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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. J. C.
November 1995
**TABLE OF ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS**

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

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**- Consonants**

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<td>uy</td>
<td>ũi</td>
<td>ũi</td>
<td>ũi</td>
<td>ũi</td>
<td>ũi</td>
<td>40</td>
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</table>

* The vowel letter `<።> is romanized as `<wu>` across the board in this book, whereas in the Yale system it is `<u>` after a bilabial ( `<ㅍ>` (p), `<ㅌ>` (pp), `<ㅊ>` (ph)>; `<ㅁ>` (m)) or `<wu>` elsewhere.
## List of Abbreviations and Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A(DJ)</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>adnoun/adjective clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADN</td>
<td>adnoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADNZ</td>
<td>adnominalizer (suffix)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVC</td>
<td>adverb clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVP</td>
<td>adverb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVT</td>
<td>adverbative (suffix: key)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVZ</td>
<td>adverbializer (suffix)</td>
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<td>agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>adnoun/adjective phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary (verb/adjective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>blunt (speech level)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant; complement; clause; context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>causative (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C°</td>
<td>direction complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_l</td>
<td>locative complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>object complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cs</td>
<td>subject complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier (= counter); clause</td>
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<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
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<td>connective</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
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<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
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<td>DET</td>
<td>determiner</td>
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<td>DF</td>
<td>discourse function</td>
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<td>DS</td>
<td>discourse segment</td>
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<tr>
<td>DT</td>
<td>discourse type</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>event time</td>
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<td>familiar (speech level)</td>
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<td>FO</td>
<td>formal (speech level)</td>
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<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
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GEN  genitive (particle)
GER  gerund (suffix: ko)
GO   goal
H    hearer
HON  honorific (form)
I    initial position (word-initial)
IC   immediate constituent
IN   intimate (speech level)
INF  infinitive (suffix: e/ə/ [ ])  
INST instrumental
INT  interrogative
J    Japanese
lit. literal
LOC  locative
M    modifier; medial position (word-medial)
NC   noun clause
NEG  negative
NK   native Korean (word)
NOMZ nominalizer
NP   noun phrase
O    object
OA   agentive object
Oi   indirect object
OL   locative object
OBL  oblique object
OBJ  object
OBL  oblique
OM   object marker (particle:  ula/ul)
P    particle
PAS  passive (suffix)
PAT  patient
PL   plain (speech level)
PLU  plural (particle: tul)
PO   polite (speech-level particle: yo)
POSS possessive
PP   particle phrase
PR   promissory (S-type: (u)ma)
PRED predicate
PREP preposition
prf prefix
PROJ projective (suffix: tolok)
PRP  propositive (S-type)
PRS  present tense (suffix)
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<td>reference</td>
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<td>retrospective mood (suffix: -te)</td>
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<td>sentence; subject, speaker; speech time</td>
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<td>sentence type</td>
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<td>susceptive (suffix: ci)</td>
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<td>subject</td>
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<td>suffix</td>
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<td>TS</td>
<td>tree structure</td>
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<td>utterance</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<tr>
<td>vtt</td>
<td>ditransitive verb</td>
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</table>

- semi-grammatical (syntactically)
- ungrammatical (syntactically)
- inappropriate (pragmatically)
- more inappropriate
- < >  grapheme (or string); list
- [ ]  phonetic value, zero (if empty); set
- //  phoneme
- morpheme boundary (optionally marked)
- morpheme boundary (interchangeable with the dot ".")
1. Introduction

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

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

Historically, Korean may be divided into three stages: Old Korean (up to the 11th century), Middle Korean (up to the 17th century), and Modern Korean. Since linguistic data or written documents pertaining to Old Korean are scanty and all recorded in Chinese characters,³ it is all but impossible to reconstruct the sound system of Old Korean. The language of the Koryo, who came to rule the nation after the Silla for over four hundred years (918-1392) is best known in the writing system of Itwu, a method for recording the Korean sounds with Chinese characters. The advent of Hankul, the native alphabet, invented in the mid-15th century (1446) by King Sejong of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), brought forth linguistic inquiry on the structure of Middle Korean. The sound system of Middle
Korean had 22 consonants and seven vowels; in contrast, that of Modern Korean has 19 consonants and 10 vowels. Consonant clusters, which Middle Korean had in word-initial position (e.g. $<pt (ʦt)>$, $<ps (ʦs)>$, and $<pst (ʦt̚)>$) are no longer extant in Modern Korean. Middle Korean also had a pitch accent system—with three types of pitch: high, rising, and low. The pitch system is lost in Modern Korean except for some dialects in Kyengsang Province; the rising pitch is generally replaced by lengthening.

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

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

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

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

The book is composed of seven chapters. After the introductory chapter, writing and sound systems are presented in Chapter 2, where following a brief historical survey on the use of Hanca in Korea the Hankul writing system is introduced and illustrated with the Hankul symbols and sounds; the sound system is treated with some sound rules and suprasegmental features as well as vowels and consonants. Words and word classes are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Eight word classes are set up: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, particles, and interjections. Chapter 5 describes simple sentences, including sentence types, basic sentence patterns, semantic roles, negation, passive and causative constructions, and TAM (tense, aspect and mood). Chapter 6 deals with extended sentences, including compound,
complex and mixed sentences. Chapter 7 treats topics of discourse such as speech acts, honorification, topic-focus articulation, reference and ellipsis; in the last section is given discourse analyses of a dialogue and a passage from a literary essay. Appended to the book are some reading materials representing both spoken and written modes of discourse, including a dialogue, a play, tales, and a prayer.
2. Scripts and Sounds

2.1. Writing Systems

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

2.1.1. The Hanca Writing

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

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

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

Hankul consists of 10 vowel letters and 14 consonant letters. They are combined in various ways to form a syllable block. In syllable-initial position 11 compound vowel letters and five geminated consonant letters occur in addition to the 10 simple vowel and 14 simple consonant letters and in syllable final position 15 double or geminate consonant letters occur in addition to the 14 single ones.

(1) a. Vowel Letters

- Syllable Initial or Medial Position
  Simple ㅏ ㅑ ㅓ ㅕ ㅗ ㅛ ㅜ ㅠ ㅡ ㅣ (10)
  a ya ye yo wu yu ui
  Compound 야 야 이 이 아 아 우 우 이 이

b. Consonant Letters

- Syllable Initial Position
  Simple ㄱ ㄴ ㄷ ㄹ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ (14)
  k n t l m p s j c ch kh th ph h
  Double ㄲ ㄸ ㅃ ㅆ ㅉ (5)
  kk tt pp ss cc

- Syllable Final Position
  Simple ㄱ ㄴ ㄷ ㄹ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ (14)
  k n t l m p s ng c ch kh th ph h
  Cluster ㄱ ㄴ ㄷ ㄹ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ (13)
  kk ks nc nh lk lm lp ls lth lph lh ps ss

Formation of compound vowel letters is shown in (2).
The basic combinations of vowel (V) and consonant (C) letters (i.e. C-V form) are shown in the following (incomplete) table. The order of letters in the table is the standard one. Notice that the <œ> in the middle of the list of consonant letters stands for a dummy letter with no phonetic value.

(3) Basic combinatory chart of vowel and consonant letters

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<th>C</th>
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<td>ye</td>
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<td>yo</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>하</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A written syllable, or a block of graphic symbols, is made up of one (simple or geminated) initial consonant letter (C), including a dummy <œ>, a
vowel letter (V), and one or two optional final consonant letter(s): C(C)+V or C(C)+V+C(C).

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

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

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

(5) Syllable-block Shapes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Type</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Roman Letter</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. CV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. CCV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'nick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>tto</td>
<td>'again'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. CVC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>pam</td>
<td>'chestnut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ㅏ ㅓ</td>
<td>pom</td>
<td>'spring'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. CCVC

i.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{t} \\
\text{t} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{ttam} \quad \text{‘sweat’}
\]

ii.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{w} \\
\text{w} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{pwul} \quad \text{‘horn’}
\]

e. CVCC

i.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{i} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{kaps} \quad \text{‘price’}
\]

ii.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{CC} \\
\text{z} \\
\text{z} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{hulk} \quad \text{‘soil’}
\]

f. CCVCC

i.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{i} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{kkakk} \quad \text{‘cut’}
\]

ii.  

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{CC} \\
\text{w} \\
\text{w} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{ttwulh} \quad \text{‘pierce’}
\]

g. CVV\textsuperscript{13}

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{i} \\
\end{array} \]

\[
\text{kwi} \quad \text{‘ear’}
\]

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

(6) a. Traditional: Vertical

b. Current: Horizontal

There is no distinction between upper and lower cases in Korean as in English, nor such distinctions as katakana and hiragana in Japanese. Throughout the book, however, proper nouns and the sentence-initial word are written in initial capitals (e.g. 

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

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

(7) a. Noun + Particle (no spacing)
   i. mianun  ii. chayki  iii. mikwukgysemun
   Mia-nun  chayk-i  Mikwuk-sye-nun  (as used in this book)
   TOP      book-SM   America-at-TOP

b. Verb Stem + Suffix (no spacing)
   i. mekko issetta
      mek-ko  isset-ta  or
      mek-ko  isset.ta
      eat-GER exist-PST-IN/DCL  or
      eat-ing  be-PST.SE  or
      eating  was

(as used in this book)
2.2. The Sound System

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

2.2.1. Vowels

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

(8) Vowel Letters and Sounds

| Sound / i e a u o i ə u ɔ a / |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hankul < i | e | a | u | o | ə | a |
| Roman < i | e | a | u | o | ə | a |

The following is the articulatory description of the vowels listed above.\(^{16}\)

(9) Overall Vowel System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spread</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Spread</td>
<td>Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/ɪ/</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/ɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) Diphthongs: Glide + Vowel

| Sound / əa əe əo əæ əe əə əe əu əi / |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hankul < ə | əe | əo | əæ | əe | əə | əe | əu | əi | ə |
| Roman < ya | yay | ye | yey | yo | wa | way | we | wey | yu | uy |

Note that the pattern of diphthongs is /glide + vowel/, except for the last
one /i/ (<-| (uy) >).  

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

(11) Korean Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hankul</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| / /    | i      | i           | High Front Spread | si.min 'citizen'
|        | e      | ey          | Mid Front Spread | ney-key 'to you'
|        | œ      | ay          | Low Front Spread | nay-key 'to me'
|        | u      | wi          | High Front Round | wi 'above'
|        | ö      | oy          | Mid Front Round | oy.poe 'outside'
|        | i      | u           | High Back Spread | kulim 'picture'
|        | a      | e           | Mid Back Spread | emeni 'mother'
|        | u      | wu          | High Back Round | puwu 'husband and wife; wuli 'we'
|        | o      | o           | Mid Back Round | moca 'hat'
|        | a      | a           | Low Back Spread | apeci 'father'

(12) Semi-Vowels

|        | y      | Semi-V y + ey | yeyoy 'exception' |
|        | yœ     | Semi-V y + ay | yeyay 'manners' |
|        | yœ     | Semi-V y + e  | yoca 'woman' |
|        | yœ     | Semi V y + a  | yasim 'ambition' |
|        | yœ     | y + u         | yuse 'will'
|        | yœ     | yu           | yuya 'milk' |
2.2.2. Consonants

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

(13) Consonants: / p, pʰ, p', t, tʰ, t', c, cʰ, c', k, kʰ, k', s, s', h, m, n, ŋ, l /

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

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

(14) Consonants

Sound / p pʰ p' t tʰ t' c cʰ c' k kʰ k' s s' h m n ŋ l /

Hankul < ㅂ ㅍ ㅃ ㅅ ㅆ ㅈ ㅉ ㅊ ㅋ ㄲ ㄳ ㄵ ㄶ ㄺ ㄻ ㄼ ㄽ ㄾ ㄿ ㅀ ㅁ ㅂ ㅅ ㅆ ㅇ ㅈ ㅊ ㅋ ㅌ ㅍ ㅎ ㅏ ㅑ ㅓ ㅕ ㅗ ㅘ ㅙ ㅚ ㅛ ㅜ ㅝ ㅞ ㅟ ㅠ ㅡ ㅢ ㅣ
capitalize

Roman < p ph pp t th t' c ch c' k kh kk s ss h m ng l >

In terms of manner and position of articulation these consonants may be classified as shown in the following table.
(15) Manner and Position of Articulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstruent</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aspirate)</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aspirate)</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>c'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>sʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(16) Korean Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>꾹</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>pay 'ship', pop 'meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>꾹</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>bok 'father', kip 'basis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>꾹</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>phal 'arm', phi 'flute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>꾹</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>pp 'root', ppye 'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>tal 'moon', twal 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>pantal 'half-moon', pata 'sea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>thai 'mask', nahta 'camel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ikth 'end', nath 'piece'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t'</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ttal 'daughter', uttal 'top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>kong 'ball', koki 'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>goki 'meat', coki 'self'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>kho 'nose', cokha 'nephew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>pwe 'drum', kwuk 'soup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>꾷</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>pwek 'kitchen', tongnyekh 'cast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3. Sound Rules

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

(17) Voicing
- The lax obstruents /p, t, c, k/ are voiced in intervocalic position.\(^\text{19}\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
p \rightarrow b \\
\text{t} \rightarrow \text{d} \\
\text{c} \rightarrow \text{j} \\
k \rightarrow \text{g}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
k\text{oli} \rightarrow \text{thokki} \text{ 'rabbit'} \\
p\text{akk} \text{ 'outside', } \text{onphakk} \text{ 'in and out'} \\
c\text{am} \text{ 'sleep', } \text{cito} \text{ 'map'} \\
j\text{mea} \text{ 'hat', } \text{sieak} \text{ 'beginning'} \\
t\text{ac} \text{ 'daytime', } \text{pie} \text{ 'debt'} \\
c\text{han} \text{ 'truth', } \text{kicha} \text{ 'train'} \\
t\text{koko} \text{ 'flower', } \text{naok} \text{ 'face'} \\
c\text{cam} \text{ 'leisure', } \text{iccok} \text{ 'this side'} \\
\text{F} \text{ - not occurring} \\
s\text{ai} \text{ 'flesh', } \text{kiswul} \text{ 'technique'} \\
t\text{as} \text{ 'sickle', } \text{kox} \text{ 'place'} \\
s\text{ssal} \text{ 'rice', } \text{malssum} \text{ 'saying'} \\
t\text{iss.ta} \text{ 'exist', } \text{kass.ta} \text{ 'went'} \\
h\text{hanul} \text{ 'sky', } \text{kiko} \text{ 'sign'} \\
\text{F} \text{ - not occurring} \\
m\text{awum} \text{ 'mind', } \text{namwu} \text{ 'tree'} \\
n\text{wun} \text{ 'eye', } \text{hena} \text{ 'one'} \\
\text{F} \text{ - not occurring} \\
k\text{kongki} \text{ 'air', } \text{sayrungwung} \text{ 'life'} \\
k\text{ong} \text{ 'river', } \text{pang} \text{ 'hoon'} \\
l\text{al} \text{ 'word', } \text{tal} \text{ 'moon'} \\
r\text{al} \text{ 'human', } \text{sali} \text{ 'sound'} \\
\text{M} \text{ - not occurring (except for loanwords like } \text{lisuthu} \text{ 'list'}} \\
\text{al} \text{ 'word', } \text{tal} \text{ 'moon'}
\end{array}
\]
(18) $l \to r$
- The lateral liquid /l/ becomes [r] in intervocalic position.

\[ l \to r / V \_ V \]

- \( pələm \to pəram \) 'wind'
- \( tələ \to təri \) 'leg'
- \( sələ \to səri \) 'sound'

(19) Neutralization
- The obstruents are neutralized to unreleased stops in word-final position.

\[ a. \ p, pʰ \to p^+ / \_ #\]
- \( cəp \) 'house', \( aphp \) 'front'

\[ b. \ k, kʰ,k^+ \to k^+ / \_ #\]
- \( pəwk \) 'drum', \( pəwəkh \) 'kitchen'
- \( pəkək \) 'outside'

\[ c. \ t, tʰ \]
\[ c, cʰ \]
\[ s, sʰ \]
- \( nət \) 'grain'
- \( nətʰ \) 'piece'
- \( nəc \) 'day'
- \( nəcʰ \) 'face'
- \( nəs \) 'sickle'
- \( iss- \) 'exist'

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

(20) Assimilation Rules

\[ a. \ p \quad m \quad m \quad \rightarrow \quad cim\_mən \quad \to \quad cim\_mən \quad 'only \ house' \]
\[ t \quad + \quad m/n \quad \rightarrow \quad n \quad + \quad m/n \quad \to \quad nə\_mən\_li \quad \to \quad nə\_mən\_wə\_li \quad 'first' \]
\[ k \quad \rightarrow \quad nə\_mən\_li \quad \to \quad nə\_mən\_wə\_li \quad 'daughter-in-law' \]

\[ b. \ m \quad m \quad m \quad \rightarrow \quad hək\_mn\_wən \quad \to \quad hən\_mn\_wən \quad 'scholarship' \]
\[ nj \quad \rightarrow \quad sən\_nu \quad + \quad n \quad sən\_nu \quad \to \quad sən\_nųyə \quad 'upper \ stream' \]

\[ c. \ p \quad m \quad m \quad \rightarrow \quad səp\_li \quad \to \quad səp\_li \quad '10 \ miles' \]
\[ t \quad \rightarrow \quad kət\_lia\_to... \quad \rightarrow \quad kən\_nə\_to... \quad 'soon\_radio...' \]
\[ k \quad \rightarrow \quad phək\_li\_yək \quad \to \quad phəŋ\_nųyə \quad 'violence' \]

\[ d. \ n \quad + \quad l \quad \rightarrow \quad l \quad + \quad l \quad \to \quad nə\_li \quad \rightarrow \quad nə\_li \quad 'logic' \]
\[ l \quad + \quad n \quad \rightarrow \quad wəl\_nam \quad \to \quad wəl\_nam \quad 'coming \ to \ south' \]

Morphophonemic strings across morpheme boundaries are shown in the following table. The column at the left shows the end of the prior syllable
and the line across the top the beginning of the following syllable. At a point of intersection, an expected normal string is left blank; only a string undergoing morpho-phonemic rules is entered.

(21) Assimilation across morpheme boundaries

```
  p-  ph  pp  t-  th-  tt  s-  ss  c-  ch  cc-  k-  kh-  kk-  h-  m-  n-  l-  
  -p  ph  pp  pit  pss  pcc  pkk  mn  mn  mn  
  -t  pp  ph  pp  tt  th  tt  ss  ss  cc  ch  ce  kk  kh  kk  mn  nn  nn  
  -k  kpp  kkt  kss  kcc  kh  kk  ngm  ngn  ngn  
  -m  mp  mph  mpp  ngk  ngkh  mn  l  
  -ng  ngn  
  -l  l  
```

2.2.4. Suprasegmental Features

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

(22) a. Mía-ka tten-ss-e  (yo) ↓  (falling)
    SM leave PST-DCL(PO)
    'Mía (his) left.'

b. Mía-ka tten-ss-e  (yo) ↑  (rising)
    SM leave PST-INT(PO)
    'Did Mía leave?'

c. Mía-ka tten-ss-e  (yo) ↑  (high rising)
    SM leave PST-DCL(PO)
    'Mía left? (did you say?)'

d. Pi-ka  o-  ko → palam-i pwal-ess-ta.
    rain- SM come-and wind-SM blow-PST-PL/DCL
    'It rained and the wind blew.'

Suprasegmental features like length and tone are not distinctive in present-day Korean, even though the long-short distinction of vowel length disambiguates homographic words in some dialects, while a pitch level (high, mid, or low) plays a distinctive role in some southern dialects. The interrelation between length and tone manifested in Seoul and Kimhuy (Kyengsang) dialects is
illustrated in (23).

(23) Length and Tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Seoul (length)</th>
<th>Kimhay (tone)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mal</td>
<td>'horse' [mal] (short)</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mal</td>
<td>'measure' [mal] (short)</td>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. mal</td>
<td>'word' [ma:l] (long)</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(24) a. wuli cip ey # kaca/
    we house to let's go
    'Let's go to our house.'

b. wuli # cip ey # kaca/
    we house to let's go
    'Let's go home. (Each goes to his/her home.)'

c. wuli cip ey # ka # ca/
    we house to go sleep
    'Go to our house and sleep.'

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

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

3.1. Native and Sino-Korean Words

Sino-Korean (SK) words outnumber the native Korean (NK) words by about 15 percent. The SK words are considered an integral part of the common vocabulary of the language although a large number of them were borrowed, along with the Chinese characters, from Chinese in the 3rd century onwards. Another source of the SK words is Japanese; thousands of Sino-Japanese words were borrowed from Japanese and ‘naturalized’ during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945). The SK words are cultivated terms, including terms of politics, government organizations or academic disciplines. By contrast, the NK words are those basic to everyday use, including kinship terms, body-part names and numerals. This situation is similar to that of English, where cultivated words are of Latin or French origin. Since Chinese characters are ideographic, one can build up new words by compounding one with another. They can function not only as a root, but as a prefix or a suffix as well. Consider, for example, a Chinese character *hwā* (話) ‘speech’. It can be used to form, among others, *swūhwā* 'sign language', *hwāyong* 'pragmatics', *hwāhayng* 'speech act'.21
There are hundreds of commonly used doublets: one is of NK origin and the other of SK origin. Notably, there are two sets of numerals and kinship terms. A third layer is recent borrowings from English and other languages. Those loanwords occupy about 7 percent of the vocabulary, but they are slowly and steadily on the rise in the age of information and free trade.

(2) Doublets:

a. Kinship Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK</th>
<th>SK</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apeci</td>
<td>pwachin</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eneni</td>
<td>nochin</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epei</td>
<td>pwumo</td>
<td>'parents'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halepeci</td>
<td>copwu</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halnemi</td>
<td>como</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anay</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>canye</td>
<td>'children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atul</td>
<td>casik</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atel</td>
<td>yesik</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>sonca</td>
<td>'grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>sonnye</td>
<td>'grand-daughter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Color Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK</th>
<th>SK</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huyn (sayk)</td>
<td>payk (sayk)</td>
<td>'white colour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppaikan (sayk)</td>
<td>cek (sayk)</td>
<td>'red colour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phulun (sayk)</td>
<td>cheng (sayk)</td>
<td>'blue colour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemun (sayk)</td>
<td>huk (sayk)</td>
<td>'black colour'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>SK</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>SK</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>SK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hana</td>
<td>il</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>iwul</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>says</td>
<td>sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>neys</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>tases</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>yeses</td>
<td>yuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ilkop</td>
<td>chil</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>yetel</td>
<td>phzl</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ahop</td>
<td>kwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Material com direitos autorais
WORDS

| \text{yel} | \text{sip} | 10 |
| \text{yel.hana} | \text{sip.\il} | 11 | (10+1) |
| \text{yel.twal} | \text{sip.\i} | 12 | (10+2) |
| \text{sumwal} | \text{i.sip} | 20 | (2\times10) |
| \text{sumwal.seyo} | \text{i.sip.sam} | 23 | (2\times10)+3 |
| \text{selun} | \text{sam.sip} | 30 | (3\times10) |
| \text{mahun} | \text{sa.sip} | 40 | (4\times10) |
| \text{swiun} | \text{o.sip} | 50 | (5\times10) |
| \text{yes\nuun} | \text{yul.sip} | 60 | (6\times10) |
| \text{il\nuun} | \text{chil.sip} | 70 | (7\times10) |
| \text{yetun} | \text{phal.sip} | 80 | (8\times10) |
| \text{ahun} | \text{k\u0141u.sip} | 90 | (9\times10) |
| - \text{payk} | 100 | (100) |
| - \text{payk.\il} | 101 | (100+1) |
| - \text{chen} | 1000 | (1000) |
| - \text{man} | 10000 | (10000) |
| - \text{sip.man} | 100000 | (10\times10000) |
| - \text{payk.man} | 1000000 | (100\times10000) |

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

(3) Numerals with time expressions
a. \text{il-wel phal.\il} \quad 'January 8' \\
1-month 8-day
b. \text{sipi-wel sipi-\il} \quad 'December 12' \\
12 month 12-day
c. \text{yel\nuun-si sipi-p\nuun} \quad '12 minutes past 12' \\
12- time 12-minute

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

(4) One-character SK words
a. Nominal (entity type)
\text{san} (11) \quad 'mountain'
\text{sin} (神) \quad 'god'
\text{phyo} (票) \quad 'ticket'
yek (譯) 'station'

b. Verbal (event type)
   
   kwu (求) + hata 'seek'
   cen (傳) 'transmit'
   kup (急) 'urgent'
   kwi (貴) 'precious'

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

(5) Two-character SK words
   a. Nominal (entity) type
      i. yuk. cl
         陸  地
         land earth
         \/
         'land'
      ii. tay. lyuk
         大 陸
         big land
         \/
         'continent'
   b. Verbal (event) type (+ hata)
      i. chak. lyuk
         着 陸
         arrive land
         \/
         'landing (of a plane)'
      ii. sang. lyuk
         上 陸
         up land
         \/
         'landing (of a ship)'
      iii. cong. cik
         正 直
         right straight
         \/
         'honesty'

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

(6) a. hoy sa 'company' -- sa hoy 'society'
     (會社) (社會)
   b. in myeng 'person's name' -- myeng in 'master'
     (人名) (名人)
   c. ye ca 'woman' -- ca nye 'son and daughter'
     (女子) (子女)
SK words abound in homonyms, sharing the same phonological or orthographic shape, though unrelated morphologically. Written in Hankul, the following are homophones and homographs. We use the term homonym for phonological or orthographic identity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10) Loanwords

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EK</th>
<th>NK/SK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milkhu</td>
<td>wuyu (SK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotkeyi</td>
<td>yeowon (SK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phulinthe</td>
<td>inswayki (SK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meymyu</td>
<td>sktan (SK), chalimphyo (NK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkem</td>
<td>'chewing gum' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khephi</td>
<td>'coffee' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesu</td>
<td>'bus' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokheys</td>
<td>'rocket' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khempyuhe</td>
<td>'computer' (censanki)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(11) a. telescope *mang wen kyeng* (view + distance + mirror) - semantic  
b. telephone *cen.hwa* (electricity + talk) - pseudo-semantic  
c. telegram *cen.po* (electricity + informing) - pseudo-semantic  
d. teletype *thelletapthu* - phonetic  
e. television *thelleypicyen* - phonetic

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

(12) a. *ssua-hata* 'sign'  
b. *khaa-hata* 'kiss'  
c. *leymo-hata* 'demonstrate'
d. *alpaith-kaia* 'do part time work (from the German *arbeiten* 'work')

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

(13) Abbreviations

\[
\begin{align*}
KBS & \quad \text{'Korea Broadcasting System'} \\
SBS & \quad \text{'Seoul Broadcasting System'} \\
P\text{D} & \quad \text{'producer'} \\
M\text{C} & \quad \text{'master of ceremony'} \\
C\text{D} & \quad \text{'compact disk'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

3.3. Word Structure

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prf</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>suf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem</td>
<td>word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prf</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two ways of expressing ordinal numbers (e.g. *the first, the second*) in Korean: (1) NK numeral + *pen* 'time' + NK suffix -ccay, (2) SK prefix cey + SK numeral.

(15) a. NK Numeral + *pen* + -ccay  
   b. cey- + SK Numeral

   | ches. pen-ccay | 'the 1st' | cey-il |
   | twu. pen-ccay | 'the 2nd' | cey-i |
   | sey. pen-ccay | 'the 3rd' | cey-sam |

There are two types of prefix: SK prefix and NK prefix. Normally, an SK prefix goes to an SK stem and an NK prefix to an NK stem. But the NK prefix is flexible in that it may be prefixed to SK stem as well.

