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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<th>Description</th>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>act.</td>
<td>active</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adj./adj.</td>
<td>Adjective/adjectival</td>
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<tr>
<td>adj.cl.</td>
<td>adjectival clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.(rel.)ph.</td>
<td>adjectival relational phrase</td>
</tr>
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<td>Adv./adv.</td>
<td>Adverb/adverbial</td>
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<td>adv.cl.</td>
<td>adverbal clause</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv.ph.</td>
<td>adverbal phrase</td>
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<td>Agent</td>
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<td>ani.</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>(i) Consonant in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Complement</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caus.</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>cl.</td>
<td>clause</td>
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<td>comp.</td>
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<td>concat.</td>
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<td>conjunctive</td>
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<td>decl.</td>
<td>declarative</td>
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<td>deictic</td>
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<td>ending</td>
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<td>Exp.</td>
<td>Expansion</td>
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<td>f.cl./nf.cl.</td>
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<td>formative</td>
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<td>future</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>Head</td>
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<td>hon.</td>
<td>honorific</td>
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<td>imper.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<td>ina.</td>
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<td>inflx.</td>
<td>inflectional</td>
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<td>Interj./interj.</td>
<td>Interjection/interjectival</td>
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<td>intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>md.</td>
<td>mood</td>
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<tr>
<td>mdf.</td>
<td>modifying</td>
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### Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Noun/nominal</td>
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<td>N ani.</td>
<td>Animate noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N ima.</td>
<td>Inanimate noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N hon.</td>
<td>Honorific noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N num.</td>
<td>Numeral noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N n ind.</td>
<td>Non-independent noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N pl.</td>
<td>Plain noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Cl/n cl.</td>
<td>Nominal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N P</td>
<td>Nominal Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuc nuc.</td>
<td>Nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num.</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
</tr>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>Processive</td>
</tr>
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<td>passv.</td>
<td>Passive</td>
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<td>Phrase</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<td>Presumptive</td>
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<td>progr.</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
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<td>prop.</td>
<td>Propositive</td>
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<td>Relational</td>
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<td>retros.</td>
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<td>Subject</td>
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<td>Sat sat.</td>
<td>Satellite</td>
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<td>sfx.</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
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<td>St st.</td>
<td>Stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>sub.</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V v</td>
<td>(i) Vowel in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em> (ii) Verb/verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V aux.</td>
<td>Auxiliary Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V c</td>
<td>Copula Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V d</td>
<td>Descriptive Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V p</td>
<td>Processive Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V pl.</td>
<td>Plain Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V hon.</td>
<td>Honorific Verb</td>
</tr>
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<td>V intr.</td>
<td>Intransitive Verb</td>
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<td>V tr.</td>
<td>Transitive Verb</td>
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<td>VP</td>
<td>Verbal Phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>Voice</td>
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<td>Z z</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
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### Symbols and notations

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<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>Phonemic transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>(i) Phonetic transcription (ii) Translation fill-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Optional, e.g. (SP) ( \rightarrow P ) or SP rewrite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Hypothetical or unreal form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Plus juncture within a transcribed passage (addition sign elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\</td>
<td>Tentative juncture within a transcribed passage (comma elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>Terminal juncture in a transcribed passage (period elsewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\  /</td>
<td>Quantity (length) in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em>, and in a transcribed passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v/C-form</td>
<td>Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/a</td>
<td>Form selected by vowel harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Stress marker in chapter II, <em>Phonetics and Phonology</em> tone markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_ _ _ _</td>
<td>Space in transcribed passages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- (i) Stress group boundary in phonemic transcription, e.g. /ne' nala so'sig/ |
- (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. (Seungbo Cho 1967, Hŭsŏng Yi 1955).

There have been several conflicting theories as to the origin of Korean and its affinity to other languages. The Indo-European theory (Eckardt 1966, Aalto 1947) and the Dravidian theory (Hulbert 1906) are considered to be hardly convincing. The Altaic theory (Ramstedt 1949, 1957-66) now seems to be most widely accepted, and the Korean language is therefore classified as a member of the Altaic family along with Tungus, Manchu, Mongolian and Turkish (Sungnyŏng Yi 1954). Moreover, Panghan Kim (1983) and Kimun Yi (1972), the two leading Korean specialists working in the field of historico-comparative linguistics, seem to share to a great extent the view put forward by Ramstedt. Like other Altaic languages, Korean is predominantly 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 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' /hunminjA/m, 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 ᴯ [g or k] represents the velar sound since it resembles the shape of the tongue blocking the throat; the letter ᵃ [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 ᵅ [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, ᵋ [i or u], ᵃ [i or u] and ᵈ [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 /mag/ 'curtain' and /nun/ 'eye' would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

/mag/: ㎎ < ᴲ = ᴰ = ᵃ = ᴬ = ᵈ

/nun/: ᵃ < ᴲ = ᵃ = ᴰ = ᵈ = ᴬ

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, 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

Chapter 1

1.2.3. The Korean Alphabet and the Prosodic Analysis

The current alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, fifteenth-century Hunminjeongum, is not a haphazard collection of isolated letters. It is, in a sense, not only a phonetic alphabet based exclusively on detailed phonetic observations of the articulatory organs, but also a remarkably neat system composed of interrelated elements (letters). In particular, it is interesting to note the striking similarity between the manner in which the Korean alphabet is systematized and the theoretical tenet of the "Prosodic Analysis" as initiated and developed by the London School, namely, a multidimensional 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>Voiceless unaspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless aspirated</th>
<th>Voiceless glottalized</th>
<th>Voiced nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Korean Grammar

post-alveolar affricates

alveolar fricatives

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

1.3. THE TYPE OF KOREAN DESCRIBED IN THIS BOOK

There are seven main dialects¹ 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 Hyŏnggyu Kim, Kogŏ su ('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 as units functioning within more inclusive units. The unit 'Sentence', however, will be excluded from such a synthetic definition since it is taken as the largest and most inclusive unit. The intermediate units, clause, phrase, word, can be defined both analytically and synthetically. The hierarchical relationship existing among the units does not preclude the possibility of rank shift, upward or downward. For instance, a word may bypass the level of phrase and occur as a 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'.
Examples

(i) Sentence

\text{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) \text{As the snow that I have been waiting for falls in plenty'}

(b) \text{My mood is good.'}

(iii) Phrase

(a) \text{the snow that I have been waiting for'}

(b) \text{as it} \text{ falls in plenty'}

(c) \text{my mood'}

(iv) Word

\text{[that I] have been waiting for'}

\text{snow', in/ subject particle}

\text{in plenty', as it comes'}

\text{is good, feels fine'}

(v) Morpheme

\text{to wait for', to be plenty', of', to come, fall', non-final adv.cl.end.}

\text{snow', subject pcl.}

\text{adv.deriv.sfx.}

\text{mood', is good, feels fine'}

\text{decl.md.end.}

Chapter I

(vi) Downward rank shift

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

/gidalidAn nu:n/ ‘the snow that I have been waiting for’

Exp. H.

(vii) Upward rank shift

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

/nae gibuni jo:ta/ ‘My mood is good.’

S P

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

2.1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

There are two major branches in the study of the sounds of a given language: Phonetics and Phonology. These two branches are related to each other in that they both study sounds of a language, but they differ in their viewpoint and objective. Phonetics is concerned with actual speech sounds as we pronounce and hear them, but in any person’s speech there are hundreds of speech sounds and the differences between them are not always important or significant. Phonology aims to systematize these speech sounds into a smaller number of significant sound units called ‘Phonemes’. For instance, phonetics will tell us that the plosive sounds occurring in ‘pin’, ‘spin’ and ‘bin’ are different sounds: 

\[ p^h \] of ‘pin’ is a voiceless aspirated sound \[ p^h \]; ‘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 \[ p^h \] elsewhere, the plosive sounds never have the function of distinguishing different words in English, and decides that the two sounds \[ p^h \] and \[ p \] are to be treated as members or ‘Allophones’ of the phoneme /p/, and not as two separate phonemes. On the other hand, the two speech sounds \[ p^h \] and \[ b \] can occur in the same environment and distinguish pairs of words, e.g. ‘pin’: ‘bin’. Therefore the sound \[ b \] forms a separate phoneme /b/, instead of being an allophone of /p/ phoneme to which /p/ belongs. Notice that the three speech sounds \[ p^h \], \[ p \] and \[ b \] also occur in Korean but are phonemized differently: \[ p^h \] and \[ p \] form two separate phonemes /p/ and /p/, 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 \[ b \], e.g. /bul/ ‘fire’.

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

2.2. THE KOREAN PHONEMES

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

2.2.1. Vowels

There are eight vowels:

\[ /i/, /e/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /a/, /i/ \]

Examples

\[ /bi/ 'rain' \]
\[ /be/ 'hemp cloth' \]
\[ /pe/ 'pear' \]
\[ /bo/ 'wrapping cloth' \]
\[ /gi/ 'that' \]
\[ /gali/ 'street' \]

2.2.2. Consonants

There are nineteen consonants:

\[ /b/, /d/, /s/, /g/, /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /l/, /n/ \]

Examples

\[ /b/ 'bal' ‘foot’, °1 /ibal/ ‘hairdressing’, /ib/ 'mouth' \]
\[ /d/ ‘arm’, /pal/ ‘arm’, /pala/ ‘tute’ \]
\[ /s/ ‘kicking’, /pal/ ‘kicking’, /pal/ ‘tooth’ \]
\[ /g/ ‘moon’, /dal/ ‘delivery’, /god/ 'soon' \]
\[ /p/ ‘trouble’, /tal/ ‘trouble’, /tal/ ‘separation’ \]
\[ /t/ ‘daughter’, /bo/ ‘bopali’ ‘bundle’ \]
\[ /l/ ‘Well!’ \]
\[ /c/ ‘to kick’, /cal/ ‘to kick’, /gica/ ‘train’ \]
\[ /i/ ‘salty’, /cal/ ‘salty’ \]
\[ /k/ ‘go’, /gal/ ‘go’, /sagwa/ ‘apple’, /gag/ ‘angle’ \]
\[ /g/ ‘knife’, /gali/ ‘knife’, /gali/ ‘knife’ \]
\[ /l/ ‘colour’, /kal/ ‘colour’ \]
\[ /s/ ‘flesh’, /sal/ ‘flesh’, /sosa/ ‘investigation’ \]
\[ /n/ ‘rice’, /sal/ ‘rice’, /bicani/ ‘expensive’ \]
\[ /l/ ‘sun’, /he/ ‘sun’ \]
\[ /n/ ‘day’, /nal/ ‘day’, /binu/ ‘soap’, /san/ ‘mountain’ \]
\[ /l/ ‘shark’, /lali/ ‘shark’, /san/ ‘table’ \]
\[ /l/ ‘length’, /gili/ ‘length’, /gil/ ‘one’ \]
2.2.3. Semi-vowels

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

- /je/, /je/, /ja/, /jo/, /ju/, /jw/,
- /wi/, /we/, /we/, /wa/, /we/.

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

Examples
- /je/ 'example, yes', /noje/ 'slave'
- /je/ 'Hey, you!', /haje/ 'is white'
- /ja/ 'Look!', /honja/ 'engagement'
- /jo/ 'swear, insult', /jogjo/ 'religion'
- /ju/ 'six', /ju/ 'milk'
- /wi/ 'above, top', /wei/ 'car'
- /we/ 'foreign land', /we/ 'displeasure'
- /wa/ 'why', /wai/ 'by boat'
- /we/ 'by boat', /we/ 'immobility'
- /wa/ 'fruit', /wa/ 'by boat', /we/ 'immobility'
- /ja/ 'woman', /ja/ 'bone'
- /ja/ 'chair', /ja/ '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 /ə/ and the short one unmarked, e.g.

- /gim/ 'a surname'
- /gi:m/ 'laver, seaweed'
- /sal/ 'flesh'
- /sal/ 'to live'
- /gujo/ 'structure'
- /gujo/ 'rescue'
- /budon/ 'inequality', 'dissimilarity'
- /budon/ '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:]
- /be/ 'by boat' [bre:]
- /be/ 'twice as much/many'

2.2.4.1. Vowel Quantity and Stress

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

- 사람 /sadam/ = ['saram] 'person'
- 완 사람 /wensadam/ = ['wensaram] 'some person'
- 경쟁 /giwojjang/ = ['giwojjang] 'competition'
- 자유경쟁 /ja'jugjwong/ = [ja'jugjwong] 'free competition'

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

2.3. Phonetic Description of Korean Phonemes

2.3.1. Vowels

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

/ɪ:/ = [iː] /iː/ = [iː], /ˈeː/ = [ˈɛː] /eː/ = [ɛː]
/əː/ = [əː], /əː/ = [əː]
/oː/ = [ɔː], /ɔː/ = [ɔː]
/uː/ = [uː], /uː/ = [uː]

2.3.1.1. /i/

[ʼi:] 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 [ʼi:], e.g.

임 /ʼiː/ ‘affair, business, work’
실 /siːl/ ‘thread’, 이자 /iːja/ ‘interest’
고 /niːj/ ‘unknown’, 기자 /gi ʼja/ ‘reporter’

2.3.1.2. /e/

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

세 /seː/ ‘rent’, 최 /hweː/ ‘meeting’
외국 /weːguk/ ‘foreign land’
어제 /ʼjeː/ ‘yesterday’ 세계 /seːge/ ‘world’

2.3.1.3. /e/

/ʼeː/ 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 [ʼeː], e.g.

애 /ʼeː/ ‘baby, child’
어 /jeː/ ‘story’, 해방 /heːbæŋ/ ‘liberation’
부채 /buːce/ ‘debt’, 시작 /siʃeː/ ‘policy’

2.3.1.4. /a/

/ʼaː/ 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.

자자 / ʼaːja/ ‘lion’, 박 / ʼaːm/ ‘chestnut’
가곡 /gaːgog/ ‘melody, song’
어발 /iːbæːl/ ‘hairdressing’
바다 /baˈda/ ‘sea’

2.3.1.5. /o/

/ʼoː/ 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 [ʼoː]. The Eng-

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

소 /soː/ ‘cow’
옷 /od/ ‘clothes’
보통 /boːmul/ ‘treasure’
점보 /joːnbo/ ‘progress’
보도 /boːdo/ ‘report’

2.3.1.6. /u/

[ʼuː] 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.

우 / ʼuː/ ‘to laugh and’
축 /jusd/ a traditional Korean game
교수 /gyosu/ ‘professor’
우산 /uʼsan/ ‘umbrella’

2.3.1.7. /a/ 

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

벌 / ʼbæl/ [ʼbæl] ‘bee’, 벼 / ʼbal/ [ʼbal] ‘punishment’
현 / ʼhæn/ [ʼhæn] ‘old, worn out’
연설 / ʼjeːnsal/ [ʼjaːnsal] ‘speech’

2.3.1.8. /i/

[ʼiː] is like [ʼuː] pronounced with spread lips. In other words, it is a vowel combining the tongue position of [ʼuː] with the lip position of [ʼiː]. The unstressed short [i], which is pronounced with a lower and advanced tongue position than for [ʼiː] 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 [ʼiː] is tense and the short [i] lax, e.g.

그림 / ʼgælɪm/ [ʼɡælɪm] ‘painting’
음 / ʼdiːl/ [ʼduːl] ‘field’
아이들 / ʼaidil/ [ʼaidil] ‘children’
느님 /niˈlin/ [nuˈlin] ‘slow’
2.3.1.9. Long Unstressed Vowel and Short Stressed Vowel

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

(i) Long unstressed vowel

 mango + jota/ [She is kind.] mazumi: + jota

(ii) Short stressed vowel

 jota / jagja/ ['jagja'] 'to write down'

 conson / 'sinda/ ['sinda'] 'to use or write'

 등방 / tujmja/ ['tuumjia] 'special order'

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

2.3.2. Consonants

2.3.2.1. /b, d, g/ Bi-labial, 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.

 발 /bal/ 'foot', 달 /dal/ 'moon'

 강 /gan/ 'river'

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

 가방 /gaban/ 'brief-case', 사다리 /sadali/ [sadari] 'ladder'

 지급 /jijim/ 'now', 심방 /simban/ 'visit'

 신간 /sigan/ 'new publication', 깃갑 /jangam/ 'old man'

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.

 발 /pal/ [p'ul] 'arm', 달 /tal/ ['tal] 'trouble'

 컷 /kal/ [k'ul] 'knife', 찍 /capjo/ [c'apho] 'ticket'

 사탕 /satang/ [sat'ah] 'sugar', 식감 /sigkat/ [sik'kat] 'kitchen knife'

 청반 /sgtan/ [sak'tan] 'coal'

2.3.2.3. /p, t, 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.

 발 /bal/ [p'ul] 'horn', 달 /tal/ ['tal] 'earth'

 컷 /kal/ [k'ul] 'dream', 이따 /ita/ ['ita] 'later'

 절다 /ibita/ [ip'ta] 'to wear', 절다 /jamja/ [jam'a] 'young'

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

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

 감 /jam/ [jam] 'sleep', 절 /jip/ [jip ] 'house'
/c/ is voiceless and strongly aspirated syllable-initially and it does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

\[
\text{乍} /\text{ca}/ [\text{ca}] \ 'tea'
\]

\[
\text{책} /\text{ceg}/ [\text{cek}'] \ 'book'
\]

\[
\text{장} /\text{can}/ [\text{can}] \ 'window'
\]

\[
\text{가마} /\text{gica}/ [\text{gaica}] \ 'train'
\]

\[
\text{윽체} /\text{jugec}/ [\text{juk'ce}] \ 'body'
\]

/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.

\[
\text{🌷타} /\text{cada}/ [\text{cada}] \ 'salty'
\]

\[
\text{달} /\text{cam}/ [\text{cam}] \ 'time, space'
\]

\[
\text{가마} /\text{gica}/ [\text{gica}] \ 'fake'
\]

\[
\text{국조} /\text{gogjo}/ [\text{gok'co}'] \ 'tune, melody'
\]

2.3.2.5. /s, s/ 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.

\[
\text{산} /\text{san}/ \ 'mountain', \text{술} /\text{sol}/ \ 'wine'
\]

\[
\text{ 의사} /\text{sisa}/ \ 'doctor', \text{조수} /\text{josu}/ \ 'tide'
\]

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

\[
\text{신} /\text{sin}/ [\text{sjin}] \ 'footwear'
\]

\[
\text{부서라} /\text{busjala}/ [\text{busjara}] \ 'Break [it].'
\]

/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.

\[
\text{쌀} /\text{sal}/ [\text{sal}] \ 'rice'
\]

\[
\text{서럼} /\text{silim}/ [\text{srulum}] \ 'wrestling'
\]

\[
\text{삭} /\text{sag}/ [\text{sag}] \ 'sprout'
\]

\[
\text{석다} /\text{sgta}/ [\text{sgkt'a}] \ 'to rot'
\]

2.3.2.6. /h/ Glottal fricative

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

\[
\text{한아버지} /\text{halaba}ji/ [\text{haraba}ji] \ 'grandfather'
\]

\[
\text{해} /\text{he}/ \ 'sun', \text{힘} /\text{him}/ [\text{cim}] \ 'strength'
\]

\[
\text{형} /\text{hyeong}/ [\text{caj}] \ 'brother'
\]

\[
\text{흙} /\text{hok}'/ [\text{hok}'] \ 'soil'
\]

\[
\text{_CONTAINER} /\text{huwan}/ [\text{huwan}] \text{ or [huwan]} \ 'later trouble'
\]

2.3.2.7. /m/ Bilabial nasal

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

\[
\text{물} /\text{mul}/ \ 'water', \text{이나} /\text{ina}/ \ 'forehead'
\]

\[
\text{침} /\text{kim}/ [\text{kim}] \ 'burden'
\]

\[
\text{심장} /\text{simjang}/ [\text{simjang}] \text{ or [sjimjang]} \ 'heart'
\]

2.3.2.8. /n/ Alveolar nasal

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

\[
\text{닐} /\text{nim}/ [\text{nim}] \ 'beloved'
\]

\[
\text{ nhân} /\text{henja}/ [\text{henja}] \ 'mermaid'
\]

\[
\text{손} /\text{son}/ [\text{son}] \ 'hand'
\]

\[
\text{돈} /\text{don}/ [\text{don}] \ 'money'
\]

\[
\text{문} /\text{mun}/ [\text{mun}] \ 'door'
\]

2.3.2.9. /ŋ/ Velar nasal

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

\[
\text{성} /\text{so}ŋ/ [\text{sos}] \ 'surname'
\]

\[
\text{방} /\text{bang}/ [\text{bang}] \ 'room'
\]

\[
\text{서문} /\text{sun}ŋ/ [\text{sunja}] \ 'trout'
\]

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

2.3.2.10. /l/ Lateral and Flap

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

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

/u/ /juli/ [juli] 'star', or [jul]

/ju/ /juju/ [juju] 'milk' or [juu]

/ie/ /iwe/ [iwe] 'why'

/ii/ /iwi/ [iwi] 'what'

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

/ai/ /aui/ [aui] 'duty'

/ii/ /iui/ [iui] 'dissent'

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

/ie/ /nie/ [nie] '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 C1 the final consonant. The elements in the brackets are optional:

Korean syllable structure: (C) V (C1)

Examples

(i) V : o /i/ 'this', e /e/ 'child'

(ii) CV : i /na/ 'I', o /so/ 'cow'

(iii) VC : al /al/ 'egg', ye /i/ 'business'

(iv) CVC : sal /'flesh', jy /jag/ '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.

- /s/ /sonja/ 'call'

- /n/ /no/ 'room'

- /d/ /dali/ 'bridge'

- /l/ /calo/ 'by car'

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

- /b/ /jil/ 'great'

- /p/ /je/ 'in'

- /m/ /i/ 'you'

- /l/ /je/ 'at once'

- /j/ /fe/ 'field'

- /n/ /je/ 'of'

- /l/ /je/ 'by car'

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

Examples

- /b/ /bab/ 'meal', /busb/ 'sideline'

- /d/ /god/ 'at once', /bad/ 'field'

- /g/ /gug/ 'soup', /kagga/ 'Let's cut it.'

- /m/ /kim/ 'burden', /gamsa/ 'thanks'

- /l/ /san/ 'mountain', /sonja/ 'grandson'

- /i/ /saŋ/ 'prize', /janggug/ 'England'

- /j/ /sal/ 'rice', /milja/ 'to push'

- /l/ /millo/ '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 Hó, Kogó imumun (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 /moja/ 'hat' in citation form is pronounced ['mo:ja] where /'mo/ is phonetically longer than /'ja/.

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

모자 /mo:ja/ ['mo:ja] 'mother and son'
모자 /moja/ ['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 occurs long and thus contributes to the lengthening of the syllable regardless of whether the syllable structure is (C)V: or (C)V:C', e.g.

보조 /'bo:jo/ ['bjo] 'support'
시조 /si:jo/ ['sjoj] 'founder'
한구 /'j'angu/ ['j'angu] 'research'
방송 /'ban'son/ ['ban'son] '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 dacari] 'ladder'
아미 /'ami/'ami] 'already' or /'mi/'mi:

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

범 /'ba:n/'ba:n] 'punishment'

Two stress groups

네 /'ne/'ne] 'Yes, yes.'
장가 /'jang'ga/'j'anga] 'Go safely.'
나라도 찬가 /'nalado'halka/'nalado halka] 'Do you think I can do it?'
왜 감자기 빠나나이 /we gabchagi 'a' nani/
'Why are you leaving so suddenly?'

