes up' (lit. 'wakes up and stops waking up')
   해가 뜨자 사라졌다 heÁ iÁja salayÁsÁda
   '[It] disappeared as soon the sun rose.'

These endings are suffixed to V.p. only, e.g.
살리고 먹는다 saÁlijÁ mgsндinda 'We eat in order to live.'

9. 로부터라 / 일본터라 ljÁndlsÁ/-ijÁndlsÁ V/C-form, 'not only ... but also, e.g.
   참맛을 먹더 다 맛있다 jibÁslilÁndlsÁ da mgsÁvida
   'Not only did I take it but also ate it all.'

10. 다가 -dat(ga) interruption, transference', e.g.
   가다 온다 gadaga onda
   '[She] is coming back while on the way' (lit. 'while going comes').

11. 가다 gana
    는(서)-dinjÌ
    나 / 오머-na/-ina V/C-form
    'whether ... or'
    These endings occur in double form, e.g.
    오가다 가리나 gana gana 'whether [they] come or go'
    향한지 안왔든지 heÁÁjÁni an heÁÁjÁni
    'whether [she] did [it] or [did not do it].'

12. 명 / 오머 mjÀ/-immjÀ V/C-form
    거든 gadÁn
    몸으로 좋은 치갈민주 손자 jiÁ 'It is good if it is short.'
    보고를 받을 해라 bogÁn malil hela 'Tell [him] when you see him.'
13. 아/어-aja/-sja a/s-form  ‘only if, only when’, e.g. 
로-aja (after V.c) Zero lsfx.

확용 하나의 날짜 ilaj magasa nasji
‘You will get well only when/you take some pills.’

예쁜 책이라는 jepin  cegilaja ‘Only if it is a pretty book.’

14. (다)아도 / 아도 -ilado/-ado a-/s-form
로-인접 / 음절간 -i/-i V/C-form ‘even if/though’
로-지료로 / 음절간 -ilado V/C-form
로-말거나 / 음절간 -maj/

-ndil /-indil V/C-form

물들라도 molladilado ‘Even if you did not know’

해가 절망 경단에 있다 hega jsilmaiyj dali isda
‘Even if the sun has set, there is the moon.’

우리인들 어떻게 해 bisa indil sioge he
‘Even though [he] is a rich man, what can he do?’

15. 지만 -jiman

신만 -ga/man a/s-form

나 / 오나 -na/-ina V/C-form

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

눈이 오지면 충지 않다 McNi ojiman cubji anhda
‘Although it is snowing it is not cold.’

신부는 있으나 신랑은 힘들나 sinbunin isina sinlaogin x방송
‘The bride is there but the bridesroom is not.’

16. 린만 / 오염만 -ikan/ian V/C-form ‘might/would ... but’ V/C-form, e.g.

사진이 많으면 할 정도 없다 sajinii manhil jisan hanyando x:bdia
‘There might have been many photos but there isn’t even one.’

17. 아/어 -ara/sa/-saa a/s-form ‘and then; as, since, because’;
Zero lsfx., e.g.

우표를 사(시) 못이려 upjolil sasa buti lsla
‘Buy a stamp and stick it on.’

담이 맛이(시) 크더라 nali madgas jipida
‘[I] am happy as the weather is fine.’

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18. 뿌로 / 으로 -milo/-imilo V/C-form, ‘as, since, because’, e.g.

점이 뿌로 밝도 없다 jibi kimilo baydo manhda
‘As the house is large, there are many rooms too.’

19. 나(가) / 나(가) -n(ka)/-nimka) V/C-form Time: ‘when, as’; Cause: ‘because, as, since’, e.g.

나는 미니 음식하심시오 nasji bini jogs shasbisio
‘As I apologize once more, please forgive me.’

20. 뿌레 -ninde (after V.p.)

-네 / 음계 -nde/-inde (after V.d.) ‘and’ (topic introducer)

 kulland는데 채 우니 gopbutil haninde we uni
‘I am working — why are you crying?’

누가 뉴데 동통하구나 kiga kinde lujinphaguna
[She] is tall and [yet] plump.’

21. 이 - intimidate ‘may/might ... but’

파티에 가서 압절하게 있어라 pactie gadvj janyshage isslia
‘You may go to the party but behave yourself.’

4.3.5.3. Concatenating Endings

Every verb ending in one of the following four infflectional endings is a concatenating form, which occurs in the head structure of the verbal phrase (cf. 5.2.1).

(a) 아 / 어 -a-/s a/s-form: Concatenating Ending I
(b) 고 / go CConcatenating Ending II
(c) 게 / ge Concatenating Ending III
(d) 지 / ji Concatenating Ending IV

The concatenating endings are not found preceded by any tense suffix. Processive verbs may end in any of the four concatenating endings, and descriptive verbs in -a/-s, -ge and -ji, e.g.

살아 간다 salma jinda ‘[It] is/geteds boiled.’

살고 있다 salmago isda ‘[She] is boiling it.’

크게 하려 kigi hajlsa ‘Make it loud.’

크지 않다 kiji anhda ‘[It] is not big.’
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.,

- **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 작가하는 jangil jagi inmin ‘the pencil which is there.’**

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

- **작가하는 연필 jangil jagi inmin**

#### 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 학생 ja han gabay ‘that old brief-case’**
- **푸른 하늘 pulin hanil ‘[the] blue sky’**
- **가는 것이 mi gas ‘Which one?’ (lit. ‘which thing’)**
- **두 편 du gwari ‘two volumes’**
- **아는 새 namu ‘pretending to know’**
- **넓은 서울 삼거리 nolbin salundongyaj ‘Wide Seoul Stadium’**
- **salundongyaj N.comp.**
- **< saul ‘Seoul’ + undongyaj ‘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 na/gwa ‘and’ and na/ina ‘or’ or by a conjunctive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.6) such as giligo ‘and’ and ionin ‘or’ as the coordinator, e.g.,

- **새와 고양이 sewa gojagi ‘a bird and a cat’**
- **산과 나무 sangwa namu ‘the mountain and tree’**
- **물과 강과 madda gaggwa be ‘water, river and ship’**
5.1.2.2.2. Nouns linked by Parataxis

Paratactically-linked nouns do not include the coordinator(s) and are linked to one another phonologically by appropriate intonations, e.g.

아개, 고기, 생선, jace, gogi, segsan ‘vegetable, meat and fish’
영화, 연극, 무용, jaghwa, jangig, mujon ‘film, play and ballet’

In the examples above, every noun except the last one, which may be realized with any nuclear Intoneme, is accompanied by either Intoneme LF or, more frequently, Intoneme R.

Paratactically linked nouns have potentiality of taking the coordinators, thus resulting in the same construction as nouns linked by the coordinators, e.g.

아개(와), 고기(와), 생선(와), jace(와), gogi(와), segsan(와) ‘vegetable, meat and fish’
영화(와), 연극(와), 무용(와), jaghwa(와), jangig(와), mujon(와) ‘film, play and ballet’

It is to be noted that of the coordinators, na/ina ‘or’ and ionin ‘or’ cannot be added between nouns linked paratactically. In other words, the coordinators that may be added between paratactically-linked nouns are wa/gwa ‘and’ and giigo ‘and’ only.

The structure of nouns linked either by coordinator or by parataxis may be summarized as follows:

\[ N^c(c) N^c(c) N^c(c) \ldots N^n \]

(the superscript \( n \) refers to any number.)

5.1.2.2.3. Nouns in Apposition

Nouns in apposition consist of two immediate constituents, \( N^1 \) and \( N^2 \), occurring in that order. \( N^1 \) is most often filled by a family name, a given name or by both, and sometimes by a nickname, and \( N^2 \) by a title or other nouns descriptive of \( N^1 \). Less frequently, both \( N^1 \) and \( N^2 \) may be represented by nouns other than personal name and title, e.g.

한 교수 han gjosu ‘Professor Han’ (lit. ‘Han Professor’)
융 대통령 jun detomyo ‘President Yun’ (lit. ‘Yun President’)

The order of \( N^1 \) and \( N^2 \) may sometimes be reversed, especially when \( N^2 \) includes both family name and given name, resulting in \( N^2 + N^1 \), e.g.

\[
\text{계문 양 김한} gajun gajun ganman ‘Professor Kim Ganman’
\]

The order of \( N^1 \) and \( N^2 \) may sometimes be reversed, especially when \( N^2 \) includes both family name and given name, resulting in \( N^2 + N^1 \), e.g.

\[
\text{계문 양 김한} gajun gajun ganman ‘Professor Kim Ganman’
\]

Nouns standing in apposition are superficially similar in construction to those linked paratactically (cf. 5.1.2.2.2) since both constructions lack the coordinator(s). But in fact they are different from each other in the following respects:

(i) Nouns in apposition are not capable of taking a coordinator between \( N^1 \) and \( N^2 \), whereas nouns linked paratactically have the potentiality of taking a coordinator between every two member nouns.

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

한 교수 han gjosu or -gim gjosu ‘Professor Kim’

(b) Nouns in parataxis

나무, 밭 sa-gwa, baem ‘apple and chestnut’
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 paraattacically linked nouns, every member noun is usually marked by Intoneme LF/HF or Intoneme R and followed by tentative juncture.

Examples:
(a) Nouns in apposition
유인호 선수 -juinho -sansu 'the player, Yu Inho'
(b) Nouns in parataxis
자동차, 비행기 ja.dogca, 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:
N1 N2 N3 ... Nn
in which Nn or the last N in the sequence is the head and all other nouns preceding Nn the subordinate(s). The subordinates may be further analysed as consisting of the last noun as the head and other nouns preceding it as the subordinate(s), and so on, e.g.,
여행 준비 jshen jungi
N1 N2
'preparation for a journey' (lit. 'journey preparation')

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 jshen jungi 'preparation for journey' can be rewritten as

* 김복동 장군 gimbogion jungun 'General Kim Bogdong' cannot be rewritten as
장군 김복동 장군 jngun kimbong jungun '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 jshen jungi 'preparation for journey' cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 jshen jungi, which is either meaningless or means 'preparation journey or test journey', but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 gimbogion jungun 'General Kim Bogdong' can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 jngun jungun gimbogion.

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 (십) sasibo (wom) 'forty five (wom)'
< sasibo 'forty five' compound numeral
< (sasibo + 오) + wom monetary unit, classifier

Example
여행 준비 jshen jungi
N1 N2
'the completion of the drawing of the research plan'
(lit. 'research plan drawing completion')

N + Compound Numeral Expression
Examples

\*Twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'books twenty five volumes')

'jogca jsljadasd de
N
'sixteen cars' (lit. 'cars sixteen sets')
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5.1. Nominal Expansion

The nominal expansion consists of (i) up to three adjectives, (ii) up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3.2), (iii) one or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2), or (iv) a combination of up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause.

5.1.1. 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.)
이던 고장 mi goja 'Which locality?'
이던 새 고장 mi se goja 'Which new locality?'
이던 한 새 책 mi han se ceg 'a certain new book' (han Adj,num.)