(16) a. SK Prefix

   | cak- (昨) 'last'  :  nyen (午)  | cak-nyen | 'last year'
   | cen- (前) 'former' :  che (妻)  | cen-che | 'former wife'
   | cen- (全) 'entire' :  kwa.ceng (課程) | cen-kwaceng | 'entire course'
   | cay- (再) 're-' :  kyo.yuk (教育) | cay-kyoyuk | 're-education'
   | cay- (在) 'resident':  mi (美)  | cay-mi | 'USA-resident'

b. NK Prefix

   | yeys- 'old':  nal | yeys-nal | 'old days'
   | on- 'entire':  seysang (世上) | on-seysang | 'entire world'
   | hes- 'false':  somwun (所聞) | hes-somwun | 'false rumour'
   | al- 'bare':  mom | al-mom | 'naked body'
   | mwus- 'many':  salam | mwus-salam | 'many people'

Verbal categories, verbs and adjectives, inflect for honorific, tense, aspect and mood. This will be treated in the next chapter of word classes (4.2.3).
3.4. Compounding

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

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

(17) NK Noun + NK Noun
a. *pwal.kkoch*  'firecracker'
   fire flower
b. *koki.capi*  'fishing'
   fish catching
c. *pwal.pata*  'sea of fire'
   fire sea
d. *mul.koki*  'fish'
   water meat
e. *pwal.koki*  'Korean (beef) barbecue'
   fire meat
f. *nala.seywuki*  'making of a nation'
   nation making

(18) SK Noun + SK Noun
a. *kan.kwuk-ceng.pwu*  'Korean government'
   SK SK  SK SK
   \\
Korea  government
b. *yeng.e- kong.pwu*  'English study'
   SK SK  SK SK
   \\
   English  study
c. *ko. sok- to.lo*  'highway'
   SK SK  SK SK
   \\
   high speed  road
d. *pak.sa-hak.wi-ron.mwan-cey.chwu- ca.kyek-si.hem- wi.wen.hoy*
   doctor-degree-thesis  submission-qualification-exam-committee
Mixed Compound-hybrid: NK/SK - SK/NK
a. han.kwak-salan 'Korean (people)'
   SK  SK  NK
        |
   Korea  man

b. pipim-naeyng.myen 'mixed cold noodle'
   NK  SK  SK
        |
   mixed cold-noodle

c. sayng. sen.kwai-tosilak 'grilled-fish lunch'
   SK  SK  NK  NK
        |
   fish-grilled lunch

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

(20) a. heyl-ki 'helicopter'
       hel-machine

b. kem.mayng 'computer-blind'
       com-blind

The heyl in heyl-ki (20.a) is the shortening of helicopter and the ki following it means 'machine' (as in pihyang-ki 'airplane' (lit. 'flying machine'). Kem.mayng is the chopped form of kem (-phyuthe) 'com-puter' followed by mayng 'blind', as in sayk. mayng 'colour-blind' and mwn.mayng 'illiterate' (< letter-blind).
3.5. Sound Symbolism

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

(21) Syllable-final Consonant Shape:
   a. -ɨ: smooth-flowing
      pel pel  'trembling, shivering'
      ppeɨl ppeɨl
      pheɨl pheɨl
   b. -ŋ: round
      ping-ping  'around'
      pping-pping
      ping-pring
   c. -k: abrupt
      pok-pok  'tight'
      ppok ppok
      phak phak

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

(22) a. Light Isotopes
   /a, ay, ɨ, oy/
   b. Heavy Isotopes
   /e, ey, wu, wi/

(23) a. ayng-ayng  'buzzing of mosquitoes'
    eng-eng    'crying of humans'
    wing-wing  'buzzing of bees'
   b. pel-pel  'trembling'
      ppeɨl ppeɨl  'trembling'
      phal-phal  'boiling'
      pheɨl pheɨl  'boiling'

The light isotope is used of something light of weight, or tiny, or fragile. It is
often extended to a pejorative connotation indicating 'small', 'silly', 'insignificant' or the like.\textsuperscript{28}

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

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{Neutral} & \textbf{Light} \\
\textit{i} & \textit{yo} & \textit{kes} & 'this vs. this (petty) stuff' \\
\textit{ku} & \textit{ko} & \textit{nom} & 'the vs. the (silly) guy' \\
\textit{ce} & \textit{co} & \textit{saykk} & 'that vs. that (dinky) guy' \\
\end{tabular}

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{cip cip mata} 'each and every house'
\item \textit{pang-pang-kok-kok} 'everywhere'
\item \textit{mena-men} 'far and away'
\item \textit{khuna-khun} 'really big'
\end{enumerate}
4. Word Classes

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

(1) Korean Word Classes

a. Open Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Mia, chayk 'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>ota 'come', mekta 'eat', cwuta 'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>yepputa 'be pretty', yongkamhata 'be brave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>acwu 'very', sayambi 'greatly'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Closed Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>ka 'subject marker', nun 'topic marker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eykey 'to', kuliko 'and', yo 'polite marker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko 'quotative marker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>na 'I', ne 'you', wui 'we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adnoun</td>
<td>i 'this', ku 'the', cnu 'which', say 'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Ayu 'Ouch!', Olhej 'Right!', Yepo 'Hey!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2) Word Classes

Nominal

Noun [1]

Numerals [2]

Pronoun

Personal

Definite/Indefinite

Reflexive / Reciprocal

Verbal

Verb [3]

Intransitive

Transitive

Ditransitive

Causative/Passive

Adjective [4]

Copula

Descriptive

Transitive

Emotive

Existential

Adposition [5]

Determiner

Quantifier

Descriptive

Adverb [6]

Proper

Derived

Particle [7]

Grammar-Functional

Discourse-Functional

Adverbial

Conjunctive

Sentential

Interjection [8]

Exclamatory

Vocative

4.1. Nouns

On formal grounds, nouns may be classified into two: free and bound. Bound nouns belong to a closed set consisting of a few scores of items. They are also
called dependent nouns as they cannot stand alone; they always form a noun phrase with a preceding modifying element, that is, a prenominal modifier. Listed below are some representative bound nouns.

(3) Bound Nouns

- **kes**  'thing/fact': 1-kes 'this', ku-kes 'that', ce-kes 'that (over there)'
- **i**  'person': i-i 'this person, (s)he', ku-i 'the person, (s)he'
- **pwun**  'person': i/ku/ce-pwun 'this/the/that person'
- **tey**  'place': cohun-tey 'good place'
- **swu**  'means': cohun-swu 'good means'
- **li**  'reason': kuleli 'such a reason'

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

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

(4) a. Nominalizer -(u)m

- el- 'freeze' → el.am 'ice'; no.l- 'play' → no.l.um 'gambling'; sey- 'count' → sey.m 'calculation'

b. Nominalizer -ki

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

c. Nominalizer -i

- mek- 'eat' → mek.i 'food'; no.l- 'play' → no.l.i 'play'

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

(5) Noun Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(6) Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. NK nouns</th>
<th>b. SK nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hana</td>
<td>tul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twul</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>sip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a'. NK adnouns    b'. SK adnouns

| han salam       | il in       |
| twu salam      | i in        |
| yet salam       | sip in      |

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

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

i. SK words

| tochak         | n. 'arrival' | (tochak-hata) vi. 'arrive') |
| tolem          | n. 'flash'   | (tolem-hata) vi. 'flash')   |
| yenkwu         | n. 'research' | (yenkwu-hata) vt. 'do research') |
| talseng        | n. 'achievement' | (talseng-hata) vt. 'achieve') |
| suye           | n. 'award'   | (suye-hata) vtt. 'award')   |

ii. NK words

| soneis         | n. 'hand-gesture' | (soneis-hata) vi. 'gesture') |
| melmi          | n. 'nauseousness' | (melmi-hata) vi. 'feel nauseous') |
| peli           | n. 'learning'    | (peli-hata) vi. 'make learning') |
| salang         | n. 'love'       | (salang-hata) vt. 'love')    |
| tacim          | n. 'pledge'     | (tacim-hata) vt. 'pledge')   |

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

| cengcik        | n. 'honesty'    | (cengcik-hata) adj. 'honest') |
| yongkam        | n. 'bravery'    | (yongkam-hata) adj. 'brave')  |
| sengsil        | n. 'sincerity'  | (sengsil-hata) adj. 'sincere') |

An SK verbal noun may form a compound with another SK verbal noun.
(8) VN + VN

*phayka-mangsin* n. 'ruining oneself and one's family'

*(phayka-mangsin-hata* vi. 'go to rack and ruin')

*solsen-suwem* n. 'leading and setting an example'

*(solsen-wupem-hata* vi. 'take the initiative and set an example')

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

(9) Classifiers

- *myeng* 'person'
  
  *yel myeng* '10 persons'
  
  *haksayng yel myeng* 'ten students'

- *in* 'person'
  
  *sip in* '10 persons'
  
  *haksayng sipin* 'ten students'

- *kay* 'object'
  
  *yel kay* '10 objects'
  
  *sakwa yelkay* 'ten apples'

- *kwen* 'volume'
  
  *payk-kwen* '100 volumes'
  
  *chayk payk-kwen* 'a hundred books'

- *calu* 'stick'
  
  *tases-calu* '5 sticks'
  
  *yenphil tases calu* '5 pencils'

- *can* 'cup, glass'
  
  *han can* 'one glass'
  
  *khephi han-can* 'a cup of coffee'

- *pyeng* 'bottle'
  
  *twu-pyeng* 'two bottles'
  
  *maykowu twu pyeng* 'two bottles of beer'

- *tal* 'month'
  
  *han-tal* 'one month'

- *sikan* 'hour'
  
  *tases sikan* 'five hours'

- *si* 'o'clock'
  
  *tases si* 'five o'clock'

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

(10) a. Prenominal title

- *misu-* 'Miss': *misu Kim* 'Miss Kim'
- *misute-* 'Mr.': *miste Li* 'Mr. Lee'
- *seng-* 'St.': *seng Paolo* 'St. Paul'

b. Postnominal title

- *sensayng* 'Teacher': *Kim-sensayng* 'Teacher Kim'
- *sacang* 'President': *Hong-sacang* 'President Hong'
- *paksa* 'Dr.': *Yun-paksa* 'Dr. Yun'
- *yang* 'Miss': *Kim-yang* 'Miss Kim'
-yesa Madam' : Yuk-yesa Madam Yuk'

c. Diminutive -i (to a given name with a consonant ending)
   Yong-i, Toi-i, *Mia-i, *Hong Kil-Tong-i

d. Honorable -nim
   Kim sensayng-nim (honourable) Teacher Kim'
   Hong sacang-nim (honourable) President Hong'
   tta-nim (< tta 'daughter' + nim) daughter of an honoured person'
   atu-nim (< atul 'son' + nim) son of an honoured person'

4.2. Pronouns

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

4.2.1. Personal Pronouns

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

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

(11) Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>wali(-tul)</td>
<td>plain, nonhonorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>ce-huy(-tul)</td>
<td>self-lowering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sosayeng</td>
<td></td>
<td>self-lowering, archaic (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sonye</td>
<td></td>
<td>self-lowering, archaic (female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mwanhasayeng</td>
<td></td>
<td>self-lowering, written, archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nehuy</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cangey</td>
<td>cangey-tul</td>
<td>plain, between adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tangsin</td>
<td>tangsin-tul</td>
<td>plain, between adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kutay</td>
<td>kutay-tul</td>
<td>poetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caki\textsuperscript{34}</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain and intimate; between husband and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tayk</td>
<td></td>
<td>formal; lit. (your) household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{i}}}}</td>
<td>-tul</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>salam</td>
<td>-tul</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nom</td>
<td>-tul</td>
<td>pejorative (for male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yen</td>
<td>-tul</td>
<td>pejorative (for female)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2. Definite/Indefinite Pronouns

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

(12) Definite Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thing</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kes}</td>
<td>cey/ttay</td>
<td>\textit{ki}</td>
<td>\textit{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{i} (yo)</td>
<td>i-kes</td>
<td>i-cey/ttay</td>
<td>ye-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesial: \textit{ku} (ko)</td>
<td>ku-kes</td>
<td>ku-ttay</td>
<td>ke-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disial: \textit{ce} (co)</td>
<td>ce-kes</td>
<td>ce-ttay</td>
<td>ce-ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In place of \textit{i}, \textit{ku}, and \textit{ce}, the light isotope forms (\textit{yo}, \textit{ko}, and \textit{co}, respectively) can be used to convey pejorative connotation: \textit{yo.ki} 'here', \textit{ko.nom} 'that bastard', \textit{co.saykki} 'that idiot' (see 3.5 for light isotopes).\textsuperscript{35}

In contrast to the definite reference by the demonstratives \textit{i}, \textit{ku}, and \textit{ce}, the following pronominal forms are used for indefinite reference: \textit{mwukwu} 'someone'
and mwues 'something'. These indefinite forms are also used as interrogative pronouns, possibly due to the semantic affinity between indefinite and unknown references-unknown or indefinite entities being subject to questioning. Another pronominal amwu 'someone' is also used as an indefinite, but not interrogative, person pronoun (e.g. amwu 'some-one') and an indefinite adnoun (e.g. amwu-kes 'some-thing', amwu-ity 'some-time', amwu-iy 'some-place').

(13) Indefinite/Interrogative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nwuiwu</td>
<td>some/any-one</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amwu</td>
<td>any-one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(14) Indefinite/Interrogative Adnouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Thing</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enu</td>
<td>enu-psun/*i</td>
<td>enu-kes</td>
<td>enu-ity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'some'</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>something</td>
<td>some place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'which'</td>
<td>which one</td>
<td>which one</td>
<td>which place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eten</td>
<td>eten-psun/*i</td>
<td>eten-kes</td>
<td>eten-ity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'some'</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>something</td>
<td>some place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'which'</td>
<td>which one</td>
<td>which one</td>
<td>which place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3. Reflexives and Reciprocals

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

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

- ca-sal  'self-killing, suicide'
- ca-myeng 'self-evident'
- ca-myel 'self-destruction'
- ca-ay  'self-love'
- ca-coy 'self-constraint'

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

(16) Reflexives

a. *caki* 'oneself' (SK, for a third-person referent)
b. *tangsin* 'oneself' (SK, for an honoured third-person referent)
c. *ce* 'oneself' (NK)
d. *casin* 'self' (SK)

   *na-casin* 'myself', *ne-casin* 'yourself', *caki-casin* 'oneself', *tangsin-casin*, '(s)he him/her-self (to be honored)', *ce-casin* 'oneself, myself', *Mia-casin* 'Mia herself'

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

(17) Reciprocals

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

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

4.3. Verbs

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

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

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

(18) Passive Suffix (PAS) and Passive Verbs

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

(19) Causative Suffix (CAU) and Causative Verbs

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

4.3.1. Verb Inflections

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

(20) Sequence Positions of Verb Inflections

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

The sentence-ending is realized as a fusion of sentence level (SL) and sentence type (ST). The following is a paradigmatic table showing the combination of sentence level and sentence type. The use of these sentence enders will be described in 7.3.1.
(21) Sentence Ending: \[ \text{SL} \times \text{ST} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST \ SL</th>
<th>Formal (FO)</th>
<th>Polite (PO)</th>
<th>Blunt (BL)</th>
<th>Familiar (FA)</th>
<th>Intimate (IN)</th>
<th>Plain (PL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declerative (DCL)</td>
<td>( \text{supi}s)ta</td>
<td>(e)(\text{yo})</td>
<td>(s)(\text{e})(\text{y})</td>
<td>(\text{e})</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative (INT)</td>
<td>(\text{supi}t)k(\text{k})a</td>
<td>(e)(\text{yo})</td>
<td>(s)(\text{e})(\text{y})</td>
<td>(\text{na})</td>
<td>e?</td>
<td>(\text{n})(\text{a})(\text{ni})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (IMP)</td>
<td>psio</td>
<td>(e)(\text{yo})</td>
<td>(s)(\text{e})(\text{y})</td>
<td>(\text{key})</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>(\text{u})(\text{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propositive (PRP)</td>
<td>(\text{u})(\text{ps})ita</td>
<td>(e)(\text{yo})</td>
<td>(s)(\text{e})(\text{y})</td>
<td>(\text{c})(\text{e})</td>
<td></td>
<td>c(\text{a})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(22) Suspactive S-ending: \(\text{-ci, -ci, yo}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suspactive Declarative</th>
<th>Intimate</th>
<th>Polite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>CI, Yo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspactive Interrogative</td>
<td>CI?</td>
<td>CI, Yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspactive Imperative</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>CI, Yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspactive Propositive</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>CI, Yo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The construction with the nominalizer ending \(\text{-(u)m}\) or \(\text{-ki}\) shifts a verbal function to a nominal one.

(23) Nominalizers (NOMZ): \(\text{-(u)m, -ki 'fact, act'}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. po- ki</th>
<th>po- si-ki</th>
<th>po- ass-ki</th>
<th>po- si- keyss-ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-HON-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-PST-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-HON-VOL-NOMZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'seeing'</td>
<td>'seeing (HON)'</td>
<td>'having seen'</td>
<td>'willing to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. po- m</td>
<td>po- si- m</td>
<td>po- ass- um</td>
<td>po- si- keyss- um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-HON-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-PST-NOMZ</td>
<td>see-HON-VOL-NOMZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td>to see (HON)'</td>
<td>'to have seen'</td>
<td>'to be willing to see (HON)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

b. -(u)l
i. o- l salam
   come-ADNZ person
   'the man who will come'
ii. w- ass- ul salam
   come-PST-ADNZ person
   'the man who will have come'

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

(25) Adverbializers (ADVZ):

- (u)nikka 'as' : palam-i pwa-nikka,... 'as the wind blows'
wind-SM blow-ADVZ

- (e)se 'as' : palam-i pwal-ese,... 'as the wind blows'
ADVZ,...

- (u)myen 'if' : palam-i pwa-meyn,... 'if the wind blows'
ADVZ

- ciman 'though' : palam-i pwal-ciman,... 'though the wind blows'
ADVZ

- key ' -ly ' : ppaiki-key quick-ADVZ
   'so that' : ney-ka itena-key,... 'so that I leave'
   1-SM leave-ADVZ

- tolok 'so that' : ney-ka itena-tolok,... 'so that you leave'
you-SM leave-ADVZ

- (u)le 'so as to' : ne-lui tow-ule,... 'so as to help you'
you-OM help-ADVZ
-ketun 'provided':  kui-ka o-ketun,... 'if he comes'  he-SM come-ADVZ

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

(26) Sentence Connective (CONJ):
Conjunctive:  -ko 'and', -(u)mye 'while',
               -ci 'and'
Disjunctive:  -na 'or', -kona 'or',
               -tun(ci) ...-tun(ci) 'whether... or'

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

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

The auxiliary connective (-ko, -e, or -ci) functions as a connective linking a preceding sentence to an auxiliary predicate isssta 'be', or anhta (<ant.nha)ia) 'be/do/not', and produces the progressive aspect <V-k0-isssta> 'be V-ing', the perfective aspect <V-e-isssta> 'have/be V-ed', and the negative phrase <V-ci-anhmunta> 'do not V'. These connectives, called the infinitive -e, the gerund -ko, and the suspetive -ci, are attached to the stem of the verb.

While the progressive form (V-k0-isssta) is productive, the perfective aspect form (V-e-isssta) is closed. It is restricted to certain intransitive verbs (e.g. seta 'stand', anca 'sit', nhupia 'lie') and ci- become passive forms (e.g. allie.cita 'get known', owue.cita 'be given') (cf. 5.8.2.2). 

(27) Auxiliary Connective (CON): -ko (gerund), -e (infinitive), -ci (suspetive)
a. Gerund (GER): -ko
   o- ko isssta       'be coming'
      come-GER be
   o- ko keyssta      'be coming'
      come-GER be (HON)
   mek- ko isssta     'be eating'
WORD CLASSES

4.3.2. Verb Auxiliaries

Verbs and adjectives may each be divided into two categories: main and auxiliary. There are about 50 auxiliaries: all but a few also function as main verbs or adjectives.46

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

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

(28) Auxiliary Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>main v/adj</th>
<th>aux. con</th>
<th>aux. v</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nwup-</td>
<td>v. 'lie' e</td>
<td>-issta</td>
<td>[resultative] 'be lying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' e</td>
<td>-pelita</td>
<td>[exhaustive] 'eat up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' e</td>
<td>-twuta</td>
<td>[compleative] 'eat up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' e</td>
<td>-pota</td>
<td>[conative] 'try eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top-</td>
<td>v. 'help' a</td>
<td>-cwuta</td>
<td>[beneficial] 'give help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>v. 'enter' e</td>
<td>-ota</td>
<td>[inbound] 'come in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tul-</td>
<td>v. 'enter' e</td>
<td>-kato</td>
<td>[outbound] 'go in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tep-</td>
<td>adj. 'warm' e</td>
<td>-cita</td>
<td>[inceptive] 'become warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kippu-adj.</td>
<td>'glad' e</td>
<td>-hata</td>
<td>[emotive] 'feel glad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evu-</td>
<td>v. 'give' ko</td>
<td>-malia</td>
<td>[terminative] 'give away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' ko</td>
<td>-issta</td>
<td>[progressive] 'be eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' ci</td>
<td>-anhiia</td>
<td>[negative] 'don't eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-</td>
<td>v. 'eat' ci</td>
<td>-malia</td>
<td>[prohibitive] 'Don't eat!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3. **Verb Classes**

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

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

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

(29) Verb Classes

a. Intransitive verb (no complement)
   - ittwita 'run', nolia 'play', wumcikita 'move'

b. Passive verb (no complement)
   - mekhita 'be eaten' (< mekta 'eat'); pota 'be visible' (< pota 'see')

c. Incomplete intransitive verb (1 subject-complement)
   - toyta 'become', pokkwita 'change'

d. Transitive verb (1 object)
   - mekta 'eat', wumcikita 'move', sayngkakhata 'think'

e. Incomplete transitive verb (1 object, 1 object-complement)
   - yekita 'regard', ppopota 'elect', sayngkakhata 'think'

f. Ditransitive verb (2 objects)
   - i. Dative verb: cwuta 'give', ponayita 'send'
   - ii. Causative: sikhita 'make-do', pota 'show'

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

(30) VN-hata

a. Intransitive: swiyeng-hata 'swim', wunntong-hata 'play sports'

b. Transitive: yenkwca-hata 'do research', sicak-hata 'begin'

c. Ditransitive: swiy-e-hata 'award', palsong-hata 'deliver'
d. Incomplete transitive: kolye-hata 'consider', kanowu-hata 'regard'

(31) VN-toyta (passive)

yenkwu-toyta 'be researched'
sicak-toyta 'be begun'
snuye-toyta 'be awarded'
palsong-toyta 'be delivered'
kolye-toyta 'be considered'

4.4. Adjectives

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

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

4.4.1. Adjective Inflections

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

(32) Adjective Inflections

a. Sequence Positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-wordfinal</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Status</td>
<td>2 Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u) si</td>
<td>(e)alss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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b. Sentence Ending (SE)

Declarative

noph-ta "be high."
high-PL/DCL

cengcik-ha "be honest."
honest-DCL

Interrogative

noph-nya "be high?"
high-PL/INT

cengcik.ha-nya "be honest?"
honest PL/INT

Imperative

*"noph-ul" "* be high!"
*cengcikha-la "*Be honest!"

Propositive

*"noph-ca!" "*Let's be high!"
*ppalka-cal "*Let's be red!"

c. Adnominalizers (ADNZ):

- (u)n (present)
- (u)l (future)

- noph-un entek "high hill"
  high-ADNZ hill
- cengcikha-n sonyen "honest boy"
  honest- ADNZ boy
- coh-ul ttay "time that will be suitable"
  good-ADNZ time

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

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

e. Auxiliary Connective (CON)

  noph- ci anhta "be not high"
  high-SU not
  cengcikha-ci anhta. "be not honest"
- *A-ko-issta
  *noph-ko-issta
  *cengcikha-ko-issta.
- *A-e-isssta
  *noph-a-isssta
  *cengcikha.y-isssta

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

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

(34) Adjective Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Copula</th>
<th>(subject complement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ita 'be'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. Descriptive Adjectives</th>
<th>(no complement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nophta 'be high', khuta 'be big', cohta 'be good', nolahta 'be yellow', cengciikhata 'be honest', coyonghata 'be quiet'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Transitive Adjectives | (2 subjects) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kilta 'be long', manhia 'plenty'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Emotive Adjectives | (2 subjects) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sulhta 'be sad', mitha 'be hateful', cohta 'be likable'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Existential Adjectives | (locative complement) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>issa 'there be', epsta 'there not be'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5. Adnouns

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

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

(35) Adnoun Classes

a. Determiners
   i. Definite:
      Proximal (close to the speaker)
      *i* 'this'
      *yo* (light isotope)
      Mesial (close to the hearer)
      *ku* 'that, the'
      *ko* (light isotope)
      Distal (away from both speaker and hearer)
      *ce* 'yonder'
      *co* (light isotope)
   ii. Indefinite/interrogative
      *enu* 'some; which'
      *etten* 'some, certain; which'
      *mwasun* 'what'
      *amwu* 'any'

b. Quantifiers
   i. NK numerals: *hen* 'one', *twu* 'two', *sev* 'three', *sumwu* 'twenty', *myetch* 'some', *yele* 'many', *moua* 'all', *on* 'all',
   ii. SK numerals: *il* 'one', *i* 'two', *sam* 'three, *isip* 'twenty', *swu* 'some', *pan* 'half',
      *cen* 'all', *chong* 'all'

c. Descriptive Adnouns
   *say* 'new', *yeys* 'old', *hen* 'worn-out', *wis* 'above', *alays* 'below', *mwas* 'many',
   *itar* 'other', *ahtun* 'right', *oon* 'left'

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

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

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4.6. Adverbs

Adverbs are a modifying word class. They modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, or sentences; they precede the modified elements.

4.6.1. Adverb Classes

There are three subclasses of adverb: lexical (or proper), derived, and onomatopoeic adverbs. In terms of syntactic functions, adverbials may also include nouns, noun phrases and noun clauses.

4.6.1.1. Lexical Adverbs

Lexical adverbs are inherently adverbial in that they are not derived from any other word class and function typically as adverbs. Some typical lexical adverbs are listed below.

(37) Lexical Adverbs

- an 'not', mos 'cannot', nil 'always', ini 'already', pelse 'already', palo 'immediately', mence 'ahead', kakkum 'sometimes', phek 'very', cacwu 'often', te 'more', tel 'less', ama 'perhaps', cuk 'that is', tewuk 'moreover', acwu 'very', convicokum 'a little', te 'more', hweissin 'far'

4.6.1.2. Derived Adverbs

Derived adverbs are those derived from other word classes, typically from adjectives by a derivational suffix -i (or -hi) '-ly' or without any formal distinction from nouns (e.g. ecely 'yesterday').

(38) Derived Adverbs

- adj - ti/hi 'adj-ly'
- manh-i 'a lot' (< manhita 'many')
- noph-i 'highly' (< nophita 'high')
(39) Nouns as Adverbs

a. Time and place nouns: oral 'today', nayil 'tomorrow', ecey 'yesterday', encey 'when, sometime', cikum 'now', yeki 'here', ceki 'there'

b. Ordinal numbers: choscca'y 'first', sesccay 'second'

c. Discourse nouns: sosil 'in fact' (< n. 'fact'), pothong 'normally' (< n. 'norm'), taykay 'generally' (< n. 'outline')

4.6.1.3. **Onomatopoeic Adverbs**

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

(40) Onomatopoeic Adverbs

a. pel-pel, ppel-ppel, phel-phel

b. ping-ping, pping-pping, phing-phing

c. pak-pak, ppok-ppok, phak-phak

'trembling, shivering'

'round and round'

'tightly'

4.6.2. **Adverbial Particles**

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

(41) Adverbial Particle-Phrases (PP)

a. Seoul-e'y

in/at/to

'in Seoul'

b. Mia-e'ykey

to

to Mia'

c. son-ulo

'with hands'

hand with

d. 9-st- pwa'hi

o'clock from

'from 9 o'clock'

4.6.3. **Syntactic Functions of Adverbs**

Adverbs typically modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs with various semantic roles (4.6.4). In addition, some intensifying adverbs (e.g. paro 'just', keuy 'nearly, almost') modify nouns and numerals; some modify a sentence as a
whole--sentence adverbs. Furthermore, some discourse-oriented adverbs connect
a sentence to the preceding one--conjunctive adverbs.

(42) a. Adverbs modifying nouns/numerals
   - paro 'just, exactly'
     paro vcey 'just yesterday'
   - keuv 'nearly, almost'
     keuv ta 'almost all'
   - kkok 'exactly, for sure'
     kkok yel myeng 'exactly 10 persons'
   - ceketo 'least'
     ceketo yel myeng 'at least 10 persons'

b. Sentence adverbs
   - ama 'perhaps', kwissey 'maybe',
     pwuti 'please', ceypal 'please',
     pantusi 'without fail', kisi 'by all means'
     (NK adverbs)
   - mwai/en 'of course', tangyenhi 'naturally',
     pohong 'normally', silun 'in fact',
     sasil 'in fact', kwaksil-hi 'certainly',
     pitan 'not only' (SK adverbs)

4.6.3.1. Conjunctive Adverbs

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

(43) Conjunctive Adverbs:

   (typically: kule-ile/-cele- - ha 'be/do' + ADVZ)
   kulecimun 'though', kulerikka 'so', kuloryae 'so, therefore',
   kulemyen 'then',
   kolo 'therefore', manul...myen 'if'...then', pilok...cimun 'even though',
   amnwi '...to
   'no matter how...', nadi 'as if'

4.6.4. Semantic Types of Adverbs

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

(44) a. Degree

   phik 'pretty', kkwai 'fairly, very', maywu 'very', acwu 'very', cham 'very, truly',
   ta 'all', cenhye 'entirely', yeng 'totally', nemwu 'too, overly', com 'little',
   rewu 'more', taso 'more or less'

b. Quantity

   manhi 'much', taso 'more or less', phik 'pretty', tangeang 'at once',
   wusen 'at first'
4.7. Particles

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

4.7.1. Particle Classes

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

(45) Subclasses of Particles
   a. Grammatical-function particles
   b. Discourse-function particles
   c. Adverbial particles
   d. Conjunctive particles
   e. Sentence particles

In addition to these subclasses, there are derived quasi-particles such as kathi 'like' (< katha 'be similar'), kaciko 'with' (< kacta 'have'), malko 'instead of' (< malta 'stop, quit'). They are particles in the transitional state—particles in the
making. We treat them just as ordinary particles in this book, along with other particles like *pota* 'than', *puthe* 'from', *cocha* 'even', *mace* 'even', *mankhum* 'that many/much, to (that) extent', which are all derived morphologically but not felt as such by native speakers.