Three stress groups

하나 들 셋 /'na'dul'sed/ 'one, two, three'
오늘은 날이 좋구나 /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.
2.6.1. Stress Group and Word

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

(a) Stress group = Word

\[ \text{沓 hott 없음 / dasad 'jasad 'ilgob/'five, six, seven'} \]

\[ \text{어 그레이 / 'a gi'le/'Oh, is that so?'} \]

(b) Stress group of more than a word

\[ \text{어장소문이 여기 있다 /'a'cimsinmunji'giita/'The morning paper is here.'} \]

\[ \text{또 챙 왔어 /'io'weewasa/'Why did you come again?'} \]

(c) Stress group of part of a word

\[ \text{淋라 /'mol 'la/ 'You don't know [this]' } \]

\[ \text{아니 /'a 'ni/ 'No, [not that]'} \]

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

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

2.6.2.1. Number of Stress Groups in a Sentence

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

2.6.2.1.1. Length of Sentence

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

\[ \text{우리의 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없어요 /'o'nilin 'nal'siga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a'b/a/'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky.'} \]

\[ \text{네 /'ne/'Yes'} \]

2.6.2.2. 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)

\[ \text{/o'nilin 'nal'siga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a'b/a/} \]

(b) Fast tempo (four stress groups)

\[ \text{/o'nilin 'nal'siga'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi'x'b/a/} \]

(c) Faster tempo (two stress groups)

\[ \text{/onilin 'nal'siga'jo:asa hanile gu'limi'x'b/a/} \]

2.6.2.1.3. Grammatical Factor

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

\[ \text{날씨가 /'nal'siga/ 'the weather' } \]

\[ \text{하늘에 /ha'nile/'in the sky' } \]

\[ \text{구름이 /gu'limi/'the cloud' } \]

\[ \text{cf. /'nal'si 'ga/} \]

(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.

\[ \text{/o'nilin 'nal'siga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a'b/a/} \]

\[ \text{A S P} \]

\[ \text{ASP} \]

\[ \text{nf.cl.} \]

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

2.6.2.2. Position of Stress within a Stress Group

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

2.6.2.2.1. Syllable Structure as Determining Factor

(i) If a stress group has the syllable structure (C)V(C)V(C) CV(C) C... it is usually the second syllable which carries the stress unless the first
syllabic has a lexically long vowel, in which case the first syllable is stressed, e.g.
우아 /ui'a/ 'elegance, grace'
아기 /a'gi/ 'baby'
두어 /mu'ari/ 'what'
엄마 /em'ami/ 'mother'
하나 /ha'daga/ 'while doing'
도라지 /do'larji/ 'Chinese bellflower'
노래 /no'lere/ 'in song'
사랑 /sa'laman/ 'man, person'
이도령 /'idoljan/ 'Mr/Master Lee'
보관소 /'bogwanso/ 'depository'

(ii) If a stress group has the structure (C)V CV(C) CV(C) C... it is the first syllable which is stressed irrespective of the lexical vowel quantity of the first syllable, e.g.
적다 /'ajiga/ 'to be small'
_fp /'ajiga/ 'to write down'
양모 /'jangmo/ 'foster mother'
양모 /'jangmo/ 'sheep's fleece'
영국사람 /'jipgug'salam/ 'Englishman'
언제부터 /'anjeftu/ 'Since when?'
박슬니다 /'masnimida/ '[He] is eating.'
cf. /ma'sa'sa/ '[He] ate.'

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

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.
어째서 /a'ce'sa/ 'Why?' — normal
/ace'sa/ 'Why?' — friendly
/a'ce'sa/ 'Why?' — authoritative

1 See Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964, 3.10.3.3.
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 신문 읽으니
/o' nilacim, 'sinmunbwanni./
‘Did you read a newspaper this morning?’

(b) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil (+) acimsinmun, 'bwanni./
‘Did you read this morning’s paper?’

(c) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil, a'cimsinmun +/, 'bwanni./
‘Have you read a morning paper today?’

(d) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/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 있겼다
/babil +/, 'magko + 'idkedia./ ‘[He] may be having his meal [now].’

(b) 밥을 먹고 있겼다
/babil +/, 'magko, 'idkedia./ ‘[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.

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 신문 읽으니
/o' nilacim, 'sinmunbwanni./
‘Did you read a newspaper this morning?’

(b) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil (+) acimsinmun, 'bwanni./
‘Did you read this morning’s paper?’

(c) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil, a'cimsinmun +/, 'bwanni./
‘Have you read a morning paper today?’

(d) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/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 있겼다
/babil +/, 'magko + 'idkedia./ ‘[He] may be having his meal [now].’

(b) 밥을 먹고 있겼다
/babil +/, 'magko, 'idkedia./ ‘[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.

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 신문 읽으니
/o' nilacim, 'sinmunbwanni./
‘Did you read a newspaper this morning?’

(b) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil (+) acimsinmun, 'bwanni./
‘Did you read this morning’s paper?’

(c) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/o' nil, a'cimsinmun +/, 'bwanni./
‘Have you read a morning paper today?’

(d) 오늘 아침신문 읽으니
/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 있졌다
/babil +/, 'magko + 'idkedia./ ‘[He] may be having his meal [now].’

(b) 밥을 먹고 있졌다
/babil +/, 'magko, 'idkedia./ ‘[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.
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) 왜 /'we/ ‘Why?’
/세 wrongdoing

(b) 가삼시요 /gasibsjio/ ‘Please go!’

(c) 가 /'ga/ ‘Go?’

(d) 왜 /'we/ ‘Why?’

(e) 왜 /'we/ ‘Why?’

(f) 그래요 /'gitejo/ ‘Is that so!’

(g) 날아 감나카 /nala'gami/ ‘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
   는가 가 /nuga ga/ 'Someone is going.'

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

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

(d) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
   맛고 입다 /magko -ida/ '[He] is eating.'

(e) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
   맛고 입다 /magko -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 is in principle morphemic or morphophonemic in that every morpheme or word is uniformly represented by its base form wherever it occurs. For instance the Korean words for 'light' and 'comb' are both pronounced the same, i.e., /bi/ when they occur in isolation or are followed by a word that begins with a consonant; but they are spelt differently in the Korean orthography, i.e., 별 'light'; 야 '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 별/야/ 'the light'; 별/야/ '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.

별가 /nërka/ 'bank of a stream'

withstanding /odan/ 'inside of clothes'

In the compound word /nërka/, 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 '사이사 옆' /saisiod/. 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.
1. \( b/d/g/j/s > /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ \) when immediately preceded by a plosive consonant, e.g.
   - 입장 [ibgo] > /ibko/ 'to wear and'
   - 약다 [abda] > /abia/ 'to carry on the back'
   - 식 당 [sag dal] > /sagial/ 'three months'
   - 맛보 [agbo] > /agpo/ 'musical note'
   - 높게 [dolje] > /dolke/ 'Help [him].'
   - 받지 [badji] > /badci/ '[I will] take [it].'
   - 믿소 [midso] > /midso/ '[I] believe so.'

2. \( b/d/g/j/s > /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ \) when immediately preceded by a /l/-final word, and by a /l/-final morpheme in many Sino-Korean words, e.g.
   - 앙지 [gajo] > /gajo/ 'cover'
   - 다 [j Dalton] > /j Dalton/ 'ten months'
   - 고 [calgjo] > /calcog/ 'a ball to kick'
   - 살 [sal jib] > /salcib/ 'a house to buy'
   - 오 [olsad] > /olsadam/ 'a person to come'
   - 발달 [idal] > /idal/ 'development'
   - 거리 [gilgje] > /gilgci/ '[Does he] scratch?' (> /gigci/ cf. rule 6 and 1)
   - 문물 [jAlmso] > /jAlmso/ '[You are] young.' (> /jAmso/ by rule 7)
   - 빠 [nud] > /nuda/ 'to lack' (< /nudta/ cf. rule 4)
   - 앉 [anta] > /anta/ 'to sit' (< /anjta/ cf. rule 7)

3. \( d/g/j/s > /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ \) when preceded by a verb stem ending in \( m/n \) or \( l/p/l/g/lm/nj \), e.g.
   - 간다 [gamda] > /gama/ 'to close'
   - 산 [samme] > /samke/ 'Stay behind.'
   - 심사 [sinja] > /sinke/ 'Let's sow [seeds].'
   - 신사 [simsa] > /simse/ 'Let's put on [shoes].'
   - 외할다 [halta] > /ballal/ 'development'
   - 감각 [gokje] > /galgag/ 'masterpiece'
   - 친구 [silsu] > /silsu/ 'mistake'

4. \( p/b/s > /b/ \) in the environment — \( C/# \), e.g.
   - 간 [gabs] > /gab/ 'price'
   - 간다 [gipda] > /giba/ (> /gibia/ cf. rule 1)

5. \( t/s/l/j/c > /d/ \) in the environment — \( C/# \), e.g.
   - 간고 [gatgo] > /gadgo/ 'is the same and' (> /gadko/ cf. rule 1)
   - 밥게 [badsge] > /badge/ 'Take off [shirt]' (> /badke/ cf. rule 1)

6. \( k/k/g/s/l > /g/ \) in the environment — \( C/# \), e.g.
   - 부서 [busa] > /busa/ 'kitchen'
   - 난다 [nagda] > /nagda/ 'to catch [fish]' (> /nagia/ cf. rule 1)
   - 외가 [sags] > /sag/ 'fee, wage'
   - 외달 [dag] > /dag/ 'chicken'

7. \( l/m/l/n > /m/, /l/, /n/ \) in the environment — \( C/# \), e.g.
   - 살림 [salim] > /salim/ 'life, living'
   - 빠 [calb] > /calb/ 'short' (> /calla/ cf. rule 2)
   - 외달 [ida] > /ida/ 'to recite' (> /ila/ cf. rule 2)
   - 아 [ibda] > /iliba/ > /ibla/ (cf. rule 1)

8. \( b/d/g/j/s > /m/, /l/, /n/ \) in the environment — \( m/n \), e.g.
   - 밥 [babmas] > /bammad/ 'appetite' (> /bammmas/ cf. rule 5)
   - 감비 [ginbe] > /ginne/ '[She is] sewing.'
   - 감비 [galma] > /galma/ 'Are you walking?'
   - 영국 [galn] > /gallal/ 'English weather'

9. \( b/d/g/j/s > /m/, /l/, /n/ \) in the environment — \( m/n \), e.g.
   - 외 [calma] > /calma/ 'to be young' (> /calma/ cf. rule 3)
   - 외달 [halsa] > /halsa/ 'to be many' (> /halska/ cf. rule 2)
   - 외달 [jAl] > /jAlma/ 'are you walking?'
   - 외달 [galn] > /galal/ 'a thousand leagues'

10. \( n > /l/ \) in the environment — \( l/l/ \), e.g.
    - 빠 [calma] > /calma/ 'a thousand leagues'
    - 외달 [jAlma] > /jAlma/ 'ten countries'
    - 외달 [galma] > /galma/ 'day of departure'

11. \( d/l > /c/ \) in the environment — \( h / c/ \), e.g.
    - 외달 [dadhida] > /dacida/ 'to be closed'
    - 외달 [gacit] > /gacit/ 'together'
    - 외달 [gacit] > /gacit/ 'firmly'

12. Verb stem final \( (n/h) + g/d/l > /g/lh, (n/h) + g/d/l > /g/lh \), e.g.
    - 종소 [joch] > /joch/ 'to be good' + -go > /pokoe/
    - 외달 [manh] > /manh/ 'to be many' + -da > /mandra/
    - 외달 [olh] > /olh/ 'to be correct' + -ji > /olci/
13. Verb stem final /lh + n/s > /ln/, /ls/, e.g.
    알리 ah- ‘to be ill’ + -ne > /alne/ (> /alle/ cf. rule 10)
    엠소 ah- ‘to be ill’ + -so > /also/ (> /also/ cf. rule 2)

14. Verb stem final /lh + n/s > /dn/, /ds/, e.g.
    돈도 jo- ‘to be good’ + -ne > /jo:dne/ (> /jo:nne/ cf. rule 9)
    엠소 jo- ‘to be good’ + -so > /jo:dsso/ (> /jo:dso/ cf. rule 1)

15. /d/t > /s/ when followed by /s/, e.g.
    민소 /midso/ ‘(I) believe so.’ > /misso/ (cf. rule 1)
    엠소 /jo:dsso/ ‘(It) is good.’ > /jo:ssso/ (cf. rule 1)

III
WORD AND WORD CLASSES

3.1. DEFINITION OF WORD

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

(i) Relative fixity of internal structure

The internal make-up of words cannot be altered 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,

\begin{align*}
\text{нской간다} & \text{ bisanaganda /binnaganda} & \text{’[It] is going astray.’} \\
& \text{bis-} & \text{‘astray’ prfx.} + \text{naga-} & \text{‘to go out’ V.st.} + \text{-nda} & \text{infix.sfx.} \\
\text{푸스가실} & \text{ pugwasil /pudkwasil} & \text{’unripe fruits’} \\
& \text{pus-} & \text{‘unripe’ prfx.} + \text{gwasil} & \text{‘fruit’ N.} \\
\end{align*}

no internal alteration or rearrangement 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.

\begin{align*}
\text{V as sentence predicate} \\
\text{외국에 갔습니다} & \text{ weguge gannida ‘[He] is going abroad.’} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{V as a non-final clause} \\
\text{가볍게 주세요} & \text{ gamjvn jota ‘It is good if [you] go.’} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{V as an adjectival clause} \\
\text{가는 사람} & \text{ ganin saclam ‘the one who is going’} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{V as a nominal clause} \\
\text{감히 싶으나} & \text{ gani swibia ‘Going is easy.’} \\
\text{V} \\
\end{align*}

\footnote{Except for the change in the phonological shape which is due to morphophonemic alterations.}
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.

 jel 'house' N
 엘제 'When?' N
 젠다 'It is long.' V
 오 'Oh!' Interj.
 찬천히 'slowly' Adv.

3.2. Types of Words

There are two types of word: simple and compound.

3.2.1. Simple Word

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

해 'sun'
달 'moon'
나무 'tree'
여름 'summer'
못사실 'unripe' prfx. + sal 'love'
.hppel 'new [crop] rice' < heb 'new' + šal 'rice'

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.

Passwords napalkod 'morning-glory' < napal 'bugle' + kod 'flower'
밥밥 salbab 'rice food' < šal 'rice' + bab 'rice [boiled] food'
 الحمل 배번할 bab 'new rice food' < heb 'new' prfx. + salbab
자라국목적 jalaljogaj 'turtle-neck' < jala 'turtle' + mog 'neck'

-aji diminutive sfx.

여우모리즘 jukolipul Veronica kiusiana < Jau 'fox' + koli 'tail'
++ pul 'plant, grass'

돈벌이 donpali 'money-making' < don 'money' + bal 'to earn'
+ -i nominalizing sfx.

3.3. Word Classes

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>해 'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>빠 'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td>나무 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv.</td>
<td>여름 'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pel.</td>
<td>못사실 'unripe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interj.</td>
<td>야문 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflected</td>
<td>+bal 'to earn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter III

3.1.1. Phonological Criterion for the Definition of Word

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

연구 'jwugu 'research'
진구 'cingu 'friend'
사울 so 'Seoul'
구조 gu 'structure'
두개 tu 'struggle'
자동차 ja 'car'
소리가 참 좋다 so 'ligia 'can' jota 'The sound is very good.'
전구가 오는 날 cinguga o'in 'nal 'the day when a friend is coming'
자동차를 본 아이 ja 'dopeil 'bon 'ai 'the child who saw the car'

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

3.2. Types of Words

There are two types of word: simple and compound.

3.2.1. Simple Word

Every word which consists of a single free morpheme, with or without one or more bound morphemes, is a simple word. The morpheme may be defined as a minimal meaningful form which cannot be further analysed into smaller units. A free morpheme can occur on its own, whereas a bound morpheme
may be found one or more stem-extending suffixes representing such grammatical categories as ‘voice’, ‘honorific’, ‘tense’ and ‘humble’ (cf. 4.3). The majority of verbs, when appropriately inflected, may occur alone as a major type sentence (cf. 7.2), but verb stems alone are bound forms and can never occur without an inflectional ending, e.g.

- 온다 *onda* ‘[He] is coming.’ < o- ‘to come’ V.st. + -n tense + -da influx.end.
- 겪으신다 *kakanni* ‘[you] cut [it]?’ < kak- ‘to cut’ V.st. + -as tense + -ni influx.end.
- 보시였으나 *bosissinnida* ‘[She] has seen [it].’ < bo- ‘to see’ V.st. + -s- honorific + -s- tense + -bnda influx.end.
- 밝으세요니까 *batgiomnika* ‘Is [it] bright?’ < balg- ‘to be bright’ V.st. + -io- ‘humble’ + -ni influx.end.

3.3.2. Noun

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

(a) 사람이다 *sadam ida* ‘[He] is a man.’
- 누구였으셨니가 *nugu issinnika* ‘Who was it?’
(b) 바다로 *bada lo* ‘to the sea’
- 자유의 노래 *jaju ü note* ‘a song of freedom’
(c) 텔레비전 방송 *telebi banyson* ‘television broadcast’
(d) 온 세상 *on sayog* ‘the whole world’

3.3.3. Adjective

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

(a) 새 차 *se ca* ‘a new car’
- 이 시간 *i sigan* ‘this time/hour’
- 어느 것이 *ari gsd* ‘Which one?’
(b) 어느 새 옷 *smi se od* ‘Which new clothes?’
- 한 원 보자 *han hoxn moja* ‘an old cap’

3.3.4. Adverb

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

(a) 갓 간다 *jal ganda* ‘[He] is going well.’
- 갓 술다 *cam jofa* ‘[It] is very good.’
- 아주 잘 한다 *aja jal handa* ‘[He] is doing very well.’
(b) 너무도 비싸다 *nunudo bisada* ‘[It] is far too expensive.’
- 알리라는 *alali ra* ‘m. slin in anganda* ‘[He] is not going far.’
(c) 빨리 *palli* ‘Quickly.’
- 살살 *salsa* ‘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 온다 *sani nobia* ‘The mountain is high.’
- 주 — subject marker
- 온다 *tokilil jabad’ta* ‘[I] caught a rabbit.’
- *lil* — object marker
(b) 얻은도 *handa allindo handa* ‘[She] is doing [it] so quickly.’
- 도 — emphasis
- *jabad’ta* ‘[I] caught a rabbit.’
(c) 잡지는 알다 *ja/gjinin anta* ‘[It] is not black [although it may be big].’
- nin contrast
(d) 알다시피 늘었네 *alasipi nif xne* ‘As you know, I am late.’
- *nif xne* conj.pcl.
(e) 가서 그리 *gase gilja* ‘Let’s go.’
- *gilja* sentence pcl.

3.3.6. Interjection

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

(a) 오 오 *Ol* ‘Oh!’
- 올 *olci* ‘Splendid!’
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3.4. SUB-CLASSES OF WORD CLASSES

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

3.4.1. Sub-classes of Verbs

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

3.4.1.1. Processive and Descriptive Verbs

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

**Processive Verb**

\[\text{보- 'to see'}\]

\[\text{돈저 'to throw'}\]

\[\text{씨스위 'to rest'}\]

\[\text{ yên 'to give'}\]

\[\text{놀 'to play'}\]

\[\text{안 'to sit'}\]

**Examples**

\[\text{한나일 보다 haniml bonda 'He is looking at the sky.' < 보- 'to see'}\]

\[\text{+ -n- pres.t.sfx. + -da inflx.end.}\]

\[\text{아이가 밝다 aiga anninda 'The child is sitting down.' < 안- 'to sit'}\]

\[\text{+ -nin- pres.t.sfx. + -da.}\]

**Descriptive Verbs**

\[\text{말 '할미 'to be young'}\]

\[\text{크 '크기 'to be big'}\]

\[\text{길 '길이 'to be long'}\]

\[\text{차 '차기 'to be cold'}\]

\[\text{이 '이기 'to be good'}\]

\[\text{agos - 'to stay'}\]

\[\text{an- (< any-) 'to sit'}\]

\[\text{등 - 'to be, to exist'}\]

\[\text{gosi- 'to stay'}\]

\[\text{+ -nin- pres.t.sfx. + -da.}\]

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: \[\text{이 'to be'}\], e.g.

\[\text{돌이 돌이다 dol ida 'This is a stone.'}\]

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

\[\text{아바/가- (a) as V.p. 'to dawn, become bright'}\]

\[\text{가- (b) as V.d. 'to be bright'}\]

\[\text{니지- (a) as V.p. 'to become late'}\]

\[\text{니지- (b) as V.d. 'to be late'}\]

\[\text{키- (a) as V.p. 'to grow'}\]

\[\text{키- (b) as V.d. 'to be big'}\]

\[\text{玟- (a) as V.p. 'to stay'}\]

\[\text{玟- (b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'}\]

\[\text{라기- (a) as V.p. 'to stay'}\]

\[\text{라기- (b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'}\]

\[\text{gesi- is the honorific counterpart of玟-}]\]

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

\[\text{날이 밝다 nali bag'da 'The day is bright.' < balg- V.d. + -da}\]

\[\text{날이 밝다 nali bag'inda 'The day is dawning.' < balg- V.p. + -nin- pres.t.sfx. + -da}\]

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.
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Transitive Verbs

먹 mag- ‘to eat’, 밥 mil- ‘to push’
누르 nulli- ‘to press’, 놀 buli- ‘to call’
답 dad- ‘to shut’, 팔 pal- ‘to sell’

Examples

먹을 먹니 iagil magni ‘Are you eating cake?’
< mag- ‘to eat’ + -ni inflx.end.
먹이 먹히니 iagi magini ‘Is cake being eaten?’
< mag- ‘to eat’ + -hi- passive voice sfx. + -ni

Intransitive Verbs

앉 any- ‘to sit’, 서 ss- ‘to stand’
쉬 swi- ‘to rest’, 능 nop- ‘to be high’
하향 hajah- ‘to be white’

Examples

히자에 앉는다 iiac anninda ‘[He] is sitting on a chair.’
< any- ‘to sit’ + -nin- pres. t.sfx. + -da
언덕에 능다 nagi nobia ‘The hill is high.’
< nop- ‘to be high’ + -da

3.4.1.3. Full Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs

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

3.4.1.3.1. Full Verbs

3.4.1.3.1.1. Honorific Full Verbs

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

Honorific Verbs

잡수사 jabsusi- ‘to eat’
주무시 jumusi- ‘to sleep’
게시 gesi- ‘to be, to exist’

Plain Verbs

먹 mag-
자 ja-
길 b-

Examples

잡수사 jabsusiinda ‘My father is dining.’
주무신아 jumusinnda ‘My brother is eating.’
게시 gesini ‘Is there an adult?’
아가파 아가 inni ‘Is there a child?’