5.1.2. 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.

The construction N + Compound Numeral Expression may be best described as a special type of appositional construction.

As an alternative to the one described above, the following endocentric construction is also used, though less frequently:

Compound Numeral Expression + ii + N

이십오 권의 책 isibo gwani ceg
'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'twenty five volumes' books')

여섯 대의 자동차 jildissad deii jadopca
'sixteen cars' (lit. 'sixteen sets' cars')

스물한 장의 종이 simulhan janji jopji
'twenty one sheets of paper'

Chapter V

5.3.2),

Adjectival clauses linked by coordinator:

جمال 그리고 어린 신부 jalmin giligo ajap in sinbu
'a young and beautiful bride'
(lit. 'a bride who is young and beautiful')

어제 본 그리고 내일 방날 창년
aje bon giligo neil mannal cagunjon
'the young man whom I saw yesterday and will meet tomorrow.'

빨간 또는 파란 연필 palgan tonin palan jampil
'a red or blue pencil' (lit. 'a pencil which is red or blue')

Adjectival clauses linked by parataxis:

사람이 많은 북장한 거리 saclami manhun bogeapan gali
'the crowded (and) busy street'
(lit. 'the street where people are numerous and which is complicated')

큰 은행 중이 kin jajbin jopji 'a large and thin [sheet of] paper'
(lit. 'a paper which is large and thin')

It is to be noted that adjectival clauses linked by a coordinator or by parataxis are far less frequent than the semantically identical single adjectival clause, e.g.

جمال 그리고 어린 신부 jalmin giligo ajap in sinbu
'a young and beautiful bride'

cf. 사람으로 어린 신부 saclami manhun giligo ajap in sinbu
'somebody who is young and beautiful'

 사람이 많은 북장한 거리 saclami manhun bogeapan gali
'the crowded and busy street'

cf. 사람이 많은 북장한 거리 saclami mankho bogeapan gali
'somebody who is crowded and busy'
5.1.3.3. Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion

One or more adjectival relational phrases (cf. 5.3.2), each consisting of $N + ii$, may occur as the nominal expansion.

A nominal expansion consisting of two or more adjectival phrases exhibits its IC (Immediate Constituent)\(^1\) structure as follows:

![Diagram of IC structure]

Although theoretically unlimited, the number of adjectival relational phrases found in a nominal expansion is in general not more than three in all, e.g.

- 나의 어머니 나이 'my mother'
- 동무의 아저씨 동무의 아저씨 'friend’s uncle'
- 교우의 친구 교우의 친구 'the power of education'
- 어머니의 아버지의 아들 엄마의 아버지의 아들 'my mother’s father’s photo'
- 교수의 연구의 결과 교수의 연구의 결과 'the results of the professor’s research'
- 친구의 아저씨의 씨TouchEvent of the professor’s research'
- 친구의 아저씨의 삼생의 말 친구의 아저씨의 삼생의 말 'my friend’s uncle’s teacher’s daughter'

There is a tendency, especially in spoken language, for the particle $ii$ to drop when a series of it occurs in the nominal expansion, leaving as many as would be required to avoid ambiguity. For instance, the two examples given above may be rewritten as:

- cingui ajsii saseq(ii) nal
- gjosu i jxngui(i) gjasgw a

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.

- 원색의 청년 원색의 청년 'a brave young man'

\(^1\) See R. S. Wells, Language, 23/2, 1947, pp. 81-117.

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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:

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

Very often a tentative juncture occurs after Exp. in the above formula, thus separating Exp. from Exp.\(^1\), e.g.

- 내가 본 서울의 거리 내가 본 서울의 거리
- cingui ajsii saseq(ii) nal
- gjosu i jxngui(i) gjasgw a

- the streets of Seoul that I saw
- 'the beautiful woman’s voice'

A nominal phrase of the structure Exp. + Exp.\(^1\) + H\(^1\) may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance, alimdaun jasai mogsoli 'the beautiful woman’s voice' may be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the first IC cut is made; with the first cut coming between Exp. and Exp.\(^1\), the nominal translates ‘the woman’s voice which is beautiful’, but if it is made between Exp.\(^1\) and H\(^1\), the same phrase translates ‘the voice of the beautiful woman’. The two different IC cuts may be shown by the following diagrams.
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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 structure 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>Adv./Adv.ph.</th>
<th>V¹</th>
<th>V²</th>
<th>V³</th>
<th>Vaux.¹</th>
<th>Vaux.²</th>
<th>Vaux.³</th>
<th>.....</th>
<th>Vaux.n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
<td>(Satellite)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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**

니미 가다 nama gada 'to go over' < nama 'crossing' + gada 'to go'

잡아 구다 jida gada magia 'to catch, grill and eat'

(ii) **Nucleus + Satellite**

가고 싶다 gago sibia 'I want to go.'

Nuc. Sat.
< gago 'going' + sibia 'to want to'

잡아 지다 jiba jida 'to be picked up'

Nuc. Sat.
< jiba 'picking up' + jida past.vc.fmtv.

취어 가고 싶어하고 있다 iwi gago sipa hago idia

Nuc. Sat.
'to be wanting to go running' < iwi 'running' + gago 'going' + sipa 'wanting to' + hago proc.vfmtv. + idia progr.fmtv.

(iii) **Expansion + Head**

잘 하다 jal hada 'to do [something] well' < jal 'well' + hada 'to do'

Exp. Nuc.
H

얼른 빠르다 alin iwi gada 'to go running quickly'

Exp. Nuc.
H
< alin 'quickly' + iwi gada 'to go running'
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한주 말리 뛰어가고 싶어하고 있다
aju mslli iwi gago sip'o hago idia

Exp. Nuc. Sat.
H

'to be wanting to go running very far'
< aju 'very' + msl 'far' + iwi gago 'to go running'
+ sip'o hago idia 'to be wanting to'

5.2.1.1. Head of Verbal Phrase

In Korean, as in other 'Turanian' languages,1 'Expansion' (or subordinative/determinant) regularly precedes 'Head' (or déterminé), e.g., adjective precedes noun, adverb precedes verb, and so on. However the relation obtaining between 'Nucleus' and 'Satellite', the two constituents of the verbal head, is rather unique. The satellite, consisting of one or more auxiliary verb(s), is syntactically bound and therefore unable to perform any syntactic function by itself unless it is preceded by the nucleus which is syntactically free. This criterion justifies taking the nucleus as central and the satellite as subordinate to the former. In respect of the syntactic function(s) of the verbal head as a whole, however, the satellite is central and the nucleus only peripheral, since it is (the last auxiliary verb of) the satellite which determines the external distribution of the verbal head and ultimately the entire verbal phrase in which the satellite occurs. Accordingly, by the criterion of syntactic function, the nucleus is subordinate to the satellite. For instance, in the verbal head

가고 싶어 한다 gago sip'o handa [he] wants to go

Nuc. Sat.
the satellite that consists of two auxiliary verbs cannot occur on its own and perform any syntactic function unless it is preceded by the nucleus, here represented by gago 'going', which can occur on its own independently of the satellite. On the other hand, the function of the verbal head as a whole in various syntactic positions is determined exclusively by the satellite, or to be more precise, by the inflectional ending suffixed to the last auxiliary verb in the satellite. Thus, (a) the occurrence of gago sip'o handa as a complete sentence, (b) its function as an adjectival clause as in gago sip'o han'nin cingu 'the friend who wishes to', and (c) its function as an adverbial clause as in

1 C. E. Bazell, 'The Fundamental Syntactic Relations', 11.

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

방을 잡아 간다 bam'il jaq'a ganda

O V.tr. V.intr.

Nuc.

'[They] are taking the tiger with them' (lit. 'they have caught the tiger and are going away').

방을 잡아 박쳤다 bab'il an'a magan'ni

O V.intr. V.tr.

Nuc.

'Did you eat your supper sitting down?'

are all made possible by the satellite.

5.2.1.1.1. Nucleus of Verbal Head

One to three processive verbs (cf. 3.4.1.1), each inflected in the concatenating form 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 boi 'to see' V.tr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any descriptive verb or by some processive verbs such as nilge 'to grow old', maq'dil 'to be bruised', etc., e.g.

주어 간다 twi ganda [He] is running away' (goes running)
< twi 'to run' V.p.

주어 보인다 nilge boinda [He] looks old.' < nilge 'to get old' V.p.

주어 보인다 jalma boinda [She] looks young.'
< jalma 'to be young' V.d.

1
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'.

(ii) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite adds to or modifies the meaning of the verb(s) in the nucleus. For example in 막고 싶지 않다 maggo sipji anhda 'I don’t want to eat' the two auxiliary verbs sip-‘to want to’ and anh-, negation, add their respective meanings to the meaning of the nuclear verb mag-‘to eat’.

(iii) Some auxiliary verbs determine the type of the verbal head in which they occur, i.e., verbal head of processive type or of descriptive type. Thus a verbal head consisting of a descriptive verb and the auxiliary verb ji-, e.g.

작아 친다 jaga jinda ['It becomes small.'

Vd. Vaux.

is a head of processive type and behaves syntactically as a processive verb such as go- ‘to go’:

가고 싶다 gago isda ['He is going.'

Vp. Vaux.

작아 지고 싶다 jaga jigo isda ['It is becoming small.'


cf. 작고 싶다 jaggo 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 jag- ‘to be small’. For instance, a head of descriptive type like

가고 싶다 gago sipda ['I want to go'

Vp. Vaux.

cannot be directly followed by the auxiliary verb is- ‘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

작아 지고 싶다 jaga jigo isda ['It is becoming small.'

Vd Vaux. Vaux.

가고 싶어 하고 싶다 gago sipa hago isda


['He wants to go' (lit. 'He is wanting to go')]
(iv) Some auxiliary verbs supplement and extend the morphological formations of voice and tense, i.e., passive voice formation by the auxiliary verb 
ji- + pasv. + form., and progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb is-
(cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g.

бито + jindu [It] is [being] torn.
Vtr. Vaux.

백고 + isggo + isa [He] is eating.
Vtr. Vaux.