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

4.7.1.1. Grammatical-Function Particles

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

(46) Grammatical-Function Particles

a. Subject marker (SM) (or nominative marker)
   
   *ka*  (after a V-ending noun)
   Mia-*ka* (as subject), *nay-ka* 'I'

   *i*  (after a C-ending noun)
   Yong-*i*, *kutul-i* 'they'

   *kkeyse* (after an honoured subject-referent)
   *emenim-kkeyse* 'mother (as subject)',
   *imkumnim-kkeyse* 'king (as subject)'

   *eyse* (after a group)
   *vuliphyen-eyse* 'our team (as subject)',
   *vul chuk-eyse* 'our side (as subject)'

b. Object marker (OM) (or accusative marker)
   
   *lul*  (after a V-ending noun)
   Mia-*lul* (as object), *na-*lul* 'me'

   *ul*  (after an C-ending noun)
   Yong-*ul* (as object), *kutul-ul* 'them'

c. Possessive marker (POSS)
   
   *ny*  *Mia-*ny* 'Mia's', *na-*ny* 'my', Yong-*ny* 'Yong's', *kutul-uy* 'their'

d. Vocative marker (VOC)
   
   *ya*  (after V-ending noun)
Mia-ya 'Mia', Yuna-ya 'Yunal'
a (after C-ending noun)
Yong-a 'Yong!', Tol-a 'Tol!'  

4.7.1.2. Discourse-Function Particles

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

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

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

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

4.7.1.3. Adverbial Particles

Particles that mark oblique objects are called adverbial particles, for they function
as adverbs, indicating location, direction, goal, source, and the like. The particles ey and eykey are complementary; one is for an inanimate and the other for an animate referent.

(49) Adverbal Particles

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ey/eykey} & \quad \text{(static locative 'at', goal 'to', agentive 'by')} \\
\text{key} & \quad \text{(hononific form for eykey)} \\
\text{eyse} & \quad \text{(dynamic locative 'at', starting point/source 'from')} \\
\text{kkaci} & \quad \text{(end point/goal 'to')} \\
\text{ilo} & \quad \text{(direction 'towards', instrument 'with', capacity 'as')} \\
\text{kwa} & \quad \text{(comitative 'with')} \\
\text{hako} & \quad \text{(more colloquial than wa/kwa)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Seoul-ey} & \text{'into Seoul', Mia-eykey} \text{'to Mia'} \\
\text{emenim-kee} & \text{'to mother'} \\
\text{Seoul-eyse} & \text{'at/from Seoul'} \\
\text{Seoul-kkaci} & \text{'to Seoul', 12-si-kkaci 'until 12 o'clock'} \\
\text{Seoul-ilo} & \text{'for Seoul', kong-ulo 'with a ball'} \\
\text{hoycang-ulo} & \text{'as chairman'} \\
\text{Mia-kwa} & \text{'with Mia', Yong-kwa 'with Yong'} \\
\text{Mia-hako} & \text{'with Mia'}
\end{align*}
\]

4.7.1.4. Conjunctive Particles

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

(50) Conjunctive Particles

a. Nominal Particles

\[
\begin{align*}
i. \text{ kwa} & \quad \text{(after C-ending) Yong-kwa na 'Yong and I'} \\
ii. \text{ wa} & \quad \text{(after V-ending) Mia-wa Yong 'Mia and Yong'} \\
iii. \text{hako} & \quad \text{(more colloquial than wa/kwa)} \\
& \quad \text{Mia-wa na 'Mia and I'} \\
& \quad \text{Yong-kwa Mia 'Yong and Mia'} \\
iv. \text{kuliko} & \quad \text{Mia kuliko Yong 'Mia and Yong'}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Discourse-deictic Particles

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

\[
\begin{align*}
i. & \quad \text{S + S} \\
& \quad \text{Mia-ka wassia. Kuliko Yong-i ttenassia.} \\
& \quad \text{came and left}
\end{align*}
\]

ii. Verb + Verb

\[
\text{ilhako kuliko kongpwhante}
\]
work and study

iii. Adjective + Adjective
   cakun kulena yeyppen (os)
   small but pretty (dress)

iv. Adverb + Adverb
   chenchenhi kulena hwaksihakay
   slowly but assuredly

4.7.1.5. Sentence Particles

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

(51) Sentence Particles

a. Polite marker: yo
   i. Mia-ka wasse-yo.
      came PO
      'Mia came!' (polite level)
   Mia-ka wasse-na-yo?
   came-INT-PO
   'Did Mia come?' (polite level)
   Kuliko-yo, ... 'And ...'
      and PO
      (polite level)
   Ce-mm-yo, ... 'I ...'
      I TOP PO
      (polite level)

b. Plural marker: tul
   i. Wali-tul-i ... 'We ...'
      we PL SM
   ii. Ppali-tul wa.
      fast PL come
   iii. Pelse ttenasse-yo-tul.
      'They've already left.'
      already left PO-PL

C. Quotative Marker: ko (direct quotative marker: hako, lako)
   i. Indirect quotative: ko
      Mia-ka wassta-ko Yong-i malheyssta.
      SM came QU SM said
      'Yong said that Mia came.'
   ii. Direct quotative: hako/lako
4.8. Interjections

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

4.8.1. Exclamatories

Some of the typical exclamatories are listed below.

(52) Exclamatories
   a. Response
      i. Positive: *Ney 'Yes', Yey 'Yes', *Kulay 'That's right', *Ung 'Yeah', *Onya 'Yeah'
         ii. Negative: *Ans, Atnyo, Aonya 'No'
   b. Inquiry: *Way 'why', *Mwe 'what'
   c. Uncertainty: *Kuliseyo 'Well ...'
   d. Pain: *Aya 'Ouch!', *Aiko 'Oh my ...'
   e. Daming: *Chekkalal 'Damn (it!)', *Ceyncang 'Damn'
   f. Hesitation: *Cham 'Well', *Ce ... 'Let's see ...'
   g. Pity: *Celen 'Oh dear!'
   h. Surprise: *Hen/Celen 'Oh gosh!', Anil 'Oh my'

4.8.2. Vocatives

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

(53) Vocatives
   a. Names: full name, first name, last name
      Chang-Mia ssi 'Miss Mia Chang!'
      Kim-bun 'Kim!'
      Changho-ssi HYENG '(Brother) Changho!'
      Mie-yo 'Mia!'  
      Thayksi 'Taxi!'
   b. Names with titles or a nickname or pet name
Kim-sacang  'President Kim!'
Kim-kisa  'Technician Kim!'
Chang Mia-sornim  '(Customer) Mia Chang!'

c. Titles (prefixed): (English style):

misu Kim  'Miss Kim'

d. Appelatives

i. Pure Address

Ya, Yecho  'Hey', 'Dear'
Yeposeyoo  'Hello' (phone call; polite level)

ii. Kinship Terms

Emma  'Mom!'
Appa  'Dad!'
Hyeng(nim)  '(older) Brother!'
Nwunawunim  '(boy's older) sister'
Aecessi  'Uncle' (a general term for a grown-up man)
Acwuneneri  'Aunt!' (a general term for a grown-up woman)
Akassi  'Miss!'

iii. Titles: (normally with nim, addressing an honoured person)

Sensayng-nim  'Teacher!'
Saucang-nim  'President!'
Samo-nim  'Madam!' (to the wife of an honoured person)
Pweucang-nim  'Department Chief'
Hananim  'God!'

iv. Epithets: (normally, in an extended form):

Deetic i 'this' + Epithet + (Vocative (-a))
I-nom(-a)  'You bastard'
I-nyen-a  'You bitch'
I-saykki-ya  'You idiot'
I-sengcheng-a  'You stupid fool'
I-twayci-ya  'You pig'

v. Set phrases

Sinsa swunkye yelepwn  'Ladies and Gentlemen!'
Chinzyhanun tongci-yelepwn!  'Dear Comrades'

vi. Salutation (in letter form)

Salanghanun Mia-yekey!  'Dear Mia!'

4.9. Phrases

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

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

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

(55) a.       b.       
     ADN (... ADJ)   NP       NP       P
     |             |       |       |
     ku           ppalkan   chayk   Mia       ka
     'the'        'red'      'book'    SM

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

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

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

(57) Noun phrase (NP)
    NP
    ____________
    ADN           N (Classifier)

    a. [ ]
    b. Determiner
    c. Descriptive
    d. Quantifier
    e. Possessive
(58) a. NP = Proper N
   Mia
   'Mia'

b. NP = DET + N
   ku kes
   the thing
   'that'

c. NP = ADN + N
   say os
   new dress
   'new dress'

d. NP = ADN + N
   han haksayng
   one student
   'one student'

c. NP = N[u]/ + N
   Mia-u' chayk
   's book
   'Mia's book(s)'

f. Mia-u' chayk
   sey-ke
   's book
   three volume
   'three volumes of Mia's book'

(59) a. ku salam
   that person
   'he, she' (sg)

b. ku salam-tul
   'they' (plu)

C. manhun salam(-tul)
   many person PLU
   'many people'

d. ku manhun salam(-tul)
   'the many people'

e. manhun ku salam-tul
   'many of the people (lit. *many the people)'

f. *manhun ku salam

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

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

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

b. haksayng sey-myeng-i
4.9.2. Verb Phrases

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

(63) Verb Phrase (VP)

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{VP} & \textbf{v/adj} & \textbf{aux.con} & \textbf{aux. v} \\
\hline
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{issta} & [resultative] \textit{be V-ing} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{pelita} & [exhaustive] \textit{V-away} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{twuta} & [completive] \textit{V-up} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{potu} & [conative] \textit{try V-ing} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{cwuta} & [beneficial] \textit{V-for} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{ota} & [inbound] \textit{V (and come)} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{e} & -\textit{kaia} & [outbound] \textit{V (and go)} \\
\textit{V/A} & \textit{e} & -\textit{cita} & [inceptive] \textit{become V/A} \\
\textit{A} & \textit{e} & -\textit{hata} & [emotive] \textit{feel A} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{ko} & -\textit{issta} & [progressive] \textit{be V-ing} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{ko} & -\textit{malla} & [terminative] \textit{end up V-ing} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{ci} & -\textit{ahnunata} & [negative] \textit{don't V} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{ci} & -\textit{malla} & [prohibitive] \textit{Don't V} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
KOREAN

V/A  e-ya -hanta [obligative] 'must (be) V/A'
V/A  e-to -cohta [permissive] 'may (be) V/A'
V/A  e-to -toya [permissive] 'may (be) V/A'

(64) Examples

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

(65) Idiomatic Verb Phrases

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

(66) Examples

ka.l-swu-issa  'can go'
ka.l-swu-epsta  'cannot go'
ha.l-cwul-onia  'know how to do'
ha.l-cwul-molunta  'do not know how to do'

4.9.3. Adjective Phrases

Adjective phrase, like verb phrases, consist of verbs (or adjectives) and auxiliary adjectives linked with auxiliary connectives like the infinitive is or the gerundive
ko: <V/A + aux. con + aux. adj>.

(67) Adjective Phrase (AP)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{AP} & \text{v/adj} & \text{aux. con} & \text{aux. adj} \\
V & ko & -siphta & [desiderative] 'want to V' \\
A & ci & -anhta & [negative] 'be not A' \\
V & na & -siphta & [semblative] 'seem to V' \\
V & nun-ka & -pota & [semblative] 'seem to V' \\
A & un-ka & -pota & [semblative] 'seem A' \\
V & e-to & -cohta & [permissive] 'may V'
\end{array}
\]

(68) Examples

ka-ko-siphta  'I want to go'
coh-ci-anhta  'be not good'
ka-na-siphta  'seem to go'
ka-nunke-pota  'seem to go'
coh-un-ka-pota  'seem good'
ka-to-cohta  'may go'

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

(69) AP

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{AP} & \text{v} & \text{con/p} & \text{aux.adj} \\
| & | & | \\
\text{i. mek-} & \text{ko} & \text{siphta} & \text{'want to eat'} \\
\text{eat-} & \text{GER} & \text{desirous} \\
\text{ii. ka-} & \text{to} & \text{cohta} & \text{'may go'} \\
\text{go} & \text{too} & \text{good}
\end{array}
\]

4.9.4. Adverb Phrases

Adverb phrases consist of an adverb modified by other adverbs.

(70) Adverb Phrases (ADVP)
a. Modifier + Adverb
acwui  manhi  'very much'
very  much
4.9.5. **Particle Phrases**

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

(71) Particle Phrases (PP)

\[
PP = \begin{array}{c}
NP + P \\
\end{array}
\]

where \( P = \) adverbial particle

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N(P) \\
| \\
Seoul \\
| \\
i sikam \\
| \\
\begin{array}{c}
eyse \\
at \\
from now on \\
this time \\
from
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

(72) Seoul-eyse

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\end{array}
\]

at

Mia- eykey

to

'at' or 'from'

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

a. Two particles
   ey-se             'at, in, from'
   at-P
   eykey-se         'from (human)
   to-P
   lo-pwuthe       'from (location)'
   toward-from
   an-ey            'inside of'
   inside-at
   yep-ey           'at the side of'
   side-at
   wi-ey            'on top of'
   top-at

b. Three particles
   ey-se-pwuthe     'from'
   at-P-from
   pwu-the-se-uy    '(NP) out of'
   from-P-of
   hanthey-se-man   'only from'
   from-P-only
   (w)lo-pwu-the-nun  'from (location)' (topic)
   toward-from-TOP
   wi-ey-nun        'above' (topic)
   top-at-TOP
   aley-ey-nun      'below/at the bottom of' (topic)
   below-at-TOP

c. Four particles
   ey-se-pwu-the-uy  '(NP) from (location)'
   at-P-from-of
   ey-se-pwu-the-to  'also from (location)
   at-P-from also
   eykey-se-pota-to  'rather than from'
   to-P-than also

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

(74) Extended Phrasal Particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>Adnominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ey-kwan, ha, ye/hay se</td>
<td>ey-kwan, han</td>
<td>with respect to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ey-tay, hay, se</td>
<td>ey-tay, han</td>
<td>regarding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ey-pan, hay, se</td>
<td>ey-pan, han</td>
<td>in opposition to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. ey-nykey, se</td>
<td>ey-nyhan</td>
<td>depending on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. (w)lo in-hay, se</td>
<td>(w)lo in-han</td>
<td>owing to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Sentences

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

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

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

5.1. Sentence Structure

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

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

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

(2) Sentence
   Independent Clause

   Subject   |   Predicate
   ---       |   ---
   ...       |   Noun
   ...       |   Copula
   ...       |   Adjective
   ...       |   Verb

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

The subject is normally a noun phrase (NP) or a noun clause (NC) marked with the subject marker *i/ka or the topic marker *(n)un. The NP marked with nun (in 3.c) is the subject as well as the topic.
In the following illustration all the topic markers may be replaced by subject markers.

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

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

(5) Grammatical Functions
   a. Verb (V)
   b. Adjective (A)
      Descriptive adjective
      Copula (COP)
   c. Subject (S)
      Subject 1 (S)
      Subject 2 (S)
   d. Object (O) - Direct object (O)
      Indirect object (O)
      Oblique object (O_{obl})
   c. Complement (C)
      Subject complement (C_s)
      Object complement (C_o)
      Locative complement (C_l)

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

(6) Basic Sentence Patterns (to be expanded)
   S-A               (descriptive adjective)
   S-C-A             (copula)
   S-V               (complete intransitive)
   S-C-V             (incomplete intransitive)
   S-O-V             (complete transitive)
S-O-O-V  (ditransitive)
S-O-C-V  (incomplete transitive)

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

(7) a. Adjective
    noph-ta 'high'
    i.*noph-nun-ta
      San-i    noph-(*nun)-ta
      mountain-SM high-PRS-PL/DCL
    'The mountain is high.'
    ii. *Noph-ala
      high-PL/IMP
      '*BE high.'
    iii. *noph-koi-sta
      high--GER-be
      '*The mountain is being high.'

    b. Verb
    mek-ta 'eat'
    i. mek-nun-ta
      Ay-ka    pap-ul mek-nun-ta
      baby-SM meal-OM eat-PRS-FL/DCL
      'The baby eats a meal.'
    ii. Mohni mek-ala
      long    eat-PL/IMP
      'Eat a lot!'
    iii. mek-koi-sta
      Ay-ka    pap-ul mek-koi-sta
      baby-SM meal-OM eat-GER-be
      'The baby is eating a meal.'

5.1.1. Adjectival Sentences

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

5.1.1.1. Copular Sentences

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

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

(8) a. Cekes-t  nay mocu  /-ta  /V-[ ]-ta
      that-SM my hat be-SE
That's my hat.

b. Ikex-i nay chayk i-ta. /C-i-ta
   this-SM my book be-SE
   'This is my book.'

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

(9) a. Mia-ka nay yetongsayng-ita.
   SM my sister- be
   'Mia is my sister.'

b. Mia-ka hoksayng-ita.
   SM student- be
   'Mia is a student.'

c. Pakewi-nun tongrul-ita.
   bat-TOP animal- be
   'Bats are animals.'

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

(10) a. Ku.i-nun *acwu* pwuca- [ ]-ta.
    he-TOP very rich-man COP-SE
    'He is very rich.'

b. Ku.i-nun khun pwuca- i-ess-ta.
    he-TOP big rich-man COP-PST-SE
    'He was a big rich-man. → He was a very rich man.'

5.1.1.2. Descriptive Adjectival Sentences

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

(11) Descriptive Adjectives

   a. Ce kulim-i yeppu-ta.
      that picture-SM pretty-SE
      'That picture is pretty.'

   b. i khal-i *acwu* coh-ta.
      this knife-SM very good-SE
      'This knife is very good.'

   c. Ku paci-nun nemwu ku-ta.
the pants-TOP too big -SE
'The pants are too big.'

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

(12) Transitive Adjectives

   elephant-SM nose-SM long-SE
   'Elephants' noses are long. / Elephants have long noses.'

b. Yong-i khi-ka khu-ta.
   SM height-SM big-SE
   'Yong is tall.'

b. Mia-ka meli-ka ahu-ta.
   SM head-SM ache-SE
   'Mia has a headache.'

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

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

(13) Emotive Adjectives

a. (Nay-ka) Yong-i mip- ta.
   I- SM SM hateful -DCL
   'Yong is hateful/loathsome (to me).'

b. (Ney-ka) Mia-ka coh-uni?.
   you- SM SM likable-INT
   'Is Mia likable (to you)?'

c. Mia-nun Yong-i coh- ass- ta/ni?
   TOP SM likable-PST-DCL/INT
   'Yong was likable to Mia. / Was Yong likable to Mia?'

These emotive adjectives are turned into emotive verbs by adding the auxiliary
hata: mipta 'be hateful' \(\rightarrow\) miwe-hata 'hate', cohta 'be likable' \(\rightarrow\) coha-hata 'like'. The former are stative, while the latter are nonstative, as illustrated below.\(^59\)

(14) a. (Na-nun) Yong-i mipa.
   I-TOP   SM hateful
   'Yong is hateful/loathsome (to me).'

b. Na-nun Yong-ul miwe.hanta.
   I-TOP   OM hate
   'I hate Yong.'

c. (Na-nun) Mia-ka cohta.
   I-TOP   SM likable
   'Mia is likable (to me).' 

   I-TOP   OM like
   'I like Mia.'

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

    TM lonely-PST-DCL
    'Mia was lonely.'

    TM lonely-do-PST-DCL
    'Mia manifested loneliness.'

c. (*Nay-ka) Mia-ka oylopta.
    SM SM lonely
    'Mia is lonely (*to me).' 

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

(16) Existential Sentence (locative phrase required): C\(_l\)-S-A

a. Son-
   ey namwu-ka manhta.
   mountain-at  tree- SM many
   'There are many trees on the mountain.'
5.1.2. Verbal Sentences

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

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

(17) Intransitive Sentence
a. Complete: SV
   - Ay-tul-i  nol-ko  issia.
     child-PL-SM play-GER exist
     'The children are at play.'
   - Pawi-ka  wuncikinta.
     rock-SM move
     'The rock moves.'

b. Incomplete: SCV
   - Elum-i mwul-i  toynta.
     ice-SM water-SM become
     'Ice becomes water.'
   - Salam-1  tol-lo  pyenhayssta.
     man-SM stone-to changed
     'The man changed to a stone.'

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

(18) a. Elum-i mwul-i  toynta.
     ice-SM water-SM become
     'Ice becomes water.'

b. Mwul-i  elum-i  toynta.
     water-SM ice-SM become
     'Water becomes ice.'

Transitive verbs require an object—direct object. It is, however, not easy to define the notion of direct object strictly in formal terms. Generally, the direct
object of a verb is semantically the undergoer or the theme of an action and is formally marked with the accusative-case particle (*lul), although this particle is frequently not realized on the surface. Besides, not all (*lul)-marked nominals are direct objects.

   SM   OM      love
   'Mia loves Yong.'

   b. Yong-un mayil    TV-lul ponta.
      TOP everyday  OM see
   'Yong watches TV every day.'

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

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

      TOP to book-OM gave
   'I gave Mia a book.'

      TOP OM book-OM gave
   'I gave Mia a book.'

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

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

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

Transitive verbs require an object, but it may not surface if recoverable from the discourse context.
(23) Transitive Sentence (an object required)
   a. Complete: SOV
      - Na-nun ppeng-ul cokahanta.
        I-TOP bread-OM like
        'I like bread.'
      - Kein-i pawi-lul wumcikyessta.
        giant-SM rock-OM moved
        'The giant moved the rock.'
   b. Incomplete: SOCV
      - Wul-nun ku. i- l'il sikhang-ul llo propassto.
        we-TOP the-person-OM mayor-as elected
        'We elected him mayor.'
      - Na-nun Yong-ul chencay-lo yekimia.
        I TOP OM genius-as regard
        'I regard Yong as a genius.'

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

(24) Ditransitive Sentence (two objects): SOOV
   a. Dative Verb (indirect object required)
      Yong-i Yuna-eykey ton-ul cwyuessta.
      SM to money-OM gave
      'Yong gave Yuna money.'
      Mia-nun Yong-eykey pyenci-lul ponayssta.
      TOP to letter-OM sent
      'Mia sent Yong a letter.'
   b. Causative Verb (a causee (indirect object) required)
      Apeci-ka atul-eykey il-ul sikhii-eessa.
      father-SM son-to work-OM make.do-PST
      'Father made his son do the work.'
      Emma-ka ay-eykey wawu-lul meki-eessa.
      mom SM baby-io milk-OM feed-PST
      'Mom made the baby eat milk.'

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

(25) Basic Sentence Patterns
   a. S-A     A=descriptive adj  nophta     'high'
   b. S-C-A   A=copula           iia        'be'
   c. S-S-A   A=transitive/emotive adj  khuto   'big', sulpta 'sad'
   d. C-S-A   A=existential adj    tssta     'exist'
   e. S-V     V=vi                kotta     'walk'
5.1.3. Other Sentence Patterns

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

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

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

(26) Yong-i Mia-lul phal-ul capassta.
   SM  OM arm-OM  held
   'Yong held Mia's arm. Yong held Mia by the arm.'

Normally, a possessive phrase Mia-uy phal 'Mia's arm' is used instead of the double object <Mia-lul phal-ul>. There is no difference in meaning except for discourse focus.52

Noun phrases with a classifier also show double object constructions.

(27) Mia-ka os-ul twu pel-ul macchwuesstta.
   SM  OM two suit-OM ordered
   'Mia ordered two suits of clothes.'

Some ditransitive sentences take two objects marked with the direct object particle (l)ul. The b-sentence in (28) is the normal pattern: Direct Object - Indirect Object.
(28) a. Yong-i  ku kulim-ul  Mia-lul cwuessta. (Double Objects)
   'Yong gave Mia the picture.'
   SM the picture-OM OM gave.

b. Yong-i  ku kulim-ul  Mia-eykey cwuessta.
   'Yong gave the picture to Mia.'
   SM the picture-O2 O1 gave

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

There is a pattern of transitive verbs which require an oblique object of location (O1). Such locative-transitive verbs include nehta 'put', twuta 'place', or these locative verbs used as auxiliaries (e.g. V-e nehta/twuta.)

   I TOP refrigerator-at two bottle-OM put-PST
   'I put two bottles of beer into the refrigerator.'

   I TOP the box-OM room-at put-PST
   'I put the box in the room.'

c. Yong-un cong-i-lul hyoci. thong-ey cipe.neh-essta.
   TOP paper-OM waste, paper basket-in hold.put-PST
   'Yong put the paper into the wastepaperbasket.'

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

(30) Middle Verbs: Intransitive and Transitive

a. wumcikita 'move'

   - Pawi-ka wumcikiessta.
     rock-SM moved
     'The rock moved.'

   - Kein-i  pawi-lul wumcikiessta.
     giant-SM rock-OM moved
     'The giant moved the rock.'

b. sicakhata 'begin'

   - Kanguy-ka 9-si-ey sicakhanta.
     lecture-SM o'clock-at begin
     'The lecture begins at 9.'

   - Wuul-nun  kanguy-lul 9-si-ey sicakhanta.
     we-TOP lecture-OM o'clock-at begin
     'We begin the lecture at 9 o'clock.'

Some verbs behave as transitive and ditransitive.
(31) Transitive and ditransitive

- kaluchita 'teach'

a. Mia-nun phiano-lul kaluchinta. (S-O-V)
   TOP piano-OM teach
   'Mia teaches piano.'

b. Mia-nun ay-tui-lul kaluchinta. (S-O-V)
   TOP child-PL-OM teach
   'Mia teaches children.'

c. Mia-nun ay-tul-eykey phiano-lul kaluchinta. (S-Ω-O-V)
   TOP child-PL-Ω piano-O teach
   'Mia teaches piano to children.'

d. Mia-nun ay-tul-ul phiano-lul kaluchinta. (S-Ω-O-V)
   TOP child-PL-OM piano-OM teach
   'Mia teaches children piano.'

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

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

(32) a. vi + cwuta

- N deviation ay-tul-ul wihay nola-cwussita.
   I SM child-PL-OM for play-gave
   'I played for the children.'

b. vi + cwuta

- Na-nun Mia-ekey kong-ul chaco-cwussita.
   I-TOP to ball-OM find-gave
   'I found the ball for Mia.'

To sum up, the sentence patterns presented above (25) can now be expanded as in the following table. Functional categories of sentence constituents are abbreviated: S (subject), O ((direct) object), Ω (indirect object), O_{ata} (agentive object), C (complement) C_{ota} (subject complement) C_{o} (object complement), C_{a} (locative complement), O_{L} (locative object), A (adjective), A_{C} (copula), V (verb).

(33) Sentence Patterns

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<td>e</td>
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<td><em>ketta</em></td>
<td><em>walk</em></td>
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5.2. Sentence Types

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

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

5.2.1. Declaratives

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

(34) Declaratives
   a. Formal Level
      i. Ce-nun Hānkhuksalan i-pnita. I am a Korean.
         I-TOP Korean be-FO/DCL

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<tr>
<td>f.</td>
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<td>l.</td>
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<td>m.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Oi</td>
<td>O</td>
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ii. Ce-nun 

'I am very healthy.'

Ce-nun acwu kenkangha-pnita. 

I very healthy -FO/DCL

Ce-nun cal ca- pnita. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep FO/DCL

b. Polite Level

i. Ce-nun Hankuwksalam tsey-yo. 

'I am a Korean.'

Ce-nun be PO/DCL

ii. Ce-nun acwu kenkanghay-yo. 

'I am very healthy.'

I very healthy PO/DCL

iii. Ce-nun cal ca- y0. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep FO/DCL

c. Blunt Level

i. Na-nun Hankuwksalam i-o. 

'I am a Korean.'

Korean be-BL/DCL

ii. Na-nun acwu kenkangha-o. 

'I am very healthy.'

I very healthy- BL/DCL

iii. Na-nun cal ca-o. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep-BL/DCL

d. Familiar Level

i. Na-nun Hankuwksalam i-ney. 

'I am a Korean.'

Korean be-FA/DCL

ii. Na-nun acwu kenkangha-ney. 

'I am very healthy.'

I very healthy-FA/DCL

iii. Na-nun cal ca- ney. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep FA/DCL

e. Intimate Level

i. No-nun Hankuwksalam-i-yu. 

'I am a Korean.'

Korean be-IN/DCL

ii. No-nun acwu kenkangha-y. 

'I am very healthy.'

I very healthy-IN/DCL

iii. No-nun cal ca- [ ]. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep-IN/DCL

f. Plain Level

i. No-nun Hankuwksalam i-ta. 