3.4.1.3.1.2. Plain Full Verbs

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

먹 ilg- ‘to eat’
< ilg- ‘to read’
< ilg- ‘to read’ V.pl. + -nin- pres. t.sfx. + -da

Examples

소년이 책을 읽는다 sonjani cegi ilgisinda ‘A boy is reading a book.’
< ilg- ‘to read’ V.pl. + -nin- pres. t.sfx. + -da inflx.end.

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. bo- ‘to try [doing]’
2. 수 ju- ‘to do something as a favour’
3. 드리 dili- the honorific counterpart of ju-
4. 데 de- repetition
5. 시 sāh- repetition, continuation
6. 메 메 bśli- ‘to do something’ completely or thoroughly
7. 저 ji- (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
   (b) unintentional, when preceded by a V.intr.
   (c) progressive verb formative with the meaning ‘progression or to
   become’ when preceded by a V.d.
8. 저 dwe- (a) unintentional when preceded by a V.p.
   (b) progressive verb formative with the meaning ‘to become’ when
   preceded by a V.d.
9. 가 ga- (a) progression [toward a goal] from present to future or away
   from the speaker
   (b) near-completion
10. 오 o- progression [toward a goal] from past to present or toward the
    speaker
11. 도 noh- completion, retention
12. 나 나- progression, completion, V.intr.
13. 네 ne- progression, completion, V.tr.
14. 두 du- retention, preservation
15. 하 ha- (a) causative voice formative when preceded by a V.p.
   (b) causative voice and progressive verb formative when preceded
   by a V.d.
16. 만다 mandil- the same as ha-
17. 일 is- (a) retention
   (b) progressive tense formative when preceded by a V.p.
18. 싸 sip- ‘to want to, to wish to’
19. 아니하 aniha- negation
20. 못 못 mosha- negation, ‘[to be unable to]’
21. 말 mal- negation in imperative and propositive sentences

**Examples**

- 좋이가 빨이 진다 junggaja čiβa jinda ‘[A sheet of] paper is torn.’
  V.tr. Vaux.
- 쌓을 빼서 입니다 sutil masiγo idia ‘[He] is drinking wine.’
  V.tr. Vaux.
- 주의 ‘to drink’, is- (> /id-/) progressive tense

### Chapter III

3.4.1.3.2.1.1. Auxiliary Verbs and Full Verbs Identical in Form

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

- 저 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
- 메 메 bśli- (a) ‘to throw’ as full verb
  (b) ‘[doing something] completely’ as auxiliary verb
- 도 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**

- 좋이 진다 koci jinda ‘The flower is falling.’
  V
- 쌓이 깊어 진다 swega kškt jinda ‘The iron is broken.’
  V Vaux.
- 보 보라 cegil boala ‘Look at the book.’
  V
- 쌓이 싸 보라 cegil ilgA boala ‘Try reading the book.’
  V Vaux.
- 쌓이 싸 보라 cegil ilgA boala ‘Try reading the book.’
  V Vaux.

### 3.4.1.3.2.2. Post-nominal Auxiliary Verbs

The most common post-nominal auxiliary verbs are:

(i) 적적 jigha- ‘is likely to, is worth [doing]’, V.d.aux.

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

- 명석(도) 하다 maγim jig(do)hada ‘[It] is worth eating (too).’
(ii) **ha-** ‘admission or recognition’ of the action or event represented by the predicate in the preceding nominal clause. Vd.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].’

의기는 하나 hiiginin hada ‘[It] is white, [I admit].’

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 든다
의기를 하나

ogido onda and hiiginin hidida

3.4.1.3.2.3. Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs

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

(i) **disha-** ‘to seem or appear’ VxLaux.

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

간없하다 gan dishada ‘[It] seems that [he] has gone.’

많아하다 gal dishada ‘[It] seems that [he] is going to leave.’

거는듯하다 ganin dishada ‘[It] seems that [he] is going.’

(ii) **manha-** ‘to be worth [doing]’ Vd.aux.

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

부러질보다 bol manhabnida ‘[It] is worth seeing.’

(iii) **bshha-** ‘to be likely to’ Vd.aux.

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

비가 오면보다 biga of bshhada ‘It looks like raining.’

(iv) **jagha-** ‘pretending to’ Vp.aux.

(v) **cshha/ceha-** ‘pretending to’ Vp.aux.

(vi) **bsnha-** ‘nearly [did]’ Vp.aux.

The verbs **jagha-** and **cshha/ceha-** occur only after an adjectival clause formed with *nin and -/in, and bsnha- after the one formed -/il, e.g.

우려하고 하지마라 nin jag(in)haji mala ‘Don’t pretend to cry.’

아프다고 했으십니다 apin cshfil/hesibnida ‘[I] pretended to be ill.’

다칠뻔 했다 dacil bsh(do)hesida ‘[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 **il/il** (cf. 3.4.5.1) can occur within the stem of the three verbs **jagha-**, **cshha/ceha-**, and **bsnha-**.

As an alternative analysis, all post-adjectival clause auxiliary verbs may be treated as phrases consisting of the non-independent nouns such as **jag, cshg/ce, bsh**, 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, cshg/ce, bsh**, 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) **sip-** presumption, conjecture

(ii) **bo-** presumption, conjecture

These auxiliary verbs occur only after a final interrogative clause formed with -tiittga (4.3.5.1.3.2), -na (4.3.5.1.3.2) or -IkaZ-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), e.g.

 giữa 보아 gasna boa /gannaboa/ ‘[He] is gone, I think.’

좋은가 봤으니 usninga bobnida /usninga bumnida/ ‘I think [they] are laughing.’

예전인가 싶다 jnplilinga sip/lnplilinga siba/ ‘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
(ii) Transitive V \(\longrightarrow\) Processive V
\((\text{Processive V} \quad \text{Descriptive V})\)

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

3.4.2. Sub-classes of Nouns

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

3.4.2.1. Independent Nouns

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

- 사람 saalam ‘man, person’
- 아기 aiti ‘child’
- 개 ge ‘dog’
- 집 jib ‘house’
- 하늘 hanil ‘sky’
- 물 mul ‘water’
- 기차 gica ‘train’
- 사랑 salay ‘love’
- 생각 segag ‘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 백만이나 mja:cmnika ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>한국어</th>
<th>Sino-Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>하나 hanal ‘one’</td>
<td>일 il ‘one’</td>
<td>은 one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>액 두 dul ‘two’</td>
<td>이 i ‘two’</td>
<td>둘 two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>삼 삼 sib ‘three’</td>
<td>삼 sam ‘three’</td>
<td>삼 sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>사 사 sa ‘four’</td>
<td>사 사 sa ‘four’</td>
<td>사 사</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>오 오 o ‘five’</td>
<td>오 오 o ‘five’</td>
<td>오 오</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>육 육 jug ‘six’</td>
<td>육 육 jug ‘six’</td>
<td>육 두</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>칠 칠 cil ‘seven’</td>
<td>칠 cil ‘seven’</td>
<td>칠 cil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’ < o ‘five’ + sib ‘ten’
- 이십 o sib ‘fifty’ < o ‘five’ + sib ‘ten’
- 오백 o beg ‘five hundred’ < o ‘five’ + beg ‘hundred’
- 육백 잡사 jug beg cil sib sa ‘six hundred and seventy four’ < jug ‘six’ + beg ‘hundred’ + cil ‘seven’ + sib ‘ten’ + sa ‘four’
- 일천구백육십팔 일천구백육십팔 il chon gu beg jug sib pal ‘1968’
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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 첫 precedence / cxec, e.g.

- 다섯 'first' 첫 precedence 'second'
- 세스 'second' 셋 precedence 'third'
- 네스 'third' 네 precedence 'fourth'
- 다섯 'third' 다섯 precedence 'fifth'
- 여섯 'fourth' 여섯 precedence 'sixth'
- 스물두 'sixth' 스물두 precedence 'twenty second'

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

- 제일 'first'
- 제십 'fifteenth'
- 제이 'second'
- 제갈 'eightieth'
- 제삼 'third'
- 제칠 (seventy fourth)

3.4.2.1.4. Distribution of Korean and Sino-Korean Numerals

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

- 다섯 사람 다섯 사람 'five people' < 다섯 'five' Korean num.
- 스물두 사람 스물두 사람 'six people' < 스물두 'six' Korean num.

3.4.2.1.5. Interrogative Nouns

Nouns whose meanings vary according to whether they occur in interrogative or non-interrogative sentences are interrogative nouns. In each of the four cases of interrogative nouns, the interrogative auxiliary is the same as the corresponding declarative auxiliary, e.g.

- 이 빛 'this'
- 그 빛 'that'
- 이 빛 'this'
- 그 빛 'that'

3.4.2.2. 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).

1 The alternant form ne occurs before the subject particle ga (3.4.5.1), and na elsewhere. ne also occurs as a contraction of na + il 'of me, my', il being a particle. The same rule applies to ja/ja.
2 -dit is a derivational suffix expressing 'more than one'.
3 ne occurs only before the particle ga and na elsewhere.
4 By 'non-interrogative sentence' is meant 'declarative' 'imperative' or 'propositive' sentence. (cf. 7.3.2)
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Following examples the first English meaning given is associated with the interrogative and the second with non-interrogative sentence.

(a)  
nu / 누 /  
nu/nugu  
'who'  
'someone'

(b)  
무엇  
mu(s)  
'what'  
'something'

(c)  
몇  
mje  
'how many'  
'a few, several'

(d)  
언제  
anje  
'when'  
'sometimes'

Examples

누가 했다 nu-ga  'Who did it?'

누가 했다 nuga  'Someone did it.'

몇개를 샀니 mje-dek-e-samu  'How many did you buy?'

몇개를 샀니 mje-dek-e-sad-gi  ['I'] bought several.'

3.4.2.1.4. Adverbial Nouns

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

오늘 onil  'today'

어제 aje  'yesterday'

지금 jigm  'now'

이기 jagi  'there'

 언제 mje-e etc. 'when, sometime'

Examples

오늘이 지났다 onil-ginada  'Today has passed.' onil as subject (N).

내가 오늘 갔다 nega onil-gan-da  '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 instance, mali 'head(s) of animal' refers to animal and is therefore used only with nouns that represent animals.

Examples

마리 mali  'head(s) of animal'

장장 jaeng  'sheet(s) of paper'

권 권권 gwan  'volume(s) of book(s)'

그루 gilu  'number of trees'

대 de  'a set of machines'

치치  
ch'i  
'inch length'

성성  
seon  
'sack of grain'

명 공공 mjog  'number of person(s)'

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

마리수 malisu / malisu  'number of animals'

장수 jaengsu / jaengsu  'number of sheets of paper'

권수 gwansu / gwansu  'number of volumes of books'

Examples

장수가 많다 jaengsu-ga-manta  'The number of sheets of paper is large (lit. 'plenty').'

3.4.2.2.2. Post-Modifiers

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

Examples

우리의 것 ulje gaj  'ours, our thing'

먹는 것 mangin gaj  'that which eats, thing to eat, that fact that one eats'
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Chapter III

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

네 na 'you'
학생 hagseiy 'pupil'

Inanimate Nouns

인간 ingan 'human beings'
아이 ai 'child'

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

말 mal 'word, speech'
성함 sasjam 'name'
아버지 abnim 'father'
아버지 abnim 'mother'
할아버지 halabnim 'grandfather'
선생 sanseijnim 'teacher'

Plain Nouns

땅 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 malism : 말 mal 'word, speech'
전직 jinji : 소 so 'cow'

Examples

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

신에 san e 'to a mountain'
학교에 hagkjo e 'to a school'

3.4.2.3.3. 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:

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Animate Nouns

네 na 'you'
학생 hagseiy 'pupil'

Inanimate Nouns

인간 ingan 'human beings'
아이 ai 'child'

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.

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

Examples

- 아버님이 주무신다 abnnim jumusinda 'My father is sleeping.'
- 선생님의 전자를 참수신다 susanimmip jinnili jabusinda 'The teacher is having his meal.'
- 할아버지의 장례 가신다 halabAnimi jare gasinda 'My grandfather is going to the market.'
- 비가 오신다 biga osinda 'Rain is falling (lit. ‘coming’).'

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.

Examples

- 군인이 방에 계시요 gunini bage gesisjo 'A soldier is in the room.'
  gesi-‘to be’ V.hon.
  (Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being within sight or earshot.)

3.4.3. Sub-classes of Adjectives

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

3.4.3.1. Numeral Adjectives

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

- 한 han ‘one’
- 두 du ‘two’
- 세 / 사 / 책 se/sa/sak ‘three’
- 네 / 사 / 사 / ne/na/na ‘four’
- 다섯 das ‘five’
- 여섯 jas ‘six’
- 첫 cas ‘first’

The selection of one or the other of the three alternate forms of each of the two sets se/sa/sak and ne/na/na 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 sum ‘sack’, e.g., sa jan, sa sum, na jan, na sum, and se and ne collocate with all other nouns, e.g., se eg ‘three books’ ne gaji ‘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 nouns dasas ‘five’ and jassas ‘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 haegi ‘one pupil’
- 한 두 학생 han du haegi ‘one or two pupil(s)’
Korean Grammar

3.4.3.2. Deictic Adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

이 집 'this house'

저 집 'that house'

3.4.3.3. Interrogative Adjectives

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

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

(ii) 무슨 musin 'what'; 'some, certain'

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

(iv) 어떤 Alen 'what sort of'; 'some sort of'

Examples

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

이 무슨 일을 했니? Alen ilil hedia 'You did something.'
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.

볼 bol ‘well, nicely’
슬슬 soksok ‘softly, gently’
많이 manhi ‘in plenty’

Examples

잘 가라 jal gala ‘Farewell!’ (lit. ‘Go well’) V.p.

3.4.4.2. Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.d.)

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

매우 meu ‘very’
대단히 dedanhi ‘very, greatly’
참 cam ‘extremely, very’
가장 gajang ‘most’

Examples

매우 좋다 meu joxa ‘[It] is very good.’ V.d.
매우 잘 했다 meu jal iwinda ‘[He] runs very well.’ V.d.

키가 대단히 크다 kiga dedanhi kida ‘[He] is extremely tall.’ V.p.
대단히 빨리 먹는다 dedanhi pali magininda ‘[She] eats very fast.’ V.p.
누가 가장 잘 하니 nuga gajang jal hani ‘Who does it best?’ (lit. ‘Who most well does it?’)

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

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

누구 nangu ‘too much’ as Adv.p.
‘too...’ as Adv.d.
강장히 gwejyapi ‘very much’ as Adv.p.
‘very...’ as Adv.d.
아주 aju ‘very, extremely’ as Adv.p.
‘very, extremely’ as Adv.d.
상당히 saydanhi ‘remarkably or fairly much/many’ as Adv.p.
‘quite, fairly’ as Adv.d.
확실히 hwagsilhi ‘definitely, clearly’

Examples

누구 많다 nangu manta ‘There are too many.’ V.d.
누구 갔다 nangu jada ‘[She] slept too much.’ V.p.
아주 비단클레 aju bidado ‘Has [he] left for good?’ V.p.
아주 화나도 aju himninda ‘[It] is completely white.’ V.p.
‘[I] have eaten very much.’

3.4.4.4. Interrogative Adverbs

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

왜 we ‘why’ in the interrogative sentence.
‘by the way, as you know/remember’ in the non-interrogative sentence.
어떻게 akke ‘how’ in the interrogative sentence.
‘somehow’ in the non-interrogative sentence.

Examples

왜 안오나 we anona ‘Why doesn’t [he] come?’
3.4.4.5. Sentence Adverb (Adv.)

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

Examples

그러나 gilno 'but, however'
또 lo 'and, furthermore'
그러나 gilmi 'therefore'
da구나 dagnu 'furthermore, on top of that'
하물마 hamilinja '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'
또 ionin 'or'
곧 god 'namely, in other words'

3.4.5. Sub-classes of Particles

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

3.4.5.1. Subject/Complement Particle

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

Examples

나무가 늙다 namuga nobia 'The tree is high.'

동생이 때가 아프다 dongsigi besa apiada

'Vee younger brother has a stomach ache.'
(lit. 'My brother stomach is sick.')

1 Here and elsewhere the notation 'V/C-form' is to be read: 'Of the two alternant forms separated by a slant line, the first form occurs after a vowel-final form and the second form after a consonant-final form. In this case, for instance, ga form occurs after a vowel-final noun and i form after a consonant-final noun.'
There are two other particles occurring only as the main subject marker (cf. 6.3.3): 에서 kesA, 에서 eSa.

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

사장님께서 오십니다 sajonim kesA osimnida ‘The director is coming.’

N.hon.

아버님께서 주무십니다 absinim kesA jumusimnida

N.hon.

‘[My] father is asleep.’

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

우리 학교에서 우승했습니다 uli hagkkjoesA usigiedia

S

‘Our school has won.’

3.4.5.2. Object Particle

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

Examples

창을 닫았니 caqil dadanii ‘Did you shut the window?’

V.tr.

기차를 못탔다 gicatil modtadja ‘[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):

예 e (after an inanimate noun),
예게 ege (after an animate noun),
한테 hante (after an animate noun in the colloquial style of speech),
게 ke (after an animate honorific noun).

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

Examples

문에 옷이 걸리었다 mune osi gollisidia

Ag. V.pasv.

‘[Her] clothes were caught by/in the door.’

벽에 질을 입혔다 hjige cili ipinda

Ag. V.caus.

‘[He] is painting the wall’ (lit. ‘making the wall wear paint’).

고양이에게 먹히었다 gojajege makiAdia

Ag. V.pasv.

‘[It] was eaten by a cat.’

고양이에게 먹히었다 gojajege magiAdia

Ag. V.caus.

‘[She] made a cat eat [it].’

아이한테 입혔다 alhante ipinda

Ag. V.caus.

‘[She] is dressing a child’ (lit. ‘making a child to wear clothes.’)

어른에게 잡히었다 xlinke jajisiAdia

Ag. V.pasv.

‘[She] was caught by an adult.’

3.4.5.4. Adverbial Particle

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

3.4.5.4.1. Directive Particle

The directive particles can occur only after a noun or a nominal phrase.

1. 에 / 에게 / 한테 / 게
e/ege/hante/ke ‘to, toward’, e.g.

말에 dale ‘to the moon’

지지에게 gajije ‘to a beggar’

한테 wayke ‘to the king’

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

여러에서 오니 adiesA oni ‘Where are you coming from?’

3. 에게서 egesA ‘from’ (after N.animate), e.g.

친구에게서 원가가 왔다 cingu egessA pjanjiga wadia

‘A letter came from my friend.’

1 See 3.4.5.3 for the distribution of these particles.
4. 한국어에서 한Tes from (after Nani in colloquial style), e.g.
   누구한테서 응가 nugu hantesolka ‘From whom will it come?’

5. 로 /으로/ilo ‘to, toward, as, with, by’ V/C-form (after N.ina.), e.g.
   청거장으로 미간다 jangjangilo inanda ‘[She] is leaving for the station.’
   나무로 만들었다 namulo mandlada ‘They made it with wood.’
   화장으로 풋차 hwejago pobcha ‘Let’s choose [him] as president.’
   기차로 간다 gicalo ganda ‘I am going by train.’

6. 애게로 egelo ‘to, toward’ (after N.ani.), e.g.
   애게로 간다 paliga malegelo nalla ganda
   ‘A fly is flying to a horse.’

7. 한국어에서 한Telo ‘to, toward’ (after N.ani. in colloquial style), e.g.
   애게로 간다 paliga malegelo nalla ganda
   ‘A fly is flying to a horse.’

8. 로시 /으로/losa/ilos ‘as’ (after N.ini.) V/C-form.
    로시 /으로/losa/ilos ‘with, by’ (after N.ina.) V/C-form, e.g.
    장간으로 말했다 janggwanilos samaheesajo ‘(He) spoke as a minister.’
    방으로써 사랑했어요 jsjgwanilos samajgesajo ‘(She) died of illness.’

9. 왜/가 wa/gwa ‘with’ V/C-form, e.g.
   왜/가 손다 atwa nonda ‘[She] is playing with a child.’

10. 하고 hago ‘with’ (in colloquial style), e.g.
    순장하고 아기처럼 sungjaehago iajihalka
    ‘Shall we have a word with the policeman.’

11. 처럼 cslam ‘as, like’, e.g.
    처럼 해보아 js cslam heboa ‘Try and do as he does.’

12. 보다 boda ‘than’, e.g.
    보다 작다 iboda jajja ‘That is smaller than this.’
    보다 환하다 naboga hwonhada ‘It is brighter than daylight.’

Besides there are what may be called compound directive particles such as:
   때문에 iemun ‘because (of)’ < iemun + e
   앞에 ape ‘in front of’ < ap + e
   뒤에 dwie ‘behind’, ‘after’ < dwi + e
which are composed of nouns followed by a directive particle like 에 e.

3.4.5.2. Quotative Particles
The quotative particle may occur after any stretch of speech as well as a word
of any class, phrase, clause, or sentence and marks it as a quotation. The
quotative particle appears in the following three shapes.

(a) 라고 lago (after any quotation ending in a vowel except a clause or
   sentence ending in /a/), e.g.
   이것은 나무라고 한다 isamulago handa
   ‘[We] call it “wood”.’

(b) 이라고 ilago (after any quotation ending in a consonant), e.g.
   나는 창순이라고 한다 nanin cangsinilago hampida
   ‘My name is “Changsun” ([People] call me Changsun).’

(c) 고 go (after a clause or sentence ending in /a/), e.g.
   학교에 가겠다고 약속했다 hagkjoegadegiago jagoshakdja
   ‘(He) promised that he would go to school.’

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

어 / 이 ja/a V/C-form (low plain style)

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

어 / 이어 ja/ija V/C-form (formal style)

Examples
   남주야 namjuja ‘Namju’ (= a girl’s name)
   밤은 밤에 balgin dala ‘Bright moon!’
   동수 dongsu Zero ‘Dongsu!’ (= a man’s name)
   친구이 wsongi ‘Wonbog!’ (= a man’s name)
   친구이 cungui ‘Dear friend!’
   그는 내이 gilin nimja ‘My dear!’ (lit. ‘Darling I miss.’)
   웅동아, 백리식 bokgyoa, palwi ‘Bogdong, come quickly!’
   아니 복동아 체한가니 ani bokgyoa, wean gani
   ‘By the way, Bogdong, why don’t you go?’
   아니 체한가니 복동아 ani weangani bokgyoa
   ‘By the way, why don’t you go, Bogdong?’
3.4.5.6. Conjunctive Particle

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

3.4.5.6.1. Nominal Conjunctive Particles

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

- **wa/gwa** V/C-form ‘and’
- **hago** ‘and’
- **na/ina** V/C-form ‘or’

**Examples**

- 사과와 농물 salamgwa dojmul ‘man and animal’
- 나무와 물과 하늘 namuwa mulgwawa hamil ‘the tree, water and sky’
- 심판하고 선수가 다두고 있다 simpanhago samsuga datugo idia ‘The referee and a player are quarrelling.’
- 책이나 신문을 보시고? cegina simmunil 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 sansengwa hagsej ‘a teacher and a pupil’
- 선생과 갑다 sansengwa gada ‘[They] left with a teacher.’
- 선생과 같이 따난다 sansengwa gaci iwannda ‘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:

- **man(in)** ‘although, but’
- **sipi** ‘as’

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

- 이미 늦었습니까(은) 감사다 imi nip.simmida man(in) gabsida ‘It is already late but let us go.’
- 해가 비친다면 (은) 나이 출다 haga bicinda man(in) nali cubia ‘Although the sun is shining it is cold.’
- 그는 민의원이 되었습니까(은) 승ERSIST gi mibiniwini dwe.simmida man(in) silp.simmida ‘He became an MP but he was sad.’
- 자바가 알고시다 나는 바쁘데 janega alda sipi namin bapline ‘As you know I am busy.’
- 당신이 부탁드시다 아이가 아프소 dasinsi boadta sipi aiga apassio ‘As you saw, the child was ill.’