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/-. (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 보-bo- 2. 주 ju- 3. 드리 dili- 4. 내 de-
5. 바리 bari- 6. 살 sah- 7. 저 ji- 8. 가 ga-
9. 오 o- 10. 노h noh- 11. 나 na- 12. 너 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. 오 is- 2. sip-

These auxiliary verbs are descriptive and may be preceded by a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type only. A verbal phrase whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the two auxiliary verbs of group II is itself a descriptive type and may be followed directly by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type such as aniha- ‘negation’ or mosha- ‘negation’ (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.4). However, it cannot be followed by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive verb formative such as ji-, ha-, mandil- and dwe- (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.3. Auxiliary Verbs of Group III

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form III, i.e., -ge (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 하 ha- 2. 만들 mandil- 3. 맘 dwe-

All auxiliary verbs of group III are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the auxiliary verbs of group III is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.4. Auxiliary Verbs of Group IV

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form IV, i.e., -ji (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 아니 ha- 2. 못 mosha- 3. 말 mal-

aniha- and mosha- are auxiliary verbs of both processive and descriptive type whereas mal- is a processive type. Accordingly aniha- and mosha- may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type, whereas mal- follows only that of processive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, aniha- or mosha- is either a processive or a descriptive type, depending on whether the preceding verb(s) is processive or descriptive. If it is processive, the entire verbal head is also processive and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb, but if it is descriptive, the entire verbal head is also descriptive and may be followed by another auxiliary verb, but not by a processive auxiliary verb unless it is first transformed into a descriptive type by taking a processive formative such as ji-, ha-, mandil-, and dwe- (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.2. Rules on the Distribution of Auxiliary Verbs with Other Verbs within Verbal Head

The classification of auxiliary verbs into the four different groups on the basis of the morphological restrictions imposed by the auxiliary verbs on the immediately preceding verb (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1) shows in which of the four concatenating forms a verb, full or auxiliary, must appear when followed by an auxiliary verb. However, it does not specify in detail what type of verb may precede or follow a particular auxiliary verb, which, as auxiliary verbs are not concatenated in a disorderly manner, is vitally important for the correct understanding and generation of verbal heads, especially of long and com-
plex type. It is the distinction of verbs, whether full or auxiliary, into the processive and descriptive types that is directly relevant to the manner in which auxiliary verbs combine with one another and with full verbs in the nucleus. The statements on the distribution of auxiliary verbs with other verbs in the verbal head structure, as conditioned by the criterion of the processive/descriptive distinction of verbs, have already been made at relevant places in the sections dealing with the four groups of auxiliary verbs (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1). They may be brought together here and collapsed into a single rule as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \quad \{y_1, y_2\} \\
Y & \quad \{x_1, x_2\}
\end{align*}
\]

Nucleus \hspace{2cm} 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 \( x' \) or \( y' \), or \( y \)' or \( x \)' respectively. \( x', y', x^2 \) 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
x'y', x'y^2, x'y^x, y'x, y'x^2, y'y, y'y^x, y'y^x'y'x^2, y'yxy'x^2.
\end{align*}
\]

Thus the following sequences are possible:

(a) \( X x'y' \): 맵계 하고 싶다 magke hago sibia 'I want to make him eat.'
(b) \( X y'x' \): 맵고 싶다 magko sipa handa 'She would like to eat.'
(c) \( X x'y' \): 맵계 못하게 하고 싶다 magce motage hago sibia 'I want him not to eat.'
(d) \( Y x'y' \): 맵지 못하게 있다 malga jigo idia 'It is getting clear.'
(e) \( Y y'x' \): 맵지 않게 되었다 magke anke dwe diala 'It has not become clear.'

(f) \( Y y'y'y'x' \): 맵지 않게 만들고 싶어 한다 magke anke mandilgo sipa 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) \[
\begin{align*}
&\{Y\}_x \rightarrow \{Y\}_p
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) \[
\begin{align*}
p \rightarrow j\text{i}, ha-, dwe-, etc., Processive fmtv., e.g.
X y'x' \rightarrow X y'p \\
Y x' \rightarrow Y p
\end{align*}
\]

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, \( j\text{i}, ha-, dwe-, etc.\).'</n
(iii) \[
\begin{align*}
\{Y\}_y \rightarrow y'y'y' \rightarrow \{Y\}_y\{mosha-\}\{aniha-\} anih-i aniha- ...
\end{align*}
\]

This restriction is to be read: 'if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by one or more descriptive auxiliary verb(s), \( y' \) may be represented by mosha- or aniha- unless \( y' \) is preceded by sip- to want to' when mosha- does not occur, and \( y'y' \) by aniha- ...

Examples

- \( Y y'y' \): 맵지 못하지 않다 bagci motajj anta
  lit. [It is not not bright'] (It is bright.)
- \( X y'y'y' \): 맵고 싶지 않다 magko sibei 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 collocaational 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.
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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. 야보- V.paux. 'to try [doing] [to see how it is']
   
   
   
   ilga bowdria 'He has read/tried reading [it].'
   X
   X

   
   
   
   nux ilga bogedia 'I will try and read [it] lying.'
   X
   X

2. 주서- V.paux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

   
   
   
   jib sujkiva 'Shall I pick [it] up for you?'
   X
   X

3. 드물- V.paux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

   
   
   
   ergil caju diligešinnidna 'I will find the book for you [sir.]'
   X
   X

4. 내예- 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
dearer are: il mag- 'to eat', nulul 'to cry', nulul nolliv- 'to tease', 가물 kabul- 'to behave flippanly', 등 bul- 'to blow', etc.

   급수를 먹어 맘代 gusšil maga denda 'He is eating noodles again.'
   X
   X

   늘려 맘代 nollivx denny 'Did you tease him too much?'
   X
   X

5. 생상- V.paux., repetition, continuation

   때 돌아 봐서 we uss sann 'Why do you keep on laughing?'
   X
   X

   안은 살다 먹어 살았다 /alil salma mgaš šaddia
   X
   X

   'We boiled eggs and ate them without end.'

6. 비리 bal- V.paux. 'to do something completely, or thoroughly'

   각비리다 balšixdida 'He went to bed straight away.'
   X
   X

   늘려 비리지 nuliv balšixděi 'You pressed it completely, didn't you?'

7. 시기- V.paux.

   (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.

   사전이 벽이 진다 sayini čiga jinda 'The picture is [being] taken.'
   X
   X

   (b) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.

   야보 시기 anju jini 'Can you sit?'
   X
   X

   'Do you find yourself sitting [even if you don't intend to]?)

   (c) processive verb formative when preceded by a V.d., plus the meaning 'progression' or 'to become'

   꽃이 봄에 지거나 koci bulga jigedia

   'The flower is likely to become red.'

8. 가 고- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker or near-completion

   야지자가 놓여 간다 afšiga nilgs ganda 'My uncle is getting old.'
   X
   X

   부산에 도착하여 간다 busan docakajx ganda

   'We are getting near Pusan.'

9. 오- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from past to present or towards the speaker

   노인은 이들을 안한 기도를 해 왔다 noin itiligion gidotil he wadlia

   'The old man has prayed for the past two days.'

   일산 긴마 하여 왔다 iliš goci hajx wadlia 'We have worked together.'
   X
   X

10. 녹 노호- V.paux., completion, retention

   This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.

   고기를 잘라 놓았으니가 gogilil jala noasimnika

   'Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?'

   우선 안아 놓아 usul ala noala 'Find about it first of all.'
   X
   X

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   장타 깃다 julla jimdì 'It is broken/cut.'
   X
   X

   (b) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.

   야보 시기 anju jini 'Can you sit?'
   X
   X

   'Do you find yourself sitting [even if you don't intend to]?)

   (c) processive verb formative when preceded by a V.d., plus the meaning 'progression' or 'to become'

   꽃이 봄에 지거나 koci bulga jigedia

   'The flower is likely to become red.'

   야지자가 놓여 간다 afšiga nilgs ganda 'My uncle is getting old.'
   X
   X

   부산에 도착하여 간다 busan docakajx ganda

   'We are getting near Pusan.'

   노인은 이들을 안한 기도를 해 왔다 noin itiligion gidotil he wadlia

   'The old man has prayed for the past two days.'

   일산 긴마 하여 왔다 iliš goci hajx wadlia 'We have worked together.'
   X
   X

   녹 노호- V.paux., completion, retention

   This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.

   고기를 잘라 놓았으니가 gogilil jala noasimnika

   'Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?'

   우선 안아 놓아 usul ala noala 'Find about it first of all.'
   X
   X
11. 내 na- V.p.aux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.intr. such as ㅛ pi- 'to blossom', ㅛ sosa- 'to rise or soar', 자리 jal- 'to grow', 살 sal- 'to leave', etc., e.g.

해가 보이면
na gi sosa nanda ‘The sun is rising/coming out.’

어의 자리 놔두 aiga jal nađia ‘The child has grown up.’

12. 내 nc- V.p.aux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.tr. such as 견다 gisndi- 'to endure', 하하 ha- 'to do', 이기 igi- 'to win', 짜다 jis- 'to devise, compose or make', etc., e.g.

건다 gijsnda negedja ‘I can stand [it] and will be all right.’

어의 숙제를 해 냄다 aiga sugcëllhe nenda

‘The boy is doing his home work [and he can finish it alone].’

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.2. With the Group II Auxiliary Verbs

1. 이 is- V.d.aux., progressive tense formative

집을 지고 있다 jibil jido idla ‘They are building a house.’

눈이 오고 있더 nunci ogo isidja

‘It was snowing’ (lit. ‘The snow was coming.’).

2. 싸 sip- V.d.aux. 'to want to, to wish to'

남여 가고 싶소 naŋa gago sibso

‘Do you want to go over the mountain?’

어머니는 돈을 보내고 싶다 mmaniŋ boŋi bolengo sipidja

‘[His] mother wanted to send some money

3. 만들 na- V.p.aux., negation

사고 말았다 sago maladia ‘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 liti/ili by the complement particle gai/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

밥을 먹고 싶다 panli magko sibja ‘I would like to have some bread.’

밥이 먹고 싶다 panli magko sibja ‘I would like to have some bread.’

C

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3. With the Group III Auxiliary Verbs

1. 하 ha- V.p.aux.

(a) causative voice formative when preceded by V.p.

(b) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded by V.d.

A verbal head that includes ha- in the satellite is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb and may thus take at least one object. If the nucleus of such a verbal head is the transitive type, there may be two objects but if it is an intransitive or descriptive type, only one object may occur:

(a) When preceded by a V.p.

아이돌 자제 하자 alili jage haja

O X

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

밥을 줄게 먹게 하시다 malil pulil magke habsida

O O X

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

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

소리들 작게 하였다 solili jage hajdida

O Y X

‘[He] turned the volume down’ (lit. ‘made the sound small’).

책상은 높게 하니 ceqšalil nobke huni

O Y

‘Are you making the table [to be] high?’

2. 만들 na- V.p.aux.

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. 아니하 *aniha-
   이 아이는 아직 걸치 아니한다 *iainin ajig gšdči anihanda
   ‘This child does not walk yet.’
   [X X]

2. 못하 *mosha-
   눈라서 못하 *nollaš didči motajšila
   ‘Frightened, [she] could not hear.’
   [X X]

A slight semantic difference is observed between *aniha-* and *mosha-*, both of which are used to form negative constructions. *aniha-* expresses 'simple negation' while *mosha-* expresses (i) 'inability or incapability' on the part of the subject if the subject is represented by an animate noun, especially a personal noun or nouns, (ii) 'regret' on the part of the speaker for something being unfavourable otherwise.

3. 말 *mal-
   술을 사오지 마세요 *sulil saoji masejo
   ‘Please do not buy wine and bring it with you.’
   [X X]

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, *aniha-* and *mosha-* are in complementary distribution with *mal-* in relation to the types of sentences; that is, *aniha-* 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 pro-
cessive type and the latter that of descriptive type.