'I am a Korean.'

Korean be-PL/DCL

ii. No-nun acwu kenkangha-ta. 

'I am very healthy.'

I very healthy-PL/DCL

iii. No-nun cal ca- n- ta. 

'I sleep well.'

I well sleep-PRS-PL/DCL

Notice that the two first-person pronominal forms ce and na are appropriately mapped to the sentence levels—the humble ce to the formal and polite level, the plain (non-honorific) na to the remaining levels. A violation of this sort of agreement renders the utterance pragmatically deviant or infelicitous.
As indirect speech acts in discourse, declarative sentences may convey requests instead of statements or assertions.

(35) Declaratives as Request
a. Peng-i chwaw-e-yo.  'The room is cold.' (→'Make the room warm."
  room-SM cold-PL/DCL

5.2.2. Interrogatives

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

(36) Interrogatives
a. Formal Level
   Ku-i-nun cal cvumwusu-nnikka?
   he-TOP well sleep(HON)-FO/INT
   'Does he sleep well?"

b. Polite Level
   Ku-i-nun cal cvumwu-si-eyo?
   well sleep(HON)-FO/INT
   'Does he sleep well?"

c. Intimate Level
   Ku-i-nun cal cvumwus-e?
   well sleep(HON)-IN/INT
   'Does he sleep well?"

d. Plain Level
   Ku-i-nun cal cvumwus-nnya?
   well sleep(HON)-PL/INT
   'Does he sleep well?"

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

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

(37) a. Nnu-ka woss-supnikka?
    who-SM came-FO/INT
    'Who came? /

b. Ne-nun mnuwu-lul cohaha-ri?
    'Who do you like? /
you-TOP who-OM like-PL/INT Do you like somebody? 

\(c\) Yong-un nwues-ul ha-ko-iss-ni? 'What is Yong doing? /
what-OM do-GER-be-PL/INT Is Yong doing something? 

d. Mia-nun encey tolaoo-nikka? 'When will Mia return? /
when return-FO/INT Will Mia return someday? 

e. Emenim-un eti-ev ka-si-ess-ni? 'Where did Mother go? /
mother where-to go-HON-FST-PL/INT Did Mother go somewhere?'

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

(38) a. Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns
   - nwukwu 'who, someone'
   - nwues 'who, someone'
   - encey 'what time, some time'
   - eti 'what place, some place'

b. Interrogative/Indefinite Adnouns
   - mwusun 'what, some' (as in mwusun il 'what/some event')
   - etten 'what (kind of), some' (as in etten il 'what/some event')
   - emu 'which, some' (as in emu kes 'which one, any one')

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

what/some event-SM be-PL/INT Did anything happen?

b. Eten salam-ul mama.ss-ni? 'What (kind of) man did you meet? /
what man OM met-PL/INT Did you meet somebody?'

c. Mia-lul encey manda-keys-ni? 'When will you meet Mia? /
OM when meet- VOL-PL/INT Will you meet Mia some day?'

d. Ne-nun way Yong-ul itayly.ess-ni? 'Why did you beat Yong?'
TOP why OM beat-PL/INT

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

(40) Wh- vs. Yes-No Question

a. NWU-ka wass-suuprikka? 'Who came?'
who-SM came-FO/INT

b. NWU-ka wass-suuprikka? 'Who came?'
who-SM came-FO/INT

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

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

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

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

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

(45) Imperatives

a. Formal level
   Cal cwumwusi-psio!
   well sleep(HON)-FO/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

b. Polite level
   Cal cwumwusi-yo!
   well sleep(HON)-FO/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

c. Blunt level
   Cal ca-o!
   well sleep-BL/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

d. Familiar level
   Cal ca-key!
   well sleep-FA/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

e. Intimate level
   Cal ca- [ ]!
   well sleep-IN/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

f. Plain level
   Cal ca- la!
   well sleep-PL/IMP
   'Sleep well!'

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

5.2.4. Propositions

Propositional sentences have the following sentence enders: -(su)psita, -yo, -o, -sey, -ca, -e, -ca. The ordinary speech act of the propositive is the speaker's proposal or suggestion that he and the addressee do something together. In this respect propositives may be regarded as a subtype of imperatives. Like imperatives, propositives are also limited to verbal sentences, adjectives being unable to be constructed into propositives.
(46) Propositives
  a. Formal level
     (Wuli) ka-si-psita!
     we go-HON-FO/PRP
     'Let's go! / I propose that we go'
  b. Polite level
     (Wuli) ka-yo!
     we go-PO/PRP
     'Let's go!'
  c. Blunt level
     (Wuli) ka-o!
     we go-BL/PRP
     'Let's go!'
  d. Familiar level
     (Wuli) ka-sey!
     we go-FA/PRP
     'Let's go!'
  e. Intimate level
     (Wuli) ka- [j]!
     we go-IN/PRP
     'Let's go!'
  f. Plain level
     (Wuli) ka-ca!
     we go-PL/PRP
     'Let's go!'

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

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

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

b. Propositive (Exclusive 'we')

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

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

(48) a. Tangsin-i olna-ke ha-psita. Kulena ... you-SM right-QU say-PRP but
     'Granted that you are right, but ...'
5.2.5. Other Sentence Types

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

5.2.5.1. Suspectives

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

(49) Suppositive ci-sentences

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

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

c. Imperative
   *Cwunwusi-ci-yo!*
   sleep(HON)-SU-PO/IMP
   'Sleep, I suggest!'

d. Propositive
   *Ca- ci!*
   sleep-SU
   'Let's sleep, I tell you!'
5.2.5.2. Exclamatives

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

(50) Exclamative

a. Polite Level: -kwun-yo
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-nun-kwunye!  
   he-TOP well sleep(HON)-PRS-FO/EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

b. Familiar Level: -kwumen, -kwulye
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-nun-kwumen!  
   well sleep(HON)-PRS-PL/EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

c. Intimate Level: -kwuna
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-nun-kwuna!  
   well sleep(HON)-PRS-IN/EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

d. Plain Level: -kwun
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-nun-kwun!  
   well sleep(HON)-PRS-PL/EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

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

(51) a. Formal (pnita) + kwulye!
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-pnita-kwulye!  
   well sleep(HON)-FO/DCL-EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

b. Familiar (ney) + kwulye
   Ku-i-nun cai cwunwusi-ney-kwulye!  
   sleep(HON)-FA/DCL-EXC  'Well, I see he sleeps well!'

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

(52) a. Ku ii-i cai toy- ess-kwun,  
   the work well become-PST-EXC  '(I see) the work got done well!'

b. Ku ii-i cai toy- keyss-kwun,  
   the work well become-VOL-EXC  '(I see) the work will get done well!'

c. Ku ii-i cai toy- te-kwun,  
   the work well become-RET-EXC  '(Well, I saw) the work was done well!'
d. Ku il-i cal toy-ess-te-kwun. '(Well, I saw) the work was done well!'  
the work well become-PST-RET-EXC

c. Ku il-i cal toy-kyes-s-ic-kwun. '(Well, I saw) the work would be done well!'  
the work well become-VOL-RET-EXC

5.2.5.3. Promissories

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

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

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

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

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

(55) a. (U)ma-promissory quoted

Nay-ka Mia-eykey kot ka-ma-ko malhaysta.  
I-SM to soon go-PR-QU said
'I told/promised Mia that I would go soon.'

b. Declarative quoted

Nay-ka Mia-eykey kot ka-keyss-ia-ko malhaysta.  
I-SM to soon go-VOL-SE-QU said

Bahan dengan hak cipta
'I told Mia that I would go soon.'

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

5.2.5.4. **Irregular Sentences**

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

(56) a. *Ciphap! gathering
   'Gather!'

b. *Hayson! dismiss
   'Dismiss!'

c. *Chwulpal cwunpi! start preparation
   'Ready to start!'

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

(57) a. *Cwucha-kumei parking ban
   'No parking!'

b. *Cokep-cwun work middle
   'Men at work'

c. *Sinip-sawen-nocip new employee recruit
   'Recruitment of new employees'

d. *Manwen-saiye full-packed gratitude
   'Thanks for full occupancy'

c. *Iwas topki neighbour help
   'Help your neighbours!'

5.3. **Semantic Roles**

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

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<th>Subject</th>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
<th>Grammatical Category</th>
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<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Patient/Theme</td>
<td>NP-(o)ul (accusative marker)</td>
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<td>Possessive</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>NP-(u)y (genitive marker)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Path</td>
<td>Path</td>
<td>NP-ui/lul (=PP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(59)  a. Yong-\(i\) Chel-ul taylinta.

      S  O  beat

      Agent Patient

      'Yong beats Chel.'

b. Yong-\(i\) Mia-\(u\)l cohuhanta.

      S  O  like

      Experiencer Theme

      'Yong likes Mia.'

c. Yong-\(i\) Mia-eykey kong-\(u\)l cwnunta.

      S O\(\text{I}\) ball-O give

      Agent Goal Theme

      'Yong gives a ball to Mia.'

d. Cwi-\(k\)a koyangi-eykey nek-\(h\)i-\(e\)ssta.

      mouse-S cat-AGT eat-PAS-PST

      Patient Agent

      'The mouse was eaten by the cat.'

e. Yong-\(i\) yelsoy-\(l\)o mwun-\(u\)l yenta.

      S key-INST door-O open

      Agent Instrument Theme

      'Yong opens the door with the key.'

f. San-\(e\)y namwau-\(k\)a manhi \(i\) ssita.

      mountain-LOC tree-S lot be

      Location Theme

      'There are lots of trees on the mountain.'

g. Yong-un san-\(e\)yse naylywesssit\a.

      TOP mountain-SO descended

      Agent Location

      'Yong descended from the mountain.'

h. Yong-\(i\) Mia-\(w\)a nol-\(k\)o issita.

      S COM play-ing-be

      Agent Co-agent

      'Yong is playing with Mia.'

i. Wuti-nun chelito-\(u\)l(tia\(l\)) ke\(l\)essta.

      TOP railway-PATH walked

      Agent Path

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

(60) a. \[ A-\text{ka} \quad B-\text{eykey} \quad C-\text{lul} \quad \text{ewuessta}. \]
\[ \text{S} \quad \text{GO} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{gave} \]
\[ \text{Agent} \quad \text{Goal} \quad \text{Theme} \]

A gave C to B.

b. \[ B-\text{ka} \quad A-\text{eykeyse} \quad C-\text{lul} \quad \text{pataissta}. \]
\[ \text{S} \quad \text{SO} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{received} \]
\[ \text{Goal} \quad \text{Source} \quad \text{Theme} \]

B received C from A.

5.4. Modification

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

5.4.1. Adnominal Modifiers

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

(61) Adnominal Modification

\[
\text{Modifier} \quad \text{Head}
\]

a. Adnoun

b. Adnoun Phrase

c. Adnoun Clause (ADNZ)

(62) Adnominal Modifier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Head Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. <em>ku</em></td>
<td><em>sensayng</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td><em>teacher</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. <em>say</em></td>
<td><em>chayk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. <em>rases</em></td>
<td><em>haksayng</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clausal modifiers will be described in the next chapter (cf. 6.3.2).

### 5.4.2. Adverbial Modifiers

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

(63) Adverbial Modification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial Modifier</th>
<th>Head (V, A, ADV, S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Word level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Lexical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acwu</td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maywu</td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelse</td>
<td>'already'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acik</td>
<td>'yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Derived</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seng:liha-kiye</td>
<td>'sincerely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecey</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onul</td>
<td>'today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasil</td>
<td>'in fact'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pothong</td>
<td>'normally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheseccay</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Phrase level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acwu cal</td>
<td>'very well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com te ppalli</td>
<td>'a bit faster'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Particle phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-eykey</td>
<td>'to me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cip-eyse</td>
<td>'at home'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayil-kkaci</td>
<td>'until tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nal-lo</td>
<td>'day by day'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Clause level (ADVZ)

- *ni(kka)*  'because, as'
- *myen*  'if'
- *cinan*  'though'
- *to,-lato*  'though'
- *key*  '-ly, so as to'
- *tolok*  'so as to'

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

(64) a. Head: verb

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

b. Head: adjective

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

c. Head: adverb

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

d. Head: sentence

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

In addition to the sentence adverbs, there are conjunctive adverbs which connect the preceding sentence to the sentence following. Depending on the
semantic roles, conjunctive adverbs may be divided into the following subclasses: listing, summative, appositional, resultative, inferential, contrastive, and transitional.\(^{64}\)

(65) Conjunctive Adverbs

a. Listing:

   - Enumerative: chešecay 'first', tewelecasay 'second', wusen 'first of all', taum 'next', kukuθulo 'finally, at last'
   - Additive: Equative: machankaci 'likewise, similarly'
   - Reinforcing: toθan 'also', tewuk 'furthermore, moreover', thukhi 'in particular', seseangkasang 'in addition', kuppwek anil 'not only...but', mweqeshpo 'above all'
   - Summative: yoyakhamyen 'to sum up, in sum', toθap 'altogether', takayse 'all' in all
   - Appositional: cuk 'that is', ilultheymyen 'for example', tasinathay 'in other words'
   - Resultative: tidlase therefore, thus', myullon 'of course', kyekekeckulo 'in conclusion'
   - Inferential: kulemyen 'if so, in that case', kuilheci anhymyen 'otherwise'
   - Contrastive:

   - Reformatory: ohilye 'rather', chalali 'rather'
   - Replacive: pammyen-qey 'on the other hand', pantaylo 'in opposition', taysin 'instead'
   - Concessive: ecaqissten 'anyway', anwathun 'anyway', kilenalkylechiman 'but, although', yoksi 'for all that, yet'
   - Transitional:

   - Discursal: kalentey (maluka) 'by the way'
   - Temporal: kulenun tongant-ey 'meantime', ponsi 'originally'

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

(66) Yong-an yosay-to cacwu ilyoil-ey nam nuc-key-kkaci Yenge-kongpwulul hantia.

   TOP lately-even frequently Sunday-at night late-ADV-till English-study-OM do

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

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

(67) a. Yosay-to cacwu Yong-un ilyoil-ey nam nuc-key-kkaci Yenge-kongpwulul hantia.

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

5.5. Word Order

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

(68) Constituent Ordering (unmarked)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{NP-ey} & \text{NP-eyse} & \text{NP-ka} & \text{NP-eyse} & \text{NP-ey} & \text{NP-lo} & \text{NP-ul} & \text{V} \\
\text{at} & \text{at} & \text{SM} & \text{from} & \text{to} & \text{with} & \text{OM} & \\
\end{array}
\]

(69) a. Ecey tosekwan-eyse Yong-i Mia-lul mannassta.
yesterday library-at SM OM met

Time Place Agent Theme V

'Yong met Mia at the library yesterday.'

b. Mayil hakkyo-eyse Yong-i chinkwu-eykey cenca.wuphyen-ul poraynta.
everyday school-at SM friend-to e-mail-OM send

Time Place Agent Goal Theme V

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

c. Mayil cip-eyse Yong-i khemphyathe-lo kulim-ul kulinta.
everyday house-at SM computer-with picture-OM draw

Time Place Agent Instrument Theme V

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

The following illustration shows a variety of word orders in a sentence. Except for the sentence-final verb the three constituents, the subject (agent), the object (theme) and the indirect object (goal) move around freely among
emselves without any noticeable change in truth-conditional meaning.

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

'Yong sent a picture-postcard to Mia.'

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

    SM to sent picture-card-OM
    S Oi V -- O

'Yong sent [it] to Mia--the picture-postcard.'

b. Yong-i Mia-eykey ponaysseyo--kulim-yepse-lul.
    SM to sent picture-card-OM
    S Oi V -- O

'Yong sent [it] to Mia--the picture-postcard.'

c. Kulim-yepse-lul Mia-eykey ponaysseyo--Yong-i.
    picture-card-OM to sent SM
    O Oi V -- S

'The picture postcard, [he] sent to Mia -- (I mean) Yong.'

d. Kulim-yepse-lul ponaysseyo--Yong-i Mia-eykey.
    picture-card-OM sent SM to
    O V -- S Oi

'(lit.) Sent the picture-postcard--Yong to Mia.'
c. *Ponaysseyo-Yong-i Mia-eykey kulim-yepse- lul*

    sent SM to picture-card-OM

V - S Ot O

'(lit.) Sent--Yong to Mia a picture-postcard.'

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

(72) a. *Yong-i kwahakca-ka toyessa.*

    SM scientist-SM became

    'Yong became a scientist.'

b. #*Kwahakca-ka Yong-i toyessa.*

    scientist-SM SM became

    'A scientist became Yong.'

5.6. Negation

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

(73) Syntactic Negation

a. *ani*-negation

b. *malta*-negation

c. *mos*-negation

(74) Lexical Negation

a. Negative NK words

    *epsta* 'non-exist' (vs. *issta* 'exist!')

    *moluta* 'not-know' (vs. *alta* 'know')

b. Negative SK words (prefix)

   - *pwul*- 'un-, in-/im-[i]-':

     *pwul-pep* 'il-legal', *pwul-konung* 'im-possible'

   - *pi*- 'un-':

     *pi-mincwucek* 'un-democratic', *pi-hyensileek* 'un-realistic'

   - *mwu*- 'non-, un-':

     *mwu-sosik* 'no news', *mwu-in.to* 'no-man's island'

   - *mi*- 'un-':

     *mi-hon* 'un-married', *mi-wanseng* 'in-complete'
Sentences with negative-prefixed words are syntactically positive; they can, however, be equivalently expressed in negative constructions without negative words.

(75) a. Lexical Negation  b. Syntactic Negation
      un-married.                    marry-SU not-AUX
     'Mia is unmarried.'            'Mia is not married.'
      that un-democratic-be         that democratic not-SE
     'That is un-democratic.'       'That is not democratic.'

5.6.1. ani-Negation

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

(76) Short-form Negation
   a. Mia-nun papo-ka ani-ta.       'Mia is not a fool.'
      TOP fool-SM not-SE
   b. Nalisi-ka an coh-ta.          'The weather is not fine.'
      weather-SM not good-SE
   c. Yong-un TV-lul an pwa-yo.     'Yong doesn't watch TV.'
      TOP CM not see-SE

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

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

The short-form negation is simpler in form but it is not preferred in multi- (three or more) syllable verbs or adjectives.
Furthermore, the short-form negation is usually not used with SK verbs (<\textit{VN-hata}>) or SK adjectives (<\textit{AN-hata}>). The negative \textit{an} may be placed between a VN and \textit{hata}, but not between an AN and \textit{hata}. By contrast, the long-form negation has no such constraints.

(78) Negation: multi-syllable verbals

a. Short Form

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

b. Long Form

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

(79) Negation: AN-hata

a. Short Form

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

b. Long Form

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

c. *AN-an-hata

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

(80) Negation: VN-hata

a. Short Form

?Ku ilhayng-un acik an chwulpa,ha-ysst.ta.
  the group-TOP yet not depart PST.SE
  'The group hasn't departed yet.'

b. Long Form

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

c. VN-an-hata

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

The \textit{ani}-negation cannot be formed into imperative or propositive
sentences.

(81) Negation: imperative and propositive

a. Negative imperative (prohibitive)
   - *Ka-ci an ha-la!  \(\text{Dont go!}\)
gosu not. aux-imp
   - *An ka-la

b. Negative propositive
   - *Ka-ci an ha-ca!  \(\text{Let's not go! / Don't let's go!}\)
gosu not aux-prp
   - *An ka-ca!

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

5.6.2. *malla*-Negation

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

(82) a. Ka-ci mal-la!  \(\text{Don't go!}\)
gosu stop-imp
b. Ka-ci mal-ca!
stop-prp
(83) a. *Coh-ci-mal-la!
   \(\text{*Don't be good!*}\)
good
b. *Kenkangha-ci mal-ca!
   \(\text{*Let's not be healthy!*}\)
healthy

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

(84) a. Ka-ci ma-[ \(\text{Don't go!}\)]
go-su stop-in/imp
b. Ka-ci ma-yo.
   \(\text{Don't go!}\)
go-su stop-po/imp
   \(\text{pl/imp-po}\)
5.6.3. mos-Negation

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

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

The mos-negation means roughly the same as the idiomatic construction <V-l swu issta/epsita> 'there is/isn't a way of V-ing' → 'can/can't V'.

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

5.6.4. Other Types of Negation

In addition to the three types of negation described above, there are some minor types of negation, idiomatic or lexical, including the constructions <V-l swu epsita> 'cannot V' and <V/A-n kes-i aniita> 'it is not that ... V/A'. One involves the negative word epsita 'not-exist, there not-be' and the other the negative copula aniita (< ani ita). Their positive forms are: <V-l swu issita> 'can V' and <V/A-n kes-i-ta> 'it is that ... V/A'.

(87) a. Vi/A-l swu epsita 'can't V / can't be A'
   - Na-nun / ha [l-ul ha-l-swu.epi-eps.ta.]
     I-TOP the work-OM do-can't-SE
     'I can't do the work.'
   - Wul-nun sikan-nayey teeo-i-swu.epi-eps-ta
     we-TOP time-within return-can't-PST-SE
     'We could not come back in time.'
(88) a.  Nayil  pi-ka  o-l  kes-i.ta.
    tomorrow rain-SM come-ADNZ fact.be.SE
    'It will rain tomorrow.'

b.  Nayil  pi-ka  o-ci an-ul  kes-i.ta.
    tomorrow rain-SM come-SU not-ADNZ fact.be.SE
    'It will not rain tomorrow.'

c.  Nayil  pi-ka  o-  keyss.ta.
    tomorrow rain-SM come-VOL SE
    '(I predict that) it will rain tomorrow.'

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

    I-TOP it-OM particularly like-SU not.AUX SE
    'I don't particularly like it.'

b.  Na-nun ku sosil-ul cenhye  mollass.supnita.
    I-TOP the fact-OM entirely not.knew.SE
    'I didn't know the fact at all.'

c.  Mia-nun amwu-to  an mannastta.
    anyone-also not.met.
    'Mia didn't meet anybody.'

d.  Wuli-nun amwu.tery-to  ka-ci an. h. ass. ia.
    we-TOP anywhere-too go-SU not.AUX PST SE
    'We didn't go anywhere.'

The negative adverb *ani* 'not' is also used as a negative response to a question. It therefore corresponds to English *no* and contrasts in this use with *ung* 'yes'. However, whereas English *yes* and *no* reinforce the truth value of the
accompanying proposition, the Korean words confirm or deny the semantic content of what the questioner asked. This is why there is an apparent discrepancy between the Korean and English replies to the negative question in (90 b). Ani also has an exclamatory force of showing one's surprise at a state of affairs such as 'Why!', 'Dear me!' and the like.

(90) a.  -Mia-ka tola.wass-ni?
   SM returned-PL/INT
   -Ani. acik an tola.wass-e.
   no yet not returned-IN/DCL
   'Has Mia come back?'
   'No, she hasn't come back yet.'

b.  -Mia-[ ] acik an tola.wass-ni?
   yet not returned-PL/INT
   -Ung, acik an tola.wass-e.
   yes yet not returned-IN/DCL
   -Ani, pelisse tola.wass-e.
   no already returned-IN/DCL
   'Hasn't Mia come back yet?'
   'No, she hasn't come back yet.'
   'Yes, she has already come back.'

(91) The speaker's surprise

a.  Ani, ikey nwukwu-ya?
    no this (subj) who-PL/INT
    'My Goodness! Who is this?'

b.  Ani, nwukwu il iss.ess-e?
    no what event was-IN/INT
    'Dear me! What happened?'

5.6.5. The Scope of Negation

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

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

(92) Sentence Negation

    SM to the book-OM give-SU- not-AUX-PST-SE
    'Mia didn't give the book to Yong.'

b.  =Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul cwa-n kes-i ani.ta.
    SM to the book-OM give-ADNZ fact-SM not-be.SE
    'It is not (the case) that Mia gave the book to Yong.'
In focused versions of the above negative sentence, with a focused element given
as in the following examples (in capital letters), the negative force interacts with
this element of focus; accordingly, even though the focused element is negated,
the sentence as a whole carries an implication of an affirmative statement with a
replaced focus.

   SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE
   'Mia didn't give the book TO YONG.'
   Implication: 'but she gave it to someone else.'

b. Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku CHAYK-ul cwu-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.
   SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE
   'Mia didn't give the BOOK to Yong.'
   Implication: 'but she gave something else to him.'

c. MIA-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul cwu-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.
   SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE
   'MIA didn't give the book to Yong.'
   Implication: 'but someone else gave it to him.'

d. Mia-ka Yong-eykey ku chayk-ul CWU-ci-an-ha-ss-ta.
   SM to the book-OM give-SU-not-AUX-PST-SE
   'Mia didn't GIVE the book to Yong.'
   Implication: 'but she lent it to him.'

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

(94) a. Ta o-ci an-ha-ass-ta. Everyone didn't come:
   all come-SU not-AUX-PST-SE
   i. No one came.
   ii. Not all came. (= Some came.)

b. Ta an wass-ta ( = a)
   all not came-SE
   i. No one came
   ii. Not all came. (= Some came.)

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

If the topic particle (n)un comes between ci and negative phrase an.ha.ss-ta
in (95.a), however, the sentence gives the second reading (ii) only; likewise, when the particle is placed after *ia 'all', (a) and (b) are no longer ambiguous; both have the second reading only.

(95) a. Ta o-
ci-mun an-ha-ss-ta.
call come-SU-TOP not-AUX-PST-SE
   = Some didn't come.'
   (a) 'It's not that everyone came.

b. Ta-mun o-ci an-ha-ss-ta.
call-TOP come-SU not-AUX-PST-SE
   = Some came.'
   (b) 'It's not all that came.

c. Ta-mun an wass-ta.
call-TOP not came-SE
   (c = b) 'Some came.'

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

(96) a. Mia-to an ka-ss-ta.
   also not go-PST-SE
   'Mia didn't go, either.'
   Implication: 'There is someone else who didn't go.'

b. Mia-man an ka-ss-ta.
   only not go-PST-SE
   'Only Mia didn't go.'
   Implication: 'Everyone else went.'

c. Mia-mace an ka-ss-ta.
   even not go-PST-SE
   'Even Mia didn't go.'
   Implication: Implication (a) + Mia is the least likely person not to go.

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

(97) a. Amwu-to an wass-ta.
   any also not came-SE
   *Amwu-to wass-ta
   'No one came.'

b. Ta an wa-ss-ta. ( = 94.b)
   'Everyone didn't come.'
   i. ( = a) ii. Not all came.
5.6.6. **Double Negation**

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

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

(98) a. Short-Long: `an-V/A-ci an-h-ta`
   'it is not that do/be not V/A'
   → 'it is that ... V/A'
   - `Kipwun-i an coh-ci an-ha-yo.`
     mood-SM not good-SU not-AUX-SE
     '(lit.) It is not that my mood is not good.
     → I don’t feel bad.'

b. Long-Long: `V/A-ci an-h-ci an-h-ta`
   'it is not that do/be not V/A'
   → 'it is that ... V/A'
   - `Kipwun-i coh-ci an-h-ci an-ha-yo.`
     mood-SM good-SU not-AUX-SU not-AUX-SE
     ' = (a). I don’t feel bad.'

(99) a. Short-Long: `mos-V-ci an-h-ta`
   'it’s not that ... cannot V.'
   - `Yong-i mos o-ci an-ha-yo.`
     SM cannot-come-SU not-AUX-SE
     '(lit.) It is not that Yong cannot come. → It is that Yong can come.
     → Yong can come.'

b. Long-Long: `V-ci mos-ha-ci an-h-ta`
   'it’s not that ... cannot V.'
   - `Yong-i o-ci mos-ha-ci an-ha-yo.`
     SM come-SU cannot-AUX-SU not-AUX-SE
     '(lit.) It is not that Yong cannot come. → It is that Yong can come.
     → Yong can come.'

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

(100) a. Normal double negation
   `Mta-run koki-lul an mek-ci an-h-supnita.`
   TOP meat-OM not eat-SU not-AUX-FO/DCL
'(lit.) It's not that Mia doesn't eat meat. → Mia eats meat.'

b. Tag question

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

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

(101) Tag Questions

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

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

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

(102) Normal Negative Questions

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

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

5.7. Passives and Causatives

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passivize</th>
<th>←</th>
<th>→ Causativize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>dtransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mek-ki-ta</td>
<td>mek-ta</td>
<td>mek-i-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be eaten</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>fed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-i-ta</td>
<td>po-ta</td>
<td>po-i-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be visible</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>show</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

5.7.1. Passives

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

```
(104) Passive: S[PAT] (NP-eykey/hanthey) V[PAS]

Active: S[AGT] O[PAT] Vt
```

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

5.7.1.1. Suffixal Passives

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

(105) Passive Verbs (cf. 4.3)

- a. *-i: po.i.ta* 'be seen; visible', *ssah.i.ta* 'be piled'
- b. *-hi: mek.hi.ta* 'be eaten', *cap.hi.ta* 'be caught'
- c. *-li: mwu.li.ta* 'be bitten', *phal.li.ta* 'be sold'
- d. *-ki: kam.ki.ta* 'be wound', *kfunh.ki.ta* 'be cut'
   fish two CL-SM cat-by eaten-PST-SE
   'Two fish were eaten by the cat.'

   snow-SM lot piled-PST-SE
   'Snow was piled up a lot.'

   cat-SM rat-by bitten-PST-SE
   'The cat was bitten by the rat.'

   suddenly electricity-SM cut-PST-SE
   'Suddenly, the electricity was cut off.'