3.4.5.7. Sentence Particle

The particles which typically occur at the end of a sentence are sentence particles. There are two sentence particles: **gilja** ‘exclamator’, **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 -a/-e, -ji or -gun of the medium speech style, or -ne or -de of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3), and after any minor sentence, elevating such medium or high plain speech style to the level of low formal style, e.g.

- 나이 출습니다 그녀 nali cubsimnida gilja ‘What a cold day it is!’
- 자바도 들었습니다 그녀 janedo nilgsneme gilja ‘You have grown old too!’
- 우리가 감사합니다 우리 uliga gabsida gilja ‘Let us go!’

The snow is melting.’

| Z: (medium) | Z: (low form) |
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.

계가요 내일 가지요 jega jo, neil gaji jo ‘I will go tomorrow.’

이 아이는요 치스플 요 살아해요 iainin jo, cisilil jo, silh she jo ‘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: 은/은 ‘of’

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>영어</th>
<th>한국어</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>your pencil</td>
<td>your pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the contents of the book</td>
<td>the contents of the book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melody of the new song</td>
<td>melody of the new song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melody</td>
<td>melody</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 맛있는다 sagwanin magininda ‘She eats apples (not pears).’
   그가 마음을 좋다 giga mainin joxa ‘She is kind (though not bright).’
   방을 잃은 한다 malil julin handa
   [He] speaks well (though not clearly).’
   나에게는 주시오 naege nin jusio ‘Give [it] to me (though not to others).’
   [I] want to sit down (though I don’t want to walk).’
   ango /anko/ ‘sitting’ concat. form

2. 만 man ‘only, solely’, e.g.
   너가 같이 niman gani ‘Are you going alone?’
   책만 보니 ceypin boni ‘Are you reading books only (not newspapers)?’
   이것이 참만 한다 igasim jinman dwenda
   ‘This becomes only a burden (nothing else).’
   곧지만 밥만한다 gogil mlliman canda
   [He] kicks the ball only far (not accurately).’
   mll ‘far’ Adv.
   다방에만 가치요 dapusga man gasio
   ‘Do you go only to a tea room (not elsewhere)?’
   최지만 못하게 하였다 iwiji man motage hajxdia
   ‘I just did not allow him to run (though I approved of other things)’
   iwiji concat. form
3. do 'also, too, as well', e.g.

아이도 우리 aido uni 'Is the child crying also?'

이제 축구도 한다 ije cegkudo handa 'Now [he] even plays football.'

타자들 말리도 한다 tajal palido cinda 'She types fast too.'

palli 'fast' Adv.

 앞으로도 간다 apilodo ganda 'It goes forward too.'

apilo 'to front' adv.rel.ph.

회가 바로도 한다 swega jallado jinda 'The iron can also be cut.'

jalla 'cutting' concat. form

4. 마나 mada 'every, each, e.g.

마나 나를 보는 듯 하였다 bja:mada nalil bonindid hajxdla

'Someone seems to be watching me.'

5. 부터 buta 'first, from, beginning with', e.g.

사진부터 보아라 sajinbuta boala 'Look at the photo first.'

6. 까지 kaji 'even, as far as', e.g.

부까지 나갔다 bukaji nagadia 'Even the light has gone out.'

7. 조차 joca 'even, up to', e.g.

함마니는 곳곳조차 아꼈다 halm:minin golci:joca apsida

'She even had a headache.'

8. 아말로/아이말로 jamallo/ijamallo V/C-form 'as for, in particular', e.g.

이 영화야말로 막 보아야한다 ija:ghwajamallo kog boajahanda

'O one must see this film in particular.'

9. 라도 / 이라도 la:do/ila:do V/C-form

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

차라도 마시라 calado masj:sla

'Have some tea (for lack of anything better at the moment).'
IV
STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

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

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

(i) 잡아 jaba ‘Catch [it].’ < jab- ‘to catch’ V.st. + -a inflx.end.
(ii) 잡아서 jabaša ‘[He] has caught [it].’
    < jab- + -aš- past t.sfx. + -a inflx.end.
(iii) 잡아서서 japisāša ‘[He] has been caught’
(iv) 잡아서서서 japisisāša ‘[He] may have been captured.’
     < jab- + -hi- passvcs.sfx. + -si- hon.sfx. + -aš- + -a
(v) 잡아서서서서서서 japisisisišašasima ‘[He] may have been captured.’
     < jab- + -hi- + -si- + -ašgeš-t.sfx. + -sao- humble sfx. + -bnida inflx.end.

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

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

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

가 ga- ‘to go’  両 o- ‘to come’
도 not. ‘to play’  자 ja- ‘to sleep’
말 na- ‘to eat’  종 joh- ‘to be good’
等.

4.2.1.1. Prefixed 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) 잡 jis- ‘at random, violently’, e.g.
     잡받 jidbab- ‘to trample down’ < jis- + balb- ‘to stamp on’
(ii) 잡 jas- ‘secretly’, e.g.
     잡들은 jasid- ‘to overhear’ < jas- + did- ‘to hear’
(iii) 잡 si- ‘deep, very’, e.g.
     잡 있고 sipiš- ‘deep blue’ < si- + pslsh- ‘blue’
(iv) 잡 ol- ‘early’, e.g.
     잡 오래로 oldw- ‘to be precocious’ < ol- + dwe- ‘to become’
(v) 잡 ci- ‘up, upward’, e.g.
     잡 push, 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.

보살피 bosalpi- 'to look after < bo- 'to see' + salpi- 'to observe'
감속 gsanhug- 'to be dark red' < g.san- 'dark' + hulg- 'red'
부잡 butjab- 'to grab' < but- 'to stick' + jab- 'to catch'

4.2.2. Stem Classes

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

4.2.2.1. V-Stems

4.2.2.1.1. Invariable V-Stems

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

가 ga- 'to go'
わた so- 'to shoot'
세 se- 'to count'
보 bo- 'to see'
제 se- 'to leak' 'to dawn'

Examples

 어디 가지오 /adi gao/ 'Where are you going?' < ga- + -o inflx.end.
 잠이 잠에 /jibe ganda/ 'I am going home.'
 < ga- + -n-t.sfx. + -da inflx.end.
 보았음니라 /boasinnida/ 'I have seen it.'
 < bo- + -as- t.sfx. + ibnida 'inflx.end.

4.2.2.1.1. Diphthongization

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

/\i/ + /a/ > /ja/
/\u/ + /a/ > /wa/
/o/ + /a/ > /wa/

Examples

/gi-/+ -a/ > /gja/ 'to crawl'
/bu-/+ -a/ > /bwa/ 'to see'
/ju-/+ -a/ > /jwa/ 'to give'

In more careful speech, however, /gja/, /bwa/ and /jwa/ tend to occur more frequently than the diphthongized forms.

4.2.2.1.2. Variable V-Stems

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

4.2.2.1.2.1. i-dropping Stems

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

잠그 jamgi- 'to lock'
트 ti- 'to tear open'
세 si- 'to use or write'
키 ki- 'to grow, to be big'

Examples

세 si- 'to use or write'
세도 si-do 'even if [you] write' > si- + -ndo

cf. 리 so 'Please write!'
쓰고 sigo 'writing'

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:

이로 ili- 'to arrive or reach'
주로 puli- 'to be blue'
Examples

네네 ilil 'on arriving' < ilil - +A
이르네 ililsida/ililsid/ [They] arrived [there].
< ilil - + -s- past t.sfx. + -da
cf. 커기애 이르면 gagie ilimjan '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: pu 'to draw (water)'.

Examples

피라 psla 'Draw!' < pu - + -sla
피도 pdo 'even if you draw [water]'
cf. 푸고 pugo 'drawing' < pu - + -go

4.2.2.1.2.4. 1-doubling Stems

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

나리 nali 'to carry'
짜리 cali 'to cut'
호리 hili 'to flow'
베리 pali 'to be fast'

Examples

물러라 bull sla 'Call [him].' < buli - + -sla
물려서 bullasa 'call [him] and' < buli - + -ASA
cf. 무르면 bulimjan 'if you call [me]' < buli - + -mjjan

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 a/A of haj is sometimes coalesces into e, thus giving rise to ha. 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

와 ha 'to do, to say'
정하 janhha 'to be soft'
참하 camha 'to be nice or pretty'
정하 japha 'to decide'
통하 tojha 'to pass'
e tc.

Chapter IV

4.2.2.2. C-Stems

4.2.2.2.1. Invariable C-Stems

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

물 cij 'to tear'
물 sim 'to sow'
물 mwg 'to eat'
물 ib 'to wear'
물 bss 'to take off, to undress'
물 jag 'to be small'
물 sakt 'to mix'
etc.

Examples

이것을 밖으로가서 igssii cijikka 'Will [he] tear this?'
세로 싸리 sili simni 'Are you sowing seeds?'
침이 침구 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 /-final verb stems appear in the /-less allomorphs when they are followed by a suffix or an ending which begins with /n/, /s/, /b/ or /o/:

값 gak - 'to plough'
값 na - 'to fly'
값 알 'to know'
값 mal - 'to roll or stop'
값 갑 'to hang'
값 pal - 'to sell'
etc.
4.2.2.2.2.2. s-dropping Stems

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

Examples

- 쿠 ‘to build’
- 기 ‘to draw or mark [a line]’
- 하 ‘to pour’

etc.

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:

Examples

- 무 ‘to ask’
- 무 ‘to walk’
- 먹 ‘to eat’

etc.

4.2.2.2.4. b-final Stems

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

Examples

- 돌 누 ‘to lie down’
- 돌 도 ‘to help’
- 가까 ‘to be near’
- 꽃 꽃 ‘to grill’
- 길 길 ‘to mend or darn’

etc.

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

\[\text{V/C-form}\]
where -ni is the V-form and -ini the C-form, e.g.: 

보니 boni ‘As [I] see [it]’ < bo+ -ni V-form

점으니 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/s-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/s-form’, a-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and s-form when the preceding vowel is /e/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /j/ or /ı/. The only exception to this vowel harmony rule is the past tense suffix -as/-Ala, which is always followed by s-form and not a-form (cf. 4.3.3).

아라 / 아라 -ala/-sla, a/s-form
잡아라 jabala ‘Catch it.’
먹아라 msgala ‘Eat it.’
하여라 hajala ‘Do it.’

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

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

4.3.1. Voice Suffix

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

4.3.1.1. Passive Voice Suffix

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

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

담이 dapi ‘to be covered’ < dap- ‘to cover’ + -i-

통이 halli ‘to be hacked’ < halli- ‘to hack’ + -i-

잡이 kaji ‘to be broken’ < kaji- ‘to break’ + -i-

잡이 sahi ‘to be piled up’ < sahi- ‘to pile up’ + -i-

보니 baji ‘to be seen’ < bo- ‘to see’ + -i- (/biw/e/-, /bo/- or /bi/-)

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

염히 abhi ‘to be carried [on the back]’
< sb- ‘to carry [on the back]’ + -yi-

하히 dadhi ‘to be closed’ < dad ‘to close’ + -yi-

말히 msghi ‘to be eaten’ < msg ‘to eat’ + -yi-

흡히 koyhi ‘to be inserted’ < koy ‘to insert’ + -yi-

(iii) -yi- 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.: 

감히 gaghi ‘to be wound’ < gag- ‘to wind’ + -yi-

받히 bgagi ‘to be embraced’ < bg ‘to embrace’ + -yi-

받히 bgagi ‘to be embraced’ < bg ‘to embrace’ + -yi-

받히 bgagi ‘to be embraced’ < bg ‘to embrace’ + -yi-

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

잡기 gangi ‘to be wound’ < gam ‘to wind’ + -gi-

잡기 angi ‘to be embraced’ < an ‘to embrace’ + -gi-

잡기 peagi ‘to be snatched’ < pea ‘to snatch’ + -gi-

잡기 cogi ‘to be chased’ < coe ‘to chase’ + -gi-

잡기 kinhgi ‘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) -yi-, (iii) -yi- and (iv) -hi-.

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

비우 biu- ‘to empty’ < hi- ‘to empty’ + -u-

세우 seu- ‘to keep vigil’ (lit. ‘to cause dawn to break’) < se- ‘to dawn’ + -u-
Korean Grammar

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Verb Stem</th>
<th>Passive/Causative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>보이</em> boi- 'to show'</td>
<td><em>보이다</em> boi 'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>주이</em> cu- 'to cause'</td>
<td><em>주이다</em> cu 'to dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>먹약</em> magi- 'to feed'</td>
<td><em>먹약하다</em> magi 'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>작기</em> magi- 'to cause'</td>
<td><em>작다</em> magi 'to drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>작기</em> magi- 'to make'</td>
<td><em>작하다</em> magi 'to eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 4.3.2. Honorific Suffix

There is only one honorific suffix, *-si/-isti* - 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. 3.4.1.3.11). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Verb Stem</th>
<th>Honorific Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>가사</em> gasinda 'to live'</td>
<td><em>가사</em> -si 'to live'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>살리</em> sali 'to save'</td>
<td>*살리' -si 'to save'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.3. Tense Suffixes

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

#### (i) Basic Tense Suffixes

- **Zero**
  - V/C-form, neutral and present tense
- **-n/-nin-**
  - V/C-form, present tense
Korean Grammar

(c) \(-\text{as-}/-\text{AS-}\) 
(a/s-form, past tense

(d) \(-\text{ges-}\) 
future tense

(ii) Retrospective Tense Suffix

(e) \(-\text{di-} / -\text{dx}\)

The past tense suffix \(-\text{as-}/-\text{AS-}\) may be reduplicated and/or combined with the future tense suffix \(-\text{ges-}\) to give the compound tense suffixes as follows:

(f) \(-\text{asAS-}/-\text{ASAS-}\) 
V/C-form, past perfect tense

(g) \(-\text{asges-}/-\text{ASges-}\) 
V/C-form, past presumptive tense

(h) \(-\text{asASges-}/-\text{ASASges-}\) 
V/C-form, past perfect presumptive tense

The retrospective suffix \(-\text{di-} / -\text{dx}\) may combine with any tense suffixes except the present tense suffix \(-\text{n-} / -\text{nin-}\). Restrictions on the distribution of the tense suffixes with verb stems and other suffixes will be described in the relevant sections dealing with the tense system.

4.3.3.1. Tense System

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

Direct Tense

봄이 온다 \(\text{bomimonda}\) 'Spring comes.'
봄이 왔다 \(\text{bomimødda}\) 'Spring came/has come.'
봄이 오니 \(\text{bomi oni}\) 'Is spring coming?'

Retrospective Tense

봄이 오니 \(\text{bomi oni}\) 'Spring came [I remember].'
봄이 왔다 \(\text{bomimødda}\) 'Spring had come [I remember].'
봄이 왔다 \(\text{bomidaka}\) '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 \(\text{is-}\) 'progressive tense formative' and are all progressive tenses. The complete system of Korean tense is set out below to serve as a point of reference for later discussion.

Direct Tense

Simple Tense

(a) Neutral Tense
(b) Present Tense
(c) Past Tense
(d) Future Tense
(e) Past Perfect Tense
(f) Past Perfective Tense
(g) Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Compound Tense

(a) Present Progressive Tense
(b) Past Progressive Tense
(c) Future Progressive Tense
(d) Past Progressive Presumptive Tense

Retrospective Tense

Simple Tense

(a) Present Retrospective Tense
(b) Past Retrospective Tense
(c) Future Retrospective Tense
(d) Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

Compound Tense

(a) Present Progressive Retrospective Tense
(b) Future Progressive Retrospective Tense
(c) Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.1. Direct Tense

4.3.3.1.1.1. Simple Tense

4.3.3.1.1.1.1. Neutral Tense

The neutral tense lacks any time reference and is used exclusively in such special styles as monologue, diary, poetry, etc. It is morphologically unmarked and its occurrence is restricted to processive verbs suffixed by \(-\text{da}\) 'declarative mood ending of the low plain speech style' (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1). It should be noted that all processive verbs are listed in Korean dictionaries in the neutral tense form, e.g., 가다 \(\text{gada}\) 'to go', 먹다 \(\text{mødda}\) 'to eat', etc., whereas all descriptive verbs are listed in the present tense form (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2), e.g., 크다 \(\text{kida}\) 'to be big', 맛다 \(\text{maløda}\) 'to be clear', etc., e.g.

\begin{align*}
\text{가다} & \quad \text{gada}\quad \text{[I] go/went.} < \text{ga-} '\text{to go}' + \text{-da} \\
\text{먹이} & \quad \text{møda}\quad \text{[I] eat.} < \text{mø-} '\text{to eat}' + \text{-da} \\
\end{align*}

4.3.3.1.1.1.2. Present Tense

Present tense suffix: \(-\text{n-} / -\text{nin-}\) V/C-form, Zero
The present tense is formed in two different ways according to the type of verbs and inflectional endings involved: (i) processive verbs occurring with -da ending form the present tense with the present tense suffix -nas-; (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.: 

- 갈 수 있나요 전시관 옆으로 가요 [He] can go to the museum.
- 간이 말은 것을 다시 말해 주세요 [You] tell it again.

### 4.3.3.1.1.1.3. Past Tense

Past tense suffix: -as-/xas-, a/α-form

The past tense is formed with the past tense suffix -as-/xas- 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

- 갈 수 있나요 전시관 옆으로 가요 [He] can go to the museum.
- 간이 말은 것을 다시 말해 주세요 [You] tell it again.

(b) Present Perfect

- 갈 수 있나요 전시관 옆으로 가요 [He] can go to the museum.
- 간이 말은 것을 다시 말해 주세요 [You] tell it again.

### 4.3.3.1.1.1.4. Future Tense

Future Tense Suffix: -ges-

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix -ges-, 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 부모님께 감사합니다 [I will do it].
- 부모님께 감사합니다 부모님께 감사합니다 [We will do it].

(b) Presumptive Present or Future

- 당신이 왔어요 부모님께 감사합니다 [You will do it].
- 당신이 왔어요 부모님께 감사합니다 [You will do it].

### 4.3.3.1.1.1.5. Past Perfect Tense

Past perfect tense suffix: -as-/xas-, a/α-form

The past perfect tense refers to (a) 'remote past' or 'past-past', i.e., the completion of an action or event at a time earlier than some past time, either expressed or implied, when the verb involved is processive or descriptive, (b) 'simple past' with descriptive verbs, in which case it is similar to the past tense except that it is somewhat more emphatic than the latter, e.g.: 

(a) Past-Past

- 한국에 갔어요 부모님께 감사합니다 [I have gone to Korea].
- 한국에 갔어요 부모님께 감사합니다 [I have gone to Korea].

(b) Simple Past

- 갈 수 있나요 전시관 옆으로 가요 [He] has gone to the museum.
- 갈 수 있나요 전시관 옆으로 가요 [He] has gone to the museum.
The past perfect presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past perfect tense but in addition it expresses 'presumption': (a) past-past presumptive and (b) simple past presumptive, e.g.

(a) Past-past Presumptive

\[\text{The road may have been narrow (before).}\]
\[\text{Uncle might have come.}\]

(b) Simple Past Presumptive

\[\text{The water may have been very hot.}\]

4.3.3.1.1.2. Compound Tense

The four compound tenses, which are all progressive tenses, are formed by two-verb verbal phrases consisting of a verb inflected with the concatenating ending -go and the auxiliary verb is-. The compound tense is possible only with processive verbs or processive verbal phrases (cf. 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.1.1.2.1. Present Progressive Tense

\[\text{He is having breakfast.}\]

\[\text{I will be reading a book.}\]

4.3.3.1.1.2.2. Past Progressive Tense

\[\text{It was snowing.}\]

\[\text{It snowing.}\]

4.3.3.1.1.2.3. Future Progressive Tense

\[\text{I will be reading a book.}\]

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

\[\text{I will have gone too.}\]

4.3.3.1.1.7. Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

\[\text{If you had gone, I might have gone too.}\]
The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero Present Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.2.1.1. Simple Retrospective Tense

The past retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Past Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.2.1.2. Simple Retrospective Tense

The past presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.2.1.2.1. Present Retrospective Tense

The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero present tense suffix either -di/-da- 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 울리다 aiga aidida ‘The child cried [I remember].’
마치 말리다 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’
집이 크다 jibi kidi ‘Was the house large, [as you recall]?’

4.3.3.1.2.2. 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.

아이가 울리다 aiga aidida ‘The child cried [I remember].’
마지막 말리다 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’
집이 크다 jibi kidi ‘Was the house large, [as you recall]?’

4.3.3.1.2.1.3. Future Retrospective Tense

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

아이가 울리다 aiga aidida ‘The child cried [I remember].’
마지막 말리다 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’
집이 크다 jibi kidi ‘Was the house large, [as you recall]?’

4.3.3.1.2.1.4. Past Presumptive Retro Prospective Tense

The past prescriptive 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.

아이가 울리다 aiga aidida ‘The child cried [I remember].’
마지막 말리다 dali balgibdida ‘The moon was bright [I remember].’
집이 크다 jibi kidi ‘Was the house large, [as you recall]?’

4.3.3.1.2.2. Compound Retrospective Tense

The compound retrospective tense is formed by adding to the direct com-
pound tense either the retrospective suffix -di/-cl- or one of the retrospective endings. There are three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.2.1. Present Progressive Retrospective Tense

The present progressive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the present progressive tense (cf. 4.3.3.1.2.1), refers to a past progressive event as recollected by the speaker, e.g.

- 한국어 [They] were ringing a bell [I recall].
- 아이가 하고 있던 아이고 государство.
  ‘Was the child jumping around [as you recall]?’

4.3.3.1.2.2.2. Future Progressive Retrospective Tense

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

- [He] might have been studying [I thought].
- [Might [she] have been telephoning [as you recall].’

4.3.3.1.2.2.3. Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense

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

- [She] might have had been looking at the moon [I thought].’
- [Might [he] have had been going to the theatre [as you remember]?’

4.3.4. Humble Suffix

The humble suffix has the effect of lowering the status of the speaker against the addressee, thereby increasing the degree of respect shown by the former toward the latter to a greater extent than is possible by means of the high or low formal speech style alone. The humble suffix, though hardly used nowadays in normal speech, is, however, not infrequently employed in religious services as well as in the literary language. The humble suffix appears in four different allomorphs conditioned both phonologically and morphologically, e.g.

(a) |
- V/C-form: before inflectional endings
  -bnida, -na, -mjja, -mi, -a(jo)

(b) |
- V/C-form: before inflectional endings
  -naiwa, -naiwa, -so, -ji(jo), -go, -dsado

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

(d) |
- C-form: before inflectional endings -naiwa and -naiwa

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and -o/-io and -o/-io of (a) may be preceded by the honorific suffix -si/-isi- and/or a tense suffix, except for the present tense suffix -n/-nin-, but -so and -so of (c) and (d) cannot be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously, e.g.