5.2.1.2.3.2.1. X Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X x x</td>
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<td>X y y</td>
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(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

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(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

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<th>Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs</th>
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<td>X x x x</td>
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<td>X y y y</td>
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(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

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<td>X x x x x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5.2.1.1.2.3.2.2. Y Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

\[ Y \times x: \text{말아 지 먹리는다} \]
\[ matga jja b. sida \] ‘[It] has become completely clear.’
\[ Y \times x \]
\[ kige mandil sida \] ‘They are making it big.’
\[ Y \times y \]
\[ gilji anke dwes sida \] ‘[It] somehow became not long.’
\[ Y \times y \]
\[ nobi motage hajsl \] ‘Don’t let it get high.’
\[ Y \times y \]
\[ kiji ancinni ajia \] ‘It is somewhat big’ (lit. ‘It is not not big’).
\[ Y y Pci. y \]

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

\[ Y \times xx \] 발아 지켜 해 보자
\[ balga jige h e. b. jia \] ‘Let us try to make it bright.’
\[ Y xx x \]
\[ makge haj jio idia \] ‘[He] is making it fit her.’
\[ Y xx y \]
\[ yunafegere he joo se \] ‘Do you want to become famous.’
\[ Y x y x \]

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

\[ Y xx xx \] 술中国国际제주지 않자
\[ silpa jige haj slj. g. sida \] ‘Let us not make her sad.’
\[ Y xx xx \]
\[ nipla sija anke hago sida \] ‘I would like to make [her] not to be late.’
\[ Y xx x y \]
\[ galajhjib haj slj. bokla \] ‘[She] wanted it to become short.’
\[ Y xx x x \]
\[ galjshibae anke haj jio idia \] ‘[She] wished to become not uncomfortable.’
\[ Y y y x x \]
Korean Grammar

Y x y y 알지 않아 만들었어 놓고 있었다
jalči anke mandilā noko išadīa

Y x y x x 'She was making it not thin.'

(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x x x 행복하게 되어 가게 하여 주게 되었다
hebhokage dwela gage hajś juge dwənsdīa

Y x x x x x 'I have managed to make [him] happy (for them).'</n x y x y saps hago idči anta

Y x y x x y 'He is not hoping to become important.'

Y x y x x 절지 않게 해 놓고 싶어 했다
gamči anke he noko sips jjsdīa

Y x y x y y y 'I find myself wishing to make [it] not to be black
and keep it that way].'

Y x y x y 아프지 않게 해 놓아 주고 싶었다
apiji anke he noa jugo sipsdīa

Y x y x x y 'The doctor] wanted to make [her] not to be ill [to remain
like that] for her.'

5.2.1.2. Expansion of Verbal Phrase

The expansion of a verbal phrase may consist of (i) a processive adverb, (ii) a
descriptive adverb, (iii) a processive-descriptive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.1-3), (iv) a
nominal phrase which has as its head the post modifer mankind/manci 'as –
as' or 'to the degree that' (cf. 3.4.2.2.2), or (v) a relational phrase which
consists of the noun jajdo 'degree, extent' and the particle lo 'to, towards, as,
with, by' (cf. 3.4.5.4.1), or (vi) an adverbial phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.6).

5.2.1.2.1. Processive Adverb as Verbal Expansion

A processive adverb occurs with a verbal head which is of processive type or
whose nucleus is of processive type, e.g.

물이 빨리 흘러 갔다 muli jallī hilij jjsdīa

Vd. V.p.aux.

VH.p.

‘Water has become impure [very] quickly.’

Chapter V

소리를 지지 절개 해라 soliši jamjum jagke hela
V.d. V.p.aux.

VH.p.

‘Make the sound [become] small(er) gradually.’

장 만다 jal janda 'He睡觉 well.'

V.p.

바람이 승승 불어 한다 balami solsol buls wadīa

VH.p.

‘The wind blew gently.’

천천히 하고 있다 cančani hago idla

V.p. V.d.aux.

‘They are doing it slowly.’

5.2.1.2.2. Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion

A descriptive adverb occurs with a verbal head whose nucleus is descriptive
type or ends with the verb boi- 'to be seen, to seem' (cf. 5.2.1.1.1), e.g.

매우 즙져 없었다 mcu joci anadī 'It was not very good.'

Vd.

방이 대단히 줄었다 bugi dedanhti joba jjsdīa

V.d.

‘The room has become very small.’

약 들어 보인다 pçg nilgā boinda 'She looks very old.'

V.p.

가장 커 보였으니라 gajag ka bojaśimnida 'He looked the tallest.'

Vd.

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.

나무 가지 빼라 nsmu jagi mala 'Do not sleep too much.'

V.p.

나무 즙지 만들었다 nsmu joke mandiladīa 'She made it too good.'

Vd. V.p.aux.

상당히 절지 saydaghi swihei 'It is very easy.'

Vd.

상당히 마치고 오겠지 saydaghi masigo ogedī

V.p.

‘He will come very drunk.’

5.2.1.2.4. Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion

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

이번nad 만큼 하자 imankim balke haja

V.d.

‘Let’s make [it] as bright as this.’

물망 만큼 컷겠다 nollal munkim ka jjsxdia

V.d.

‘[It] has become as big as to surprise [me].’

눈이 부을 만치 갖다 nuni buil maneji jadja

V.p.

‘[He] has slept [so long] that his eyes are swollen.’

5.2.1.2.5. Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion

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

그 정도로 비야게 하야도 gijajdlo bishage hajado

V.d.

‘Even if [you] make [it] that expensive.’

병침에 강진도로 아프게 되었다 hjajwone gajajdolo apige dwsxdia

V.d.

‘[She] became so ill that she went to a hospital’ (lit. ‘to the extent that she went to a hospital’).

늘말 정도로 먹는다 nollal jajdolo maqandja

V.p.

‘[He] eats so much as to surprise me.’

5.2.1.2.6. Adverbial Phrase as Verbal Expansion

The adverbial phrase, which is an endocentric construction consisting of a processive adverb as its head and (i) a descriptive adverb, (ii) a processive-descriptive adverb, (iii) a nominal phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.4), or (iv) a relational phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.5) as its subordinate, may occur before a nucleus of processive type, e.g.

매우 잘 한다 meju jal handa ‘He does it very well.’ (meju ‘very’ Adv.d.)

sub. H V.p.

adv.ph.

Chapter V

5.3. RELATIONAL PHRASE

The relational phrase is an exocentric construction consisting of two immediate constituents, ‘Axis’ and ‘Relatum’ occurring in that order. An ‘Exocentric Construction’ is a construction which does not share the same distribution as any of its constituents; e.g., an English prepositional phrase such as ‘in the house’, which may occur in the sentence ‘He is in the house’, but where none of the words making up the phrase can alone replace the phrase in the same sentence. The axis is most commonly filled by a noun or a nominal phrase, but in some relational phrases it may also be filled by other relational phrases or a clause. The relatum is filled by a particle, e.g.

말 하지 bam kaji ‘till evening’

axis relatum

어리로 jagi lo ‘to this place’

axis relatum

Two types of relational phrase are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic functions, ‘Adverbial Relational Phrase’ and ‘Adjectival Relational Phrase’.

5.3.1. Adverbial Relational Phrase

The adverbial relational phrase has as its relatum (i) a directive particle, (ii) a quotative particle or (iii) a causal conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.4.1, 3.4.5.4.2, 3.4.5.6.2). All adverbial relational phrases may occur either alone as minor sentences or more commonly as adjuncts in the clause structure. Some adverbial relational phrases may be followed by a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9).
(i) **Directive Particle as Relatum**

 집에 있다 *jibe idia* [She is at home.]

 밥으로 가자 *bakilo gaja* ‘Let’s go out.’ (lit. ‘to out’)

 나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandilsdia* [They] made it with wood.

 렌다시반 볼 수 있다 *lindsa man bolso idia* Pcl.

 ‘One can see it only in London.’

 극장에도 가니 *gicape do gani* ‘Do you go to the theatre too?’

 (ii) **Quotative Particle as Relatum**

 그도 시골에 오겠다다고 한다 *gido sigole ogedlago handa* ‘He says that he will come to the country side too.’

 이것을 읽이라고 부른다 *igxil indlago bulinda* ‘We call it silver.’

 (iii) **Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum**

 그책을 보았다만 다시 보고 싶다 *gicgii boidamnan dasi bogo sibja* ‘I saw/read the book but I would like to read it again.’

 너도 알다시피 시간이 없다 *nado aldaispi sigani sibja* ‘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’)

 영국의 공원 *janggii gopwon* ‘parks of England’

 집은 난의 꿈 *jalmin 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 *sulesa ii sosig* ‘the news [of] from Seoul’

 adv.rel.

 adj.rel.

 전구에게서의 편지 *cinegesa ii pjaji* ‘a letter [of] from a friend’

 adv.rel.

 adj.rel.

 어머니에게의 감사 *amniege ii gansa* ‘thanks [of] to mother’

 adv.rel.

 adj.rel.

 자식으로의 도리 *jasigilo ii doli* ‘duty [of] as a son’

 adv.rel.

 adj.rel.

 교장과의 긴 대화 *gijangwa ii gin dehwa* adv.rel.

 adj.rel.

 ‘a long talk [of] with the principal’
VI
CLAUSE

The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction which consists of a
predicate as its head and one or more other elements preceding the head as its
expansion. The predicate, which is the only obligatory element within the
clause structure, consists of a full verb or a verbal phrase inflected with a final
or non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5). As a predicate may be expressed by
a single verb, the minimal form of a clause in Korean is a single verb, except
where the verb is the copula i- ‘to be’ (cf. 3.4.1.1), which is always found
preceded by N or NP, e.g.

(i) **Predicate as Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Predicate (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>감소하다</td>
<td>조심하다</td>
<td>‘Be careful.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>자고 싶어한다</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(ii) **Non-Final Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Predicate (P)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>사람</td>
<td>이</td>
<td>‘There are many people.’</td>
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</table>

(iii) **Expansion + Predicate (Head) as Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Predicate (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>사람이 아주 많다</td>
<td>satami aju manta</td>
<td>‘There are many people.’</td>
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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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
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<th>Predicate (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>하늘</td>
<td>맑다</td>
<td>hanili magja ‘The sky is clear.’</td>
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(ii) **Non-Final Clause**

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<tr>
<th>Subject (S)</th>
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<th>Predicate (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>하늘</td>
<td>맑고</td>
<td>hanili malgimje ‘It is clear’</td>
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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 predi-
cate distinguished according to the type of clause in which they occur; they are
tive Predicate’.
6.2.1. 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 j- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) in the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object, e.g.

\[ \text{풍을 쳤다 gojil canda } [\text{He} \text{ kicks the ball}.] \]

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.

\[ \text{앉았다 angilida } [\text{She sat down}.] \]

6.2.1.3. Descriptive Predicate (P.des.)

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.

\[ \text{그는 마음이 좋다 ginin maini jota } S \quad S \quad P.d. \] 'He is kind' (lit. 'his heart is nice'.)

\[ \text{영 감이 늘어 나치 않았다 janggani doni manci anadita } S \quad S \quad P.d. \] 'The old man was not rich' (lit. 'The old man money was not plenty').