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

(107) Active Counterparts

   cat-SM fish two CL-OM eat-PST-SE
   The cat ate two fish.'

   someone-SM snow-OM lot pile-PST-SE
   'Somebody piled up lots of snow.'

   rat-SM cat-OM bite-PST-SE
   'The rat bit the cat.'

   suddenly someone-SM electricity-OM cut-PST-SE
   'Suddenly, someone cut off the electricity.'

5.7.1.2. cite-Passive

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

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

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

(109) *cita*-Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive:</th>
<th>Active:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S[PAT] (NP-ey)key/hanthey</td>
<td>S[AGT] O[PAT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vtt + <em>e-cita</em></td>
<td>Vtt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(110) Ditransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aux. con</th>
<th>aux. v</th>
<th>Passive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. <em>palkh</em>- 'clarify'</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. <em>all</em>- 'inform'</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. <em>cwue</em>- 'give'</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>ci</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(111) Root - Causativize - Passivize

| a. *palk*- (adj) | *palk*-hi (vtt) | *palk*-hi-e-ci | 'clear' 'clarify' 'become clarified' |
| b. *al*- (vtt) | *al*-li (vtt) | *al*-li-e-ci | 'know' 'inform' 'become informed' |

(112) a. *Ku uy sain-i* seysang-ey palkhie-ci-ess-ta,

his death cause-SM world-to clarify-AUX-PST-SE

'The cause of his death became known to the world.'

b. *Manhin mwnouccee-ka wul-eyekey cwue-ci-ess-ta,*

many problem-SM we-to give-AUX-PST-SE

'Many problems were given to us.'


the fact-SM by world-to inform-AUX-PST-SE

'The fact became known to the world through the CIA.'

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


his death cause-OM world-to clarify-PST-SE
'They made the cause of his death known to the world.'
   many problem-OM we-to give-PST-SE
   'They gave us many problems.'
   SM the faci-OM world-to inform-PST-SE
   'The CIA let the fact be known to the world.'

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

5.7.1.3. *toyta*-Passive

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

(114) *toyta*-Passive

```
Passive:   S[PAT]   (NP-eykey/hanthey) SK-toyta

Active:   S[AGT]   O[PAT]   SK-hata
```

   SM mayor-as elect-become-PST-SE
   'Kim Nam-Swn was elected mayor.'
   of research-SM complete-become-PST-SE
   'The research on DNA was completed.'
   the content-SM make-public-become-PST-SE
   'The content was made public.'

The active counterparts of (115) are shown below.
SENTENCES

OM mayor-as elect-do-PST-SE
'They elected Kim Nam-Swun mayor.'

b. DNA-uy yenkwu-lul wanseng-ha-yess-ta.  
of research-OM complete-do-PST-SE
'They completed the research on DNA.'

c. Ku nayyong-ul konglay ha-yess-ta.  
the content-OM make-public-PST-SE
'They made the content public.'

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

(117) a. Ku ttay Yong-un sangche-lul ipessta.  
that time TOP injury-OM received
'At that time Yong got injured.'

b. Clein-ey suw sipman myeng-i phihay-lul ipessta.49  
quake-by several 100,000 CL-SM damage-OM suffered
'Hundreds of thousands of people suffered damage through the quake.'

c. Nwokwunka-ka yuthan-ey macassta.  
someone-SM stray bullet-by struck
'Somebody got struck by a stray bullet.'

d. Ce cip-i tonan-ul tanghayseyo.  
that house-SM robbery-OM suffered
'That house was robbed.'

e. Ku mal-ey Mia-nun khun thokyek-ul patasseyo.  
the word-by SM big blow-OM received
'Mia received a big blow by that word.'

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

5.7.2. Causatives

There are two types of causative sentences: lexical and syntactic. Lexical causatives include verbs with causative suffixes as well as inherently causative words (e.g. sikhita 'cause-to-do'). The causative verb is either transitive or
ditransitive; if transitive, it has a subject-agent; if ditransitive, it has a subject-causer, an indirect-causee, and an object-patient (or theme). The causee is the (direct) agent and the causer an indirect agent. The syntactic causative has the form <V-key/tolok-hata>, where the pro-verb hata has the sense of 'doing'.

(118) Causative (ditransitive)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
S & O_1 & O & V \\
\hline
\text{Causer} & \text{Causee} & \text{Patient/Theme} \\
A-ka & B-eykey & C-hul & V[suffix] \\
\end{array}
\]

- Lexical

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{V-key hata} & - \text{Syntactic} \\
\end{array}
\]

'A causes B to do (V) C.'

5.7.2.1. Lexical Causatives

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

(119) Causative Verbs (cf. 4.3)

a. -i: meki- 'feed'  po.i- 'show'
b. -ht: ilk ht- 'make-read'  noph ht- 'heighten'
c. -li: al li- 'inform'  wul li- 'make-sweep'
d. -ki: wu ki- 'make-laugh'  pes ki- (vt) undress'
e. -wu: pi wa- (vt) empty'  ci wu- 'make-carry'
f. -chw: sascchwu- 'lower'  nuc chwu- 'make-late, loosen'
g. -kwu: toi kwu- 'make-higher'  sos kwu- 'raise'

(120) a. Emeni-nun aki-eykey wuyu-lui mek-i-ess-ta.
    mother-TOP baby-to milk-OM eat-CAU-PST-SE
    'Mother made the baby drink milk.'
    father-TOP son-to Classical Chinese-OM read-CAU-PST-SE
    'Father made his son read Classical Chinese.'
    SM the event-OM teacher-to know-CAU-PST-SE
    'Yong informed the teacher of it.'
d. Sensaynim-i ay tul-ul was ki- si- ess-ta.
    teacher-SM children-OM laugh-CAU-HON-PST-SE
    'The teacher made the children laugh.'
e. Yong-un pyeq uy nakse-lul ci-wu- ess-ta.
    TOP wall-of scribbling-OM disappear-CAU-PST-SE
    'Yong erased the scribbling on the wall.'
   so we-TOP standard-OM low-CAU-PST-SE
   'So we lowered the standard.'

g. *Ankyeng soswu-lul tib-kwu-wa.*
   eyeglass degree-OM rise-CAU-SE
   'Make your glasses stronger.'

5.7.2.2. Syntactic Causatives

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

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

   the person-SM man five CL-OM die-CAU-PST-SE  
   'He killed five men.'

   b. *Ku salam-i namca tase-s-myeng-ul cwuk-key-hey-ess-ta.*  
   the person-SM man five CL-OM die-ADV do-PST-SE  
   'He caused five men to die.'

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

\(122\) a. *Emeni-nun aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-key-ha-yess-ta.*  
   mother-TOP baby-to milk-OM eat-ADV-do-PST-SE  
   'Mother made the baby drink milk.'

   b. *Apeki-nun aki-eykey honwun-ul iik-key-ha-yess-ta.*  
   father-TOP son-to Classical Chinese-OM read-CAU-do-PST-SE  
   'Father made his son read Classical Chinese.'
c. Yong-i sensaynim-kkey kut il-ul ae-key hay-ssta.
   SM teacher to the event-OM know-HON-ADV do-PST-SE
   'Yong made the teacher know it.'
   teacher-SM children-OM laugh-ADV make-HON-PST-SE
   'The teacher made the children laugh.'
e. Yong-un pyek-uy raise-lul ci-wu-key ha-yess-ta.
   TOP wall-of scribbling-OM disappear-CAU-ADV do-PST-SE
   'Yong made the scribbling on the wall disappear.'
f. Kulayse wuli-mun kwon-ul nac-key ha-yss-ta.
   so we-TOP standard-OM low-ADV do-PST-SE
   'So we made the standard low.'
g. #Ankyeng toswu-lul tio-key hay-la.
   eyeglasses degree-OM rise-ADV do-SE

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

5.8. TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood)

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

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

(123) Korean TAM

a. Tense
   Present -(mu)n, [I]
   Past -(e)ss, -ass, -yss
   Past-past -(e)ss-ess
b. Mood
   Volitional -keyss
   Retrospective -te
c. Aspect
5.8.1. Tense

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

5.8.1.1. Present Tense

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

(124) Present Tense

\(\text{a. State present}\)

- \(\text{Cikwu-nun twungkul-ta.}\)  
  earth-TOP round-SE  
  'The earth is round.'
- \(\text{Yong-un kwunin-ita.}\)  
  TOP soldier-be-SE  
  'Yong is a soldier.'
- \(\text{Yong-un yongkama-ta.}\)  
  TOP brave-SE  
  'Yong is brave.'

\(\text{b. Habitual present}\)

- \(\text{Wuli-nun may cew ha-pen manna-n-ita.}\)  
  we-TOP every.week one-time meet-PRS-SE  
  'We meet once a week.'
- \(\text{Na-nun mayil 6-st-ey ilena-n-ita.}\)  
  I-TOP everyday o'clock-at rise-PRS-SE  
  'I get up at 6 every day.'
- \(\text{Ku.i-nun pop-ul manhi mek-nun-ta.}\)  
  'He eats a lot.'
he-TOP meal-OM lot eat-PRS-SE

c. Event present
- Yeki-eey cong-i

hun-un-ta
here-to paper-OM put-PRS-SE
'I put the paper here.'

d. Referring to the future
- Mia-ka nayil Yengkwik-ulo ttena-n-ta.
tomorrow England-to leave-PRS-SE
'Mia leaves for England tomorrow.'
- Mia-ka kót 18-sal-i toy-n-ta.
soon year-SM become-PRS-SE
'Mia will become 18 years old next year.'

e. Referring to the past
- Kuttay ilen mal-ul ha-n-ta.
that time like-this word-OM say-PRS-SE
'He then said like this.'

f. Referring to the past and future (in embedded clauses)
- Mia-nun na-eykey naissi-ka cok- ta ko mathayss-ye
TOP I-to weather-SM good-SE QU say-SE
'Mia told me that the weather was fine.'
- Nayil tolao. si n- ta ko cenhayss-supnita.
tomorrow return.HON-PRS-SE-QU conveyed-SE
'I conveyed that you would return tomorrow.'

g. Performative
- Na-nun cinsim.ulo sakwaha-n-ta.
I-TOP sincerely apologize-PRS-SN
'I sincerely apologize.'
- Na-nun ku il uil yaksokha-n-ta.
I-TOP the event-OM promise-PRS-SE
'I promise it.'

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

5.8.1.2. Past Tense

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

(125) Past Tense: V/A-ess

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>STEM-PST</th>
<th>STEM-HON-PST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. poit 'see'</td>
<td>po-ass</td>
<td>po-si-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. meki 'eat'</td>
<td>mek-ass</td>
<td>capsuswi-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. haita 'do'</td>
<td>ha-yss</td>
<td>ha-si-ass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(126) Past Tense

a. State past
   - Na-nun ku ttay yel-sal-i-ess-eyo.
     I TOP that time 10-years-be-PST-SE
   - Ku kkoch-un alumiaw-ass-eyo.
     the flower-TOP beautiful-PST-SE
   - Tangsi na-nun Yengkwuk-eyy iss-ess-ia.
     then I-TOP England-at stay-PST-SE
     'I was 10 years old then.'
     'The flower was beautiful.'
     'I was in England at that time.'

b. Event past
   - Ku ttay cong-i wulli-ass-eyo.
     that time bell-SM ring-PST-SE
   - Ecey na-nun yenghwa-kwukeung-ul ka-sse-eyo.
     yesterday I-TOP movie-seeing-OM go-PST-SE
     'The bell rang at that time.'
     'I went to the cinema yesterday.'

c. Habitual past
   - May-il ku salam-ul manna-le ka-sse-supnita.
     every day the man-OM to-meet go-PST-SE
   - Cong-i 5-pwun tongan wulli-ass-ia.
     bell-SM minute during ring-PST-SE
     'I went to meet him every day.'
     'The bell rang for five minutes.'

d. State/event leading up to the present
   - Yong-i w.ass-eyo.
     SM come.PST-SE
     Implication: Yong is still here.
     'Yong has come.'

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

(127) Yong-i LA-e-y ka-sse-eyo.
     SM to go-PST-SE
     Implication: He is away. \(\rightarrow\) He is not here.
     'Yong has gone to L.A.'

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

    SM 5-year-ago-at> to come-PST-SE
    'Yong came to LA five years ago.'
    Implication: He is still at LA.

    SM to 5-year-ago-at> go-PST-SE
    'Yong went to LA 5 years ago.'
    Implication: He is away. → He is not here.

When modified with a frequentative time adverb, however, sentences (129) are devoid of such implications.

(129) a. Yong-i yele-pen LA-eey w-ass-eeyo.
    SM many time to come-PST-SE
    'Yong came/has come to LA many times.'

b. Yong-i LA-eey yele-pen ka-ss-eeyo.
    SM to many-time go-PST-SE
    'Yong went /has been to LA many times.'

5.8.1.3. Past-Past Tense

The past-past tense is formed by the double use of the past suffix -ess, that is: ess-ess. The past-past tense denotes an event or a state remoter or more definitely completed than that of the past, somewhat resembling the past-perfect in English (it had happened/been). It implies some experience in the past, prior to some reference time in the past.

(130) Past-Past Tense

a. State prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen- eey ku-i-nun paykmancangea-i ess-ess-eeyo.
    the before-at he-TOP millionaire-be-PST-PST-SE
    'He had been a millionaire earlier.'

b. Event prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen-eey pelse cong-i wulli-ess-ess-eeyo.
    the before-at already bell-SM ring-PST-PST-SE
    'Earlier the bell had already rung.'

c. Habitual event prior to a reference time in the past

Ku cen-eey cong-i yele-pen wulli-ess-ess-eeyo.
    the before-at bell-SM many-time ring-PST-PST-SE
    'Earlier the bell had rung many times.'
The past-past tense is most commonly used with the verbs 'come' and 'go', which carry implications contrastive to those of the past tense.

(131) a. Yong-i *w-ass-ess-eyo.
   SM come-PST-PST-SE
   'Yong had been here (but left).'
   Implication: Yong was not here. \(\rightarrow\) Yong is not here.

b. Yong-i *w-ass-eyo.
   SM come-PST-SE
   (i) 'Yong came.'
   (ii) 'Yong has come.'
   Implication: He is still here.

In (131.a) the reference time is past and Yong's visit was prior to that, implying that he was not here at the reference time, which further implies that he is not here at the speech time. By contrast, in (131.b) the reference time may be either the same past time (as in (131.a) or it may overlap with the speech time, in the latter case, it carries the same implication as the English present perfect, namely, that Yong is still here.

Similar observations can be made with the verb kata 'go'.

(132) a. Yong-i LA-ev ka-ss-ess-eyo.  'Yong had been to LA (but came back).'
   SM to go-ST-PST-SE
   Implication: Yong was not there.
   \(\rightarrow\) He is not there.

b. Yong-i LA-ev ka-ss-eyo.
   SM to go-PST-SE
   (1) 'Yong went to LA.'
   (2) 'Yong has gone to LA.'
   Implication: Yong is still there.

5.8.2. Aspect

The two aspects, progressive and perfective (or resultative) are formed respectively by \(<V\)-ko issta> and \(<V\>-e issta>. The progressive aspect is productive; by contrast, however, the perfective aspect is limited to certain subclasses of stative verb (e.g. nwupta 'lie', ancta 'sit').

The progressive aspect denotes incomplete (progressive or imperfective) actions, while the perfective aspect denotes completed (resultative or perfective) aspect. There are a number of aspectual verbs or auxiliaries (e.g. sicakhata 'begin', machia 'finish', toyta 'change'; -cita 'become'; -peita 'discard'), which may be described as forming a subsystem of Korean aspect. 78 The aspectual system adopted here is motivated syntactically--not lexically or morphologically--and delimits the form to: (1) \(<V\> + gerundive ko + issta\> (similar to the English: be V-ing),  (2) \(<V\> + infinitive e + issta\> (remotely similar to the English: be V-ed).
5.8.2.1. Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect mainly denotes an action or a state in progress at a given time, the action or the state being either temporary or permanent. With stative verbs, the progressive aspect denotes temporary duration and the simple tense implies permanence. With nonstative (dynamic) verbs, the progressive conveys that an event is in a state of duration and has not come to an end.

(133) Progressive: State (as contrasted with the simple tense)

a. Mia-nun Yong-ut salonha-ko iss-ta. 'Mia loves Yong. Mia is in love with Yong.'
   TOP OM love-be-SE [temporary]
b. Mia-nun Yong-ut salonha-n-ta. 'Mia loves Yong.'
   TOP OM love-PRS-SE [permanent]
c. Na-nun kukes-ul sayngkakha-ko iss-e. 'I am thinking about it.'
   I-TOP it think-ing be-SE [temporary]
d. Na-nun kuleh-key sayngkahkan-y. 'I think so.'
   I TOP SO think-SE [permanent]
e. Wuli-nun tosi-e-ey sal-ko-iss-ta. 'We are living in a city.'
   we-TOP city-at live-ing-be-SE [temporary]
f. Wuli-nun tosi-e-ey so-n-to.
   we-TOP city-at live-PRS-SE [permanent]

Notice that in the case of the English stative verb 'live', as shown in (133.e,f) above, both progressive and simple (nonprogressive) present forms are allowed.

(134) Event (as contrasted with the simple tense)

a. Simphan-i hokak-ui pwu-ko-iss-ia. 'The referee is blowing the whistle.'
   referee whistle blow-ing-be-SE [durative]
b. Simphan-i hokak-ul pwu-na-ta. 'The referee blows the whistle.'
   referee whistle blow-SE [instantaneous]

The a-sentence suggests a continuous or repeated blowing of the whistle.

(135) Habit (repetitive)

   everyday diary-OM write-ing-be 'Mia is writing a diary every day.'
   [temporary habit]
   everyday diary-OM write 'Mia writes a diary every day.'
   [permanent habit]
c. Pi-ka il-ealil tengen akko-iss-evo.
   wind-SM 1-week-for come-ing-be-SE 'It's been raining for one week.'
   [temporary habit]
d. Yosay mayil pi-ka wa-yo.
   lately everyday rain-SM come-SE 'It rains every day lately.'
   [permanent habit]
The progressive aspect of verbs of 'wearing'--wearing clothes/hat/shoes/belt)—may denote both ongoing (incomplete) action and resultant state.

(136) Ongoing Action vs. Resultant State

   pretty-ADNZ hat-OM wear-ing-be-SE
   i. 'Mia is putting on a pretty hat.' [ongoing action]
   ii. 'Mia is wearing a pretty hat.' [resultant state]

b. Yong-un ppalkan thai-lul may-ko-iss-ta.
   red tie-OM wear-ing-be-SE
   i. 'Yong is putting on a red tie.' [ongoing action]
   ii. 'Yong is wearing a red tie.' [resultant state]

c. Yong-un naikhi sinpal-ul sin-ko-iss-ta.
   NIKE shoes-OM wear-ing-be
   i. 'Yong is putting on NIKE shoes.' [ongoing action]
   ii. 'Yong is wearing NIKE shoes.' [resultant]

With specific time adverbs the ambiguities between action and state may disappear.

(137) a. Ikiyo-si-ey Mia-nun os-ul ipmunta.
   7-o'clock-at clothes-OM wear
   'Mia puts on clothes at 7.' [single event]

b. (Yosay) Mia-nun ppalkan os-ul ipe-yo.
   lately red clothes wear-SE
   '(Lately) Mia wears a red dress.' [permanent habit]

   lately red clothes wear-ing-be-SE
   'Mia is wearing a red dress these days.' [temporary habit]

   now clothes-OM wear-ko-ing-SE
   i. 'Mia is putting on her clothes now.' [ongoing action]
   ii. 'Mia is wearing clothes now.' [resultant state]

Even with the adverb cikum 'now', (137.d) is ambiguous: ongoing action or resultant state. When it is followed by (i) kuleni kitaliseyyo 'so, wait.' or (ii) pes-ko-iss-ci-anha-yyo 'not undressed/naked', the meaning becomes clear.

5.8.2.2. Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect has the form: <V + e + issa>. It is not productive; it is applicable only to a limited number of intransitive verbs (e.g. ancta 'sit', seta
'stand', *nvupta* 'lie' or passive verbs (e.g. *alliecita* 'be known', *cvuecita* 'be given', *palphyotoya* 'be announced').

The perfective <V-e-iss*ta*> denotes continuation of a state resulting from the completion of an action. Historically, most of the verbs in construction with 'e iss*ta*' were turned into the past tense <V-ess*> (<V-e-iss*>). Only those intransitive verbs mentioned above retain both forms: the past tense <V-ess*> and the perfective progressive <V-e-iss*>

(138) Perfective vs. Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mekta 'eat'</td>
<td><em>mek-e-iss-ta</em></td>
<td>mek-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceta 'sleep'</td>
<td><em>ca-[]-iss-ta</em></td>
<td>ca-ss*ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salanghanta 'love'</td>
<td><em>salanghay-iss-ta</em></td>
<td>salangha-yss-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. seta 'stand'</td>
<td>se-[]-iss-ta</td>
<td>se-ss-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancta 'sit'</td>
<td>anc-a-iss-ta</td>
<td>anc-ass-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nvupta 'lie'</td>
<td>mvwev-iss-ta</td>
<td>mvwwev-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. mek.hita 'be eaten'</td>
<td>mekhi-e-iss-ta</td>
<td>mekhi-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cvue.cita 'be given'</td>
<td>cvueci-e-iss-ta</td>
<td>cvueci-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allie.cita 'be known'</td>
<td>allieci-e-iss-ta</td>
<td>allieci-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palphyo.tyoia 'be announced'</td>
<td>palphyoty-e-iss-ta</td>
<td>palphyoty-ess-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. kata 'go'</td>
<td>ko-[]-iss-ta</td>
<td>ko-ss-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ota 'come'</td>
<td>o-a-iss-ta</td>
<td>o-ass-ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(139) a. Manhun kongcang-i se-[]-iss*ta*.
   many factory-SM stand-INF-be  
   'Many factories are standing.'

b. Mia-ka ivca-ey anc-a- isst*ta*.
   SM chair-at sit-INF-be  
   'Mia is sitting on the chair.'

c. Kulim-1 pyek-ey kel.lli-e-iss*ta*.
   picture-SM wall-at hang-INF be  
   'The picture is hanging on the wall.'

d. Ku sosil-i seysang-ey allieci-e-iss*ta*.
   the fact-SM world-at known-INF-be  
   'The fact is known to the world.'

e. Ku kyelkwa-ka hakswulci-ey palphyo.tyo-e-iss*ta*.
   the result-SM journal-at announced-INF-be  
   'The result is published in the journal.'

f. Yong-i yeki-ey w-a-iss-eye.
SM here-at come-INF-be-
'Yong has come. / Yong is here.'

The perfective aspect, when compared with the progressive aspect, basically denotes a resulting state, while the latter an ongoing action.

(140) a. Maniun kemnuwl-i sintosi-e y tule.se-[ ] iss-ta.
    many building-SM new.town-at stand-INF-be-SE
    'Many buildings are standing in the new town.'

b. Maniun kemnuwl-i sintosi-e y tule.se-ko iss-ta.
    many building-SM new.town-at stand-ing be-SE
    'Many buildings are under construction/being built in the new town.'

The verb salta 'live, reside' has two aspect forms in use, each with a different sense.

(141) a. Ku salam-un acik sal-a-iss-ta.
    the man-TOP still live-INF-be-SE
    'He is still living/alive.'

    the man-TOP still at live-ing-be-SE
    'He is still living/residing in LA.'

The two aspects, perfective and progressive, may further be illustrated along with the three tenses--present, past and past-past.

(142) a. Yong-i LA-ey ka-ko iss-eyo. [Progressive Present]
    to go-ing be-SE
    'Yong is going to LA. / Yong is on his way to LA.'

b. Yong-i LA-ey ka-[ ]-iss-eyo. [Perfective Present]
    to go-INF-be-SE
    'Yong is in LA.'

c. Yong-i LA-ey ka-se-eyo. [Past]
    go-PST-SE
    'Yong went to LA.'
    Implication: he is still there.'

d. Yongi (nayii/haynata) LA-ey ka-ryo. [Present]
    tomorrow/every year to go-SE
    i. 'Yong goes to LA (tomorrow),' - future event
    ii. 'Yong goes to L (every year),' - habitual event

e. Yong-i LA-ey ka-se-ess-eyo [Past-Past]
    'Yong had been to LA.'
    Implication: he has been to LA.
f. Yong-i LA-ey ka-ko iss-ess-eyo. [Progressive Past]
to go-ing-PST-SE
'Yong was going to LA.'
g. Yong-i LA-ey ka-[ ]-iss-ess-eyo. [Perfective Past]
to go-INF-be-PST-SE
'Yong was in LA.'

5.8.2.3. Aspectual Verbs

Some verbs which are inherently aspectual can be attached to verbs as auxiliaries, thus adding inchoative, perfective, or progressive meanings to the main verbs. Such verbs include kata 'go', ota 'come', sicakha 'begin', pelita 'discard', twuta 'put', nakata 'proceed', and the like. The bound verb cita 'become', which was treated as one of the passive-voice forming verbs (cf. 5.7.1.2), is also an inchoative auxiliary, converting stative adjectives to dynamic verbs.

(143) a. Il-i cal iove-ka-nta.
work well become-go-SE
'The work gets done well.'
b. Yong-i nolay-lul pulu-ki sicakhay-ss-ta.
song-OM sing-NOMZ begin-PST-SE
'Yong began to sing.'
one-at apple two-unit-OM eat-INF discard-PST-SE
'Mia ate up two apples at once.'
weather-SM warm-become-PST-SE
'The weather became warm.'

5.8.3. Mood

Two types of mood--volitional and retrospective--may be set up for the category of mood. The volitional mood is realized by keyss and the retrospective by te (and its variants).

5.8.3.1. Volitional Mood

The volitional mood marker keyss, which is historically a contraction of kes 'fact' and iss 'exist' (keyss < kes iss), denotes the speaker's (or the addressee's, in interrogatives) volition, intention, or prediction in the future. Semantically, the volitional keyss is akin to the English modal 'will'. For simple futurity, the periphrastic construction < V/A-l kes-nna> 'it will be that' is used (cf. 5.8.1).
The volitional keyss is attached to the past and past-past tenses as well as to the stem (and the honorific si) of a verb/adjective.

(144) Stem (-si) - keyss

   I-SM now go-VOL-SE  
   'I will go now.'

b. Ney-ka cium ka-keyss-nya?  
   you-SM now go-VOL-SE  
   'Will you go?'

c. Kim sensayng nim-i ka-si keyss-ta.  
   teacher SM go-HON-VOL-SE  
   '(I predict) Teacher Kim will go.'

d. Nayil pi-ka o-keyss-ta.  
   tomorrow rain-SM come-VOL-SE  
   'It will rain tomorrow.'

e. Ku ay-nun com keyshu-keyss-ta  
   the child bit lazy-VOL-SE  
   '(I guess) he is a bit lazy.'

For the third person subject, the keyss-modal form denotes the speaker's mental attitude towards a probable fact, in addition to simple prediction. So (144.c) above may be rendered as: I predict/guess/know that Teacher Kim will probably go. When used with a verb of knowing, it gives an effect of softening the statement by suggesting probability.

   TOP not know-VOL-SE  
   'I wouldn't know. I don't think I know.'

b. Sensayngnim-un ku saken-ul a- si-keyss-supnikka?  
   teacher the event-OM know-HON-VOL-SE  
   'Do you (think you) know it?'

b'. Sensayngnim-un ku saken-ul a- s- pnikka?  
   teacher the event-OM know-HON-SE  
   'Do you know it, Teacher?'

The past volitional form <V-ess-keyss-ta> denotes an event or a state which was probably the case in the past. For all three persons, as in the case of the present volitional V-keyss, the form <V-ess-keyss-ta> denotes the speaker's realization or strong prediction of a probable fact in the past. Similarly, the past-past volitional form <V-ess-ess-keyss-ta> denotes an event/state which was probably the case at some earlier time in the past.

(146) Volitional Past

a. Pi-ka manht wa-ss-keyss-ta.  
   rain-SM lot come-PST-VOL-SE
'It probably rained a lot.'

b. Ne-nun ku kes-ul molla- ss- keyss-ta
   you the fact-OM not.know-PST-VOL-SE
   '(I predict that) You probably didn't know it.'

(147) Volitional Past-Past
   a. Pi-ka manhi wa-ss-ess-keyss-ta.
      rain-SM lot come-PST-VOL-SE
      '(I predict that) It probably rained a lot.
      you the fact-OB not.know-PST-PST-VOL-SE
      'I predict that you probably didn't know it.'