- It is (very) cold.
- Where are you going?
- Please give us rain!
- Flowers are red.
- Although you have forgotten
- ‘as [you] have spoilt the book’

4.3.4.1. Difference between Honorific and Humble Suffix

The honorific suffix -si/-isi- (cf. 4.3.2) and the humble suffix, both employed to express the speaker's respect, are different from one another in that the honorific suffix directs the speaker's respect to the subject of a sentence, whereas the humble suffix directs it to the addressee. And of course the respect shown by the humble suffix is the result of degradation of the speaker's status against the addressee(s), e.g.

- The teacher is coming.’ -si- hon.sfx.
  [Context: a child speaking to his friends.]
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 -(s)ibnida and -(s)ibnika consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:
(a) 
\[\text{(s)ibnida} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(b) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnika} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(c) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnida} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(d) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnika} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(e) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnida} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(f) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnika} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]

4.3.5.1.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(b) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnida} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]
(c) 
\[\text{-(s)ibnika} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]

4.3.5.1.3. Imperative Mood Endings

\[-\text{bsio} \quad \text{V/C-form}\]

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.
(a) 
\[\text{palli hasibsio} \quad \text{'Please do it quickly.'}\]
(b) 
\[\text{hanaman jibisibsio} \quad \text{'Please take only one.'}\]
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, cannot occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense, e.g.

천천히 물시다 csncunhi bobsida ‘Let us see [it] slowly.’

같이 그림십시다 gati gilisibida ‘Let us draw [it] together.’

4.3.5.1.2. Low Formal Style

The low formal style is lower and consequently less polite than the high formal style. It is the style most often used between equals and by superiors to people of lower status. However, it is hardly used by children.

Unlike the inflectional endings of the high formal style, those of the low formal style, as well as all other lower styles, are single morphemes representing both the categories of speech style and mood simultaneously.

4.3.5.1.2.1. Declarative Mood Endings

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

(b) 구려 -gulja interjective (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 malsgo ‘Water is clear.’

달이 헛구려 dali tssgulja ‘The moon has risen.’

4.3.5.1.2.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

오 / 오 오 / 오 -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 밤에 있소 neil lunasio ‘Are you leaving tomorrow?’

4.3.5.1.2.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 오 / 오 오 / 오 -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.’

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

마음대로 하구려 maindeleo 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 -$/-/-/$/-, may be treated as the exponent of the low formal propositive mood, e.g.

순경한테 물어보시다 sungjihatante mulsibsida
‘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) 과 -we

(b) 죄 / 죄 죄 / 죄 -mse/-imse V/C-form (promissive)

(c) 데 -de (retrospective ending)

(d) 단테 -sande (retrospective ending)
Verbs with the ending -mse/-imse can have as their subject the first person pronouns only, i.e., na 'I', uli 'We', etc., and indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. -mse/-imse is not found with any tense suffix except the Zero t.sfx., e.g.,

아주 한 보이네 aju anboine '[It] is totally out of sight.'
내가 해 중재 nega hejumse 'I will do it for you.'
글래치 치리 가데 gibhi juli gade 'She went there in a hurry [I recall].'
누에 있던데 nus isdande '[He] was lying in bed [I remember].'

4.3.5.1.3.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 -na (after V.p. only)

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

(c) 느가 -ninga (after V.p. only)

(d) 러 / 은 / -ka/-ilka V/C-form — uncertainty

Interrogative endings such as 이라 -ila (after a noun) and 오리 -ilil (after a verb) may also be listed under this heading.

4.3.5.1.3.3. ImperATIVE Mood Ending

게 -ge, e.g.,
이제 쉬게 lje swige 'Rest now.'
내가 오게 nelja oge 'Come down.'

4.3.5.1.3.4. Propositive Mood Ending

세 -se, e.g.,
보내지 마세 bonje mase 'Let us not send [it].'
차 한잔 하세 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) 와 / 음 / -la/-sla a/-sla-form

(c) 나 / 오 / -ma/-ima V/C-form, promissive

(d) 누나 -guna interjectival

Like -mse/-imse (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), -ma/-ima can have as the subject the first person pronouns only, and is not preceded by any tense suffix except Zero. The interjectival ending -guna, which expresses emotions of various kinds on the part of the speaker, must be preceded by a non-Zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems. The ending -guna takes -nin-form only when it combines with the present tense suffix, e.g.,

꽃이 피다 koci pinda 'The flower is blooming.'
꽃이 피다 koci gobda 'The flower was pretty, [I remember].'
내가 사오마 nega saoma 'I will buy [it],' (lit. 'I will buy and come.')
너도 엽구나 ndo kisguna 'You have grown up too!'
당이 정구나 nali dhabguna 'It is hot!'
이제 가는구나 jje ganingguna '(You) are going now!'

Interjectival endings such as 이라 -ila (after a noun) and 오리 -ilil (after a verb) may also be listed under this heading.

4.3.5.1.4.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 -ni

(b) 느가 / 음가 -nija after V.p.

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

(d) 러 / 은 / -di/-de/-dan retrospective ending

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

자니 jani 'Are you sleeping?'
소리가 나느냐 soliga naminja 'Is there any sound?'
푸르냐 pulinja 'Is it blue?'
어느 것이 불으나 snigasi calbinja 'Which one is short?'
무엇을 하냐 mwasli hadi 'What did [he] do [as you recall]?'
노래를 하냐 noleti hadin 'Did [she] sing [as you recall]?'

4.3.5.1.4.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 아라 / 이라 -ala/-sla a/-sla-form

(b) 거라 -gsla
The ending -a/a Ala may be suffixed to any processive verbs, but only to a few verbs, such as -ga- 'to come', -ja- 'to stay', etc., e.g.

\[ \text{coca/a} \] 'Follow [him].'

\[ \text{ho\] ef mojalil bASAla} \] 'Take off your hat.'

\[ \text{i\] <H| A A Ef gjohwee gag da} \] 'Go to the church.'

\[ \text{°1 \]^1} \] 'Come here.'

\[ \text{af Hi on Ala} \] 'Do your best.'

4.3.5.1.4.4. Propositive Mood Ending

-ja, e.g.

\[ \text{cajja 'Let's find [it].'} \]

\[ \text{nil bucija 'Let us post [it] tomorrow.'} \]

4.3.5.1.5. Medium Style

The medium speech style is between the high plain and low plain styles and is used by elders to those younger where the high plain is felt to be a little too high and the low plain style a little too low. It can also be used between equals whose relationship is not so intimate as to require the low plain style.

All inflectional endings of the medium style can function as endings of the low formal style when they are followed by the particle jo 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.4.5.7).

4.3.5.1.5.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) 아 / 이 -a/-a a/-a-form

(b) 지 -ji suspensive

(c) -gun interjectival

The ending -gun, like -guna (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1), must be preceded by a non-zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems, e.g.

\[ \text{아이가 읽어 aiga ux} \] 'The child is crying.'

\[ \text{구두가 잘 맞아 guduga jal maja} \] 'The shoes fit me well.'

\[ \text{누가 열어어요 nuga jaslA jo} \] 'Someone has opened [it].'

\[ \text{돈이 많지 doni manhji} \] '[He] has plenty of money.'

\[ \text{손이 깊고 soni gobgun} \] '[Your] hand is pretty.'

4.3.5.1.5.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 아 / 이 -a/-a a/-a-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.

\[ \text{아무이 나가고 있어 alini nagago isA} \] 'It the adult going out?'

\[ \text{내가 맛있지 naga maja\]ji} \] 'Am I not right?'

4.3.5.1.5.3. Imperative Mood Ending

-\[a/-a\] a/-a-form

This ending is usually, but not always, distinguished from the homophonous declarative ending by (a) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) a stronger stress associated with it (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.3), e.g.

\[ \text{아서 얻어요 asA anjo jo} \] 'Please sit down.' (lit. 'quickly sit down')

\[ \text{잘 막아 jal maja} \] 'Eat carefully.'

4.3.5.1.5.4. Propositive Mood Ending

-\[a/-a\] a/-a-form

Verbs suffixed by this ending are hardly distinguishable from those suffixed by the homophonous imperative mood ending since they are identical not only in intonation, both being characterized by Intoneme LF or HF, but also in the pitch/stress feature associated with the imperative ending (4.3.5.1.2.3). However, apart from the context of situation which is usually the only clue leading to the distinction of imperative and propositive mood, the presence of a first person pronoun uli 'we' serves as the marker of the propositive mood ending, e.g.

\[ \text{이제 놀아 ije nola} \] 'Let's play now.'

\[ \text{우리도 네리가 ulido neljA gaa} \] '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) 우 / 음 -m/-im V/C-form

(b) 기 / -gi

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

(a) Distributional difference

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

말이 밝음직하다 mali midim jighada 'His word is worth listening to.'

이 어둡기는 하다 mdugi nin hada 'It is dark, I admit.'

(b) Semantic difference

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

이 평지를 쓰어 준다 ipjim nilil šinii johda

Writing this letter is good [for some reason].

이 평지를 쓰기로 한다 ipjim nilil řigiga johda

This letter is good to write' or 'I like writing this letter.'

전동이 밝음 jvndigi balgim

'the lamp being bright (that the lamp is bright)'

전동이 밝기 jvndigi balgi '[the degree of] the lamp being bright'

balg- 'to be bright' V.d.

4.3.5.2.2. Adjectival Clause Endings

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

(i) 는 -nin present

(ii) ≤ / 음 -n/-in V/C-form past/present

(iii) ≤ / 음 -l/-il V/C-form future/presumptive

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

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

저는 게 junin ge 'the sleeping dog'

비가 오는 듯 하다 biga onin didhada 'It looks as if it is raining.'

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

with processive verbs:

倫 사람 iwin salam 'the man who ran/has run'

집은 돌 jibin dol 'the pebble that I picked up'

with descriptive verbs:

작은 모자 jægin moja 'a small cap'

긴 족 gin gæ 'a long river'

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

음선 안해 uldn ane 'the wife who, [I remember], cried/was crying'

외국에 갔던 장군 wegugæ ñæsæn ñægæn 'the general who had been abroad [as I remember]'

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

못 쓰 적하다 mos bon caghanda

'[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.

중 은 젊을 아는 gopil jibil ai 'the child who will pick up a ball'

당일 밤을 봐 dali balgil i 'the time when the moon is/may be bright'

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

자하다 아들 jalašil adil 'the son who might have grown up'

죽겠을 경우 jugglešil gjxju 'the situation in which you might feel like dying'

As an exception, -nin may be preceded by the future tense suffix -ges- when they occur with the verb jug- 'to die', e.g., jugesn in salam 'The person who may be dying'.
4.3.5.2.3. Adverbial Clause Endings

Any verb suffixed by one of the following adverbial clause endings has the same syntactic functions as an adverb. Some adverbial clause endings, marked Zero t.sfx., are not preceded by any tense suffix while others may be preceded by a tense suffix other than -n/-nin- pres.t.sfx., which is found only with the final inflectional ending -da (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2). 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.
   치배는 가고 나는 온다 janenina gachul onda
   'You are going and I am coming.'
   아침을 박고 하셨다 acmil muggo hagenida ‘I will do it after breakfast.’
   요-jo ‘and’ (after V.c. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   산수이요. 코치이다 sansui ijo koci ida ‘He is a player and coach.’

2. 미 / 오에 mi/-eimjA V/C-form 'and', e.g.
   세가 노래를 했으며 꽃이 음に出했다 sega notelil hešinji koci ussidata
   'Birds sang and flowers smiled.'
   고시- go(sA) ‘and then, afterward’ (after V.p. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   있을 하고 (서) 미나라 ilil hagof(sA) išanja
   ‘Let’s do the job and then leave.’

3. 미 / 오에 mi/-eimjA V/C-form 'and', e.g.
   풍을 줄며 저니 kumil kumjA jani ‘Are you sleeping while dreaming?’
   들으면서 본다 dlinjinsA bonda ‘They see while listening.’

4. 여(여) / 오에 ye/-eimjA V/C-form 'at the same time, while'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   재-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.
   matched 재 요가 malja
   ‘as soon as [he] wakes up’ (lit. ‘wakes up and stops waking up’)
   재가 뜨거 사라졌다 hega iša saljxisida
   ‘[It] disappeared as soon the sun rose.’

6. 도록 -dolog ‘until, so that’ Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   가지가 가도록 가짜리자 gajiga gadolog gidalija
   ‘Let’s wait until the beggar goes away.’
   채 -ge ‘until, so that’ Zero t.sfx.
   스리가 나게 페리라 soliga nage icila
   ‘Beat [it] until so that it makes a noise.’

7. 요수목 / 음수목 -julog/-julog V/C-form ‘the more ... the more’; Zero t.sfx., e.g.
   심수목 좋다 bolsurog johda ‘The more I see it, the better.’

8. 이 / 오에 -iljA/-iljA V/C-form, ‘in order to’; Zero t.sfx.
   고자 -goja
   These endings are suffixed to V.p. only, e.g.
   살리고 먹는다 sulljago mgyindida ‘We eat in order to live.’

9. 놀라리 / 음놀라리 -iljA/-iljA V/C-form, ‘not only ... but also, e.g.
   카라가 온다 gadaga onda
   ‘Not only did I take it but also ate it all.’

10. 놀라 -ja (나서) V/C-form, ‘whether ... or’
    These endings occur in double form, e.g.
    오가나 가거나 agana agana ‘whether [they] come or go’
    했던지 해던지 hešinji an hešinji
    ‘whether [he] did [it] or [did not do it].’

11. 가나 -gana V/C-form ‘whether ... or’
    나 / 오에 -na/-ina V/C-form
    These endings occur in double form, e.g.
    오가나 가거나 agana agana ‘whether [they] come or go’
    했던지 해던지 hešinji an hešinji
    ‘whether [he] did [it] or [did not do it].’

12. 면 / 오에 -mijA/-imjA V/C-form
    가난 gadin
    ‘if, when’, e.g.
    불으면 증하 Caldwell juljA ‘It’s good if it is short.’
    불고는 받을 해라 bogsadin mahil hel ‘Tell [him] when you see him.’
13. -aja/-saja a/-s-form ‘only if, only when’, e.g.
‘You will get well only when/if you take some pills.’

14. -(d)ado/-iAdo V/C-form ‘even if/though’
‘Even if you did not know
I am happy as the weather is fine.’

15. -jiman
‘... but’
‘Althought [he] is a rich man, what can he do?’

16. dwe
‘may/might ... but’
‘You may go to the party but behave yourself.’

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

(a) -a/-s a/-s-form: Concatenating Ending I
(b) -go
Concatenating Ending II
(c) -ge
Concatenating Ending III
(d) -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.

18. -miito/-imilo V/C-form, ‘as, since, because’, e.g.
‘As the house is large, there are many rooms too.’

19. -ni(-ka) / -oni(-ka) V/C-form Time: ‘when, as’; Cause: ‘because, as, since’, e.g.
‘As I apologize once more, please forgive me.’

20. nnde (-nde) (after V.p.)
‘I am working — why are you crying?’
‘She is tall and [yet] plump.’

21. iwe
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.

언펜 저기있는 jumphil jadgi innin ‘the pencil which is there.’

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

저기있는 jumphil jadgi innin jumphil

Exp. H.

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’
지 원 가방 ja han gabay ‘that old brief-case’
푸른 하늘 pulin hanil ‘the blue sky’
 어느 것 mi gas ‘Which one?’ (lit. ‘which thing’)
두 권 du gwam ‘two volumes’
어느 때 amin ce ‘pretending to know’
넓은 서울운동장 nolbin sulundongjang ‘Wide Seoul Stadium’
\textit{sulundongjang} N.comp.
< sul 서울 ‘Seoul’ + undongjang ‘stadium’

5.1.2.2. Two or More Nouns as Nominal Head

The linking of two or more nouns that fill the head position of the nominal phrase may be effected either by coordinator(s) or paratactically, unless they stand in apposition.

5.1.2.2.1. Nouns linked by Coordinator(s)

Nouns may be linked by a conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.6 and 3.4.5.6.1) such as \textit{wa/gwa} ‘and’ and \textit{na/ina} ‘or’ or by a conjunctive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.6) such as \textit{giligo} ‘and’ and \textit{iomun} ‘or’ as the coordinator, e.g.

\textit{se와 고양이} sewa gojaji ‘a bird and a cat’
\textit{산과 나무} sangwa namu ‘the mountain and tree’
\textit{물과 강과} mulgwagagwa be ‘water, river and ship’
There is no theoretical limit to the number of nouns to be linked by coordinators and functioning as the head in the nominal phrase, but in practice they rarely exceed more than three in all.

5.1.2.2.2. Nouns linked by Parataxis

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

아메, 고기, 생선, 정액, 고기, 생선 ‘vegetable, meat and fish’
영화, 연극, 무용, 정액, 고기, 생선 ‘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.

아메, 고기, 생선, 정액, 고기, 생선 ‘vegetable, meat and fish’
영화, 연극, 무용, 정액, 고기, 생선 ‘film, play and ballet’

It is to be noted that of the coordinators, na/inu ‘or’ and lonin ‘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 gi/igo ‘and’ only.

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

General Gang Gamchan’ (lit. ‘Gang Gamchan General’)

Our pride, Mt. Paegdu’

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

President Yun’, or ‘jun -detom’

The structure of nouns linked either by coordinator or by parataxis may be summarily set out as follows:

N(c) N(c) N(c) ... N^n
(the superscript n refers to any number.)

5.1.2.2.3. Nouns in Apposition

Nouns in apposition consist of two immediate constituents, N₁ and N₂, occurring in that order. N₁ is most often filled by a family name, a given name or by both, and sometimes by a nickname, and N₂ by a title or other nouns descriptive of N₁. Less frequently, both N₁ and N₂ may be represented by nouns other than personal name and title, e.g.

Han 교수, han gjosu ‘Professor Han’ (lit. ‘Han Professor’)

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

general Gang Gamchan’

Our pride, Mt. Paegdu’

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

President Yun’, or ‘jun -detom’

The construction of nouns linked either by coordinator or by parataxis may be summarily set out as follows:

N(c) N(c) N(c) ... N^n
(the superscript n refers to any number.)

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

Professor Kim’

(b) Nouns in parataxis

apple and chestnut’

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

Professor Kim’

(b) Nouns in parataxis

apple and chestnut’
(ii) There is an intonational as well as junctural contrast between the two constructions. The first of two nouns standing in apposition is usually marked by Intoneme L and followed by plus juncture, whereas with paratactically linked nouns, every member noun is usually marked by Intoneme LF/HF or Intoneme R and followed by tentative juncture.

Examples
(a) Nouns in apposition
유인호 선수 -juinho-sansu 'the player, Yu Inho'
(b) Nouns in parataxis
자동차, 비행기 ja.do.ge, bi.heggi 'motor car and airplane'

5.1.2.3. Nominal Group as Nominal Head
The nominal group, which is itself an endocentric construction, has as its structure:
\[ N^1 N^2 N^3 \ldots N^n \]
in which \( N^n \) or the last \( N \) in the sequence is the head and all other nouns preceding \( N^n \) 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 jsheg junbi
\[ N^1 N^2 \]
'preparation for a journey' (lit. 'journey preparation')

영국 사람 jaug sug slam 'Englishman'
\[ N^1 N^2 \]

미국 정부 시책 migug jahbo siese 'American government policy'
\[ N^1 N^2 \]

연구 계획 작성 완료 jaugu gehweg jagšag walljo
\[ N^1 N^2 N^3 N^4 \]
'the completion of the drawing of the research plan' (lit. 'research plan drawing completion')

Like nouns in apposition, every member noun of a nominal group, if it forms a separate stress group, is normally marked by Intoneme L, except the last one, which may be accompanied by any intonation. However, a nominal group differs from nouns in apposition in that:

(i) every member noun except the last one has the potentiality of taking the adjectival particle (cf. 3.4.5.8) '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 jsheg junbi 'preparation for journey' can be rewritten as

여행의 준비 jshegii junbi
adj.ph. \( N \)

but an appositional construction 김복동 장군 gimbogion janggun 'General Kim Bogdong' cannot be rewritten as
* 김복동의 장군 gimbogionii janggun '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 jsheg junbi 'preparation for journey' cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 junbi jsheg, which is either meaningless or means 'preparation journey or test journey', but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 gimbogion janggun 'General Kim Bogdong' can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 janggun 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 (한) sasibo (wun) 'forty five (won)'
\(< sasibo 'forty five' compound numeral
\(< sasib + o) + wun monetary unit, classifier

삼백 육십칠 권 samheg jugsib cil (gwun)
'three hundred and sixty seven volumes'
\(< samheg jugsib cil '367' compound numeral + gwun 'volume', classifier

아흔 한 (마리) ahin ban (mal) 'ninety one (heads) [of sheep]'
\(< ahin ban '91', compound numeral adjective + mal 'head', classifier

5.1.2.4.1. To express the number or quantity of the referent of a noun, the following construction is most frequently used:

\( N + \text{Compound Numeral Expression} \)

Examples

\( \text{책} 이십오 권 ceg isibo gwun \)
N
'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'books twenty five volumes')

자동차 열여섯 대 jadocga jasljasd de
\( N \)
'sixteen cars' (lit. 'cars sixteen sets')
The construction \( N + \text{Compound Numeral Expression} \) 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:

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

\( \text{simul han jajji} \) ‘twenty one sheets of paper’ (lit. ‘paper twenty one sheets’)

\( \text{jojaji simul han jaiji} \) ‘twenty five volumes of books’ (lit. ‘twenty five volumes’ books’)

\( \text{ja}l\text{jjsiad deii jatopca} \) ‘sixteen cars’ (lit. ‘sixteen sets’ cars’)

\( \text{Jug} \text{simul han jajji} \) ‘twenty one sheets of paper’

---

### 5.1.3. Nominal Expansion

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

#### 5.1.3.1. Adjective(s) as Nominal Expansion

Any adjective and any combination of up to three adjectives may occur as the expansion of the nominal phrase, except that (i) the deictic and interrogative adjectives (cf. 3.4.3.2 and 3.4.3.3) are mutually exclusive, and (ii) two or more deictic or interrogative adjectives do not occur at a time. There is no fixed order in which adjectives are to occur within the nominal expansion except that a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.4.2.4), if present, must come last in the series, i.e., immediately before the head, e.g.

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'that book'}\) (ja Adj.deic.)

\( \text{se} \text{cog 'new house'} \) (se Adj.qual.)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'Which locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi se cog 'Which new locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi \text{han se ceg 'a certain new book'} \text{(han Adj.num.)}}\)

#### 5.1.3.2. Adjectival Clause(s) as Nominal Expansion

Up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3) may occur as the nominal expansion. When the expansion consists of two adjectival clauses, they are linked either by a coordinator such as \( \text{giligo 'and'} \) or \( \text{tonin 'or'} \), or by parataxis, e.g.

\( \text{a young and beautiful bride}\) (lit. ‘a bride who is young and beautiful’)

\( \text{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.