6.2.1.4. Equational Predicate (P.eq.)

The equational predicate consists of either the copula verb i- 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1) or dwe- 'to become' V.p., or a VP with dwe- as nucleus, e.g.

\[ \text{살이 이다 jungni ida } [\text{It} \text{ is a rose}.] \quad C \quad P.eq. \]
Korean Grammar

particle ga/i or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Like S and O, the element C is sometimes expressed in spoken language by N or NP alone, e.g.

[idx]

When the predicate is expressed by the copula verb i the complement occurs without the particle, e.g. 음이다 mulida 'It is water.'

C

6.2.5. Agent

The agent occurs both in passive and causative clauses. The element Ag. in the passive clause is expressed by a noun or NP plus the agent particle (cf. 3.4.5.3) only, and the agent particle is obligatory. However, the element Ag. occurring in the causative clause may be expressed by N/np plus the agent particle or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9), or by N/np alone, e.g.

아이에게 막지마라 ai ege magijí mala Ag. P.caus.

'Don't make the child eat [it].'

누이도 입을까 nui do ipilka 'Shall I make my sister wear [it] also?' Ag. P.caus.

아이 막지마라 ai magijí mala 'Don't make the child eat [it].' Ag. P.caus.

천구환대 총을 놓을았다 cingu hante budilliJmdia Ag. P.pasv.

'[She] was held by a friend.'

6.2.6. Adjunct

The adjunct may be expressed by (a) an adverbial noun (cf. 3.4.2.1.4), (b) an interrogative adverb (cf. 3.4.4.4), (c) an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1) or (d) a nominal phrase expressing 'Distance' or 'Duration of time'. Such a nominal phrase may sometimes be followed by the object particle il/lil (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 + il/lil, although identical in construction to the element O, is, however, differentiated from the latter by its inability to be transformed into the element S of the passive clause corresponding to the active clause in which such an agent occurs, e.g.

(i) Adverbial Noun as Adjunct

내일 경기에 가겠다 neil janggeje gagesso A

'I will go to the station tomorrow.'
Korean Grammar

6.2.6. Multiple Adjuncts
The adjunct does not always occur singly. A sentence or a clause may include any two or more of the four different types of adjunct, which have been described in 6.2.6, e.g.

오늘 채 안가니 onil we angani 'Why do you not go today?'

'Yet I also did [it] three hours yesterday.'

6.2.7. Interrelations among the Elements of a Clause
The interrelations obtaining among the elements of the clause may be stated in two different ways. Firstly, using the criterion of binary opposition of obligatory/optional occurrence, the six elements are divided into the obligatory elements P and optional elements, S, O, C, Ag., and A. And this criterion provides the basis for analysing the clause as an endocentric construction that consists of a P as head and other elements as expansions. Secondly, on the basis of the degree of cohesion with P, the five optional elements may be grouped into (i) O, C and Ag., and (ii) S and A. The cohesion between P and O/C/Ag., whose presence or absence is 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) as P and has the potentiality of having the element O in it. The elements and structure of an unmarked (non-emphatic) transitive clause are: (S) + (O) + P.

In the discussion of the six different clause types, the element A is to be understood as positionally free except where restrictions are introduced. Most transitive clauses lend themselves to passive transformation (cf. 6.3.5.1), e.g.

소년이 곧 빗다 sonjii gggol canda 'The boy is kicking a ball.'

'Someone is chasing a boy.'

어제 그는 정말 일을 많이했다 aje gissil ilil mani hedia

'Yesterday he worked hard yesterday.'

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

내가 책을 읽어 봅따 nega cegi ilga bolka

'Shall I try and read the book?'

책을 내가 읽어 봅따 ilga bolka nega cegi

일이 봅따 내가 책을 ilga bolka nega cegi

P S O
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 O₁ and O₂ may be freely replaceable by a unified single object composed of O₁ and O₂ in the form of a nominal phrase. It is noted that the semantic relationship of O₁ to O₂ 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. O₁ and O₂ 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:

(S₁ + O₁) + O₂ + P, e.g.

신사를 받음 받았다 sinsalil balil balbadia

O₁ O₂ P

'[He] stepped on the gentleman’s foot'
(lit. stepped on the gentleman [on his foot]).

cf. 신사를 받음 받았다 sinsal balil balbadia

O P

아들을 붙기로 했다 adilil bolgilil cxdia

O₁ O₂ P

'[He] spanked his son [on] the buttocks.'

cf. 아들 붙기로 했다 adilbolgilil cxdia

O P

더 책상이 다리를 분지리는 nla cegšaqil dalilil bunjiłanni

S O₁ O₂ P

'Did you break a leg of the table?'

cf. 더 책상 다리를 분지리는 nla cegšaq dalilil bunjiłanni

S O P

책을 열긴을 읽었니 cegj fškwani ilganni

O₁ O₂ P

'Have you read ten books?'

cf. 책 열긴을 읽었니 cegjškwani ilganni

O P

Marked (emphatic) structures of the transitive clause with split objects are (O₁)(O₂)P(S) and (S)(O₂)P(O₁), e.g.

담배를 두대를 피니 데가 dambeul dudeli pini nega

O₁ O₂ P S

'Are you smoking two cigarettes!'
a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle ㅡ'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 싸다 nanin gega sita

'S I dislike dogs' (lit. 'I a dog am loathsome').

the subject 나 'I' and the complement noun 개 'dog' cannot combine into a single nominal phrase 개나 '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 the 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 reinforced by the fact that the subject noun of the descriptive clause type II is represented by an animate noun only, whereas that of type I may be represented by any noun, animate or inanimate.

In view of the structural as well as semantic difference between the two types of descriptive clause and in order to emphasize the difference between them, the descriptive clause of type I will henceforth be given the following structural description: (S) + (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:

할 만히- 'to be many, much or plenty'
ㅋ 기- 'to be big, tall, large'
걸 길- 'to be long', 아프 api- 'to be ill'
슬프 silpi- 'to be sad'

etc.

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

목사의 손 이 흔져 아꼈다 mogsinin bali mobsi apadlia

'S The priest's foot was aching' (lit. 'priest foot was aching').


---

6.3.3.2. Descriptive Clause of Type II

The descriptive clause of type II has as the exponent of P a member of the small class of descriptive verbs which can be listed. The verbs given below are illustrative:

그림 gilib- 'to miss or long for';
실 sil- 'to dislike', 무 실 munib- 'to be afraid of';
반 감 bangab- 'to be happy to [meet or hear from]';
좋 joh- 'to be good, fond of';
심신 ssunha- 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable';
아화 aswib- 'to miss [someone or something]';
슬프 silpi- 'to be sad over';
억하지 agulha- 'to be unjust, to feel robbed';
근심식 복실 simsimilsh- 'to be worried';
중 심 gungimha-' to be anxious, concerned';

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

어머니는 말이 그리웠다 amanin iali gilwadja  
S C P

'The mother missed [her] daughter.'

장교는 부하의 죽음이 슬펐다 tangenin buhaji jugimi sipjadelja  
S C P

'The officer was sad over the death of a soldier.'

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

나는 떠소리가 궁금했다 nanin nesosigi guggimhedja  
S C P

'I was anxious to hear from you.'

6.3.4. Equational Clause

An equational clause includes an equational predicate (cf. 6.2.1.4) as P and the element C. The elements and structure of the unmarked equational clause are (S) + C + P. N or NP occurring in the equational clause as the element C is not followed by the complement particle i/ga when the element P is expressed by the copula verb i- 'to be', and no other element such as A may be interposed between C and P, e.g.

그는 성악가이다 ginin sayagka ida 'He is a singer.'

한국은 극동에 있는 나라이다 hangugin gigeone innin na  
S C P

'Korea is a Far-Eastern country'  
(lit. 'Korea is an in-the-Far East-existing country').

물이 빛나 여름이 되었으나 muli bmarkslim dwejokjuna  
S A C P

'Water has become ice already.'

Chapter VI

6.3.5. Passive Clause

A passive clause includes a passive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.5) as its P and may take the element Ag. There are two kinds of passive clause distinguished on the basis of the elements operating in them. They are termed 'Passive Clause Type I' and 'Passive Clause Type II'.

6.3.5.1. Passive Clause Type I

The passive clause type I, which is structurally related to and derivable, by a passive transformation (cf. the diagram below), from the underlying transitive clause of the (S) + (O) + P type, exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag.) + P where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O and S of the transitive clause as diagrammatically shown below.

(S) + (O) + P.tr. = transitive clause

(O) + (Ag.) + P.pasv. = passive clause

Examples

개가 고양이를 쫓았다 gega gojanjilj coca dja 'A dog chased a cat.'

고양이가 개에게 쫓겼다 gojanjilgece codokjesdja  
S Ag. P.pasv.

'A cat was chased by a dog.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type I

도둑이 술탄한테 갔다 dodugi sungjajante japisdja  
S Ag. P

'A thief was caught by a policeman.'

오늘은 아무가 잘 닦아져다 onin maluga jal daka jinda  
A S P

'The floor cleans well today' (lit. 'the floor gets cleaned well today').
Marked structures of the passive clause type I are \((\text{Ag.})\text{P}, (\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{S}), \text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{S}), \text{P}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{S}), \text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{S})\), e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P} & \quad \text{balame jopi jiga nallinda} \\
\quad & \quad \text{The paper is flown by wind.}
\end{align*}
\]

Marked structures of the passive clause type II are \((\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{C}), \text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{C}), \text{P}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{C}), \text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{C})\), e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S}(\text{Ag.})\text{P}(\text{C}) & \quad \text{balame jopi jiga nallinda} \\
\quad & \quad \text{The paper is flown by wind.}
\end{align*}
\]

\section*{Examples of Passive Clause Type II}

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{gagi dodugi sonil mulj\text{\text{a}}} \\
\quad \text{saga jopi jegejo balam nallinda} \\
\quad \text{S O P} \\
\quad \text{\text{The thief was bit by a dog on the hand.}}
\end{itemize}

\section*{Examples of Causative Clause}

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{aiga nuniiege jalip 1ajp\text{\text{a}}} \\
\quad \text{saga jopi jegejo palinda jaji sili} \\
\quad \text{S O P} \\
\quad \text{The child's arm was held by his mother.}
\end{itemize}
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')(Ag.)(O')P
(d) (S)(Ag.)(O')(O)P
(e) (S)(O')(Ag.)(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 holding between the underlying clause and the corresponding causative clause is as follows:

(S) + P = underlying clause
(S) + (O) + P_caus. = causative clause

Examples

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

derived from the intransitive clause

아들이 왔다 adili wadja 'The son came.'

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

(a) Causative Clause derived from Intransitive Clause

아머니는 딸을 앉히었다 amannin ilil anijaldia
'A mother made her daughter sit up.'

< 앉히 앉혔다 ilil anijaldia 'The daughter sat up.'