For simple futurity or probability the copular sentence <V-ul kes-i-ta> (V-ADNZ-fact-be) 'it will be/it is probable that ...V... ' or its past <V-ess-ul- kes-i-ta> (V-PST-ADNZ-fact-be) 'it was probable that ...V-ed... ' is more commonly used than <V-keyss-ta> or its past <V-ess-keyss-ta>.

(148) <l kes-i-ta>                                    <keyss>
   a. Pi-ka o-1 kes-i-ta.  →  Pi-ka o- keyss-ta.
      rain come-ADNZ-fact-be-SE rain come-VOL-SE
      'It will rain.'       'It will rain, I predict.'
      rain came-ADNZ-fact-be-SE rain came-VOL-SE
      'Probably it rained.'  'It rained, I guess/know.'

When the volitional keyss is added to the construction <V/A-(e)ya-hanta> 'must (be) V/A', the new form <V/A-(e)ya-(ha)keyss-ia>, where ha 'do' is normally suppressed, denotes a hedged (or softened) obligation of the subject referent.

       l-TOP now go-P-VOL-SE
       'I may/will have to go now.'
   a'. Na-nun icy-ya-yanta.
       now go-P-do
       'I must go now.'
   b. Mia-to ka-ya keyss-ta,
       too go-P VOL-SE
       'Mia may/will have to go, too.'
   b'. Mia-to ka-ya hanta,
       too go-P do
       'Mia must go, too.'

The volitional keyss is also used idiomatically in expressions like the following.
(150) *Cheumu poyp-keyss-supnita.*
   first see- VOL-SE
   '(lit.) I see you for the first time.
   → How do you do?'

5.8.3.2. **Retrospective Mood**

The retrospective mood marker -te can cooccur with tense or volitional mood (keyss) but not with the present tense (mun). The following forms are used: V-te-, V-ess-te, V-ess-ess-te, V-keyss-te, V-ess-keyss-te-. The plain-level declarative-ending is la (in place of ta) after the retrospective te.

The retrospective mood denotes the speaker’s experience or observation in retrospect. In interrogative sentences the experience or observation reported in retrospect is that of the addressee's. The morphologically manifested retrospective (or reportive) mood is quite unique as a grammatical category.

   that-place-TM very cold-RET-SE
   '(I recall) the place was very cold.'

b. *Ku phathi-ey manhun salam-l wass- te- la.*
   the party-at many person-SM came-RET-SE
   '(I recall/witnessed) there were lots of people at the party.'

c. *Nwuka kulen mal-ul ha-te-nya?*
   who such word say-RET-SE
   'Who (do you recall) said such a thing?'

Since what is reported or recalled is the speaker's observation/experience, it is unnatural to have a first person subject in a declarative (or a second person subject in an interrogative sentence).

(152) a. *#Na-nun kil-ka-ey nwww-e-iss-te-la.*
   1-TOP road-side-at lie-INF-bc-RET-SE
   'I was lying on the roadside, I recall/I observed.'

b. *#Ney-ka pop-ul mek-ko-iss-te-nya?*
   you-SM food-OM eat-GER-bc-RET-SE
   'Were you eating, do you recall?'

More examples of retrospective sentences in combination with various tenses or the volitional keyss are given below.

(153) a. *V-te-la*
   - *Ku.kos-ey amwu-to eps-te-la.*
     there-at anybody-to not.be-RET-SE
     'There was nobody, I recall.'
<p>- Yong-i ca- ko iss-te-la. sleep-ing-be-RET-SE
  'Yong was sleeping, I recall.'
  
b. V-ess-te-la
   - Ta-tul wass-ney-yo. all-PLU came-RET-SE
   'Everyone had already come, I saw.'
  
c. V-ess-ess-te-la
   (This form is unusual or rare in speech; and the emphatic in writing in place of the past retrospective <V-ess-tela>.)
  
d. V-keyss-te-la
   - Annu-to eps- keyss-te-la
     anyone-also not.exist-VOL-RET-SE
   - Ta o-keyss-te-la.
     all come-VOL-RET-SE
   'No one would be there, I observed.'
   'Everyone would come, I observed.'
  
e. V-ess-keyss-te-la
   - Ta wass-keyss-te-la.
     '(From what I observed) everyone will have come or everyone probably came.'
  
f. V-ess-ess-keyss-te-la
   (This form is unusual or rare in speech; and in writing, it is more emphatic than <V-ess-keyss-te-la>.)
  
The retrospective mood may also be used after normal sentence endings in the form: <V-ta-ko-(mal) ha-te-la/nya>, which is contracted to <V-ta-te-la/nya/(declarative/interrogative)>, each denoting 'It is reported/they say that ... V' (in declarative) or 'Did they say ... V?'.

   'They said, I recall, Mia passed the exam.'
  b. Mia-ka hapkyekhay-ss-ta-te-nya?
   SM pass-PST-SE-RET-SE
   'Did they say Mia passed the exam, do you recall?'
  c. Nwuka hapkyekhay-ss-ta-te-nya?
    who pass-PST-SE-RET-SE
    'Who did they say passed the exam, do you recall?'
  d. Na-poko ka-la-te-la.
    I to go-IMP-RET-SE
    'They told me to go, I recall.'
  e. Wuli-poko ka-ca-te-la.
    we to go-PRP-RET-SE
    'They told us to go with them, I recall.'

The uncontracted sentences of (154) are respectively as follows:

(155) a. Mia-ka hapkyekhayatssta-ko ha-te-la. passed- QU say-RET-SE
   'They said, I recall, Mia passed the exam.'
  b. Mia-ka hapkyekhayatssta-ko ha-te-nya?
   passed- QU say-RET-SE
   'Did they say Mia passed the exam, do you recall?'
  c. Nwuka hapkyekhayatssta-ko ho-te-nay?
    who passed- QU say-RET-SE
    'Who did they say passed the exam, do you recall?'
  d. Na-poko ka-la-ko ha-te-la.
    'They told me to go, I recall.'
I to go-IMP QU say-RET SE

e. Wuli-poko ka-co-ko ha-te-la?  'They told us to go with them, I recall.'
we to go-PRP QU say-RET SE

These sentences are complex, each consisting of a main clause and an indirectly quoted subordinate clause. The expanded sentence is the topic of the next chapter.
6. Extended Sentences

A sentence consisting of more than one clause is called an extended sentence. The extended sentence is either compound, complex or mixed. A compound sentence consists of two or more coordinate clauses, connected by a conjunctive ending and an optional conjunctive particle. A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one subordinate clause, which is a constituent of the main clause. The subordinate clause functions as adverbial, adnominal or nominal—that is, it is an adverb clause, an adnoun clause or a noun clause. By combining compound and complex sentences we get a mixed sentence—structurally complex and compound. A single sentence can be expanded at length by 'mixing' subordination and coordination.

We first look into the structures of coordination and subordination with examples and tree diagrams.

(1) Coordination: Compound Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CONJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (kuliko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mia-nun Yong-ui cohaha-ko and Cina-nun Hyen-ui cohahanta

'Mia likes Yong and Cina likes Hyen.'
(2) Subordination: Complex Sentence

Sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yong-i Mia-lul cohaha-nikko Mia-to Yong-ul cohahan-ta
like as too like

'As Yong likes Mia, Mia likes Yong, too.'

Sentence (1) consists of two S-O-V clauses conjoined by the conjunctive particle kuliko. In (2), the adverb clause (ADVC) is a subordinate clause functioning as a modifier (M) of the main clause.

We will describe coordination and subordination (6.1), followed by compound sentences (6.2), complex sentences (6.3), and mixed sentences (6.4).

6.1. Coordination and Subordination

There are two types of coordination: conjunctive and disjunctive. Conjunctive coordination is formed by an inflectional suffix such as -ko 'and' or a conjunctive particle such as kuliko 'and'; the disjunctive coordination by a suffix like -(ke)na or a particle such as anmyen 'or, if not'.

Semantically, it is often hard to tell whether the linking of two or more clauses is coordinate or subordinate. Syntactically, however, we may set up three criteria: reversibility, insertability, and enumerability.

In coordination, the relation between the two (or more) units may be reversed without a change in truth-conditional meaning.

(3) Clause A + CONJ + Clause B + ...

(4) a. San- un noph-ko (kuliko) pata-nun kiph-ta.
    mountain-TOP high-and (and) sea-TOP deep-SE
    'The mountain is high and the sea is deep.'
   sea-TOP deep-and (and) mountain-TOP high-SE
   'The sea is deep and the mountain is high.'

Reversing the order of the two conjuncts in (4) brings about no change in meaning.

In (5) below, the content meanings of the a- and b-sentences are the same, even though their implications are substantially different. The a-sentence implies the event expressed in the first conjunct, namely Mia's marriage, precedes the event in the b-sentence, namely Mia's pregnancy; the b-sentence implies the order of the two events is in reverse. The truth-conditional meanings are the same but the pragmatic meanings are different.

    TOP marry-and baby-OM bear-PST-SE
    'Mia got married and became pregnant.'

    TOP baby-OM bear-and marry-PST-SE
    'Mia became pregnant and got married.'

A subordinate clause can be inserted into another clause but a coordinate clause cannot. As the following illustration shows, the two clauses in the sentence Yong-un kanañhako Mia-nun Yong-ul cohabanta 'Yong is poor and Mia likes Yong' can be reversed, but it is not possible for one clause to be inserted into the other.

(6) a. Yong-un kanañhako (kuliko) Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaba-nta.
    TOP poor-and and TOP OM like-SE
    'Yong is poor and Mia likes Yong.'

b. Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaba-ko Yong-un kanañhaka-nta.
    like-and poor-SE
    'Mia likes Yong and Yong is poor.'

c. *Mia-nun, Yong-un kanañhako, Yong-ul cohaba-nta.
   '*Mia, Yong is poor and, likes Yong.'

A disjunctive sentence connected with kena 'or' is coordinate in terms of reversibility and insertability.

(7) a. Yong-i kanañhako-kena Mia-ka pvu.ca-i-ta.
    poor-or rich.person-COP-SE
    'Yong is poor or Mia is rich.'

b. Mia-ka pvuca-i-kena, Yong-i kanañhaka-nta.
   rich.person-COP-or poor-SE
'Mia is rich or Yong is poor.'

c. *Mia-ka, Yong-i kananha-kana, pwuea-i-te.
    *Mia, Yong is poor or, is rich.'

The contrastive/concessive ending -ciman, which may be glossed as 'but' or 'though', appears to be either coordinate or subordinate, as illustrated in (8).

(8) a. Yong-un kananha-ciman    Mia-nun Yong-ul cohahanta.
    poor-bu/though   like
    i. Yong is poor but Mia likes him.
    ii. Though Yong is poor, Mia likes him.

b. Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yong-un kananhata.
    like   bu/though   poor
    i. Mia likes Yong but Yong is poor.
    ii. Though Mia likes Yong, he is poor.

The order of the two clauses in (8.a) can be reversed (as in (8.b)) and one clause can also be inserted into another as in (9.b). Accordingly, the contrastive/concessive construction with the ending -ciman is a subordinate, not a coordinate, construction.

(9) a. Mia-nun, Yong-i kananha-ciman, Yong-ul cohahanta.
    poor-though    like
    'Mia, though Yong is poor, likes him (=Yong).' 

b. Yong-un, Mia-ka (Yong-ul) cohaha-ciman, kananhata.
    like-though    poor
    'Yong, though Mia likes him (=Yong), is poor.'

In coordination, clauses can be multiplied without limit either conjunctively or disjunctively or both, by contrast, in subordination, the subordinate clauses cannot be repeated. So a ciman-clause, which is described as subordinate above, cannot be used repeatedly, as shown below.

(10) *Mia-nun Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yuna-to Yong-ul cohaha-ciman, Yong-un
    like-though    too    like-though
    cohaha-ci enhunta.
    like-SU not
    *Though Mia likes Yong, though Yuna likes Yong, Yong doesn't like them.'

However, if the two ciman-clauses are interpreted as coordinate to each other in (10), the resultant sentence is well-formed.
EXTENDED SENTENCES

(11) *Mia-nun Yong-ui cohaha-ciman kuliko Yuna-to Yong-ui cohaha-ciman,
like-though and too like-though
Yong-un ku.ay.tul-ui cohaha-ci anhunanta.
the kid. FLU-QM like-SU not
Though Mia likes Yong and (though) Yuna also likes Yong, Yong
doesn't like them.

In an extended sentence, the tense may appear either in each clause or only
in the final clause. When the tense of the non-final clause(s) does not appear
due to structural reasons, it usually agrees with that of the final clause.

(12) Tense in extended sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main/Subordinate Clause</th>
<th>Main Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. Tense</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. [ ]</td>
<td>Tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(13) Compound Sentences

   come-PST-and tomorrow SM come-PRS-SE
   'Yesterday Mia came and tomorrow Yong will come.'

   come-and come-PST-SE
   'Yesterday Mia came and Yong came.'

c. Nayil-un Mia-ka o- kena Yong-i o- lkes. i.ta.
   come-or come-will-SE
   'Tomorrow Mia will come or Yong will.'

(14) Complex Sentences

   yesterday snow come-PST-as tomorrow ski ride-INF go-SE
   'As it snowed yesterday, let's go skiing tomorrow.'

   yesterday snow come-as to ski ride-INF go-PST-SE
   'As it snowed yesterday, we went skiing to Yongpyeng.'

The adverbial ending -se 'as' (in the b-sentence), whose meaning is similar to
-nikka 'because, as' (in the a-sentence), can neither be attached to the past tense
verb nor modify the main clause in an imperative/propositional form; there is no
such constraint with -nikka.

(15) a. *Ecey nwun-i wa-se, sukhiu thal-e ka-*CA!
   come-as ski ride-INF go-IN/PRP
   'Let's go skiing, because it snowed yesterday.'
b. Ecce nun-i o- ass-unikka, sukhi thawo sak-ka CA!
come-PST-as ski ride-INF go-IN/PRP
'Let's go skiing, as it snowed yesterday.'

In a reported clause, tense may well be interpreted in terms of three time points (Reichenbach 1947): speech time (S), event time (E), and reference time (R). The temporal relations involved in the reported clauses in (16) are illustrated in (17). In (16a), for example, the content of the report (E2) is made in reference to R1, which is identical to the reporting time (E1); in (16b) E2 is in reference to R1, which is prior to E1; in (16c) E2 is in reference to R1, which is identical to the speech time (S).

(16) a. Yong-i ku taum nal o.n-ta- ko Mia-ka nihay-sa-ko.
the next day come-SE-QU say-PST-SE
the next day come-PST-SE-QU say-PST-SE
b'. Mia said that Yong would come the next day.
c. Yong-i mayi o.n-ta- ko Mia-ka nihay-sa-ko.
tomorrow come-SE-QU say-PST-SE
b'. Mia said that Yong would have come the next day.
c'. Mia said that Yong will come tomorrow.

(17) a. Past Present
-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
R1 E2 S
E1 |
| |
M's saying Y's coming
b. Past Present
-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
R1 E2 E1 S
| |
| |
Y's coming M's saying
c. Past Present
-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
E1 S
| R1 E2
| |
M's saying Y's coming
6.2. Compound Sentences

There are two types of coordination, as stated briefly at the outset of this chapter, when we confine coordination to the clausal level. First (1) a coordinate ending (-ko 'and', -kena 'or', etc.) and (2) a coordinate ending plus conjunctive particle (kuliko 'and', animyen 'or', etc.). The second type of coordination is doubly conjunctive or disjunctive; redundantly marked as it is, the conjunctive or disjunctive connection is doubly emphasized.

(18) a. Conjunctive:  
-ko  
S-ko, kuliko S  'S and S'

b. Disjunctive:  
-kena  
S-kena, animyen S  'S or S'

6.2.1. Conjunctive Coordination

The verbal suffix taka 'while' also functions as a conjunctive coordinator in addition to the typical -ko/kuliko 'and'.

wind blow-PST-and rain-also lot come-PST-SE  
'The wind blew and it rained a lot.'

b. Pi-ka o-taka,  
nwal-i o-taka,  
palam-i pwa-n.ta.  
rain come-and then snow.SM come-and.then wind.SM blow-SE  
'It rains a while, it snows a while, and then the wind blows a while.'

(20) a. Pala-mi pwal-ess-ko,  
kuliko pi-to manhi o- ass-ta.  
blow-PST-and and rain-also lot come-PST-SE  
'The wind blew, and it rained a lot.'

b. Pi-ka o-taka,  
nwal-i o-taka,  
kule-taka palam-i pwa-n.ta.  
rain come-and snow.SM come-and and wind blow-SE  
'It rains a while, it snows a while, and then the wind blows.'

The ending -ko(se) or -ko.na.se 'and then', which indicates a temporal sequence, is a subordinate ending as the clause containing these endings can be inserted into a clause. These conjunctors connect verb clauses and not adjective clauses.

father-PL die(HON)-and then America-to left-SE  
'Mia's father died and then she left for America.'
b. Mia-nun, apeci-ka tolakas-ko(NA)SE, mikwuk-ulo itemas-SS-SE.
   father-SM die(HON)-and then America-to left-SE
   'Mia, after her father died, left for America.'

(22) *Mia-nun cengcikha-ko(NA)SE, sengsilhay-SS-SE.
    honest-and then sincere-PST-SE
    *'Mia was honest and then sincere.'

6.2.2. Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination is formed by a disjunctive verb ending (-kena/tunci/na 'or') or by a disjunctive ending plus a disjunctive discourse particle--animyen 'if not', itonun 'or', kulehchi anhumyen 'if not so', or the like.

(23) a. Palam-i pwul-kena nwun-i manhi o-l kes-i-SS-SE.
    wind blow-or snow lot come-will-SE
    'The wind will blow or it will snow a lot.'

b. Palam-i pwul-kena, animyen/itonun nwun-i manhi o-l kes-i-SS-SE.
    wind blow-or or snow lot come-will-SE
    'The wind will blow or it will snow a lot.'

Disjunctive coordination can also be expressed by juxtaposition of two or more interrogative sentences.

(24) a. Pi-ka o- nunya nwun-i o-nunya?
    rain come-PL/INT snow come-PL/INT
    'Is it raining or snowing?'

b. Mia-ka ka-ss-nunya Yuna-ka ka-ss-nunya?
    go-PST-PL/INT go-PST-PL/INT
    'Did Mia go? Or did Yong go?'

c. Mia-ka ka-yo Yong-i ka-yo?
    go-PO/INT go-PO/INT
    'Is Mia going or is Yong going?'

Disjunction by juxtaposing interrogative sentences may be regarded as composed of two or more independent interrogative sentences with a pause in between. Each disjunctive clause has rising intonation.

(25) a. Pi-ka o-nunya " nwun-i o-nunya ↑
    (With no pause; one sentence)

b. Pi-ka o-nunya ↑ ## Nwun-i o-nunya ↑
   (With a pause; two sentences)

   c. Pi-ka o-nunya ↑ ## Animyen nwun-i o-nunya ↑
      (two sentences)
EXTENDED SENTENCES

a'. 'Is it raining or is it snowing?'
b'. 'Is it raining? Is it snowing?'
c'. 'Is it raining? Or is it snowing?'

Indirect questions with the suspicious marker ci (originally, a bound noun) can be juxtaposed, forming disjunctive coordination. There is no rising intonation marked at the end of the dependent interrogative clause. The disjunctive discourse particle animyeni/tonun 'or' can be placed between the dependent interrogative clauses.

    go-PST-ADNZ-SU go-PST-ADNZ-SU I-TOP not.know
    'I don't know whether Mia went or Yong went.'

    rain come-ADNZ-SU or snow come-ADNZ-SU I-TOP not.know
    'I don't know whether it is raining or snowing.'

6.3. Complex Sentences

Three types of subordinate clauses may be mentioned: nominal, adnominal, and adverbial, which correspond to the three form classes--noun, adnoun, and adverb. The noun clause functions as subject, object, and subject- or object-complement; the adnoun clause functions as a nominal modifier and the adverb clause as a verbal modifier.

Although the subordinate clauses precede the main clause in the normal construction, it is quite common in a discourse for the subordinate clause to come after the main verb. Such postponing gives a discourse effect of clarification, addition, contrast or the like.

(27) a. Unmarked: SOV

    Wuit-nun ku.i-ka an tolaonta-nun kes-ul al- ko iss-eyo.
    we he-SM not return-ADNZ fact-OM know-GER be-SE
    'We know (the fact) that he won't return.'

b. Marked: SVO

    Wuit-nun al- ko iss.eyo--ku.i-ka an tolaonta-nun kes-ul.
    we know-GER be he not return-ADNZ fact-OM
    'We know it--(that) he won't return.'

In the example above, the object (O) is clausal--an adnoun clause with the head noun kes 'fact/thing'. (27b), where the object is in post-verbal position, may be considered not a proper type of Korean sentence, even if it is acceptable as a
well-formed utterance. Alternatively, however, we may analyze (27b) as a sentence (SVO) by extending the grammatical notion of a single sentence, or even as two sentences (SV#O). We will come back to this sort of construction in the next chapter.

(28) Wuli-nun al-ko isseyo.## Ku i-ko an tolaonta-nun kes-nt.
    we know-GER be be not return-ADNZ fact-OM
    (lit.) We know: That he won’t return.
    → We know he won’t return. = He won’t return, we know.’

Now we will look into the three major types of subordinate clause: nominal, adnominal and adverbial.

6.3.1. **Noun Clauses**

Noun clauses may be classified into several formally distinct subclasses including: (1) the kil/(u)m-nominalizer noun clause, analogous to the English gerund or infinitive construction; (2) the quotative ko noun clause, functioning as the object of a verb of saying/thinking, corresponding to the English that-clause, (3) the bound noun kes (‘fact, thing’) with its modifying clause, similar to the English factive that-clause; (4) the suspective or dependent interrogative ci (‘whether’) clause. The third type of noun clause may also be headed, in addition to kes ‘fact, thing’, by bound nouns like cwul ‘method’ and swu ‘way, means’, forming idiomatic phrases like <V-l cwul-anta> ‘know how to V’, <V-l swu issia> ‘can V’, and <V-l swu epsta> ‘cannot V’.

The kil and (u)m nominalizers, attached to a certain verbal or adjectival stem, have derived ‘frozen’ nouns: e.g. po- ‘see’ → po-ki ‘sample’, el- ‘freeze’ → el-um ‘ice’ (cf. 4.1). The kil nominalizer is frequently formed into the construction <V-ki swipta/elyepia ‘it is easy/difficult to V’. The (u)m nominalizer carries a formal or written flavour with matrix verbs like cungmyenghata ‘certify’ and phanmyenghata ‘prove’.

(29) Nominalizer kil:

    tomorrow rain come-NOMZ (-SM) easy
    ‘It is likely that it will rain tomorrow.’

b. Yekiye il.calit-lul kwuha-ki-ka elyepta.
    here work.sive-OM find-NOMZ-SM difficult
    ‘It is difficult to find a job here.’
(30) Nominalizer (um):
      the defendant innocent-NOMZ-SM prove-PST-SE
      'It has been proved that the defendant is innocent.'
   b. Ku kes-i sasil-i- m-ul hwaksinha-pnila
      the thing fact-COP-NOMZ-OM convince-SE
      'I am convinced that it is a fact.'

(31) Quotative ko 'that'
      I honest-SE QU think-SE
      'I think that Mia is honest.'
      window break-PST-SE-QU say-PST-SE
      'Mia said that Yong broke the window.'

(32) ...n'l kes' (thing/fact) that ...
      we return-ADNZ fact not know-GER-be-PST-SE
      'We didn't know that Mia had come back.'
      we return-ADNZ fact know-GER-be-PST-SE
      'We knew that Mia would come back.'

(33) Suspective ci 'whether'
      I returned-ADNZ-SU not know-SE
      'I don't know whether Mia came back.'
      who do-PST-ADNZ-SU I know-SE
      'I know who did it.'

While the quotative particle ko 'that' can quote all the major types of sentence indirectly as the object of a verb of saying, other quotative particles (lako/hako 'that') quote the utterance directly.

(34) Indirect Quotation
   a. Indirect statement
      - Cikum-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-i-la-ko Yong-un mil-ko iss-ta.
        now globalization-of age-COP-SE-QU believe-GER be-SE
        'Yong believes that now is the age of globalization.'
b. Indirect question

  go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE
  'Mia asked Yuna if Yong had gone.'

  who go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE
  'Mia asked Yuna who had gone.'

c. Indirect request

- Tasi o-ci maila-ko Mia-ka Yong-eykey yokwuhay-ss-ta.
  again come-SU-stop-QU to request-PST-SE
  'Mia requested Yong not to come again.'

d. Indirect proposal

- Kathi ka-ca-ko Yong-i Mia-eykey ceyanhay-ss-ta.
  together go-PRP-QU to propose-PST-SE
  'Yong proposed to Mia that they go together.'

(35) Direct Quotation

a. Direct statement

- "Cikum-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-i-ta." lako/hako Yong-un malhaysssta.
  now globalization-of age-COP-SE QU said
  'Yong said, "Now is the age of globalization."'

b. Direct question

- "Yong-i ka-ss-nunya?" hako Mia-ka Yuna-eykey mul-ess-ta.
  go-PST-INT QU to ask-PST-SE
  'Mia said to Yuna, "Did Yong go?"

  who go-PST-INT to ask-PST-SE
  'Mia asked Yuna, "Who has gone?"

c. Direct request

"Tasi o-ci ma!" hako Mia-ka Yong-eykey malhay-ss-ta.
  again come-don't QU to say-PST-SE
  'Mia told Yong, "Don't come again!"

d. Direct proposal

- "Kathi ka-ca!" hako Yong-i Mia-eykey malhay-ss-ta.
  together go-PRP QU to say-PST-SE
  'Yong said to Mia, "Let's go."

Noun clauses function as subject, object or complement, as illustrated in the following examples.

(36) a. Subject
b. Direct object
c. Oblique object
EXTENDED SENTENCES

d. Subject complement
e. Object complement

(37) a. *Nsuka ka-nunya-ka mwuncey-i-ita.
   who go-INT-SM problem-COP-SE
   'Whoever goes is the problem.'

   who go-PST-ADNZ-SU I not.know-SE
   'I don't know who went.'

c. *Ku haykyel-un nsuka keki-ey ka-nunya-ey tall-e-i iss-ita.
   the solution who there-at go-INT-at depend-INF-be-SE
   'The solution depends on who goes there.'

   problem who there-at go-INT-COP-SE
   'The question is who goes there.'

c. *Na-nun Yong-ui kyelpaykhata-ko sayngkakha-n-ita.
   I innocent-QU think-SE
   'I consider Yong to be innocent.'

6.3.2. Adnominal Clauses

Adnominal clauses are made up of verbal or adjectival sentences with an
adnominalizing ending (-mun, -ten, or -(u)l), which behaves somewhat similarly
to the English relative pronouns *that*, *which*, and *who*. The form of the
adnominalizers indicates the tense of the adnominal clause; the forms of the present
and past tense are not identical between verbs and adjectives.

(38) Adnominal Clause: Adnominalizers and Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present: -mun</td>
<td>-mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khi-ka khun sonyen</em></td>
<td><em>ppall-ikhu-nun nanwu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boy who is tall'</td>
<td>'tree which grows fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ tall boy</td>
<td>→ fast-growing tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past: x</th>
<th>-un</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ppall-ikhu-nun nanwu</em></td>
<td>'tree which grew fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retrospective: -ten</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present: -mun</td>
<td>-ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khi-ka khu-ten sonyen</em></td>
<td><em>ppall-ikhu-ten nanwu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boy who (I observed) was tall'</td>
<td>'tree which (I observed) grew fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khi-ka khe-ss-ten sonyen</em></td>
<td><em>ppall-ikhe-ss-ten nanwu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boy who I observed had been tall'</td>
<td>'tree which (I observed) had grown fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notice that the present tense form of adjectives and the past tense form of verbs are identical: -(u)n.

The adnoun clause, like an adnoun phrase or adnoun, modifies the following head noun. There are two types of adnominal modification, depending on the structural relation between the adnoun clause and the head noun: (1) the head noun is a constituent of the adnominal clause; (2) the head noun is not its constituent. To distinguish these two types, we will call one a relative clause, the other an appositive clause.

6.3.2.1. Relative Clauses

The Korean relative clause is a premodifier and it restricts or qualifies the following head of the noun phrase ('postcedent' in contrast to the 'antecedent' of the English relative-clause construction). The postcedent must be a constituent (subject, object, adjunct, etc.) of the relative clause.

(39) a. Copula Clause [postcedent: subject]


doctor-SM orphan-COP ADNZ the child-OM raise-PST-SE

'Dr. Kim raised the child who was an orphan.'

b. Adjective Clause [postcedent: subject]

Wul-pan-ey-nun khr khun haksayng-i manh-ayo.

we class-at-TOP tall student-SM many-SE

'(lit.) Students who are tall are many in our class.

→ There are many tall students in our class.'

c. i. Verb Clause [postcedent: subject]

Hankwuk-ul pangmwunha-nun salam-i nul- ko ist-ta.