\( \text{a young and beautiful bride}\) (lit. ‘a bride who is young and beautiful’)

\( \text{the crowded (and) busy street}\) (lit. ‘the street where people are numerous and which is complicated’)

\( \text{a red or blue pencil}\) (lit. ‘a pencil which is red or blue’)

---

### 5.1.4. Clauses linked by coordinator:

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'that book'}\) (ja Adj.deic.)

\( \text{se} \text{cog 'new house'} \) (se Adj.qual.)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'Which locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi se cog 'Which new locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi \text{han se ceg 'a certain new book'} \text{(han Adj.num.)}}\)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'that book'}\) (ja Adj.deic.)

\( \text{se} \text{cog 'new house'} \) (se Adj.qual.)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'Which locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi se cog 'Which new locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi \text{han se ceg 'a certain new book'} \text{(han Adj.num.)}}\)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'that book'}\) (ja Adj.deic.)

\( \text{se} \text{cog 'new house'} \) (se Adj.qual.)

\( \text{ja} \text{cog 'Which locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi se cog 'Which new locality?'}\)

\( \text{mi \text{han se ceg 'a certain new book'} \text{(han Adj.num.)}}\)
5.1.3.3. Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion

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

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

\[ \text{N}^1 \text{ ii } \text{N}^2 \text{ ii } \text{N}^3 \text{ ii } \ldots \text{N}^n \]

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

나의 어머니 naii sannii 'my mother'
동무의 아버지 dogroomii ajissi '[my] friend’s uncle'
교수의 형 gijogjimi him 'the power of education'
나의 아버지의 아기 mnimii abajii sajin 'my mother’s father’s photo'
교수의 연구의 결과 gijosii jxnguii gijlsgwa 'the results of the professor’s research'
친구의 아버지의 형제의 딸 cingu(ii) ajissii ssanlgaal 'friend’s uncle’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:

\[ \text{cingu(ii) ajissii ssanlgaal } \text{ijal} \]
\[ \text{gijosii jxnguii gijlsgwa} \]

5.1.3.4. Adjectives and Adjectival Clause as Expansion

Up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause, occurring in any order, except for the restrictions stated in 5.1.3.1, may occur as the nominal expansion, e.g.

한 석작한 친년 han ssgikan cantjim 'a brave young man'


Chapter V

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:

\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{H} \]
\[ \text{H} \rightarrow \text{NP}^1 \]
\[ \text{NP}^1 \rightarrow \text{Exp}^1 + \text{H}^1 \]
\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{Exp.} + \text{Exp}^1 + \text{H}^1 \]

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

녀가 본 서울의 거리 nego bon, saulii gssi
\[ \text{Exp.} \rightarrow \text{Exp}^1 + \text{H}^1 \]
\[ \text{Exp.} \rightarrow \text{Exp}^1 + \text{H}^1 \]

\[ \text{the streets of Seoul that I saw} \]

\[ \text{the beautiful woman’s voice} \]

A nominal phrase of the structure Exp. + Exp.1 + H1 may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance, alindaun jxjii 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 H1, the same phrase translates ‘the voice of the beautiful woman’. The two different IC cuts may be shown by the following diagrams.

1 See R. S. Wells, Language, 23/2, 1947, pp. 81-117.
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 aims to describe the structuring of the verbal phrase in such a way that a complete picture may be shown.

The syntactic function, and especially the external distribution, of the verbal phrase is exclusively determined by the inflectional ending suffixed to the verb of such a phrase. For instance, a verbal phrase may function as a clause or sentence on its own when its last verb is inflected with a final ending, or as any non-final clause such as nominal, adjectival or adverbial clause when it is suffixed with a non-final ending. This, however, will be discussed at the clause level and the present section is devoted entirely to a discussion of the internal structure of verbal phrases.

5.2.1 Elements and Structure of Verbal Phrases

The verbal phrase has two immediate constituents, 'Expansion' and 'Head', occurring in that order. The head is further analysed into 'Nucleus' which consists of one to three full verbs and 'Satellite' which consists of one or more auxiliary verbs. The expansion, consisting of an adverb or an adverbial phrase, is an optional element and so is the satellite. The verbal phrase structure may be set out by the following diagram.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{Expansion} & \text{Head} \\
\hline
\text{Adv./Adv.ph.} & V^1 V^2 V^3 \\
\hline
\text{Nucleus} & \text{V.aux.} V. a u x . 2 V . a u x . 3 \ldots V . a u x . n \\
\text{(Satellite)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

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) \textit{Nucleus only}

\[ \text{시간에 가다 namsa gada 'to go over' < namsa 'crossing' + gada 'to go'} \]

\[ \text{거나 갈아 까다 gaja gua mogsoli 'to catch, grill and eat'} \]

(ii) \textit{Nucleus + Satellite}

\[ \text{가고 싶다 gago sibta 'I want to go.'} \]

\[ \text{Nuc. Sat. < gago 'going' + sibta 'to want to'} \]

\[ \text{저길 지다 jibja jida 'to be picked up'} \]

\[ \text{Nuc. Sat. < jibja 'picking up' + jida pasv.vc.fmtv.} \]

\[ \text{뭐가 가지고 싶어요 значит \textit{iwisa gago sipa hago idia} \text{Nuc. Sat.} \}

\[ \text{'to be wanting to go running' < \textit{iwisa 'running' + gago 'going' + sipa 'wanting to' + hago proc.v.fmtv. + idia progr.t.fmtv.}} \]

(iii) \textit{Expansion + Head}

\[ \text{잘해하다 jal hada 'to do [something] well' < jal 'well' + hada 'to do'} \]

\[ \text{Exp.Nuc. H} \]

\[ \text{열린 뚫어가다 alin iwisa gada 'to go running quickly'} \]

\[ \text{Exp. Nuc. H} \]

\[ < \text{alin 'quickly' + iwisa gada 'to go running'} \]
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 verbs(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

\[
gago \ sip \ handa
\]

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 \( gago \ sip \ handa \) as a complete sentence, (b) its function as an adjectival clause as in

\[
gago \ sip \ hanin \ cingu \ 'the friend who wishes to go'
\]

adj. cl.

and (c) its function as an adverbial clause as in

\[
gago \ sip \ hago \ idia \ 'to be wanting to'
\]

adv. cl.

are all made possible by the satellite.

5.2.1.1.1. Nucleus of Verbal Head

One to three processive verbs (cf. 3.4.1.1), each inflected in the concatenating form I except for the last one, may occur as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. A one-verb nucleus is most frequent, a two-verb nucleus less frequent, and a three-verb nucleus is very rare. Descriptive verbs may occur as the exponent of a one-verb nucleus but no multiple-verb nucleus may include, or consist entirely of descriptive verbs, with the exception of two-verb nuclei of which the second verb is \( boi- \) 'to be seen, to be shown, to seem', a passive verb derived from \( bo- \) 'to see' V.tr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any descriptive verb or by some processive verbs such as \( nilg- \) 'to grow old', \( magdil- \) 'to be bruised', etc., e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{취이 간다} & \quad \text{twi ganda} & \quad [\text{He is running away} (\text{goes running})] \\
& \quad < \text{twi- } \text{to run} \ V.p. \\
\text{들어 보인다} & \quad \text{nilg boinda} & \quad [\text{He looks old.} < \text{nilg- } \text{to get old} \ V.p. \\
\text{걸려 보인다} & \quad \text{jailm boinida} & \quad [\text{She looks young.} < \text{jailm- } \text{to be young} \ V.d.
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{봐울 잡아 간다} & \quad \text{badmil jaba ganda} & \quad \text{O \ V.tr. \ V.intr.} \\
& \quad \text{Nuc.} \\
\text{[They are taking the tiger with them] (lit. they have caught the tiger and are going away).}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) Nucleus of Intransitive Type

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{봐울 잡아 맹있다} & \quad \text{badmil anja magdil} & \quad \text{O \ V.intr. \ V.tr.} \\
& \quad \text{Nuc.} \\
\text{[Did you eat your supper sitting down?}
\end{align*}
\]

^ 1 C. E. Bazell, 'The Fundamental Syntactic Relations', 11.
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Let us plant flowers and look after them.

She toasted, cut, and served the bread.

He is drinking wine lying down (lit. 'wine lying pouring out is drinking').

(i) Nucleus of Intransitive Type

He went crawling (lit. 'crawling went').

He is coming running (lit. 'running comes').

Shall we sit down and rest before we go? (lit. 'sitting resting shall we go?).

(ii) Nucleus of Intransitive Type

He went crawling (lit. 'crawling went').

He is coming running (lit. 'running comes').

Shall we sit down and rest before we go? (lit. 'sitting resting shall we go?).

5.2.1.1.2. Satellite of Verbal Head

The satellite which is the optional element in the structure of the verbal head consists of one or more auxiliary verbs, each inflected in the appropriate concatenating form, except for the last one. The number of auxiliary verbs that may be found within a satellite is theoretically unlimited. For instance, anhda, negation, may be repeated any number of times, as in the following example with multiple negations:

gago sibci anci anci anci ... anci anta

'[I] do not do not do not ... do not want to go.'

=gago 'to go' V instr. sibci 'to want' Vaux.

But in practice not more than five auxiliary verbs occur in the verbal head.

A general statement may be made as follows with regard to various functions of auxiliary verbs which constitute the satellite of the verbal head:

(i) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite determines the concatenating form in which the immediately preceding verb, whether it is a full verb in the nucleus or another auxiliary verb in the satellite, is to be inflected. For instance, in the following verbal head,

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 

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 ja-, e.g.

jaga jinda '[It] becomes small.'

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

jaga jinda gago isda '[He] is going.'

and a head of descriptive type like

jago jiga jigo isda '[It] is becoming small.'

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

jago jiga jiga jigo isda '[I] want to go'

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

jaga jiga jiga jiga jiga isda '[It] is becoming small.'

jago jiga jiga jiga jiga isda '[I] want to go.'

jago jiga jiga jiga jiga 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.vc.fmtv., and progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb 
i- (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g.

"It is being torn."  
Vtr.  Vaux.

"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 1, i.e., -a/-A (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 보보-  
2. 주주-  
3. 드리드리-  
4. 채채-  
5. 버리버리-  
6. 살살-  
7. 저저-  
8. 가가-  
9. 오오-  
10. 노노-  
11. 나나-  
12. 네네-

All auxiliary verbs of group I are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type, whereas 
ji- 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., -ge (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 보보-  
2. 주주-  
3. 드리드리-  
4. 채채-  
5. 버리버리-  
6. 살살-  
7. 저저-  
8. 가가-  
9. 오오-  
10. 노노-  
11. 나나-  
12. 네네-

These auxiliary verbs are descriptive and may be preceded by a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type only. A verbal phrase whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the two auxiliary verbs of group II is itself a descriptive type and may be followed directly by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type such as anilha- 'negation' or mosha- 'negation' (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.4). However, it cannot be followed by an auxiliary verb of processive type unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive verb

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. 하하-  
2. 만들만들-  
3. 의의-

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., -i- (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 아니 아니-  
2. 못 못-  
3. 말 말-

Anilha- and mosha- are auxiliary verbs of both processive and descriptive type whereas mal- is a processive type. Accordingly anilha- 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, anilha- or mosha- is either a processive or a descriptive type, depending on whether the preceding verb(s) is processive or descriptive. If it is processive, the entire verbal head is also processive and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb, but if it is descriptive, the entire verbal head is also descriptive and may be followed by a descriptive auxiliary verb, but not by a processive auxiliary verb unless it is first transformed into a processive type by taking a processive formative such as ji-, ha-, mandil- and dwe- (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Nucleus} \\
X \\
Y \\
\text{Satellite}
\end{array}
\]

The abbreviations used in the rule above are:

- \(X\) = Processive full verb(s)
- \(x\) = Processive auxiliary verb
- \(Y\) = Descriptive full verb(s)
- \(y\) = Descriptive auxiliary verb

(The superscripts 1 and 2 are used for reference.)

The above rule is to be read from left to right as follows: The nucleus \(X\) or \(Y\) may be followed by \(x^1\) or \(y^1\) in the satellite, either of which may in its turn be followed by \(x^2\) or \(y^2\), or \(y^1\) or \(x^1\) respectively. \(x^1, y^1, x^2, y^2\) in the satellite structure are free to combine in any order and in any direction, i.e., vertically, horizontally or diagonally, as indicated by the arrows, e.g.

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

Thus the following sequences are possible:

(a) \(X x'y': \) 먹지 않게 \(X\) x'y' : "I want to make him eat."

(b) \(X y'x': \) 먹고 \(X\) y'x' : "He would like to eat."

(c) \(X x'y'x': \) 먹지 못하게 \(X\) x'y'x' : "I want him not to eat."

(d) \(Y x'y': \) 먹이지 않게 \(Y\) x'y' : "It has not become clear."

(e) \(Y y'x': \) 먹지 않게 \(Y\) y'x' : "It would like to make it not clear."

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) \(X y\) \(x\rightarrow X y p\)

(ii) \(p \rightarrow ji-, ha-, dwe-, \) etc., Processive fntv., e.g.

\(X y'x' \rightarrow X y'p\)

\(Y x' \rightarrow Y p\)

The restrictions (i) and (ii) are to be read: ‘if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by a processive auxiliary verb, the latter must be one of the processive verb formatives, \(ji-, ha-, dwe-, \) etc.’

This restriction is to be read: ‘if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by one or more descriptive auxiliary verb(s), \(y^1\) may be represented by \(mosha-\) or \(aniha-\) unless \(y^1\) is preceded by \(sip-\) ‘to want to’ when \(mosha-\) does not occur, and \(y^2\) \(y\) \(y-\) by \(aniha-\)’

Examples

- \(Y y'y\): 먹지 못하지 않다 \(Y\) y'y' : "It is not not bright’ (It is bright.)
- \(X y'y'y\): 먹고 싶지 않다 \(X\) y'y'y' : "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.
5.2.1.1.2.3.1. Verbal Heads with Simple Satellite

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.1. With the Group I Auxiliary Verbs

1. ㅁ. bo- V.paux. ‘to try [doing] [to see how it is]’
   ilga boadwia ‘[He] has read/tried reading [it].’
   nul ilga bogedwia ‘[I] will try and read [it] lying.’

2. ㄴ. ju- V.paux. ‘to do something for someone as a favour’
   jibjulka ‘[Shall] [I] pick [it] up for you?’

3. 드.el dili- V.p.hon.aux. ‘to do something for someone as a favour’
   cegil caja diligejemnida ‘I will find the book for you [sir].’

4. de de- V.paux., repetition, continuation
   The collocatability of this auxiliary verb is very limited compared with sah-, which may collocate with almost any verb. Verbs which collocate with de- are: il mag- ‘to eat’, ul ul- ‘to cry’, nulli nolli- ‘to tease’, kel bul- ‘to blow’, etc.
   ilna mul ibgulil mags denda ‘[He] is eating noodles again.’
   nulli menci nolij demi ‘Did you tease him too much?’

5. 쓰 sah- V.paux., repetition, continuation
   쓰 둔이 둔이 we ussa shanni ‘Why do you keep on laughing?’
   안은 살아 먹이 씩 받았다 alil salma mags šadlia
   ‘[We] boiled eggs and ate them without end.’

6. 버지 bali- V.paux. ‘to do something completely, or thoroughly’
   자 버리었다 ja balisadia ‘[He] went to bed straight away.’
   nulli bulisdeki ‘You pressed it completely, didn’t you?’

7. 시 ji- V.paux.
   (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.
  ’T he picture is [being] taken.’

(b) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.
   앞 야시 담사 진니 ‘Can you sit?’
   ‘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’
   늘어 놓이 지겠다 koci bulga jigedia
   ‘The flower is likely to become red.’
   아주 야들어 점나가 aju mua jinmika ‘Is it getting very dark?’
   ‘We are getting near Pusan.’

8. 가 ga- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker or near-completion
   아저씨가 놓이 간다 ajisiga niga ganda ‘My uncle is getting old.’
   부산에 도착하여 간다 busan dockakaj janda

9. 오 o- V.paux., progression [towards a goal] from past to present or towards the speaker
   노인은 이들 동안 기다를 해 왔다 noinin otilijan gidolil he wad’ta
   ‘The old man has prayed for the past two days.’

10. 는 noh- V.paux., completion, retention
    This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.
    고기를 잘라 놓았으니까 gogilil jalla noasimnika
    ‘Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?”
    우선 안해 놓으나 ussn ala noala ‘Find about it first of all.’
11. 내 내 V.p.aux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.intr. such as "pi- 'to blossom', "sos- 'to rise or soar', "jala- 'to grow', "sal- 'to leave', etc., e.g.
- hega sosa nanda 'The sun is rising/coming out.'
- aiga jala nalia 'The child has grown up.'

12. 내 내 V.p.aux., progression, completion
This is found with a limited number of V.tr. such as "gjAdjdi- 'to endure', "ha- 'to do', "igi- 'to win', "jis- 'to devise, compose or make', etc., e.g.
- gjAdjdi negedia 'I can stand it, and I will be all right.'
- aiga sugce/il he nenda 'The boy is doing his homework, and he can finish it alone.'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.2. With the Group II Auxiliary Verbs
1. 시시-Vd.aux., progressive tense formative
   - jibil jido idla 'They are building a house.'
   - mun ogo isidya 'It was snowing' (lit. 'The snow was coming.')

2. 시시 V.d.aux. 'to want to, to wish to'
   - npmja gago sibso 'Do you want to go over the mountain?'
   - aminin donil bonego sipadia 'His mother wanted to send some money'

3. 말 말 V.p.d.aux., negation
   - sago maladija '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 /li/ by the complement particle ga/li. Thus the sequence V.tr. + sip- may exhibit two different syntactic patterns:

(i) O + V.tr. + sip-
(ii) C + V.tr. + sip-

V.tr. + sip- in (i) is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb, whereas the same verbal head in (ii) is equivalent to a descriptive verb occurring with C.

Examples
- 망을 막고 싶다 paqil mga ko sibia 'I would like to have some bread.'
- 망이 막고 싶다 paqil mga ko sibia 'I would like to have some bread.'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3. With the Group III Auxiliary Verbs
1. 하 하 V.p.aux.
   (a) causative voice formative when preceded by V.p.
   - aitil jage haja 'Let's make the baby sleep.' (jage 'to sleep' V.intr.)
   - malit pulil mga ko habitsa 'Let's make the horse eat grass.' (maga 'to eat' V.tr.)

(b) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded by V.d.
   - solili jage hajali 'He turned the volume down' (lit. 'made the sound small').
   - cegqajil nobke han 'Are you making the table to be high?'

2. 만만 V.p.d.aux.
   This auxiliary verb is identical to ha- in every respect except that it is more emphatic than the latter.
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(a) When preceded by a V.p.

차를 가게 만들었니 supil gage mandilsani ‘Who has made you earn money?’

O X x

‘Did you make the car go?’

누가 다음 돈을 벌게 만들었니 nuga nali donil buinge mandilsani ‘Who has made you earn money?’

O O X x

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

물을 밝게 만들려 buil balke mandilsa ‘Make the light brighter.’

O Y x

구두를 검게 만들여도 gudulil gskke mandilsdo ‘Even if you make your shoes dark.’

O Y x

3. 외 dwe- V.p.aux.

(a) ‘independent of the will or intention on the part of the subject’ when preceded by V.p.

検에 오게 되었다 jibe oge dwesidia

X x

‘[I] happened to come home [although I did not intend to],’

할아버지가 보시게 되었으니 halabsi jiga bosige dwesindida

X x

‘It so happened that [my] grandfather saw it.’

(b) ‘processive verb formative’ with the meaning ‘to become’ when preceded by V.d.

그이가 높게 왔까 giPGA nobke dwelka ‘Will he become important?’

Y x

하늘이 밝게 되었지 hanili malke dwesedi

Y x

‘The sky has become clear, has it not?’

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.4. With the Group IV Auxiliary Verbs

1. 아니하 anih- V.p./d.aux. — negation

이 아니하는 아직 걱지 아니한다 iainin ajig gaeji anihanda

X x

‘This child does not walk yet.’

2. 못하 mosha- V.p./d.aux. ‘to be unable to’

할말할 말서 di/ci motajAdia ‘He cannot go to the theatre.’

Y Y

‘It is not clear today [regrettably].’

A slight semantic difference is observed between anih- and mosha-, both of which are used to form negative constructions, anih- 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. 맘 mal-

늘어 사오지 마세요 sulil saoji masejo

X x

‘Please do not buy wine and bring it with you.’

네일 말라니 말셔다 naen iheji nabigida ‘Let us not leave tomorrow.’

X x

나는 가지 말까 nanin gaji malka ‘Shall I not go?’

X x

5.2.1.1.2.3.2. Verbal Heads with Compound Satellite

Following the illustration of verbal heads with simple satellite (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.3.1), illustrative examples of those with compound satellite are given below under 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 anih-

이 아니하는 아직 걱지 아니한다 iainin ajig gaeji anihanda

X x

‘This child does not walk yet.’

2. 못하 mosha-

들⬊시 못하 Trades na/oji motajAdia

X x

‘Frightened, [she] could not hear.’

念佛에게 가지 못한다 giGape gaji motanda

X x

‘She cannot go to the theatre.’

오늘 날이 좋지 못하다 onil nali joci motada

Y Y

‘It is not clear today [regrettably].’

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, anih- and mosha- are in complementary distribution with mal- in relation to the types of sentence; that is, anih- and mosha- occur in declarative and interrogative sentences only, whereas mal- occurs in imperative and propositive sentences only. As an
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5.2.1.2.3.2.1. X Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

X x x

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

X x x

[mother] allowing me to try and eat [it].

ilgo ju sanninda [She] is reading [it] again and again [for you].

X x x

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

X y y

You are seeing it again.

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

X x x x

ulge mandia noa bwa [Try to stop her crying on and on].

X x x x

[U] are for her sake.

(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

X x x x x

usAnAmgol bokjujuja hajA ju)[Do not allow [it] to be laughed away [for her sake].]

X x x x x

[kid] for her sake.

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5.2.1.1.2.3.2.2. Y Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

Y xx

matga jis bslitida ‘[It] has become completely clear.’

Y x x

Jigganke dwes bolka ‘Shall I try to become young?’

Y y x

bulke hago sinni ‘Do you want to make it red?’

Y x y

kige mandilgo idia ‘They are making it big.’

Y y x

gilji anke dwesdida ‘[It] somehow became not long.’

Y y y

nobyi motage hajsla ‘Don’t let it get high.’

Y y x

kiji ancinjini anta

Y y Pcl. y

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

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

Y xxx

balga jige he basa ‘Let us try to make it bright.’

Y x x x

Y x y

madke hajsa jugo idia ‘[He] is making [it] fit her.’

Y x x y

Y x y

’jumaphage dwes sips hani ‘Do you want to become famous.’

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

Y xxx

sulp jige hajsa jis matja ‘Let us not make her sad.’

Y x x x

Y xxx

nijs jis jike hago sibia

Y x x x y

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

Y x x x

Y xxx

gajmbi jake dgvie sips hajsa

Y x x x x

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

Y x x x

bulpjohaji anke dwes sips haji

Y x x x x

‘[She] wishes to become not uncomfortable.’
5.2.1.2. Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

Y y x x y 4 H 4f- 4 4 4 4
jalci anke mandilx noko is

She was making it not thin.'

Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

Y y x x y
hetbokage dwe gage hajo juge dwhlaidia
I have managed to make [him] happy (for them).'

nobke dwe gosips hago idch'anta
[He] is not hoping to become important.'

Y y x x x y 'I find [myself] wishing to make [it] not to be black [and keep it that way].'

apiji anke he noko sip
dia
[The doctor] wanted to make [her] not to be ill [to remain like that] for her.'

5.2.1.2. Expansion of Verbal Phrase

The expansion of a verbal phrase may consist of (i) a processive adverb, (ii) a descriptive adverb, (iii) a processive-descriptive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.1-3), (iv) a nominal phrase which has as its head the post modifier mankim/manci ‘as - as’ or ‘to the degree that’ (cf. 3.4.2.2.2), or (v) a relational phrase which consists of the noun 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.

Y y x x y
jal ci hilfija jajdia
Water has become impure [very] quickly.'

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.

Y y x x x y
anosip hago idch'ia
[She] looks very old.'

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.

Y y x x x y
apiji anke he noko sip
dia
[She] made it too good.'

5.2.1.2.4. Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A nominal phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cL + mankim/manci may occur

V.h.p.

V.p.

V.p.

V.p.

V.p.

V.p.

V.p.

V.p.
before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

이반큼 빛게 하자 imankim balke haja
Vd.

'Let's make [it] as bright as this.'

[5.2.1.2.5. Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion]
A relational phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cl. + jangdo + lo, may occur before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

그 정도로 비어게 하여도 gijangdolo biisage hajangdo
Vd.

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

[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.

예우 잘 한다 mnuul handa 'He does it very well.' (mnuul 'very' Adv.p.d.)
sub. H V.p.
adv.ph.
(i) **Directive Particle as Relatum**

- 집에 있다 *jibe idia* '[She] is at home.'
- 밖으로 가자 *bakilo gaja* 'Let's go out.' (lit. 'to out')
- 나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandilsdia* '[They] made it with wood.'
- 린던시한 껍 수 있다 *londansa man bolsu idia* 'London.'

‘One can see it only in London.’

- 극장에도 가니 *gicage do gani* 'Do you go to the theatre too?'

(ii) **Quotative Particle as Relatum**

- 그런가 시골에 오겠다고 한다 *gido sigole ogediago handa* 'He says that he will come to the country side too.'
- 이것을 읽으라고 부른다 *igxil inilago bulinda* 'We call it silver.'

(iii) **Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum**

- 그책을 보았다만 다시 보고 싶다 *gicgil boadiaman dasi bogo sibia* 'I saw/read the book but I would like to read it again.'
- 내가 알지 않아 시간이 없다 *nda do aldasi sigani sibia* 'As you know, there is no time.'

5.3.2. Adjectival Relational Phrase

The adjectival relational phrase has as its relatum the adjectival particle *ii*-'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), and is syntactically identical to an adjective, i.e., occurs as subordinate to a succeeding noun or NP. The axis of the adjectival relational phrase may be filled by either a noun, a nominal phrase or an adverbial relational phrase, e.g.

(i) **N or NP as Axis**

- 나의 차 *naii ca* 'my car' (lit. 'of car')
- 영국의 공원 *jagugii gojwan* 'parks of England'
- 젊은 날의 꿈 *jalmin nalii kum* '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 *saulesa ii sosig* 'the news [of] from Seoul'

- 편지에게서의 감사 *amaniese ii gamsa* 'thanks [of] to mother'

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

- 교장과의 긴 대화 *giofanwa ii gin dehwa* 'a long talk (of) with the principal'
The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction which consists of a
predicate as its head and one or more other elements preceding the head as its
expansion. The predicate, which is the only obligatory element within the
clause structure, consists of a full verb or a verbal phrase inflected with a final
or non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5). As a predicate may be expressed by
a single verb, the minimal form of a clause in Korean is a single verb, except
where the verb is the copula i- 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1), which is always found
preceded by N or NP, e.g.

(i) **Predicate as Clause**

    온다 onda  'Someone comes.'
    좋습니다 joşimnida  '[It] is nice.'
    자고 싶어함니다 jago sipš hamnida  '[He] wants to sleep.'

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

    연필이다 janplida  '[This] is a pencil.'
    펜agine 불야 patgan koe ida  '[It] is a red flower.'

(iii) **Expansion + Predicate (Head) as Clause**

    꽃이 피었다 koci pixida  'The flower has blossomed.'
    사람이 아주 많다 sacami ayu manta  'There are many people.'
    개가 고양이를 쫓는다 gega gajagilil conninda  'A dog is chasing a cat.'
    나는 오늘 머리에 아프다 nanin onil mala apida  'I have headache today.'

6.1. **FINAL AND NON-FINAL CLAUSE**

The clause is of two major types, 'Final Clause' and 'Non-Final Clause', and
all clauses are referable to one of the two types. Every final clause has its
predicate inflected with a final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) and occurs by
itself as a major sentence, whereas every non-final clause has its predicate
inflected with a non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.2) and may occur
either by itself as a minor sentence or more commonly as part of a major
sentence, e.g.

(i) **Final Clause**

    [1] hanili magija  'The sky is clear.'
    kamil simninda  '[They] are chewing gum.'
    [2] gjoheee gani  'Are you going to the church?'

(ii) **Non-Final Clause**

    hanili malgimja  'if the sky is clear'
    [1] kamil simninda  '[They] are chewing gum.'
    [2] gjoheee gani  'Are you going to the church?'

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 (i) 'Transitive Predicate', (ii) 'Intransitive Predicate', (iii) 'Descriptive
Predicate', (iv) 'Equational Predicate', (v) 'Passive Predicate' and (vi) 'Causa-
tive Predicate'.

...
6.2.1.1. Transitive Predicate (P.tr.)
The transitive predicate consists of (a) a transitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2) or (b) a VP of transitive type, i.e., one which includes at least one transitive verb in the nucleus but does not include the passive voice formative ji- (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) in the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object, e.g.

\[\text{He kicks the ball.}\]

\[\text{He has not read [the book for tomorrow's lesson].}\]

6.2.1.2. Intransitive Predicate (P.intr.)
The intransitive predicate consists of (a) a processive intransitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.4) or (b) a VP of intransitive type, i.e., one whose nucleus is composed of intransitive verbs only and which does not include a causative voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) such as ha- or mandil- in the satellite, e.g.

\[\text{She sat down.}\]

\[\text{They are playing.}\]

\[\text{I am in bed resting.}\]

6.2.1.3. Descriptive Predicate (P.d.)
A predicate which consists of (a) a descriptive verb (cf. 3.4.1.1) or (b) a VP of descriptive type, i.e., one including a descriptive verb as nucleus and one or more auxiliary verbs other than the causative voice formative as satellite, is a descriptive predicate. The descriptive predicate may occur with two subjects, e.g.

\[\text{He is kind' (lit. 'his heart is nice').}\]

\[\text{The old man was not rich' (lit. 'The old man money was not plenty').}\]

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.

\[\text{Let us feed [him].}\]

\[\text{She made the child play.}\]

\[\text{The girl blushed' (lit. 'reddened her face').}\]
6.2.2. Subject

The subject is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject particle ga/i, kesA or esA (cf. 3.4.5.1), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). In spoken Korean, just a noun or NP occurs frequently as S without being accompanied by one of the particles mentioned above, e.g.

비가 온다 biga onda  'It is raining.'
S

산이 높소 sanii nobso ‘The mountain is high.’
S

성 사람에 받이나 ol saclamin mjscinja
S

'How many people are due to come?’ (in Pcl.mfd.)

전지 않다 pji^nji(gga) sbia ‘There is no letter.’
S

6.2.3. Object

The object is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the object particle lil/il (cf. 3.4.5.2), or by a noun or NP plus a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Just like the element S, O may, in spoken language, be expressed by a noun or NP alone, e.g.

차를 타다 calil tanda ‘[She] rides, in a car.’
O

넷을 먹으랴 mwasil magjika ‘What shall we eat?’
O

무거운 가방도 무게나 mug.sun gabang do boneni
NP

‘Are you sending the heavy briefcase too?’
O

6.2.4. Complement

The complement is commonly expressed by a noun or NP plus the subject particle ga/i or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9). Like S and O, the element C is sometimes expressed in spoken language by N or NP alone, e.g.

받이 낯이 되면 bami nagi dwemjAn ‘If the night becomes the day.’
S C

너 어른이 되었구나 ma slin(i) dwexdkuna ‘You have become a man!’
S C

When the predicate is expressed by the copula verb i- the complement occurs without the particle, e.g. 돌이다 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 + the agent particle or a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9), or by N/NP alone, e.g.

아이에게 밥이지 마라 ai eee majiji mala
Ag. P.caus.

‘Don't make the child eat [it].’

누이도 엄마이 nui do ipilka ‘Shall [I] make my sister wear [it] also?’
Ag. P.caus.

아이 먹이지 마라 ai majiji mala ‘Don't make the child eat [it].’
Ag. P.caus.

친구한테 온 들렸다 cingu hante budiiligmila
Ag. P.pasv.

‘[She] was held by a friend.’

6.2.6. Adjunct

The adjunct may be expressed by (a) an adverbial noun (cf. 3.4.2.1.4), (b) an interrogative adverb (cf. 3.4.4.4), (c) an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1) or (d) a nominal phrase expressing ‘Distance’ or ‘Duration of time’. Such a nominal phrase may sometimes be followed by the object particle lil/il (cf. 3.4.5.2) for emphasis, or by a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9) with additional meaning. The element A expressed by N/NP + lil/il, although identical in construction to the element O, is, however, differentiated from the latter by its inability to be transformed into the element S of the passive clause corresponding to the active clause in which such an agent occurs, e.g.

(i) Adverbial Noun as Adjunct

갈 일 정거장에 가겠노 neil jangmane gagesso
A

‘I will go to the station tomorrow.’
A woman is going there slowly.

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6.3.1. Transitive Clause with ‘Split Object’
A transitive clause may take two objects which are related in such a way that the objects $O_1$ and $O_2$ may be freely replaceable by a unified single object composed of $O_1$ and $O_2$ in the form of a nominal phrase. It is noted that the semantic relationship of $O_1$ to $O_2$ is one of ‘whole – part’, e.g., ‘man – (his) hand’, ‘woman – (her) hand’ or ‘table – (its) leg’ etc.; or one of ‘unit – (its) quantity’, e.g., ‘paper – (one) sheet’, ‘book – (ten) volumes’, ‘soldier – (ten) persons’, etc. $O_1$ and $O_2$ standing in such a relation as is described above will be termed ‘Split Objects’. In general, split objects are semantically somewhat more emphatic than the corresponding single object. The structure of an unmarked transitive clause with split objects is:

$$(S) + (O_1) + (O_2) + P,$$ e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin-sa-nil balil balil-ba-li-da</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P 'He stepped on the gentleman's foot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(lit. stepped on the gentleman on his foot).

The priest comes slowly to church and’ (cu-cu-ni ‘slowly’ Exp. of ogo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naga da palli iwini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S P 'Who runs faster?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The structure of the marked intransitive clause is $P(S)$, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jep-i-lil inna-lia bu-un-in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A S 'The actor left hurriedly.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2. Intransitive Clause
An intransitive clause includes an intransitive predicate as $P$ but neither $O$ or $C$. The elements and structure of an unmarked intransitive clause are:

$$(S) + P,$$ e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ins-jae jo-jo-ji an-ja-la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A P 'Sit on the chair quietly.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cun-cu-ni mo-gsan-in gjoh-welo ogo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S A P 'The priest comes slowly to church and'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actor left hurriedly.'

6.3.3. Descriptive Clause
A descriptive clause includes a descriptive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.3) as $P$. Two kinds of descriptive clause are distinguished according to the type of descriptive predicate used. They are “Descriptive Clause I” and “Descriptive Clause II”. Although the elements and structure of the descriptive clauses of both types can be uniformly set out as $(S) + (C) + P$, the relation, both structural and semantic, holding between the elements $S$ and $C$ is different in type I and type II. Thus the elements $S$ and $C$ in a descriptive clause of type I may be replaced by a new subject composed of the original $S$ and $C$ in the same way that the split objects $O_1$ and $O_2$ may combine to form a single unified object in the transitive clause with split objects (cf. 6.3.1.1). Semantically the relation of $S$ and $C$ may be characterized as ‘possession’ since in most cases the referent of the noun functioning as $C$ may be regarded as ‘belonging to’, ‘related to’ or ‘part of’ the referent of the noun functioning as $S$. For instance, in the following clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nai mAli ga apida</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S C 'my head', P 'head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the elements $S$ and $C$ may combine into a new subject $nai mAli ga 'my head'$, where the subject noun $na$ 'I' and the complement noun $mAli 'head'$ constitute...
a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle ii 'of'.

On the other hand, no such relation holds between S and C within a descriptive clause of type II. For instance, in the following clause,

나는 개를 싫다 nanin gega silta

'S I dislike dogs' (lit. 'I a dog am loathsome').

the subject na 'I' and the complement noun ge 'dog' cannot combine into a single nominal phrase naii ge 'my dog' to stand ultimately as S of the same clause without destroying the original structural relation and meaning as exhibited by the clause. In transformational-generative terms, the relation between the descriptive clauses of type I and II may be viewed as a case of surface neutralization of two different deep structures, since the descriptive clause structure S + C + P of type I may be described as being derived from the kernel string S + P of intransitive type (cf. 6.3.2) by a '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)Hh (S) + P where S2 corresponds to C, and S1 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:

منذ manh- 'to be many, much or plenty'

 azi ki- 'to be big, tall, large'

길 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')Hh (S') + P, e.g.

목사가 밭이 풀시 아言った mogsanin bali mobsi apadia

S P

'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'

실실 silh- 'to dislike', 훼uellement mussb- 'to be afraid of'

반갑 bangab- 'to be happy to [meet or hear from]'

좋 좋- 'to be good, fond of'

사실 ssunha- 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable'

아쉽 aswib- 'to miss [someone or something]'

슬프 silpi- 'to be sad over'

억istributor: agulha- 'to be unjust, to feel robbed'

근심스럽 sinsimsilb- 'to be worried'

송금하 gugimha- 'to be anxious, concerned'

etc.

cf. 목사 (의) 받아 풀시 아言った mogsanin bali mobsi apadia

S P

아버지는 키가 컸다 abjining kiga kadia

S P

'Father was tall' (lit. 'Father the height was tall').

cf. 아버지의 키가 컸다 abjiningi kiga kadia

Less common but marked structures of the descriptive clause type I are (S')P(S'), P(S')(S'), (S')P(S') and P(S')(S'), e.g.

아인은 손이 작았다 jainin soni jagadida

S P

'The woman's hands were small.'

(S')P(S'): jainin jagadida soni

P S P

P(S')(S'): jagadida jainin soni

S P S P

(S')P(S'): soni jagadida jainin

P S S P

P(S')(S'): jagadida soni jainin

P S S P

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

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

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.

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

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 \(- ‘to be’\), and no other element such as \(A\) may be interposed between \(C\) and \(P\), e.g.

\[
\text{‘He is a singer.’}
\]

\[
\text{‘Korea is a Far-Eastern country’ (lit. ‘Korea is a in-the-Far East-existing country’).}
\]

\[
\text{‘Water has become ice already.’}
\]

6.3.5. Passive Clause

A passive clause includes a passive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.5) as its \(P\) and may take the element \(Ag\). There are two kinds of passive clause distinguished on the basis of the elements operating in them. They are termed ‘Passive Clause Type I’ and ‘Passive Clause Type II’.

6.3.5.1. Passive Clause Type I

The passive clause type I, which is structurally related to and derivable, by a passive transformation (cf. the diagram below), from the underlying transitive clause of the \((S) + (O) + P\) type, exhibits its unmarked structure as \((S) + (Ag.) + P\) where the elements \(S\) and \(Ag\). are transformationally related to \(O\) and \(S\) respectively of the transitive clause as diagrammatically shown below.

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

Examples

\[
\text{‘A dog chased a cat.’}
\]

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

Examples of Passive Clause Type I

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘A thief was caught by a policeman.’} \\
\text{‘A thief was caught by a policeman.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(- ‘to be’\), and no other element such as \(A\) may be interposed between \(C\) and \(P\), e.g.

\[
\text{‘He is a singer.’}
\]

\[
\text{‘Korea is a Far-Eastern country’ (lit. ‘Korea is a in-the-Far East-existing country’).}
\]

\[
\text{‘Water has become ice already.’}
\]
Marked structures of the passive clause type 1 are (Ag.)(S)P, (Ag.)P(S), (S)P(Ag.), P(S)(Ag.) and P(Ag.)(S), e.g.

(S)(Ag.)P  종이가 바람에 날리된다  
jojiga balame nallinda  
‘The paper is flown by wind.’

(S)(Ag.)P  balame jojiga nallinda  
‘By wind the paper is flown.’

(S)(Ag.)P  balame nallinda jojiga  
‘By wind is flown the paper.’

(S)(Ag.)P  nallinda balame jojiga  
‘Is flown the paper by wind.’

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

(S)(Ag.)P  jasa pallinda soga  
‘The calf’s teat (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.’

(S)(Ag.)P  soga jasa pallinda  
‘The cow’s teat (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.’

6.3.6. Causative Clause

A causative clause includes a causative predicate (cf. 6.2.1.6) as its P and may include up to two objects and/or a complement and/or an agent. Any of the five types of clause so far discussed, except the equational clause with the
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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)(0)P
(b) (S)(0)P
(c) (S)(0'/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 hedja

'The father made his son come.'

derived from the intransitive clause
아들이라 adili wadia 'The son came.'

The element S in the causative clause, such as abajij 'father' in the example above, is an invented element which is not expressed in any form in the corresponding non-causative clause structure, e.g.

(a) Causative Clause derived from Intransitive Clause

어머니는 딸을 안았다 smaninin ilal ancijdia

'A mother made her daughter sit up.'

(c) Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause

누가 칼을 끝어주게 했다 nuga jdul kita jige hexia

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'

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:

두가 너를 놀라게 했다 nuga nulil nollage henni S OP

'Who surprised you?'

(c) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause

전공이 밝을 탐한다 lankonji bicil Balkinda

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'

(c) Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause

누가 짭을 끝어주게 했다 nuga jadeo oge heda

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'

(c) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause

전공이 밝을 탐한다 lankonji bicil Balkinda

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'

(c) Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause

누가 짭을 끝어주게 했다 nuga jadeo oge heda

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'
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.

\[ (S) + (C) + P_{equ.} = \text{underlying clause} \]
\[ (S) + (O/C') + (C) + P_{caus.} = \text{causative clause} \]

Examples

(a) **Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type I**

그들은 나를 / 내가 캐가 / 캐가 살게 만들었다
gidilin nali/nega gelil/gega silke mandilattribi
\[ S \quad O / C \quad O_1 / C_1 \quad P \]

'They made me dislike dogs.'

(b) **Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type II**

나는 캐가 살게 만들었다
\[ nalin gega silx\text{\textdia} \]

'I disliked dogs.'

6.3.6.4. **Causative Clause of \((S)(O^1/Ag.)(O^2)P\)**

The causative clause of \((S)(O^1/Ag.)(O^2)P\) type is derived from a transitive clause with a single object, i.e., \((S)(O)P\) type, and the structural relation between them is as follows:

\[ (S) + (O) + P_{tr.} = \text{underlying cl.} \]
\[ (S) + (O^1/Ag.) + (O^2) + P_{caus.} = \text{causative cl.} \]

The above diagram shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element \(O^1\) or \(Ag.\), e.g.

아이가 물을 먹었다 aiga gelil mulil maginda
\[ S \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad P \]

'A child makes a dog drink water.'

(c) **Causative Clause of \((S)(Ag.)(O')(O^2)P\)**

The causative clause of \((S)(Ag.)(O')(O^2)P\) type is derived from a transitive clause with split objects, i.e., \((S)(O')(O^2)P\) type, and their structural relation is as follows:

\[ (S) + (O') + (O^2) + P_{tr.} = \text{underlying cl.} \]
\[ (S) + (Ag.) + (O') + (O^2) + P_{caus.} = \text{causative cl.} \]
Examples

어머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르케 한다

만사니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르케 한다

*Hanm.snil dalilil jumulige *handa

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

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

어머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르케 한다

전달이 할머니를 다리로 주르르케 한다

*Adali hanm.snil dalilil jumulinge *handa

S O₁ O₂ P

'The son massages his granny on the leg.'

The split objects O₁ and O₂ in the causative clause are very often combined into a single object as in the underlying transitive clause (6.3.1.1). In such a case, the resultant clause structure will be identical to the causative clause of (SMO'/Ag.HOTP type (cf. 6.3.6.4), except that the element Ag. cannot alternate with O₁, i.e., cannot be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the example given earlier may be rewritten as follows:

어머니가 아들에게 할머니 다리를 주르르케 한다

만사니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리로 주르르케 한다

*Hanm.snil dalilil jumulige *handa

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The mother makes her son massage her granny's leg.'

6.3.6.6. Causative Clause of (S)(O₁/C)(Ag.)(O²/C³)P

The causative clause of (S)(O₁/C)(Ag.)(O²/C³)P type is derived from a passive clause of (S)(Ag.)(C/O)P type (cf. 6.3.5.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

(S) + (Ag.) + (O/C) + P.pasv. = underlying cl.

(S) + (O¹/C) + (Ag.) + (O²/C³) + P.caus. + caus.cl.

Examples

그는 신사를 / 신사가 아이에게 발을 / 발이 발해졌다

진인 신사로 아이에게 발을 발해졌다

Sinsatal/sinsaga aiege balil/balil balpigie *hedia

S O₁ / C₁ Ag. O₂ / C₂ P

'She made the gentleman's foot to be stepped on by a child.'

신사가 아이에게 발을 발해졌다

Sinsaga aiege balil/balil balpigie *hedia

S Ag. C / O P

'The gentleman's foot was stepped on by a child.'

6.3.6.7. Double Causativity

Every causative clause so far discussed has been described as being derived from one or the other of the five different types of non-causative underlying clauses, i.e., intransitive, descriptive, equational, transitive and passive. However, a causative clause may be derived from an underlying clause which is also causative, if the underlying causative clause includes a morphologically effected causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-effected causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative *haini* 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.

어머니가 나에게 동생을 발을 벽어 있게 한다

만사니가 내에게 동생을 발을 벽어 있게 한다

Nagtinsil naege dogsejil babil mỳgige *handa

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'My mother makes me feed my brother' (lit. 'makes me make my brother cat his meal').

동생을 발을 벽어 한다

Nagtinsil naege dogsejil babil mỳginda

S O₁ O₂ P

'I feed my brother' (lit. 'make my brother eat his meal').

주인은 하인에게 소를 들켜 하였다

주인은 하인에게 소를 드래 하였다

Haini hainege solil lidike hajlds

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The master asked (lit. 'made') his servant (to) graze the cow' (lit. 'made his servant make the cow pick the grass').

소를 들켜 하였다

Haini solil lidike *hajlds

S O₁ O₂ P

'The servant grazed the cow.'