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:
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
(S) & \quad + \quad (C) \quad + \quad \text{P.des.} \quad = \quad \text{underlying clause} \\
(S) & \quad + \quad (O/C') \quad + \quad \text{P.des.} \quad = \quad \text{causative clause}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples

(a) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type I

그는 나를/내가 발을 발이 아프게 했다
gintin nali/nega balil/bali apisde hedida
\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad O \quad / \quad C \quad / \quad O_1 \quad / \quad C_1 \quad \text{P} \\
\text{He made my foot [to be] painful.} & \\
\text{나는 발이 아프다} & \text{nalin bali apisde} \quad \text{`My foot is painful'}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type II

그들은 나를/내가 실을/게가 실게 만들었다
gidilin nali/nega gelil/gega sile mandiladida
\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad O \quad / \quad C \quad / \quad O_1 \quad / \quad C_1 \quad \text{P} \\
\text{They made me dislike dogs.} & \\
\text{나는 개가 싫었다} & \text{nanin gega sileada} \quad \text{`I disliked dogs.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 subject, i.e., (S)(O)P type, and the structural relation between them is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
(S) & \quad + \quad (O) \quad + \quad \text{Ptr.} \quad = \quad \text{underlying cl.} \\
(S) & \quad + \quad (O'/Ag.) \quad + \quad (O') \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} \quad = \quad \text{causative cl.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

아이가 물을 먹었다 aiga gelil mulil maginada
\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad \text{P} \\
\text{A child makes a dog drink water.} & \\
\text{아이가 물을 먹는다} & \text{gega mulil maginada} \quad \text{`A dog drinks water.'}
\end{align*}
\]

부인은 거기에 옷을 입었다 buinin gajiege osil ibkede hedida
\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad Ag. \quad O \quad \text{P} \\
\text{The lady made a beggar put on clothes.} & \\
\text{부인은 옷을 입었다} & \text{gajija osil ibxeda} \quad \text{`A beggar put on clothes.'}
\end{align*}
\]

6.3.6.5. Causative Clause of (S)(Ag.)(O')(O')P

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(S) & \quad + \quad (O') \quad + \quad (O') \quad + \quad \text{Ptr.} \quad = \quad \text{underlying cl.} \\
(S) & \quad + \quad (Ag.) \quad + \quad (O') \quad + \quad (O') \quad + \quad \text{P.caus.} \quad = \quad \text{caus.cl.}
\end{align*}
\]
Examples

아미나가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르게

\[ \text{아미나가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르게 한다} \]

\[ \text{함께 서쓰는} \text{말} \text{말} \]

\[ \text{어머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르게 한다} \]

\[ \text{함께 서쓰는} \text{말} \text{말} \]

\[ \text{The mother makes her son massage his granny on the leg.} \]

\[ \text{아들} \text{할머니} \text{다리로} \text{주르르게} \text{한다} \]

\[ \text{The son massages his granny on the leg.} \]

The split objects \( O^1 \) and \( O^2 \) in the causative clause are very often combined into a single object as in the underlying transitive clause (6.3.1.11). In such a case, the resultant clause structure will be identical to the causative clause of \((S)(O^1\text{/Ag.})(O^2\text{/P})\) type (cf. 6.3.6.4), except that the element Ag. cannot alternate with \( O^1 \), i.e., cannot be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the example given earlier may be rewritten as follows:

\[ \text{어머니가 아들에게 할머니 다리를 주르르게 한다} \]

\[ \text{The mother makes her son massage his granny’s leg.} \]

\[ \text{어머니가 아들에게 할머니 다리를 주르르게 한다} \]

\[ \text{The mother makes her son massage his granny’s leg.} \]

6.3.6.6. Causative Clause of \((S)(O^1\text{/C})(Ag.)(O^2\text{/C\text{/P})}\)

The causative clause of \((S)(O^1\text{/C})(Ag.)(O^2\text{/C\text{/P})}\) type is derived from a passive clause of \((S)(Ag.)(C\text{/O\text{/P})}\) type (cf. 6.3.5.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

\[ \text{(S)} \quad \text{+ (Ag.) + (O/C) + P.pasv. = underlying cl.} \]

\[ \text{(S)} \quad \text{+ (O/C)} \quad \text{+ (Ag.) + (O/C\text{/P}) + P.caus. + caus.cl.} \]

Examples

\[ \text{그는 신사를 / 신사가 아이에게 받을 / 받이 받하게 했다} \]

\[ \text{신사가 아이에게 받을 / 받이 받게 했다} \]

\[ \text{gimn sinsulil/sinsaga aige balil/bali balpigge heida} \]

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \text{Ag.} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{P} \]

\[ \text{‘She made the gentleman’s foot to be stepped on by a child.’} \]

\[ \text{신사가 아이에게 받을 / 받이 받게 했다} \]

\[ \text{The gentleman’s foot was stepped on by a child.’} \]

\[ \text{sinsaga aige balil/bali balpigge heida} \]

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{Ag.} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{P} \]

\[ \text{6.3.6.7. Double Causativity} \]

Every causative clause so far discussed has been described as being derived from one or the other of the five different types of non-causative underlying clauses, i.e., intransitive, descriptive, equational, transitive and passive. However, a causative clause may be derived from an underlying clause which is also causative, if the underlying causative clause includes a morphologically effected causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-effected causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative ha- or mandil (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3). It is to be noted that a phrasal causative clause, i.e., one including a causative formative, can never occur as an underlying clause for double causative formation, e.g.

\[ \text{어머니는 아들에게 동생을 밥을 맛게 한다} \]

\[ \text{어머니는 아들에게 동생을 밥을 맛게 한다} \]

\[ \text{The mother makes me feed my brother’} \]

\[ \text{My mother makes me feed my brother’} \]

\[ \text{내가 동생을 밥을 맛린다 nega dogseolgij babil msginda} \]

\[ \text{‘I feed my brother’} \]

\[ \text{‘I feed my brother’} \]

\[ \text{주인은 하인에게 소를 풀을 놓게 하였다} \]

\[ \text{주인은 하인에게 소를 풀을 놓게 하였다} \]

\[ \text{jinin hainege solil pulil lidke hajidla} \]

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{Ag.} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \text{P} \]

\[ \text{‘The master asked (lit. ‘made’) his servant (to) graze the cow’} \]

\[ \text{The master asked (lit. ‘made’) his servant to graze the cow’} \]

\[ \text{하인이 소를 풀을 놓게 하였다 haini solil pulil lidkisidla} \]

\[ \text{S} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \text{P} \]

\[ \text{‘The servant grazed the cow.’} \]

\[ \text{The servant grazed the cow.’} \]

Chapter VI

6.4. Types of non-final clause

Apart from the final/non-final difference in the predicate form, final and non-final clauses are identical in respect of elements and structure, except for the positional restriction on the element P within the non-final clause structure (see 6.4.1). Thus the clause elements, S, O, C, Ag., A and P are found to operate in the non-final clause in much the same way as they do in the final clause. Accordingly, the six different clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, descriptive, equational, passive and causative clauses, are set up on the basis of the type of predicate, can all be distinguished in non-final clauses.

Unlike the final clause, however, the non-final clause has three important syntactical functions; thus some non-final clauses are syntactically similar to a noun, some to an adjective, and some to an adverb. In other words, the non-final clause is a rank-shifted clause, downgraded from the clause level to the word level. By this syntactic criterion, all non-final clauses, irrespective of their internal structure and to which of the six different types of clause they belong, are classified into three syntactic classes: (i) ‘Nominal Clause’, (ii) ‘Adjectival Clause’ and (iii) ‘Adverbial Clause’.

6.4.1. Internal Structure of Non-Final Clause

The internal structure of the non-final clause is identical in every respect to that of the corresponding final clause, with one notable exception. That is, the element \( P \) occupies the final position in every non-final clause structure and no other elements, singly or in any combination, can ever follow \( P \), whereas this (non-\( P \) 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

\[ \text{개가 담을 본다 gege dagil bonda 'A dog looks at a hen.'} \]

may be internally restructured as

(a) gege bonda dagil

\[ \text{S O P} \]

(b) dagil bonda gege

\[ \text{O P S} \]

(c) bonda dagil gege

\[ \text{P O S etc.} \]

where \( P \) is followed by \( O \), \( S \) or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

\[ \text{개가 담을 본 gege dagil bom 'That a dog looks at a hen.'} \]

may be restructured only as

\[ \text{담을 개가 본 dagil gege bom O S P} \]

since neither \( S \) nor \( O \) may occur after \( P \).

6.4.2. Nominal Clause

The nominal clause is a non-final clause of which the element \( P \) is suffixed with one of the nominal clause endings, \(-m/-im\) and \(-gi\) (cf. 4.3.5.2.1), and has practically the same syntactic functions as a single noun, but the range of distribution of a nominal clause is by no means parallel with that of a single noun since not every syntactic position filled by a noun can be filled by a nominal clause. That is to say, the distributional range of a nominal clause is narrower than that of a noun. The distributional disparity between a nominal clause and a noun may be set out as follows:

(i) A nominal clause cannot be preceded by a nominal expansion (cf. 5.1.3). Examples can be shown as:

\[ \text{nominal clause \( \rightarrow \) noun} \]

(ii) A nominal clause is never followed immediately by the adjectival particle \( i\) 'of', whereas a noun may be followed by \( ii \), forming with it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2).

\[ \text{N} \]

adj.rel.ph.

\[ \text{N} \]

but

adj.rel.ph.

but

\[ \text{n.cl.} \]

\[ \text{n.cl.} \]

6.4.2.1. Syntactic Functions of Nominal Clause

Various syntactic functions performed by a nominal clause are illustrated below.

6.4.2.1.1 Nominal Clause as Minor Sentence

A nominal clause whose \( P \) is suffixed with the ending \(-m/-im\) occurs frequently on its own as a minor sentence in official documents, diaries and advertisements, etc.

\[ \text{Examples} \]

\[ \text{palwele saging dilsilham} \]

\[ \text{A O P} \]

'the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August')'?

\[ \text{onil silil bom} \]

\[ \text{A O P} \]

'taking an exam today'

\[ \text{jaajine dutege tik jo im} \]

\[ \text{S A C P} \]

'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 예시이다 aiga ulgiga jesa ida

S P C P

‘It is usual that a baby cries’ (lit. ‘A baby crying is a common thing’).

(2) As C

소년이 학교에 감을 했니 sonjini hagkjo e gamil bwanni

S A P P

‘The boy liked going to school’ (lit. ‘The boy going to school is liked’).

(iii) As O

소녀는 꽃이 채어지면 안타까워다 sonjini kumi kejimi antakawmdia

S S P P

‘The girl was sorry that her dream was shattered’.

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 읽기나 아이를 보기보다 좋다 cegil likiga aili bolj boda jota

S n.cl Pcl. P

‘Reading a book is better than looking after a baby.’

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, -min, -n/-in and -i/-ili (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 such 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 alimaun kod

adj.cl.