Korea-OM visit-ADNZ man-SM increase-ing be-SE

'Those who visit Korea are increasing.'

ii. Verb Clause [postcedent: object]

Yong-i pangmwunha-n nala-nun Yengkwuk-kwa Phulangsu-i-ess-ta.

visit-ADNZ country-TOP England-and France-COP-PST-SE

'The countries that Yong visited were England and France.'

iii. Verb Clause [postcedent: indirect object]

Mia-ka pyenci-lul pongay-n i-nun Tokil kwahakca- i-ess-ta.

letter-OM send-ADNZ man-TOP Germany scientist-COP-PST-SE

'The man whom Mia sent mail was a German scientist.'
iv. Verb Clause [postcedent: time adjunct]

*Cicir-I  ilena-n  sikan-un  ilun  acim-  i-  ess-ta*
quake-SM occur-ADNZ time-TOP early morning-COP-PST-SE
'The time when the quake occurred was the early morning.'

v. Verb Clause [postcedent: place adjunct]

*Wuli-ka  chacaka-n  tey-nun  Tayyeng,  pakmwiikwan-i-ess-ta*
we visit-ADNZ place-TOP British Museum-COP-PST-SE
'The place we visited was the British Museum.'

The time noun *ttay* 'time' or *hwu* 'after-time' (or *taum* 'next') premodied by a relative clause with the adhesive *-l or -n*, respectively, functions as a time adverb clause.

(40) a. Rel Cl [-l] + *ttay*  
    time + *ey*  'at the time that ... → when ...'

b. Rel Cl [-n] + *hwu/taum*  
    after/next + *ey*  'after/next that ... → after...'

    next we-SM meet-ADNZ time-at it-OM surely bring-HON-FO/IMP
    'At the time that we meet next, bring it without fail.'
    = 'When we meet next, bring it without fail.'

b. *Yong-i  tochakha-yss-ul  ttay(-ey)  keki-ey  amwu-to  eps-ess-ta.*
    arrive-PST-ADNZ time (at) there-at anybody-too not.be-PST-SE
    'When Yong arrives, nobody was there.'

c. *Yong-i  tochakha-l  ttay  keki-ey  amwu-to  eps- ul.kes.i-ta.*
    arrive-ADNZ time there anybody-too not.be-will-SSE
    'When Yong arrives, there will be no one there.'

d. *Yong-i  tochakhan  hwu/taum- ey  ku  il-ul  kyeiciengha-psita.*
    after/next-at the work-OM decide-FO/PRP
    'Let's decide it after Yong arrives.'

6.3.2.2. **Appositive Clauses**

An appositive clause modifies the head noun, which takes no part in it and is appositional to the whole clause. Subtypes of appositive clause include the following: general (nonreportive), reportive, sensory, and bound-noun appositions.

The general type of apposition has the same set of adnominalizers as that of a relative clause and it is construed as a reduction of the reportive apposition with a clause ending in <V/A-ta/la (-ko ha) mm> 'that is (said) that ...V/A.'
(42) General

   brother killed in action ADNZ news OM hear PST SE
   'Yong heard the news that his brother was killed in action.'

b. *Hyeng-i sal-a-iss-nun sasil-ul Yong-un molu- ko iss-ta.*
   brother live INFINF ADNZ fact OM not know GER be SE
   'Yong doesn't know the fact that his brother is alive.'

(43) Reportive

   brother killed in action QU say ADNZ news OM hear PST SE
   ' = (42 a) 'Yong heard the news that his brother was killed in action.'

b. *Hyeng-i sal-a-iss(ta)- nun sasil-ul Yong-un molu- ko iss-ta.*
   brother live INFINF be SE ADNZ fact OM not know GER be SE
   ' = (42 b) 'Yong doesn't know (the fact) that his brother is alive.'

The sensory type of appositive clause involves sensory (and perceptual) nouns like *soli* 'sound', *naymsay* 'smell', *kwangkyeng* 'scene', and the like. English has no similar structure in English.85

(44) Sensory

   fish grill ADNZ smell I TOP found SE
   '(lit.) I like the smell that someone grills fish.
   I like the fish-grilling smell.
   → 'I like the smell of grilling fish.'

b. *Mwil-i hulu-nun soli-ka tuul-ae o-n-ta.*
   water flow ADNZ sound SM hear INFINF come SE
   '(lit.) I hear the sound that water flows.
   I hear the water-flowing sound.
   → 'I hear the sound of flowing water.'

c. Sasum-i cinaka-n huncy-ey iss-ta.
   deer SM pass ADNZ trace SM everywhere be SE
   '(lit.) The trace that a deer has passed is everywhere.
   → 'The tracks of a deer are everywhere.'

With an adnoun clause modifying a bound noun *kes* 'fact/thing', the whole nominal expression denotes either an abstract fact 'the fact that ...', as described briefly in 6.3.1 (see (32)) or a concrete object 'the thing that ...'. The two uses of the bound noun *kes* modified by adnoun clauses are shown below.

(45) a. Bound Noun: *kes* 'fact'

   - Nay-ka Mia-lul monna-n kes-i cheumn man tayvong i-ta.
I meet-ADNZ fact absolutely lucky COP-SE
'I am utterly lucky that I met Mia.'

b. Bound Noun: kes 'thing'
   - Nay-ka mek-un kes-un paym i-ess-ta.
   - I cat-ADNZ thing-TOP snake COP-FST-SE
   'The stuff that I ate was a snake.'

The bound noun kes with an adnominal modifier is also formed into < Adn Cl [-l] + kes ita> expressing simple future or probability ('it will/may be that; will; probably') (cf. 5.8.1.1). The bound nouns swu 'means' and cwul 'way' are similarly formed into idiomatic expressions < Adn Cl [-l] + swu issia > and < Adn Cl [-l] + cwul anta>, which denote capability ('there is a way of V-ing'; 'can V') and know-how ('know how to V'), respectively.

(46) a. Adn Cl [-l] + kes + ita 'will; probably'
    b. Adn Cl [-l] + swu + issia 'can'

(47) a. Nay i pi-ka o- 1 kes ita.
   tomorrow rain come-ADNZ fact COP
   'It will rain tomorrow.'
    b. Pi-ka wass- ul kes-ita.
   rain came- ADNZ fact-COP
   'It probably rained yesterday.'

(48) a. Yong-un o- 1 swu iss-ta.
   come-ADNZ means be-SE
   'Yong can come.'
    b. Yong-un swuyengha- l cwul a-nta.
   swim-ADNZ way know-SE
   'Yong knows how to swim.'

6.3.3. Adverb Clauses

Syntactically, two broad categories of adverb clauses may be distinguished: verbal and nominal. The verb-oriented adverb clauses are those formed by adverbializers (ADVZ). The noun-oriented adverb clauses are of two kinds: (1) <adnoun clause + (bound) noun + adverbial particle>; (2) <nominalized clause + (bound) noun + adverbial particle>. We will call these clausal endings 'subordinators'.

(49) Adverb Clause
    a. Verb-oriented: Clause [ADVZ]
b. Noun-oriented:
   i. Noun Clause (+ N) + adv. particle
   ii. Adnoun Clause + N + adv. particle

(50) a. Palam-i pwu-nikka, te chwupta.
       wind   blow-ADVZ more cold
     'It is colder, because the wind blows.'

b. Palam-i pwul-ki taymwun-ey te chwupta.
       wind  blow-NOMZ cause- at more cold
     'It is colder because the wind blows.'

       meal  eat-ADNZ time-at sound make-SU don't
     'Don't make noise when you eat.'

The two adverbial clauses (in 50 a,b) are identical in their causal meaning.  

(51) Adverb Clause
    
    Subordinator
    a. ... V/A- V-ending
    b. ... V/A- ki (+ N) + particle
    c. ... V/A- N + particle

(52) a. palam-i pwu -nikka
     'because the wind blows...'

b. palam-i pwu.l -ki.taymwun.ey
     'because the wind blows...'

c. palam-i pwu.l -itay.ey
     'when the wind blows...'

The commonly used noun-oriented adverb clauses include those endings in
-ki.wihaye 'in order that', -ki.taymwun.ey 'because', -ki. cen.ey 'before', -n.taum.ey
'after', -n.hwu.ey 'after', -l.tay.ey 'when' and -l/n.tongan.ey 'while'.

Semantic roles of the adverb clauses may be classified into: (1) time, (2)
place, (3) cause and reason, (4) condition, (5) concession, (6) contrast, (7)
circumstance, (8) result, (9) purpose and intention, (10) proportion, and (11)
comparison. According to these semantic roles, the adverb clauses are
explained below, each with a comprehensive list of subordinators.

6.3.3.1. **Time**

Adverb clauses of time are formed by the following clausal endings. Most of the
temporal subordinators are restricted to nonpast adverb clauses, as indicated in
parentheses. Temporal distinctions are fine-grained by the nominal subordinators,
which contain time nouns like tay 'time', cek 'occasion', hwu 'post-time', cen
'prior-time' and taum 'next'. Of these time nouns only cen 'prior-time' is formed
with the nominalizer \( ki \) and the rest with the adnominalizer \(-l\) or \(-n\).

(53) a. Verbal subordinators

-\( ko(se) \) 'and then' (no past tense)
-\( ko.na.se \) 'after V-ing' (no past tense)
-\( e \) 'and' (no past tense)
-\( ca(maca) \) 'as soon as' (no past tense)
-\( (u)mense \) 'while' (no past tense)

b. Nominal subordinators

-\( t.tay.ev \) 'when'
-\( cek-ey \) 'when'
-\( mwul-eyp-(ey) \) 'around the time when'
-\( n tongen(-ey) \) 'while, during' (no past tense)
-\( t.tay.kkaci \) 'until' (no past tense)
-\( t.tay.nun enceyna \) 'whenever' (no past tense)
-\( cuksi \) 'immediately (when)' (no past tense)
-\( hwa-ey \) 'after' (no past tense)
-\( ekhwa.ey \) 'immediately after' (no past tense)
-\( twi-ey \) 'after' (no past tense)
-\( han \) 'as long as' (no past tense)
-\( taum-(ey) \) 'after' (no past tense)
-\( cen-ey \) 'before' (no past tense)

(54) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. \(-ko(se) \) 'and then'

\( \text{Yong-i } t.tena-ko(se) \quad \text{Mia-ka wassta.} \)
leave and-then came
'Yong left and then Mia came.'

b. \(-ko.na.se \) 'after' = \( n \) \( taum-ev \) 'after'

\( \text{Cencayng-i } kkuhna-konaxe, \text{ pholo-ka } sekpang-toy-ess-ta. \)
war end-after POW released-PST-SE
'After the war ended, the prisoners of war were released.'

c. \(-ca(maca) \) 'as soon as'

\( \text{Mia-nun } cenhwa-lul } pat-ca.maca \quad naka-ss-ta. \)
TOP phone receive-as.soon.as go.out-PST-SE
'As soon as she received a phone call, Mia went out.'

d. \(-u)mense \) 'while'

\( \text{Palam-} i \text{ pwui-myense, pi-ka } o-ko-iss-ta. \)
wind blow-while rain come-GER-be
'While the wind is blowing, it is raining.'

(55) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. \(-t.tay(e)y/-i \text{ cek-ey} \) 'when'[The \(-ey\) in \( \text{cek-ey} \) cannot be suppressed.]

\( \text{Yong-i } tochakhay-ss-ul } t.tay(-ey), \text{ keki-ey amwu-to } \quad \text{eps- } \quad \text{ess-ta.} \)
arrive-PST-ADNZ time-at there anybody-too not exist-PST-SE
'When Yong arrived, nobody was there.'

b. -/n mwulyep-(ey) 'at the time, when'
   Tayhak-ey tani-ten mwulyep-ey na-nun ku.i.lul al-kay toy-ess-ta.
   college-to attend-ADNZ time-at I him know-ADVT become-PST-SE
   'At the time I went to college, I got to know him.'

c. -/n tongan-(ey) 'while, during'
   Ilha-nun tongan, TV-lul po-myen an toy-ta.
   work-ADNZ duration see-if not become-SE
   'While you are at work, you must not watch TV.'

d. -l ttay kkaci 'until'
   Emenim-i tola-q-si-i ttay kkaci, kkay-e iss-ca.
   mother return-HON-ADNZ time until awake-INF-be-PRP
   'Let's stay awake until Mother returns.'

e. -l ttay mun enceyn-na/lato 'whenever'
   O- ko-siph- ul- ttay-nun enceyn-a wa!
   come-GER-desirous-ADNZ time anytime come
   'Come, whenever you want to come!'

f. -/n cuksi 'immediately (when)
   Pyenci-lul pat-nun cuksi, hakkyo-ey nao- sipsio.
   letter receive-ADNZ-immediate.time school-to come.out-SE
   'Immediately upon receiving the letter, come to the school.'

g. -/n hwu.ey/-/n twi.ey 'after'
   Yong-un hakkyo-lul colepha-n hwu.ey kyelhonhay-ss-eyo.
   school graduate after marry-PST-SE
   'After he graduated from school, Yong got married.'

h. -/n taum-(ey) 'after'
   Sey.swuha-n.taum ey pap-ul mek-ela!
   wash hand-after meal-OM eat-IMP
   'Eat the meal after you wash your hands!'

i. -/n cikhwu.ey 'immediately after'
   Ku-nun chulkam cikhwu-ey unhayng-ul thet-ess-ta.
   he out.of prison immediately-after bank-OM rob-PST-SE
   'He robbed a bank immediately after getting out of the prison.'

j. -/n han 'as long as'
   Nay-ka sal-a-iss-nun han ku-nom-ul cellaylo yongse mos-hay.
   I live-INF-be-as.long.as the guy absolutely forgive cannot
   'As long as I live, I can never forgive him.'

k. -/ki cen-ey 'before'
   Pulaun-ssi-nun Hankwik-ey o-ki.cen ey, Cwungkwik-ey sal-ass-eyo.
   Brown-Mr Korea -to come-before China -at live-PST-SE
   'Before he came to Korea, Mr. Brown lived in China.'
6.3.3.2. Place

Adverb clauses of place are all introduced by a few noun-oriented subordinators: -ln kos-ey, -ln tey-ey 'in the place where', and -n tey-nun eti-sena 'wherever'.

(56) Nominal Subordinators
   a. -ln kos-ey  'in the place where'
   b. -ln tey-ey  'in the place where'
   c. -n tey-nun eti-sena 'wherever'

(57) Examples: Nominal Subordinators
   a. -ln tey-ey(se) 'in the place where'
      Tus-i iss-nun- kos.ey kil-i iss-ta.
      will exist-ADNZ place-at way be-SE
      'Where there is a will, there is a way.'
   b. -ln tey-ey(se) 'in the place where'
      Ku kos-un wuli-ka chaca.ka-n tey-ey.se isip-li ite.te ci.e iss-ta.
      the place we visit go-ADNZ place-from 20-mile detached be-SE
      'The place was 20 miles away from where we visited.'
   c. -n tey-nun etisena 'wherever'
      the person go-ADNZ place-TOP wherever welcome-OM received-SE
      'Wherever he went, he was welcomed.'

Many temporal subordinators, including -ki.cen.ev 'before', -n taum.ev 'after', have a locative meaning in the description of scenes, particularly when the scenes are described dynamically in terms of movement from one place to another. Notice that the English subordinators (e.g. 'before' and 'after') also have locative meanings.

(58) a. Sakel ei  o-ki.cen.ev oyn-ccek-ev nophon kemnวล-i poi-l. kos ita
      junction-to come-before left-side-at high building visible-will
      'Before you come to the junction, you will see a tall building on the left.'
   b. Ku tali-kkaci  o-n.taum-ev, olum.ccekulo tol-ia.
      the bridge-until come-next-at right side-to turn-IMP
      'After you come to the bridge, turn to the right.'

6.3.3.3. Cause and Reason

Adverb clauses of cause and reason are introduced by several verbal and nominal subordinators.
(59) a. Verbal Subordinators

- e(se) 'because, on account of' (no past tense)
- ni(cca) 'because, as, since'
- mulo 'as'
- tia(se) 'because' [literary; copula clause] (no past tense)

b. Nominal Subordinators

- n kkatalk-ey 'because' (no past tense)
- n ko-lo 'for the reason that' (no past tense)
- n palam-ey 'as, because' (no past tense)
- n thas-u-lo 'due to' (no past tense)
- nun pa 'as'
- ki (ttaymwn)-ey 'for (the reason that)'
- (w)j-mulo 'because'
- ta-nun iyu-lo 'for the reason that'
- n kes-u-lo pa 'as I infer from the fact that'

(60) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. -e(se) 'because, on account of'

Eey

nwan-i wa-se, kil-i mikkulep-ta.
yesterday snow come-because road slippery-SE

'As it snowed yesterday, the road is slippery.'

b. -ni(cca) 'because, as, since'

Nwan-i nayli-ko iss-unikka, pakk-eyse noi-ca!
snow fall-GER be-because outside-at play-PRP

'As it is snowing, let's play outside.'

c. -mulo 'as'

they withdraw-PST-because we village-to come back-PST-SE

'As they withdrew, we returned to the village.'

d. -ila(se) 'because' [literary; copula clause]

Ku salam-un kwunim-ila.se, myenglyeng-ey pokconghay-ya ha n-ta.
the person soldier-COP-because order-to obey- must-SE

'As he is a soldier, he must obey the order.'

(61) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. -n kkatalk-ey 'because'

Na-nun kenkangha-n.kkatalk.ey yak-ul an mek.nun-ta.
I healthy-because medicine not eat-SE

'Because I am healthy, I take no medicine.'

b. -n ko-lo 'for the reason that' [literary]

this nation democratic country-as people's will respected-GER-be

'As this nation is a democratic country, people's will is being respected.'

c. -n palam-ey 'as, because'

Swipphum-i ssotac ci tule o-nun palam.ey epkey-ka yatanita.
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imported-goods rush-in enter-because business-circle clamorous
'As imported goods rush in, the business circle is all in commotion.'

d. -n thas-ulo 'for the reason that, due to the fault that'
Kananha-n thas-ulo ku.tul-un ay.tul-ul hakuyo-ey nos.ponay-nta.
poor-ADNZ-fault-by they children school-to not-send-SE
'They cannot send children to school, because they are poor.'

c. -nun pa 'as, so'
Na-nun ku il-ey kwanhay.se amwukes-to molu-nun.pa, te isang
 I the event-at about anything-too not know-so more above
mwwt-ci ma-si
ask-SU-don't-SE
'As I know nothing about it, so don't ask me any more.'

f. -ki (taymwn)-ey 'for (the reason that), so'
Ka-l kil-i mel-ki-ey, wull-nun tleck chwulpaithay.ss-ia
go-ADNZ road distant-NOMZ-by we early start-PST-SE
'We had a long way to go, so we started early.'

g. -(um)-ulo 'because'
Pi-ka manhi wo:ss-um.ulo nongpwu.tul-un ansimhay-ss-ta.
rain lot come-PST-because farmer.PLU feel.at ease-PST-SE
'Because it rained a lot, the farmers felt at ease.'

h. -ta-nun iyu-lo 'for the reason that'
Phiwu sayk-i latuta-nun iyu-lo chayel-ul hayse.nun an toyunta.
skin colour different reason-for discrimination do must not
'There should not be any discrimination for the reason that the colour of
the skin is different.'

i. -n kes-ulo poa 'inferring from the fact that'
Mewu-i tatiti-eesi-nun kes-ulo poa, amwulo eps.nun kes.kathta
do closed-bc-ADNZ fact-with seeing anyone absent be-like
'Judging from the fact that the door is closed, nobody seems to be there.'

As a parenthetical expression, the verbal subordinator ta siphi 'as' is used
with cognitive or perceptual verbs.

know-HON-SE seem-ADV i learn-ADNZ-fact-SM Jack-SE
'As you know, I have little learning.'

b. Po-ta-siphi-i, wull-nun kwulme.cwuk-ul cikyeng-ita
see-SE-seem-ADV we starve to death-ADNZ situation-COP
'As you see, we are almost starved to death.'

6.3.3.4. Condition

There are two types of condition: neutral and hypothetical. Neutral conditions
leave unresolved the question of the fulfilment or nonfulfilment of the condition;
hypothesi cal conditions, on the other hand, convey the speaker’s belief that the condition will not, is not, or was not fulfilled. The statement made with a strong hypothetical condition is, therefore, a counterfactual statement.

Clauses of condition are formed by verbal subordinators: -myen ‘if’, -ta/la-
myen ‘if’, -eya ‘if only’, -ketun ‘provided that’, and -takanun ‘if keep
doing/being’. The subordinator ta/la myen is an abbreviation of < ta/la (declarative sentence ender) + ko (quotative) + (mal)ha- ‘say’) myen ‘if’>. This subordinator is more hypothetical than -myen. The ketun-clause is used with a matrix clause of request, proposal, or promise. Nominal subordinators are formed: <appositive clause + N + ulo/haey>. The head noun includes coken ‘condition’, kaceng ‘assumption, cencey ‘presupposition’, or the like. The nominal subordinator -mun han ‘as long as’ is used for a conditional clause as well as for a time clause (cf. 6.3.3.1).

(63) a. Verbal subordinators
   -myen    ‘if’
   -ta/la-myen ‘if’
   -eya      ‘if only’
   -ketun    ‘provided that’
   -takanun  ‘if…keep doing/being’

b. Nominal Subordinators
   -ta/la-nun coken ulo/haey ‘on the condition that’
   -ta/la-nun kaceng-haey ‘on the assumption that’

(64) Examples: Verbal Subordinators
   a. -myen ‘if’
      Yong-i chankaha-myen, na-nun an ha-keyss-ta.
      participate-if I not do-VOL-SE
      ‘If Yong takes part in it, I won’t.’
   b. -ta/la-myen ‘if’
      Ku kes-i sasil-i-la-myen, ne-nun eteh key ha-keyss-nya?
      the fact fact-COP-SE-if you how do-VOL-INT
      ‘If that is a fact, what will you do?’
   c. -(e)ya ‘if only’
      Yong-i chankahay-ya na-to ha-keyss-ta.
      participate-if-only I-too do-VOL-SE
      ‘If only Yong takes part in it, so will I.’
   d. -ketun ‘provided that’
      Yong-i o-ketun, ttena-la!
      come-if, leave-IMP
      ‘Leave, if Yong comes.’
      *Yong-i o-ketun na-nun ka-nta,
      come-if I go-DCL
      Yong-i o-ketun na-nun ka-keyss.ta [promise]
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"if Yong comes, I will go."

e. -takanun 'if...keep doing/being'
  ilheh.key ila-takanun, il.chwul-ey ta hhuthmachi-keyss-ta.
  like-this work-if one.week-at all complete-VOL-SE
  'if you keep working like this, you will finish it all in a week.'

(65) Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. -ta/la-nun coken uto/haey 'on the condition that'
  Kui-lul phwul.e.evunta-nun coken-ulo, selyu-ey semyengha-kyess-o.
  he set.free- ADNZ condition-with document-to sign-VOL-SE
  'I will sign the document on the condition that you set him free.'

b. -ta/la-nun kaceng-haye 'on the assumption that'
  I an-i chaythak.toynata-nun kaceng-haye, yenku.pi-lul sinchhenga-nnta.
  this plan accept.become-ADNZ assumption-under research.fund request-SE
  'On the assumption that this proposal be accepted, we request a research fund.'

A counterfactual statement is often made in the form of: <...(past)-myen>, ...(past)-<the-i-n-ley> 'if...(past), it would be expected to do/be (have done/been ..., but ...'). The retrospective tela-myen clause is commonly used as counterfactual.

(66) Counterfactual

a. Subordinator: -myen
  then you meet-PST-if good-PST-ADNZ-plan-recall
  'It would have been nice if you had met Mia then.'

b. Subordinator: -(e)la.myen [more common]
  Ku.ttoy ney-ka Mia-lul manna-ss-tela.myen, coh-ass-ul they-ntey.
  then you meet-PST-if good-PST-ADNZ-plan-recall
  'It would have been nice if you had met Mia then.'

The subordinator (e)ya 'if only' is related to the frozen predicate <V/A-ya hanta> 'must (be) V(A)'.

  we 10’o clock-at start-if-only dark.NOMZ-before arrive can
  'We can arrive before dark only if we depart at 10 o’clock.'

b. Wuli-nun pam yelsi-tkac-nun tola.wa-ya hana.tta.
  we night 10’o clock-by return- must-SE
  'We must return by 10 at night.'
6.3.3.5. **Concession**

Adverb clauses of concession are mainly introduced by -(e)to 'although', -ciman 'although'. Other subordinators used for concession are: -telato 'even though', -(u)cilato 'even though', -(u)lmangeeng 'although', -(u)liciencieng 'even if', -(u)licintay 'provided that', -toy 'although', -ia( ko)hayse 'even if', -kerul 'although').

Many of the concessive subordinators are interchangeable. A general rule of thumb is 'the longer the form, the more emphatic the content'. As in the conditional clauses above, concessive clauses can be hypothetical as well. The telato subordinator is more hypothetical than the (e)to subordinator.

(68) Verbal Subordinators

- (e)to 'although, no matter...
  -telato 'even though'
  -ciman 'although'
  -(u)cilato 'even if'
  -(u)lmangeeng 'although'
  -(u)liciencieng 'even if'
  -n han( i-iss-et o) 'even if'
  -n han( i-iss-et o) 'even if'
  -(u)licintay 'provided that' [rhetorical]
  -toy-to pwulkwaha-ko 'despite the fact that'
  -toy 'though' [literal]
  -ta( ko)hayse) '(even) as'

(69) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. -(e)to 'although, no matter...'
   Eten i-I i ss-e to, na-nun kkok toia.o-keyss-ta.
   any event be-though I surely return-VOL-SE
   'Whatever happens, I will return without fail.'

b. -telato 'even though'
   Yong-i na-lul choca.o-telato, na-nun an manna-keyss-ta.
   I find.come-even-though I not meet VOL-SE
   'Even if Yong comes to see me, I won't meet him.'

c. -ciman 'although'
   Ku ay-nun konggwu-lul manhi hay:ss-ciman, pwulhapkyekhay-ss-ta.
   the child-TOP study-OM lot do-PST-although fail PST-SE
   'Although the child studied a lot, he failed in the exam.'

d. -(u)cilato 'even if',
   Nay-ka tasi mos o-cilato ne-iui nui sayngkacha-ko iss-keyss-ta.
   I again not come-though you always think-GER be-VOL-SE
   'I'll be thinking of you always, even if I cannot come again.'

e. -(u)lmangeeng 'although'
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Nay-ka tasi mos o-lmangceng, i kos-ul nul kiekha-ko iss-keyss-ta.
I again not come-though this place always remember-GER be-VOL-SE
'Even if I cannot come again, I'll always remember this place.'

f. -(u)cienceng 'even if'
Na-nun, cwk-ul-cienceng, ku il-ey chanseng-mos-ha-keyss-o.
I die-even-though the work-at consent-not-do-VOL-SE
'I wouldn't consent to it, even if I die.'

g. -n han(i-iss-eto) 'even if'
Na-nun cwk-nun han-i.isse.to, ku il-ey tonguyha-ci mos.ka-nta.
I die-even-if the work-to agree-SU cannot-SE
'I wouldn't agree to it, even if I die.'

h. -(u)lcintay 'provided that' [literary]
I il-to mos ha-lcintay, ecci nala il-ul ha-l.swa.iss-keyss.so?
this work-too not do-even if how country work do- can-VOL-SE
'How could we do the work of the nation, if we can't do this?'
-tye-to pwlkruwa-ko 'despite the fact that'
Nalsssi-ka neppun-tye.to.pwlkruwa.ka, w.a.cwv-si-e kamsaha-pnita.
weather  bad-despite the fact that come give-HON-as thank-SE
'I thank you for your coming over here despite the bad weather.'

i. -toy 'though' [literary]
Na-nun cikum iten-toy, pantusi iola.o.li-ia.
I now leave-though surely return.will-SE
'I'll surely return, though I leave now.'

j. -ta(ko)(hayse) 'even as'
Ney-ka ku kes-ul pahnwanha-ntako, mwucoy-ka toy-l.swu.epsta.
you the thing return-although innocence become-cannot
'You cannot become innocent, even if you return it.'

The subordinator (eto) 'although' is commonly used in the frozen form of <eto + toyta/cohta> 'may'.

(70) a. Ne.huy.tul-un naka-to.toy.nta.
you.PUL go.out-may-SE
'You may go out.'

b. Yelepwn-un icey i.kos-ul naka.si.eto.coh-supnita.
all.of you now this place go.out-HON-may-SE
'You may now go out of this place.'

6.3.3.6. Contrast

Adverb clauses of contrast are introduced by noun subordinators -n pannyen-ey
'whereas', -n kes-kwa-nun tal.li 'different from', -n kes-kwa-nun iaycocek-ulo 'in
contrast to', and other phrases with a noun of contrast. Contrastive clauses are
also introduced by the coordinate ending -(u)na 'but' or the concessive -ciman
'though'. There is often a mixture of contrast and concession. In addition, the following verbal subordinators may be counted as concessive: -keniwa 'besides', -nuni pota 'rather than' and -kenul 'although'.