6.4. TYPES OF NON-FINAL CLAUSE

Apart from the final/non-final difference in the predicate form, final and non-final clauses are identical in respect of elements and structure, except for the positional restriction on the element P within the non-final clause structure (see 6.4.1). Thus the clause elements, S, O, C, Ag., A and P are found to operate in the non-final clause in much the same way as they do in the final clause. Accordingly, the six different clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, descriptive, equational, passive and causative clauses, set up on the basis of the type of predicate, can all be distinguished in non-final clauses.

Unlike the final clause, however, the non-final clause has three important syntactical functions; thus some non-final clauses are syntactically similar to a noun, some to an adjective, and some to an adverb. In other words, the non-final clause is a rank-shifted clause, downgraded from the clause level to the word level. By this syntactic criterion, all non-final clauses, irrespective of their internal structure and to which of the six different types of clause they belong, are classified into three syntactic classes: (i) 'Nominal Clause', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause' and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause'.
Internal Structure of Non-Final Clause

The internal structure of the non-final clause is identical in every respect to that of the corresponding final clause, with one notable exception. That is, the element P occupies the final position in every non-final clause structure and no other elements, singly or in any combination, can ever follow P, whereas this (post-P occurrence of non-P elements) is possible in the final clause structure. Because of this positional restriction on the element P, the non-final clauses are naturally outnumbered by the final clauses in variety of internal structure. For instance, a final clause like

개가 닭을 본다 gega dagil bonda ‘A dog looks at a hen.’

may be internally restructured as

(a) gega bonda dagil
   S P O

(b) dagil bonda gega
   O P S

(c) bonda dagil gega
   P O S etc.

where P is followed by O, S or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

개가 닭을 본 gega dagil bom ‘That a dog looks at a hen.’

may be restructured only as

닭을 개가 본 dagil gega bom
   O S P

since neither S nor O may occur after P.

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

 dagen se name ‘a new tree’
나의 나무 naii namu ‘my tree’

but a nominal clause like

학교에 간 hagkjoe gam ‘going to school’
cannot be preceded by an expansion:

나의 학교에 간 *naii hagkjoe gam ‘this going-to-school’

(ii) A nominal clause is never followed immediately by the adjectival particle *ii of’, whereas a noun may be followed by ii, forming with it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2).

인생의 기쁨 inseg ii gipim ‘the joy of life’

N

but 밥을 먹은 사람 babil magim ii gipim ‘the joy of eating dinner’

N.cl.

research 결과 janggu ii gj.dgwa ‘the results of research’

N

but *오늘의 결과 codkigi ii gj.dgwa ‘the results of being chased’

N.cl.

Syntactic Functions of Nominal Clause

Various syntactic functions performed by a nominal clause are illustrated below.

Nominal Clause as Minor Sentence

A nominal clause whose P is suffixed with the ending -m/-im occurs frequently on its own as a minor sentence in official documents, diaries and advertisements, etc.

Examples

- the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August').

오늘 시험을 본 onil sjikm bom ‘taking an exam today’

-this medicine being specially good for headaches’
6.4.2.1.2. Nominal Clause as S, O, C in Clause Structure

(i) As S

아이가 울기가 예사이다 aiga ulgiga jesa ida

'Stills, a baby crying is a common thing'.

(ii) As O

소년이 학교에 갔다 sonjini haqjoe gamil bwanni

'Did you see a boy going to school?' (lit. 'A boy going to school you saw?')

(iii) As C

소녀는 꿈이 깨어있지 안타깝다 sonjsin kuni keajimi antakawdia

'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 읽기로 아이들 모기 보다 좋다 cegil ilkiga ailih bogi boda jota

'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, -//n/-in and -//-// (cf. 4.3.5.2.2). An adjectival clause has practically the same syntactic functions as an adjective, i.e., occurs as the nominal expansion (cf. 5.1.3.2). It is to be noted that the majority of 'Adjectives' in familiar European languages, including English correspond, both syntactically and semantically, to 'Adjectival Clauses' in Korean, i.e., are expressed in Korean by semantically corresponding verbs inflected in the non-final clausal form. There are only a limited number of adjectives as such in Korean, e.g., se 'new', /m.ti 'old, worn-out', etc., which are comparable to adjectives in European languages (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.4.3), e.g.

alimdaun kod adj.cl.

'a beautiful flower' (lit. 'a flower which is beautiful')

나의 마음이 편한 날 naii maimi pjinhal 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:

\[
\text{의어어절 (소작) 
} \begin{array}{lllll}
\text{D} & \text{S} & \text{P} & \text{H} & \text{Exp.} \\
\text{nega} & \text{aje} & \text{bon} & \text{(sonjjan)} & \text{adj.cl.} \\
\text{lit. 'yesterday-saw boy'} \\
\end{array}
\]

which is formed with the adjectival clause ending -n added to the predicate verb bo- 'to see'. The Korean adjectival clause is therefore comparable not only to the adjective of European languages but also to the modifying clause introduced by a relative pronoun. As a rule, the European adjective corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the descriptive type (cf. 6.2.1.3) whereas the European modifying clause marked by a relative pronoun corresponds to the Korean adjectival clause whose P is the processive type (cf. 6.2.1.1-2), e.g.

- 'good': 됐은/.join 'which is good' \(jolh\) 'to be good' V.d. + -in
- 'which [I] bought': 삼-san 'which [I] bought' \(<sa\) 'to buy' V.p. + -n

6.4.3.1. Syntaxic Function of Adjectival Clause

The adjectival clause functions mainly as a nominal expansion, i.e., constitutes an endocentric construction with an N or NP as its head. The structure of such a construction is normally adj.cl. + H as in

\[
\text{의어어절 'The book which I bought'} \\
\text{adj.cl.} \quad \text{H}
\]

but H + adj.cl. may also occur (although rare) as in

\[
\text{책 의어어절 'which I bought'} \\
\text{H adj.cl.}
\]

Besides its function as a nominal expansion, the adjectival clause has two other functions, (a) as a minor sentence, (b) co-occurrence with the adjectival auxiliary verb.

6.4.3.1.1. Adjectival Clause as Minor Sentence

Although less free and common than the nominal clause, an adjectival clause may occur also as a minor sentence provided the context is clear. For instance, the adjectival clause 내가 산 책 nega san ceg 'The book which I bought' can occur on its own as a minor sentence in reply to such a question as 수준 책 musin ceg 'What book?'
The son whose mother clothed [him]

A mother clothed her son.

The dog which a soldier made to drink water

A soldier made a dog drink water.

The clothes which a mother made her son wear

water which a soldier made the dog drink

The fact that people gather

the time when the war broke out in Korea

in case you are late for the meeting

A as H

tomorrow when my daughter is going to nursery school

My daughter is going to school tomorrow:

a nursery school to which my daughter is going tomorrow

Shall I draw water from a well?

My daughter is going to school tomorrow.

When you see a doctor at the hospital.
6.4.4.2. Types of Adverbial Clause

The adverbial clause in Korean, although similar to a subordinate clause in English both syntactically and semantically, differs sharply from the latter in construction. The Korean adverbial clause is formed inflectionally with an adverbial clause ending, whereas the English subordinate clause is formed with, or introduced by, a subordinate conjunction such as 'if', 'when', etc. Furthermore, in Korean, the co-ordination of a clause to another is also effected by an adverbial clause ending and not by a conjunctive word as in English. That is to say, the first of the two Korean clauses standing in co-ordinate relation (semantically) is expressed in the form of an adverbial clause ending, without any conjunctive word occurring between them. Thus both the co-ordination and the subordination of clauses are effected in Korean by verbal inflection, i.e., by an adverbial clause ending. In IC (Immediate Constituent) terms, a Korean adverbial clause would be analysed into two bound constituents, i.e., the adverbial clause ending which is bound on the one hand and the rest preceding the adverbial clause ending which is also bound, on the other. The following examples from Korean and English will contrast the different analysis as applying in the two languages:

(a) 날이 좋으니 밖에 나가서 nali joh-/-ini, bake nagaja f.cl.
   'As it is fine, let us go out.'

(b) As/ it is fine, let us go out. sub.cl. main cl.

(c) 아이가 아침을 밤고 학교에 갔다 ainin acimil mg-/go, hagjoe gasida. f.cl.
   'The boy took his breakfast and went to school.'

(d) The boy took his breakfast and went to school. clause 1 clause 2

The two Korean examples (a) and (c) above show that both subordinate and co-ordinate constructions are formed inflectionally, and the IC boundary comes immediately before the inflectional endings, thus yielding two bound constituents, whereas the corresponding English examples (b) and (d) show that subordination and coordination are both effected by a conjunction and the IC analysis yields two free forms. In view of the evidence presented so far it is clear that on surface structure at least there is not formal distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses in Korean, and consequently, Korean adverbial clauses cannot be classified into subordinate and co-ordinate types as in English.

Instead, Korean adverbial clauses may be classified according to the relationship between the element S of an adverbial clause and that of another clause with which the adverbial clause is in subordinate relation. Those adverbial clauses whose S must function also as the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric Adverbial Clauses' and those adverbial clauses whose S may (i) function also as the S of a succeeding clause or (ii) be different from the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric-Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' or simply 'Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' in short. That is to say, a concentric adverbial clause has its subject shared with a succeeding clause to which the former is subordinate, whereas an eccentric adverbial clause is free to have either one common subject shared by both clauses, or a subject of its own, which is different from that of a succeeding clause. As will be indicated in 6.4.4.2.2, some eccentric adverbial clauses express different meanings depending on whether their S functions as the S of a succeeding clause or is different from the latter.

6.4.4.2.1. Concentric Adverbial Clause

A concentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings:

1. 고시 -gosa 'and, then, afterward', e.g.
   nanin jaghwalil bogosa, jibe dola ogedia S O P f.cl.
   'I will come home after seeing the film'
   (lit. 'I see the film and then will come home').

2. 먼저 / 오먼시 -mjx(nsa)/-imjx(nsa) 'while, at the same time', e.g.
   jagsa gamjx(nsa), noteul handa S P f.cl.
   '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. Eccentric Adverbial Clause

A concentric-eccentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -mj\jA/-imj\jA and -as\A/-as\A express two 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. 비 / 오려 -mj\jA/-imj\jA ‘and’ when $S' \neq S$, ‘while’ when $S' = S$

   $S' \neq S$: 아이는 옷으려 게는 본다
   ainin usimj\jA, genin twinda
   S P S P
   advcl. f.cl.
   ‘A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.’

   $S' = S$: 아이는 우유를 먹으며 향했다
   ainin ajil\jA madginja us\A\jA
   S P O P
   advcl. f.cl.
   ‘A baby smiled while having milk.’

2. 이 (서) / 이 (서) -as\A/-as\A ‘as, since, because’ when $S' \neq S$; ‘and then’ when $S' = S$, e.g.

   $S' \neq S$: 같이 미끄러지 (서) 운전이 어렵다
   gili m\jAl\jA/am\jA u\jA j\jA j\jA
   S P P S
   advcl. f.cl.
   ‘As the road is slippery driving is difficult.’

   $S' = S$: 같이 미끄러지 (서) 운전이 어렵다
   gili m\jAl\jA/am\jA u\jA j\jA j\jA
   S P P S
   advcl. f.cl.

3. 고 / 고 -mj\jA/-imj\jA ‘and’, e.g. 눈을 감고 나는 기도를 한다
   munil gamko n\jA n\jA gido\jA hani
   O P S P
   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. 시작하지 시험에 시작되마다
   biga gicja, sih\jA sj\A\j\j\j\j\jA w\A\jA\jA
   S P S P
   advcl. f.cl.
   ‘As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.’

5. 도록 -dolog อง / de ‘until, so that’, e.g.

   당신은 지치도록 안을 하는구려
   dajjinin jicidolog ili haningulja
   S P O P
   advcl. f.cl.
   ‘You are overworking yourself!’
   (lit. ‘Until you are exhausted, you are working.’)
6. 둘 수록 / 을 수록 -tsutog/-itsutog 'the more ... the more', e.g. 
사랑을 얻을 수록 소녀가 기뻤다 satanjil sdisilug sonjimun gipsida 
\[ S_1 \ P \ S_2 \ P \] 
advcl. f.cl.  
'You call the dog so that she can come running.'

"The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became."

7. 뽁 둥 / 이 뱃 -ipundlsls/-ilpundlsls 'not only ... but also', e.g. 
그는 음을 받았을 뿐이 더 훨씬 더 bsin donil badsilipundls bals da sdaia 
\[ S_1 \ P \ S_2 \ P \] 
advcl. nief cl.  
'The older his mother became, the more the son was worried but.'

8. 거나 -ganae 
든지 / 오나 - din(ji) / -na/-ina } 'whether ... or', e.g. 
가문지 언가문지 데 마음대로 해라 
\[ S_1 \ P \ S_2 \ P \] 
advcl. f.cl.  
'He not only got the money but also already spent it.'

"Not only is the sky blue but also the sunlight is strong.'

9. 면 / 오면 -mjum/-imjum } 'if, when', e.g. 
임을 빼기 길래거든 나한테 오너라 
\[ S_1 \ P \ S_2 \ P \] 
advcl. f.cl.  
'If you finish the work early, come to me.'

"If the weather is fine, let's go hunting.'

10. 아야 / 아니야 -aja/-aia } 'only if, only when', e.g. 
무모는 자식이 잘 되어야만 가르카 
\[ S_2 \ S_1 \ P \ P \] 
advcl. f.cl.  
'Are parents happy only when their sons become successful?'

In the above example, \( S_1 \) and \( P \) of the final clause are discontinuous, being interrupted by the adverbial clause.

"Even if [he is] small, he is handsome.'

11. 다리라도 / 이르도 -(dls)ado/-ndo } 'even if/though', e.g. 
\[ S_3 \ S_1 \ S_2 \ P \] 
advcl. f.cl.  
'Even if he is small, he is handsome.'

"Even though you are not at home, I will wait for you.'
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12. 지만 -jiman

-지만 / -ga

'although ... ' '... but', e.g.

집에 왔지만 소년은 허탈했다

*jibe wadčim, sonjšnin isayhedia

advcl. f.cl.

'The boy came home but he felt strange.'

생각은 줄으나 실천이 어려웠다

seggagin jōna, silven sifjwadha

advcl. f.cl.

'The idea was good but the practice was difficult.'

13. 린반 / 오린반 -ljšnman/-iljšnman 'might/would ... but', e.g.

아프린란 노인은 말정했다

apiljšnman, noinin mweljshedha

advcl. f.cl.

'The old man might have been ill but he was all right.'

손녀의 많이 오린반 주인은 태평했다

sonnimi mani oljšnman, jujin tepjshedha

advcl. f.cl.

'There would be many guests coming but the host was not worried.'

14. 묻로 / 묻로 -milo/-imilo 'as, since, because', e.g.

한미니는 지금 하리가 아프므로 쉬었다

halmvini jijim hšlīga apšmilo, swšsindā

advcl. f.cl.

'As my granny now has lumbago, she is resting.'

네가 헤어보니(가) 시간이 무시었다

nega kebonitičk, sigani dusis jšdja

advcl. f.cl.

'When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.'

네가 빌리 가니(가) 만나서 말해라

nega pali ganičk, manass mahlēa

advcl. f.cl.

'As you are leaving early see him and tell him.'

15. 니(가) / 우니(가) -nitka/-nitka 'Time: when, as' 'Clause: because, as, since', e.g.

네가 채어보니(가) 시간이 무시었다

nega kebonitičk, sigani dusis jšdja

advcl. f.cl.

'When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.'

네가 빌리 가니(가) 만나서 말해라

nega pali ganičk, manass mahlēa

advcl. f.cl.

'As you are leaving early see him and tell him.'

16. 늘네 -ninđe

'and' (topic introducer), e.g.

네가 집을 하는데 아꼈다

nega išil haninđe, apšdja

advcl. f.cl.

'I was working and I had headache.'

이튿이 좋은데 채 안보니

ikoci johinđe, we anboni

advcl. f.cl.

'This flower is nice and why don't you look at it?'

17. 되-dwe ['may/might] ... but', e.g.

돈을 쓰지 조심을 하여라

donil sidwe, josimil hajšla

advcl. f.cl.

'You may spend the money, but be careful.'

바람이 불리 비는 안온다 balami buldwe, binin anonda

advcl. f.cl.

'The wind is blowing, but it is not raining.'
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

*clal The moon. N
*clal ‘Ah!’ Interj.
*clal ‘Tomorrow?’ N.adv.
*clal ‘Eat [it].’V and clause
d|T ‘A new car.’ NP
e
gab’sicla ‘Let’s go quickly.’ VP and clause
w
To Seoul?’ adv.rel.cl.
^|,gjA ‘The song of winter.’ NP
&*} ‘siji ~masejo ‘Please do not come.’ VP and clause
‘Reading a book?’ nf.cl.
‘Even if you do, I will not.’

7.2. MAJOR AND MINOR SENTENCE

There are two main types of sentence, ‘Major’ and ‘Minor’ types. A major sentence consists of or includes a final clause, and a minor sentence does not consist of or include a final clause. A major sentence in its minimal form may be represented by a single verb inflected with a final ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) since such a single verb may also occur as a final clause (cf. 6.1).

(i) Major Type Sentences

*clal ‘It is cold.’
*clal ‘When does the sun rise?’
‘It will be warm when spring comes.’
*clal ‘Let us do it slowly after seeing the film.’

(ii) Minor Type Sentences

*clal ‘Why?’
*clal ‘Yes.’
*clal ‘Where to?’
*clal ‘After washing my face first.’
*clal ‘When spring comes to Seoul.’

7.3. MAJOR SENTENCE

The major sentence is the largest unit in the grammatical hierarchy by reference to which systematic statements of grammatical structures and relation may be made. This definition of sentence does not preclude the possibility of setting up a larger unit, e.g., ‘Paragraph’ in which inter-sentential relations may be studied, but such a unit is outside the scope of this book.

7.3.1. Structure of Major Sentence

A major sentence may include, in addition to a final clause which is obligatory, a non-final adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.4.1), a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.4.5), a vocative phrase (cf. 3.4.5.5) and a sentence particle (cf. 3.4.5.7). The usual unmarked order of these elements is as follows:

(Adv.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + (adv.cl.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.), e.g.

*clal ‘However, if it is all right tomorrow, [friend], let’s leave!’
*clal ‘Furthermore, since you have received the prize money, you must be happy!’
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Chapter VII

7.3.2. Major Sentence Categories

The major sentences may be classified into four sentence categories on the basis of the inflectional mood endings (cf. 4.3.5.1) occurring with the element P. They are (i) ‘Declarative Sentence’, (ii) ‘Interrogative Sentence’, (iii) ‘Imperative Sentence’ and (iv) ‘Propositive Sentence’. Intonation plays an important role in distinguishing some sentence categories, since not only is the selection of certain types of intonation fairly regularly related to a particular sentence category but also it can sometimes characterize a sentence which is modally ambiguous.

7.3.2.1. Declarative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the declarative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a declarative sentence. A declarative sentence is phonologically marked nearly always by Intoneme LF (LOW FALL) or HF (HIGH FALL) (cf. 2.8) occurring with the last stress group, except the one whose P is inflected with -ji, the declarative mood ending of the medium style, which is marked by Intoneme LF only, e.g.

비가 우나다 biga-omnida ‘It is raining.’

아저씨는 돈을 많이 벌니다 a’jjanin donil-man bap-67mnida

‘[His] uncle makes a lot of money.’

나는 집에 갈니다 naningje-gamnida ‘I am going home.’

어Foot 발루나 i’koci lagkuna ‘You have picked this flower!’

감 치아 나도 julji ‘bs na’do ‘I pick [it] up well too.’

7.3.2.1. 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/-A of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive 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', mius 'what', mje 'whence', etc. (cf. 3.4.2.1.3), the interrogative adjective, e.g., sni 'which', muisin 'what', etc. (cf. 3.4.3.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., we 'why' or slake '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**

언제 미나님가 -mje lno.sinmnik 'When are you leaving?'

여기를 오셨어요 mugu 'osjajo 'Who has come?'

자네는 무엇을 했었기 ja 'nenin mu-ssil 'henninga

'What did you do?'

책을 들건 삐그널 cegil-mjsdkwan -sann 'How many books did you buy?'

어느것이 좋아 x-nigasi 'joa 'Which is better?'

(ii) **Yes/No'-Type Interrogative Sentences**

나도 갑니야 nado 'gamniki 'Am I going too?'

당신이 전화를 하시겠요 -daegi -jachiwalti hasi.gesso

'Would you like to telephone?'

신문을 읽어 봅시다 sinmunil 'ilgsbwa 'Did you read the paper?'

안녕하세요 'jaupildlo -gan 'Don't you even have a pencil?'

구경꾼이 많여다 gugljskuni 'manadli

'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 가지 hani 'namjegeji 'When are you going?'

cf. 너는 언제 가지 hani 'namjegeji '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 왔지 nega 'hedde 'You did [it], didn't you?'

cf. 내가 왔지 nega 'hesi '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.

어디 오십소 illo. sibsio 'Please come here.'

당신이 여권을 부지요 -daegi, i-pjungji bu-cio

'You post this letter.'

자네는 여기 하기 jane 'nin jsi 'idke 'You stay here.'

신문을 따라 sinmun -i-bwalsa 'Look at the newspaper.'

빨리 빠지마 'paliiwiji '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.

한번에 걸으시다 -cmmenki, gaxsibsida 'Let's walk slowly.'

네일 일찍 미나십니라 nei. iljeeg i-sna.sibsida

'Let us leave early tomorrow.'

오늘은 하지 아침 o-nilin hate 'Let's not do it today.'

우리도 시장에 가 u-lido -szijage 'ga 'Let us go to the market too.'
7.4. SIMPLE AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

If a simple sentence is defined as consisting of a single final clause, and a compound sentence of more than one final clause, the majority of Korean sentences are simple sentences since they include only one final clause.

7.4.1. Simple Sentences

It is to be noted that following the definition of simple and compound sentences as given above, many sentences which have traditionally been treated as compound sentences are analysed here as simple sentences, e.g.

새가 울고 있었다 -sega .ulgo ismdla ‘The bird was singing.’

‘Has the flower blossomed beautifully?’

‘Only when/if you do [it], I will too.’

다시 가고 나오는 간다. -daysini gamjn namin. anganda

‘You go and I go too.’

남자도 가고 나도 간다. -gago nado. ganda

‘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.

(a) sinmun ‘A newspaper.’

[cf. sinmunil bonda ‘I am reading the paper.’]

(b) miguges ‘From America.’

[cf. miguges. waso ‘I have come from America.’]

(c) gi-iga o. mjn ‘What if she comes [here]?’

[cf. gi-iga o. mjn sike.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. 13.2.2) 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. jadja ‘I have found the money.’]
(ii) Minor Sentences of Interrogative Mood

(a) ‘Yes/No’-Type

At the school?
Did you play at the school?
You like your mummy more?

(b) ‘Q’-Type

Who?
Who is crying?
When?
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

Ah ‘a ‘Ah!’
Good gracious!
Well!
Oh!
Quiet!

(ii) Vocative Type

Bogdong (personal name)!
My dear!
General Kim!
‘Mr. Pak!’
Darling!

etc.

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