‘a beautiful flower’ (lit. ‘a flower which is beautiful’)

미녀가 좋은 가수 mialiga join gasu

adj.cl.

‘a clever singer’ (lit. ‘a singer who is clever/whose brain is good’)

내가 다닌 학교 nega danin hagkjo

adj.cl.

‘the school I went to’ (lit. ‘I-have-attended school’)

나의 마음에 편한 날 naii maimi pijnhal nal

adj.cl.

‘the day when my heart will feel free’

The Korean language has been described by grammarians, native and Western, as a language without the ‘Relative Pronoun’ as found in European languages, e.g. ‘who’, ‘whom’, ‘which’ or ‘that’ in English, and ‘qui’, ‘que’, etc., in French. Lack of such pronouns has often been cited as one of the distinguishing features of Korean. This is correct as far as the linguistic data are concerned, but it is not enough simply to say that relative pronouns do not exist in Korean, and thereby to suggest, as is done not infrequently, that Korean is less efficient or rich in expression than those languages which have
them. It is far more relevant to note that a clause functionally similar to the one introduced by a relative pronoun in English is expressed or formed by a different grammatical device in Korean, namely, by verbal inflection. For instance, the English clause, 'The boy whom I saw yesterday', may be expressed in Korean by an adjectival clause, as follows:

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6.4.3.1. Adjectival Clause + Adjectival Auxiliary Verb

The adjectival clause may be followed by an auxiliary adjectival auxiliary verb, e.g., *jaeha-, cagha-, bahnha-, etc.* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

*기억한 적이 있나요?* (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 향 *jagwaillib won wagy* 'the king who saw the film'

adj.cl. H

(b) O/O' as H

우리가 바라는 것 *uliga balanige 'gd* 'the thing which we want'

adj.cl. H

(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).


Chapter VI

6.4.3.2. Extra-Clausal Element as H

Example (a)

사람의 모이는 것 saclami moinin gadd 'the fact that people gather'

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

어머니가 아들을 입힌 아들 sni. agi ipin adil

S O P adj.cl. H

'The son whose mother clothed [him]'
(b) Adverbial Clause as Subordinate to Other Clauses

The two Korean examples (a) and (c) above show that both subordinate and co-ordinate constructions are formed inflectionally, and the IC boundary comes immediately before the inflectional endings, thus yielding two bound constituents, whereas the corresponding English examples (b) and (d) show that subordination and coordination are both effected by a conjunction and the IC analysis yields two free forms. In view of the evidence presented so far it is clear that on surface structure at least there is not formal distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses in Korean, and consequently, Korean adverbial clauses cannot be classified into subordinate and co-ordinate types as in English.

Instead, Korean adverbial clauses may be classified according to the relationship between the element S of an adverbial clause and that of another clause with which the adverbial clause is in subordinate relation. Those adverbial clauses whose S must function also as the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric Adverbial Clauses' and those adverbial clauses whose S may (i) function also as the S of a succeeding clause or (ii) be different from the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric/Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' or simply 'Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' in short. That is to say, a concentric adverbial clause has its subject shared with a succeeding clause to which the former is subordinate, whereas an eccentric adverbial clause is free to have either one common subject shared by both clauses, or a subject of its own, which is different from that of a succeeding clause. As will be indicated in 6.4.4.2.2, some eccentric adverbial clauses express different meanings depending on whether their S functions as the S of a succeeding clause or is different from the latter.

6.4.4.2.1. Concentric Adverbial Clause

A concentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings:

1. 고사 -gosā 'and then, afterward', e.g.

   nanin jaehwa-⊗i, jibe dolal ogedal
   \[
   \begin{array}{ccc}
   \text{S} & \text{O} & \text{P} \\
   \text{advcl.} & \text{f.cl.} & \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   'I will come home after seeing the film' (lit. 'I see the film and then I will come home').

2. 면사 / 오면사 -mj(s)x/-imj(s)x 'while, at the same time', e.g.

   jaengsara gamja-⊗(s)x, noteol hanba
   \[
   \begin{array}{ccc}
   \text{S} & \text{P} & \\
   \text{advcl.} & \text{f.cl.} & \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   'While walking away, the vendor is singing.'
As shown in the examples given above the element S is overtly expressed only once; either in the adverbial clause or in the succeeding clause.

6.4.4.2.2. Eccentric Adverbial Clause
A concentric-eccentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -njA/-ima and -asa/-asa express different meanings depending on whether the subject of the adverbial clause formed with one of them, symbolized S', functions as the subject of a succeeding clause, symbolized S', or is different from S'.

1. 미 / 오이 -njA/-ima 'and' when S' ≠ S', 'while' when S' = S'

   \[
   S' = S': \text{아이는 우유를 먹으며 웃었다} \\
   \text{ainin usimija, genin twinda} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.'

   \[
   S' = S': \text{아이는 우유를 먹으며 웃었다} \\
   \text{ainin ajulij maximija usxalda} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'A baby smiled while having milk.'

2. 이(서) / 이(서) -asA/-asA 'as, since, because' when S' ≠ S'; 'and then' when S' = S', e.g.

   \[
   S' = S': \text{가장 미끄러워서 난은이 어دت다} \\
   \text{gili mikilasimija unjani sijabia} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'As the road is slippery driving is difficult.'

Chapter VI

3. 고 / 고 -njA/-ima 'and', e.g. 눈을 감고 나는 기도를 한다

   \[
   munil gamko nvin gidoji hani \\
   \text{O P S O} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'Are you offering your prayer with your eyes closed?'

   (lit. 'Are you closing your eyes and doing your prayer?')

4. 자-ja 'as soon as', e.g. 비가 그치자 시험이 시작되었다

   \[
   biga gicija, sihaba sijatwedda \\
   \text{S P O S P} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.'

5. 도록 -dolog \[\text{ge}\] 'until, so that', e.g.

   \[
   dagjinin jicidollog iil haningufja \\
   \text{S P O P} \\
   \] 

   advcl. f.cl.

   'You are overworking yourself!'

   (lit. 'Until you are exhausted, you are working.')
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6. `whether / 오/음 -슬가/슬가 'the more ... the more', e.g.

사랑을 힘들수록 소녀는 기뻐다 satanil sdišilog sonjimin gipšida

O P S P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`You call the dog so that she can come running.'

`The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became.'

이미니가 늘음수록 아름다운 사람이 부와지만

amninja nilgililog, adilin silpđćēman

S P S P

adv.cl. nf.cl.

`The older his mother became, the more the son was worried but.'

7. 뿍다/슬다 / 옛 뿍다/슬다 'not only ... but also', e.g.

그는 동물 암석구석지에 다쳤다 ginin donil badśilipǔndls błatś da šđlil

S O P A P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`He not only got the money but also already spent it.'

하늘이 풍등터리 햇빛이 강하다 hanilipǔndls hēpći gaghada

S P S P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`Not only is the sky blue but also the sunlight is strong.'

9. 면 / 오면 -mjan/-imjan } `if, when', e.g.

일을 빌려 끌네가요 나한테 오너라

hil pali kinnegadin, nahante onsla

O P A P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`If you finish the work early, come to me.'

남이 남면 우리도 사냥을 힘시다

nali malginjan ulīdo sanjaril habišida

S P S O P

`If the weather is fine, let's go hunting.'

10. 아야 / 어야 -aja/-aja } `only if, only when', e.g.

부모는 자식이 잘 되어야만 기쁘가

bunanin jasigi jal dwešlaman gipunga

S P S S P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`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 되어 왔아 너도 마음을 안타

sihame dweš bwajawa, nado masil anda

A P S O P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`You know the feeling only when you have passed the exam.'

11. 터라도 / 어도 -(d)lado/-ndo

있다/있나 / 옛 있다/있나 'even if/though', e.g.

작드/작드 -ilidado/-ilidado

javilčišliyjg, ginin minam ida

P S C P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`Even if [he is] small, he is handsome.'

내가 집에 앉더라도 나는 기타리겠다

nega jibe šbislado, nanin gidaligega

S A P S P

adv.cl. f.cl.

`Even though you are not at home, I will wait for you.'
12. 지분 -jiman
   현란 -sman
   합반 -sman

   'although ..., but', e.g.
   나 / 오나 -na/-ina

   The boy came home but he felt strange.
   'The idea was good but the practice was difficult.'

13. 착중 / 오천면 -jisman/-jisman 'might/would ... but', e.g.

   아프면 노인은 앓았었다
   'The old man might have been ill but he was all right.'

   손님의 많이 오천면 주인이 탐정했다
   'There would be many guests coming, but the host was not worried.'

14. 뿌로 / 우주미 -milo/-milo 'as, since, because', e.g.

   할머니는 지금 힘리가 아프므로 쉬었다
   'As my granny now has lumbago, she is resting.'

   내가 머나무로 나는, 싸심하였다
   'As you are leaving, I will be lonely.'

15. 니(가) / 음니(가) -nitka/-nitka

   'Time: when, as'  
   'Clause: because, as, since', e.g.

   내가 캐어보니(가) 시간이 무시었다

   nega kebonitka, signi dusi jidia
   S P S \n   advcl. f.c.l.
   'When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.'

16. 늘 / 음데 -ninde

   'and' (topic introducer), e.g.

   내가 임을 하는데 아꼈다

   nega ilil haninde, apsidia
   S O P P
   advcl. f.c.l.
   'I was working and I had headache.'

17. 끼 -dwe ['may/might] ... but', e.g.

   돈을 쓰지 조심을 하리라

   donil sidwe, josimil hajsla
   O P O P
   advcl. f.c.l.
   'You may spend the money, but be careful.'

   바람이 부는 비는 안온다

   balanti buldwe, binin anonda
   S P S P
   advcl. f.c.l.
   'The wind is blowing, but it is not raining.'
VII
SENTENCE

7.1. DEFINITION OF THE SENTENCE

The sentence is here defined phonologically as a stretch of speech which ends with one of the seventeen tunes of the Korean intonation system (cf. 2.8) and has the potentiality of being immediately preceded and followed by the terminal juncture (cf. 2.7). This exclusively phonological definition of sentence is desired since it is the only criterion uniformly applicable both to the major and minor types of sentence, the two main types of sentence which will be discussed in the following sections. A Korean sentence thus defined may consist of a word, a phrase, a clause, final or non-final, or any combination of these units. A sentence including more than one final clause will be analysed as a compound sentence (cf. 6.3).

Examples

'la' dal 'The moon.' N
'ah 'a 'Ah!' Interj.
'neul 'neul 'Tomorrow?' N.adv.
'ma'ga 'Eat! [lit.]' V and clause
'sa-ce ca 'A new car.' NP
'gpa -jali -gab-ida 'Let's go quickly.' VP and clause
'su-song 'To Seoul?' adv.rel.cl.
'giri -te -lali -gab-ida 'The song of winter.' NP
'oi -sisi -masejo 'Please do not come.' VP and clause.
'gideki -tiki 'Reading a book.' nf.cl.
'giri -glo 'Let us go too!'
'nae -he -he 'Even if you do, I will not.' adv.cl. f.cl.

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).

Chapter VII

(i) Major Type Sentences

송나. cubia 'It is cold.'
해가 연해 들어가 hega -imnik 'When does the sun rise?'
보이 오면 바로 갖춰지 bo-mi omjan, tali-tagedi 'It will be warm when spring comes.'
영화를 보고 천천히 합시다. -ka -hwa -lila -bago, -suna ni -hab-ida 'Let us do it slowly after seeing the film.'

(ii) Minor Type Sentences

왜? 'Why?'
아니 'Yes.'
어디로? adi lo 'Where to?'
서울을 먼저 하고 sesulul ma/ja. hago '[After] washing my face first.'
서울에 묻어 오면. saeul -bomi -omjan 'When spring comes to Seoul.'

7.3. MAJOR SENTENCE

The major sentence is the largest unit in the grammatical hierarchy by reference to which systematic statements of grammatical structures and relation may be made. This definition of sentence does not preclude the possibility of setting up a larger unit, e.g., 'Paragraph' in which inter-sentential relations may be studied, but such a unit is outside the scope of this book.

7.3.1. Structure of Major Sentence

A major sentence may include, in addition to a final clause which is obligatory, a non-final adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.4.1), a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.4.5), a vocative phrase (cf. 3.4.5.5) and a sentence particle (cf. 3.4.5.7). The usual unmarked order of these elements is as follows:

(Adv.vz.) + (vocat.ph.) + (adv.cl.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.), e.g.

gru -na ma -na. jx: la, jx: mo -jim-jon, jx: na -hab-ida giJA
'Haven't you already gone to [friend], let's leave.'

dan: na. sa -gimjaon -la, gi pi -gimjaon -la
'Furthermore, since you have received the prize money, you must be happy!'
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) ‘Propositional 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 -ji, the declarative mood ending of the medium style, which is marked by Intoneme LF only, e.g.

비가 올나다 biga-omnida ‘It is raining.’
아직은 눈을 많이 떨지만 a’jišin ‘donil-mani-biominida
‘[His] uncle makes a lot of money.’
나는 집에 갔다 naninyibe-gamnida ‘I am going home.’
언니 직원에 ‘디나 ji-biye ‘i ne ‘The kite is on the roof.’
이 줄을 펼거나 i kocić ‘lagkuna ‘You have picked this flower!’
잘 잡아 날도 juji ‘bi 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) -i/-î of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositional mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1-4).

(iii) -ji 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., *mu/mugu ‘who’, *muas ‘what’, *mje ‘when’, etc. (cf. 3.4.2.1.3), the interrogative adverb, e.g., *si ‘which’, *muisin ‘what’, etc. (cf. 3.4.3.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., *we ‘why’ or *sike ‘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]

먼저 먹나심니까 *-mje i.una.simmika* ‘When are you leaving?’

이것은 임명니까 *i.gas.in* .alamanna ‘How much is this?’

누가 오셨어요 *nu.gas.0si=sjo* ‘Who has come?’

저는 무엇을 했는가 *ja.nenin mu=sisil* ‘henninga’

‘What did you do?’

책을 맡긴 산니 *cegil-mjsdxkw=sanmi*

‘How many books did you buy?’

어느것이 좋아 *-nigasi* ‘joa’ ‘Which is better?’

(ii) **‘Yes/No’-Type Interrogative Sentences**

나도 갔니까 *nado gamniki* ‘Am I going too?’

당신이 진짜를 하시겠어요 *-damgini *-janxwhi bailout* ‘gesso’

‘Would you like to telephone?’

신문을 읽어 왔어요 *simmunil ilgszwasa* ‘Did you read the paper?’

안필도 하시니 *-jumplido *-sanmi* ‘Don’t you even have a pencil?’

구경꾼이 많이 되어 *gujglikumi *-manidlii*

‘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.

너는 언제 가니 *na.ni jajegaji* ‘When are you going?’

cf. 너는 언제 가니 *na.ni jajegani*

‘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.

내가 했지 *nega hedeji* ‘You did [it], didn’t you?’

cf. 내가 했지 *nega heda* ‘Did you do [it]?’

7.3.2.3. Imperative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the imperative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is an imperative sentence. The intonation associated with the imperative sentence is Intoneme LF/HF, as in the case of the declarative sentence. However, Intoneme LF/HF occurring with the imperative sentence is very often, though not always, distinguished from the same intoneme associated with the declarative sentence by (a) having a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) being realized with a stronger stress, than the latter. This pitch-stress characteristic is particularly noticeable with Intoneme LF/HF accompanying the imperative sentences whose P is inflected with a modally neutral ending, e.g., *-a/-s*. Where intonation fails to distinguish the mood of a modally neutral sentence, it is ultimately the context of situation which determines it, e.g.

어리 오십시요 *ilio. sibsi* ‘Please come here.’

당신이 어린지를 부치요 *-damgini, i-pjamjil tit bu-cio*

‘You post this letter.’

너는 여기 믿어요 *jane nisig i dide* ‘You stay here.’

신문을 드릴 *simmunil. bual* ‘Look at the newspaper.’

별이 떠나지 *poliiwij i ma* ‘Don’t run fast.’

7.3.2.4. Propositive Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the propositive mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a propositive sentence. The propositive sentence is not distinguishable intonationally from the imperative sentence since both are marked by Intoneme LF/HF coupled with the pitch-stress feature referred to in 7.3.2.3. Therefore, the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending can be distinguished from the corresponding imperative sentence only by the context of situation. It is noted that the propositive sentence with a modally neutral ending includes frequently the pronoun uli ‘we’ as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

천천히 걷으시다 *sme.ini, gxi.sibsi* ‘Let us walk slowly.’

내일 일찍 벌나십시오 *nei. ilig ci .i.na sibsi* ‘Let us leave early tomorrow.’

오늘은 하지 마시 *o-nilin haji* ‘mases ‘Let’s not do it today.’

우리도 시장에 가 *u-lido-si.jage *-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.

- 셰가 응고 있었다 - Segal ulgo isnda "The bird was singing.
- 좋이 아두만게 피어니 - koci a-limitable pi snin
  'Has the flower blossomed beautifully?'
- 네가 해야 나도 하겠다 nega heya nada ha cjdta
  nf.cl. f.cl.
  'Only when/if you do [it], I will too.'
- 너도 가고 나도 간다 na do gago nodo ganda
  nf.cl. f.cl.
  'You go and I go too.'
- 당신이 가면 나는 안간다 daysini gam jsn nadin anganda
  nf.cl. f.cl.
  'If you go, I will not go.'

7.4.2. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences, of which two-clause type is most common, are all coordinate sentences, and the constituent clauses are linked paratactically in quick succession. Either a plus juncture or a tentative juncture may intervene between the constituent clauses but never a terminal juncture, e.g.

- 개가 뛰다 sampa gega iwinda. s.dia
  f.cl. f.cl.
  'The dog is jumping, it’s stopped [now].'
- 주어 놀아어 "cau, mundada. 'It is cold, shut the door.'
  f.cl. f.cl.
- 온다 빨리 숨어라. onda. pallium slaka. [He] is coming, hide quickly.
  f.cl. f.cl.
- 먹어라 식는다 ma-gsla. signinda. 'Eat [it] quickly, it is getting cold.'
  f.cl. f.cl.

As exemplified by the examples above, most compound sentences are relatively short and are characterized by 'impatience', 'anxiety', etc., on the part of the speaker.

There are many compound sentences in Korean in which the two final clauses, usually of interrogative type, stand in semantic contrast or opposition.

- 쓴이나. 셰시나. kumina, seysina. 'Is it dream or reality?'
- 문가요. 멧가요. halkajo, malkajo. 'Shall I do it or not?'

7.5. MINOR SENTENCES

The minor sentences, which, by definition, do not include a final clause, may be further divided into 'Elliptical' and 'Initiating' types.

7.5.1. Elliptical Type

Minor sentences of the elliptical type are all referable to major sentences containing the same word, phrase or non-final clause. These often constitute responses to a previous utterance and are replaceable by a major type sentence of which they form a constituent, e.g.

(a) 신문. sinmun. 'A newspaper.'
  [in response to mvasil boni. 'What are you reading?']
  cf. 신문을 본다. sinmunil bonda. 'I am reading the paper.'

(b) 미국에서. migugesa. 'From America.'
  [in response to adless osisso. 'Where did you come from?']
  cf. 미국에서 왔다. migugesa. waso. 'I have come from America.'

(c) 그녀가 오면. gi-iga o. mjsn. 'What if she comes [here]?'
  [in response to adresnum slakte. he.]
  cf. 그녀가 오면. 어렇게 해. gi-iga o. mjsn slake. he. 'What shall I do if she comes?'

The category of the declarative/interrogative mood is found operating in the minor sentences of the elliptical type with intonation as its exponent. As in the major type sentences, Intoneme LF/HF functions as the phonological exponent of the declarative mood, and Intoneme R as the exponent of the interrogative mood. However, a minor sentence consisting of, or including, an interrogative element (cf. 7.3.2.2) is marked by Intoneme LF/HF just like the 'Q'-type interrogative sentences, e.g.

(i) Minor Sentences of Declarative Mood

- 돈. don. 'Money.'
  cf. 돈을 찾았다. donil ca. jada. '[I] have found the money.'
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School: 'hagkjoesa 'At the school.'

cf. School: 눈았다 - hagkjoesa no. ladia 'I played at the school.'

(ii) Minor Sentences of Interrogative Mood

(a) 'Yes/No'-Type

School: 'hagkjoesa 'At the school?'

cf. School: 눈았니 - hagkjoesa no. lamni 'Did you play at the school?'

Talk: 'aminaga 'Mummy?'

cf. Talk: 더 좋아 - aminaga da. jooa 'You like your mummy more?'

(b) 'Q'-Type

누가 nu'ga 'Who?'

cf.누가 놀이 nu'ga. la 'Who is crying?'

우체 앉내 'When?'

cf. 우체 주었어요 - miye mu. sa 'When did you give [it me]?'

7.5.2. Initiating Type

Minor sentences of the initiating type are used to initiate a discourse and are not referable to major sentences of which they may be a constituent. Minor sentences of the initiating type may be further divided into the 'Exclamatory Type' and 'Vocative Type,' the former being expressed by an introductory interjections (cf. 3.4.6.2) and the latter by a personal name, a title or by both with or without a vocative particle (cf. 3.4.5.5), e.g.

(i) Exclamatory Type

아 'a 'Ah!'

치민 ja isun 'Good gracious!'

차 'ja 'Well!'

아이구 'aigu 'Oh!'

취 -swi 'Hush!', 'Quiet!'

(ii) Vocative Type

목동아 'bogyo. ya 'Bogdong (personal name)!

힘니 ni. mijja 'My deart!'

김광고 'gimjangsun 'General Kim!'

박신성 'bagshon sey 'Mr. Pak!'

히브 ja. bo 'Darling!' etc.

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### Appendix

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