(71) a. Verbal subordinators:
   -keniwa 'as well as, besides'
   -nuni pota 'rather than'
   -kenul 'whereas' [literary]

b. Nominal subordinators
   -n panmyen-ey 'whereas'
   -n kes-kwa-nun taycocek-ul 'in contrast to'

(72) Examples: Verbal Subordinators
a. -keniwa 'as well as, besides'
   Yong-un kongpu-to eal ha-keniwa wuntong-to eal hanta.
   study-too well do-besides sports-too well do
   'Yong studies well but also he is good at sports.'

b. -nuni pota 'rather than'
   Cip-eyse ku chinkwu-lul kitali-nuni pota hay-ka chacaka-keysta.
   house-at the friend wait-rather-than I visit-will
   'I'll call on him rather than waiting for the friend at home.'

c. -kenul 'whereas' [literary]
   Salam-i ta checo-lul twu-ess-kenul, na hollo eps-tota.
   person all wife.son have-PST-although I alone not.be-SE
   'Whereas every man has wife and children, I alone have none.'

(73) Examples: Nominal Subordinators
a. -n panmyen-ey 'whereas'
   Ku ay-nun chaihan panmyen-ey, meli-ka coheci anh-ia.
   the child virtuous whereas head good not-SE
   'While the child is kindhearted, he is not bright.'

b. -n kes-kwa-nun taycocek-ul 'in contrast to '
   Ku i-ka maiha-n kes-kwa-nun taycocek ulo, ku.uy hayngtong-un kechil-ess-ia.
   he say-ADNZ fact-with contrastively his action rough-PST-SE
   'In contrast to what he said, what he did was rough.'

The noun of contrast, panmyen 'other side' or hanphyen 'one hand', is also commonly used in sentence-initial position as a conjunctive adverb.

(74) a. Ku pan.myen-ey, ku ay-nun meli-ka coh-ci an-hita.
   the other-side the child head good-SU not-ST
   'On the other hand, the child is not bright.'

b. Hanphyen, na-nun Mikwuk-ul tena-ki lo kyelsimhay-ss-ta
   one.hand I America leave-NOMZ-as decide-PST-SE
   'On the other hand, I decided to leave America.'
6.3.3.7. Circumstance

An adverb clause of circumstance describes some process or state, subordinate to the following process or state. They are introduced by verbal subordinators (*nula(ko) 'in the process of' and *nuni 'rather than') and nominal subordinators (*nuney 'in the process of', *num pa 'as a consequence' and *ln kyengwu-ey 'in case')

(75) a. Verbal subordinators
   -*nula(ko) 'in (the process of) doing'
   -*nuni 'rather than'

b. Nominal Subordinators
   -*nuney(ey) 'in (the process of) doing'
   -*ln kyengwu-ey 'in case'

(76) Examples: Verbal Subordinators
   a. -*nula(ko) 'in (the process of) doing'
      Yeki-ka1 ci-o-nula swiko-ka monh-ass-kwni.
      here-till come-in-process trouble many-PST-EXC
      'Indeed you had lots of trouble trying to get over here.'

   b. -*nuni 'rather than'
      Itle.h-key sa-nuni cmuk.nun ker.i nas-keyss-ta.
      like-this live-rather.than die ADVZ thing better-will-SE
      'It would be better to die rather than live like this.'

(77) Examples: Nominal Subordinators
   a. *num tey(ey) 'in (the process of) doing'
      Ku-il-ui wanassengha-nun.tey.ey o-nyen kelli-ess-ta.
      the work complete-in.the.process.of five-year take-PST-SE
      'It took five years to complete the work.'

   b. -*ln kyengwu-ey 'in case'
      Yong-i mos ka.i kyengwu-ey ney-ka taysin ka-kela!
      not go.in.case you instead go-IMP
      'In case Yong cannot go, you go in his place.'

6.3.3.8. Result

Adverb clauses of result are introduced by verbal subordinators -*key/(kum) 'so that', -tolok 'so that'. They are interchangeable.

(78) Verbal Subordinators
   -*key/(kum) 'so that'
   -tolok 'to the extent that, so that'
(79) Examples: Verbal Subordinators

a. -key(ikkum) 'so that'

Pwuhian salam-i cal sal-key, wuli-nun ku. tul-ul tawe-l yongu-yka
North Korea people well live-so. that we they- help-ADNZ readiness
iss-ta
be-SE

'We are ready to help North Koreans so that they can live well.'

b. -tolok 'to the extent that, so that'

Wuli ilhayang-i pwuhian-ul pongnyunha-l.su iss-tolok hyepcohay- cwu-sipsio.
we group North Korea visit-can-so.that cooperate. give-SE

'Please cooperate with us so that our group can visit North Korea.'

Recall that -key and -tolok are also used in construction with hata to form the
phrasal causatives <V/A-key/tolok hata> (cf. 5.4.2). The phrasal construction is
distinct from the clausal construction; the phrasal causatives can have an object
noun phrase, as well as a subject noun phrase.

(80) a. Phrasal causatives

i. Yong-un Mia-tul o-key/tolok hay-ss-ta.
   come-so.as.to do-PST-SE
   'Yong caused Mia to come.'

ii. Yong-un Mia-eykey o-key/tolok hay-ss-ta.87
to come-so.as.to do-PST-SE
   'Yong caused Mia to come (voluntarily).'

b. Adverb clauses of result

Mia-ka o-key/tolok Yong-un choyen-ul ta hay-ss-ta.
   come-so.as.to best-OM all do-PST-SE
   'Yong did his best so that Mia could come.'

In the phrasal causative above, Mia is normally marked by an accusative particle
-(ul) or by a dative particle -eykey. In the adverb clause of result, the key/tolok-
clause is an adjunct and as such it modifies the following matrix clause.

6.3.3.9. Purpose and Intention

Adverb clauses of purpose are introduced by the verbal subordinator -(ul)le 'in
order that, for the purpose of or by the nominal subordinators -ki wihaye 'for the
purpose of' and -l mokcek-ulo 'for the purpose of'. Clauses of intention are
introduced by the verbal subordinat or -lyeke 'intending to' or -koce 'intending to'
or by the nominal subordinators -l sayngkak/uyto-lo 'with the thought/intention
of'.
Both the purpose (or intention) clause and the matrix clause are verbal and not adjectival.

(81) a. Verbal subordinators
-\(\text{-ul}e\) 'to, in order to, for the purpose of'
-\(\text{-lyeko}\) 'intending to'
-\(\text{-koca}\) 'intending to'

b. Nominal subordinators
-\(\text{ki wiha-ye}\) 'for the purpose of'
-\(\text{-l mokoekulo}\) 'for the purpose of'
-\(\text{-l sayngkak/uyto-ul}\) 'intending to'

(82) Examples: Verbal Subordinators
a. \(\text{-ul}e\) 'in order that, for the purpose of'
\(\text{Wuli-nun sin.kiswul-ul paywu-le i.kos-ey wass-supnita.}\)
we new.technology learn-in.order.to here-to came-SE
'We came here in order to learn new technology.'

b. \(\text{-lyeko}\) 'intending to'
\(\text{Na-nun khemphyutha-lul cenkongha-lyeko CMU-ey \(i\)p.hakhay-ss-ta.}\)
I computer major-intending.to to enter.school-FST-SE
'Intending to major in computing, I entered CMU.'

c. \(\text{-koca}\) 'intending to'
\(\text{Yong-un Sayksupthoe-lui yenkwuho-koca Oksuphotu tayhak-ey wassta.}\)
Shakespeare research-intending-to Oxford univ-to came
'Intending to do research on Shakespeare, Yong came to Oxford University.'

6.3.3.10. Proportion

Adverb clauses of proportion are introduced by the nominal subordinator \(-\(\text{u}\)m-\(\text{ey titala}\)'in proportion to'.

(83) Nominal Subordinator
-\(\text{-u}\)m-\(\text{ey titala}\) 'according as, in proportion to'

(84) \(\text{Salam-un ton-ui pel-key toy- m.ey.titala, kkacengi-ka toy- ki swip-ta.}\)
person money earn-ADVT become-in proportion.to miser-SM become-NOMZ easy-SE
'Man is likely to become miserly in proportion to his earning money.'

6.3.3.11. Comparison

Adverb clauses of comparison and similarity are introduced by the verbal subordinators \(-\text{mankhum}\) 'as ... (as)' and \(-\text{l swulok}\) 'to the extent that' or the
nominal subordinators -n kes kathi 'similar to, like', -n kes chelem 'as, like', -n kes pota '(rather) than', -ln mankhum/manchi 'as much as' and -ln cengio-lo 'to the degree that'.

(85) a. Verbal subordinator
   -l-swulok 'to the extent that'

b. Nominal Subordinators
   -n kes-chelem 'as, like'
   -n kes-kathi 'as, like'
   -n kes-pota 'than, rather than'
   -ln mankhum 'as many/much as'
   -ln manchi 'as many/much as'
   -ln cengio-lo 'to the degree that'

(86) Examples: Verbal Subordinator
   -l-swulok 'to the extent that'
   Ku chay-kiit ilk ul-swulok te cayntiiss na.
   'The book read increasingly more interesting-SE'
   'The more I read this book, the more it is interesting.'

Examples: Nominal Subordinators

a. -n kes-kathi 'as, like'
   Yong-i Mia-lul cohaha-nun kes-kathi, Mia-io Yong-ul cohaha-nta.
   like-as too like-SE
   'Mia also likes Yong as Yong likes Mia.'

b. -n kes-chelem 'as, like'
   Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun kes chelem ne-to na-lul salangha-nta?
   I you love-as you too me love-INT
   'Do you love me as I love you?'

c. -n kes-pota '(rather) than'
   Nay-ka na-lul salangha-nun kes pota nay-ka ne-lul te salangha-nta.
   you me love-than I you more love-SE
   'I love you more than you love me.'

d. -ln mankhum 'as many/much as'
   Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun mankhum amwu-to ne-lul salangha-ci an h.nunta.
   I you love-as much as anyone too you love-SU not-SE
   'Nobody loves you as much as I love you.'

e. -ln manchi (= -ln mankhum) 'as many/much as'
   Nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun manchi amwu-to ne-lul salangha-ci an h.nunta.
   I you love-as much as anyone too you love-SU not-SE
   'Nobody loves you as much as I love you.'

Given in (88) below are some general expressions of comparison with mankhum/manchi 'as many/much as' and the degree adverbs te 'more' and tel 'less'
EXTENDED SENTENCES

(88) Comparison

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ceyl } & \text{ tel 'least' tel 'less' te 'more' ceyl 'most'} \\
\hline
\text{a. Yong-i Mia-lul salanghanta.} & \quad \text{'Y loves M.'} \\
\text{SM } & \text{OM love} \\
\text{b. Yong-i Mia-lul te salanghanta.} & \quad \text{'Y loves M more.'} \\
\text{love} & \text{more} \\
\text{c. Yong-i Mia-lul tel salanighanta.} & \quad \text{'Y loves M less.'} \\
\text{love} & \text{less} \\
\text{d. Yong-i Mia-lul ceyl (manhi) salanghanta.} & \quad \text{'Y loves M most.'} \\
\text{love} & \text{lot} \\
\text{c. Yong-i Mia-lul ceyl tel salanghanta.} & \quad \text{'Y loves M least.'} \\
\text{love} & \text{less}
\end{align*}
\]

When comparison is made in terms of the comparative degree, there arise structural ambiguities, which run parallel to those in English. (In the following illustration, Yong and Hyen are boys; Mia and Cina are girls. Suppose there is no taboo for the same sex loving each other.)

(89) a. Yong-i Mia-lul Cina pota te salanghanta.

than more love

'Yong loves Mia more than Cina.'

i. 'Y loves M more than he loves C.'

ii. 'Y loves M more than love her.'

b. Yong-i Mia-lul Cina pota tel salanghanta.

than less

'Yong loves Mia less than Cina.'

i. 'Y loves M less than he loves C.'

ii. 'Y loves M less than love her.'

c. Yong-i Mia-lul ceyl salanghanta.

'Yong loves Mia most.'

d. Yong-i Mia-lul ceyl salangha-ci-an-hun-ta.

-love-SU-not-SE

'(lit.) Yong doesn't love Mia most (of all).

→ Yong is the topmost among those who do not love Mia.'

(90) a. Yong-i Mia-lul Cina mankhum/manchi salanghanta.

as much as love

'Yong loves Mia as much as Cina.'

i. 'Y loves M as much as C does.'

ii. 'Y loves M as much as Y loves C.'

b. Yong-i Mia-lul Cina pota te salanghanta.

than more
'Yong loves Mia more than Cina.'
   i. 'Y loves M more than he loves C.'
   ii. 'Y loves M more than C loves her.'

The comparative sentences in (90.b) can equivalently be expressed with superlative constructions.

(91) Yong-i Mia-lul nwukwu-pota te salanghanta.
      anyone than more love
   'Yong loves Mia more than anybody.'
   = Yong-i Mia-lul ceyil salanghanta. (= 89.c)
      most love
   'Yong loves Mia most.'

6.4. Mixed Sentences

A single sentence may be expanded at length by mixing coordination and subordination. A subordinate clause is a constituent of a superordinate clause, which in turn may be subordinate or coordinate to another clause and the sentence structure may be built up or expanded.

We will consider several types of mixed sentence with examples below: (1) two subordinate clauses stacked in a superordinate main clause; (2) one subordinate clause with two coordinated main clauses; (3) two coordinated clauses, each containing a subordinate clause.

(92) a. Mia-ka Yong-ul cohaha-nikka, Yong-to Mia-lul cohahanta-ka Cina-nun
      like-as too like-QU
      nalhayuss.ta.
   said
   'Cina said that Yong also likes Mia as she likes him.'

b. Han panto-ka hay Pang toy-ko nose, nam han-ey-nun minchikwukka-ka seyw ci-ko,
   Korean peninsula liberate-after south.Korea-in democratic nation established-and
   pwukhan-ey-nun kongsan- kwukka-ka seyw ci.ess-ta.
   north.Korea-in communist nation established-SE
   'After the Korean Peninsula was liberated, a democratic country was established
   in South Korea and a communist country in North Korea.'

c. Hay-ka ttw-ki.cen.ey Yong-un cip-ul na-ka-ss-ko hay-ka ei.n.taum.ey cip-ulo
   sun rise-before house go.out-PST-and sun set-after house-to
   tolkawess-ta.
   returned-SE
   'Yong left home before the sun was up and he came home after the sun was down.'
EXTENDED SENTENCES

The structures of the sentences in (92) may be shown roughly in tree diagrams. Syntactic categories are given in square brackets ([ ]) below the corresponding functional categories.

(93) (cf. 92.a)

\[ M \rightarrow \text{[ADVC]} \]
\[ S \rightarrow \text{[NP]} \]
\[ O \rightarrow \text{[NP]} \]
\[ V \rightarrow \text{[QU]} \]

Sentence

\[ \text{M-ka Y-ul cohaha-nikka Y-to M-lul cohahanta-ko C-ka malhayyssta} \]
like because too like QU said

(94) (cf. 92.b)

\[ M \rightarrow \text{[ADVC]} \]
\[ S \rightarrow \text{[NP]} \]
\[ V \rightarrow \text{[ADVZ]} \]
\[ CL \rightarrow \text{[CL]} \]
\[ CL \rightarrow \text{[CL]} \]

Sentence

\[ \text{hanpanto-ka hayang-toyko.nase namhan- mincuw semye-pwukhan- kongsan- semye-eynun kwukka-ka ciko eynun kwukka ciessta} \]
So far we have examined adverbial subordinate clauses and a quotative nominal clause in a mixed sentence. Now we will examine a mixed sentence containing also adnominal subordinate clauses with two main clauses in coordination.

(96) Chel-un ku tlay mana-n yeca-ko yapwunye- ̣ i- m- ul
the time meet-ADNZ woman married woman COP-NOMZ-OM
al- ass-ciman, Chel-un kunye-lul salangha-ko kwuhon-ul hay-ss-ko
know-PST-though her love- and proposal do-PST-and
ku-nye-to machinnay ihon-ul ha-ko Chel-kwa kyeilhonha-ki0 kyelsimhay-ss-ta
she-teo at-last divorce do-and with marry-so-as.to decide-PST-SE

'Even though he knew that the woman he met then was married, Chel loved her and proposed to her and she decided at last to get divorced and marry him.'

The sentence consists of eight clauses (CL[1] - CL[8]). Its clausal structures are presented below, with a pruned tree diagram.

(97) a. Sentence Structure (SS)

CL[1] Chel-un ku tlay mana-n  (ADNC: ADNZ ̣ -n)
CL[2] yeca-ko yapwunye-i-m-ul  (NC: NOMZ -m)
CL[8] (kunye-nun) kyelsimhay-ss-ta.  (CL)
A clause-by-clause view of the above tree structure is provided, with further commentary.

(98) a. CL[1]: M-N

The adnoun clause modifies an N, which is its object.

NP

M

[NP] [ADNC]

N

[ADNC]
yeca

S M O V

[NP] [ADV] [NP] [ADNZ]

Chel-un kuttay [*] manon

b. CL[2]: S-Cs-COP

The copula clause is nominalized and is the object of CL[3].

NC[2]

S Cs COP

[NP] [N] [NOMZ]

yupwunye i-m-ul
c. CL[3]: O-S-V
The adverb clause with the adverbializer -cimān 'though' modifies CL[4] and CL[5].

```
      M
     /|
    ADV[C[3]
   /   |
 O    S    V
```
[NC[2]] [NP] [ADVZ]
[Chel] alass-cimān


```
      CL
     /   |
   /     |
  S     O    V  S    O    V
 [NP]  [NP]  [CONJ] [NP]  [PP]  [CONJ]
[Chel-un kunye-lul salangha-ko] [*] [ ] kwuhonha-ko
[*]
```

e. CL[6] and CL[7]: [S-M-V]-[S-M-V]
CL[6] and CL[7] are nominalized with -ki; with the adverbial particle le attached, the whole subtree is the object of CL[8].

```
      O
     / |
   /   |
  S    M    V  S    M    V
 [NP] [ADV] [CONJ] [NP] [PP] [NOMZ]
[kunye-nun machimnay ihonha-ko] [*] Chel-hako kyehonha-ki
[*]
f. CL[8]: O-S-V

The missing subject is *kunye* in CL[5] and CL[6]; the verb *kyelsinhata* 'decide' takes the nominalized <V/A-ki.lo> as object.

\[
\text{CL[8]}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{[NP-lo]} \\
\text{[NP]} \\
\text{[\*] kyelsinhayssta}
\end{array}
\]
7. Discourse

Going beyond sentences, this chapter views some concepts of discourse in Korean, including speech acts, honorification, topic-focus articulation, reference and ellipsis. At the end of the chapter a short dialogue and a passage from a literary essay are presented and their structures analyzed.

7.1. From Sentence to Discourse

A discourse is composed of a string of utterances with a single discourse topic. It is not a syntactic unit but rather a semantic and even a pragmatic one. A well-formed discourse is coherent semantically and cohesive structurally. A discourse (D) may be divided into discourse segments (DSs), each consisting of one or more utterances with a single topic. An utterance (U), which is a constituent unit of a discourse, may be defined as a sentence (S) with context (C). Put differently, a sentence is an utterance without context.

(1) \( D = DS_1, DS_2, \ldots \)
\[ DS = U_1, U_2, \ldots \]

(2) \( U = S + C \)
\[ S = U - C \]

Characteristic of spontaneous speech rather than of a deliberately written text, utterances in a discourse are simple and juxtaposed without connectives, or they are loosely connected with discourse particles like *kuliko* 'and', *kuleney* 'then', and *kulena* 'but'. The semantic linkage between the juxtaposed sentences, however, is often vague; it is made explicit by a conjunct or a subordinator.
(3a) is juxtaposed with no connector. The underlying semantic linking of the two sentences may be understood to be causal in meaning (3b) in a situation where heating comes from the next room, but the concessive reading (3c) is also possible in a situation where we want to have the door open for ventilation. What makes the connected discourse coherent after all is the context or the discourse situation the discourse participants mutually understand.

The two sentences in (3a) are reversible without affecting the meaning, as shown below. In (4a,b,c), there are postposed utterances in the form of subordinate clauses, ending with the subordinators -nikka 'because' and -ciman 'although'. They are "dangling" sentences.

(4a) a. Mwun-ul yel-ela. Chwup.ta. 'Open the door. It's cold.'
   door open-IMP cold
b. Mwun-ul yel-ela. Chwun-wu-nikka. 'Open the door. Because it is cold.'
   door open-IMP cold because
c. Mwun-ul yel-ela/ Chwup-ciman. 'Open the door. Although it is cold.'
   door open cold-though

This sort of postposing is typical of discourse, and is not constrained to a single word- or phrase-level constituent but can involve multiple constituents including clauses.

(5a) a. W.ass.eyo. Mia-ka, eey. 'lit.) Came. Mia, yesterday.'
   came yesterday
b. Molu-keyss.eyo. Way wass.nun-ci. 'lit.) I don't know. Why he came.'
   not know-VOL why came-SU
   → She came—Mia. Yesterday.'
   → I don't know why he came./ Why he came I don't know.'

7.2. Speech Acts

In speech-act theory, as advanced by J. L. Austin (1962) and John R. Searle (1969), grammatically defined sentence types such as declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives, are viewed from the perspective of speech-act types arising from the illocutionary force of the utterances expressed in these sentence types.
Each sentence type is mapped into an unmarked, and then a marked, speech-act type below, with representative verbs and sample sentences. When the default and indirect meanings cannot be distinguished (as in tag questions) the meaning in use is given under the heading 'unmarked/indirect'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6) Sentence Type</th>
<th>Speech-act Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Declarative S</td>
<td>assert, inform request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. kyess-S</td>
<td>predict promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Interrogative S</td>
<td>question request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Imperative S</td>
<td>request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Propositive S</td>
<td>propose request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Tag-Q</td>
<td>seek confirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Rhetorical Q</td>
<td>assert (polarity-opposite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Echo Q</td>
<td>repeat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) a. Pang-i chwupta
room cold
[unmarked] 'The room is cold.' (assertion) (indirect) 'Make the room warm.' (request)
I soon leave-VOL-DCL [unmarked] 'I intend to leave soon.' (indirect) 'I promise you to leave soon.' (promise)
c. Nayil o-lswu iss-ni?
tomorrow come-can-INT [unmarked] 'Can you come tomorrow?' (question) (indirect) 'Come tomorrow.' (request)
d. Naka-la!
go.out-SE [unmarked] 'Get out!' (request)
e. Naka-psita.
go.out-SE [unmarked] 'Let's get out.' (proposal) (indirect) 'Let me out.' (request)
f. Mia-ka wass-ci ahn-a?
came-SU not-INT [unmarked/indirect] 'Mia came, didn't she?' (confirmation-seeking)
g. Nwaka ala-yo?
who know-INT [unmarked/indirect] 'Who knows?' (indirect) → Nobody knows! (assertion)  
h. Mia-ka wassta-ko?
came-QU [unmarked/indirect] 'Did you say Mia came?' (repetition)  

Some nonstandard uses of interrogative sentences, namely interrogatives as requests, tag questions and rhetorical questions are described below as typical cases of indirect speech acts widely known in many languages.
7.2.1. Interrogatives as Requests

Interrogative sentences are very often used as a polite way of expressing a request to the hearer rather than to seek information. Such a request is made in an interrogative sentence whose verbal ending is in the form: <V-1.swu iss.nun.ya?> 'Can you V for me?', or in the form: <V-e cvw-1.swu iss.nun.ya?> 'Can you V for me', or <V-e cvw-keyss.run.ya?> 'Will you V for me?'. The subject of the interrogative is second person; the interrogative suffix varies, depending on the speech level: -nunya (plain level), -(s)upnikka? (formal level), -(e)yo? (polite level), etc.

(8) Interrogatives as Requests

a. -l. swu iss-ni?  'Can you ...?'
   ADNZ means.be-INT
   Ne unhayng-ey ianye.o-l.swu.iss.ni?
   you bank-to go.around-can?
   → (I request you) go to the bank.

b. -e.cvwl-swuniss-nya?  'Can you...for me?'
   INF.give-ADNZ means.be-INT
   Ku il com huy.cvwl-swuniss.ni?
   the work bit do.give-can?
   → (I request you) do the work for me.

c. -e.cvwl-keyss.ni?  'Will you...for me?'
   INF.give.will.INT
   Ne kot o a.cvwl-keyss.ni?
   you soon come.give.will.INT
   → (I request you) come at once.

Even when interrogative sentences are interpreted as conveying an indirect speech act of request, their unmarked speech act of seeking oral response is normally also involved since the hearer, in compliance with the request, gives an oral response as well--positively or negatively.

The term request has been used here as a cover term for the speech-act type of directives, which may be identified with a list of hierarchically ordered speech-act verbs (<strong,... weak>).

(9) Directives:

< myenglyenghata 'order',
cishata 'direct',
yokwuhata 'request',
kanchengehata 'beg',
aywenhata 'beg', ... >
7.2.2. Tag Questions

Tag questions are used to express the speaker's seeking confirmation or agreement rather than asking for information. There are several formally distinct tag questions in Korean, each consisting of a tag appended to a statement. We will take up two common types of tag question here: (1) <-ci- an.ha?> 'isn't it?' (2) <-ci-an.kulay?> 'isn't it so?'. The tag is usually a contracted form of a question; the statement ends in the suspactive -ci. A third type of tag question is <-... kulehci?> '... is it so?'.

We take up the type-1 tag question first. Let us call the statement part of the tag question the 'body' and the remainder the 'tag'.

(10) Tag Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Tag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.... -ci -</td>
<td>an-h-a.(yo)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SU an-h-ri?</td>
<td>an-h-supnikka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not-be-INT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first type of tag question is syntactically identical to the long-form negation (cf. 5.8.1.) <-ci anhta>, except that the tense in the tag part of the type-1 tag question is invariably nonpast; by contrast, the tense in the ci-clause of the long-form negation is nonpast.

(11) Tag question vs. Long-form negative question

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Tag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Tag Q</td>
<td>.... -ci - nonpast?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Long-form Neg Q</td>
<td>nonpast -ci - ....</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Examples: <-ci anh-a? '... isn't it?'

a. Pi-ka manhi o. ass-ci anh-a?/anh-supnikka?
   rain lot come.PST-SU not-INT
   'It rained a lot, didn't it?'

b. Pi-ka an wass-ci anh-a?/anh-supnikka?
   not-not-INT
   'It didn't rain a lot, did it?'

c. Hyen-un kwunin-i ess-ci anh-ayo?/anh-supnikka?
   soldier-COP-PST-SU not-INT
   'Hyen was a soldier, wasn't he?'

d. Ku.i-nun pwul.haynghay ss-ci an-h.a?
   he un.happy-PST-SU not-be-INT
   'He was unhappy, wasn't he?'
The tense in the body of all the questions above is past and that in the tag is nonpast. The tag ends invariably in a negative form (e.g. *an. h.ta* 'not'), akin to the French tag *n'est-ce-pas?* 'isn't it?' but unlike the English counterpart. Notice that in (12.b) the body, as well as the tag, is negative in form, whereas in English tag formation polarity in the tag and the body is normally opposite.

The normal long-form negative questions corresponding to those in (12) are given below.

(13) Examples: Long-form negative questions:  
- *-ci an. h(-ass)-e?*

  a. *Pi-ka ma-ghi o- ci anh-a?/anh-ass-e?*
     rain lot come-SU not-INT not-PST-INT
     'Doesn't/Didn't it rain a lot?'
  b. *Pi-ka an o-ci anh-a?/anh-ass-e?*
     not not-INT/not-PST-INT
     'Isn't it/Wasn't it that it doesn't/didn't rain?'
  c. *Hyen-un kwunin-i ci anh a.yo?/an. h.-ass-e.yo?*
     soldier-COP-SU not-INT/not-PST-INT
     'Isn't it/Wasn't Hyen a soldier?'
  d. *Ku.i-nul hwul. haynga-ci anh-a?/an-ass-e?*
     he un.happy-SU not-INT/not-PST-INT
     'Isn't it/Wasn't he unhappy?'

When the body and the tag are both in the nonpast tense, the tag and long-form negative questions turn out to be identical. Since the negative question is conducive or biased as to the speaker's attitude to the statement in the body, the long-form negative question may be considered a type of tag question in Korean.

The second type of tag question is a combination of two sentences: a statement and a contracted question. The proform *kule.hata* 'so-be' is the typical proform used for anaphoric reference (cf. 7.5.1), referring to a preceding event or state. The two sentences may be described as forming a single sentence with a nonfalling (comma) pause between the body and the tag. The statement has its own declarative ending, including the suspactive -ci. Besides the short form *an-kulay?*, the long form *kule.h.ci-anh-ci* 'so-not-be' is also used. As a tag, however, the short form is more commonly used.

(14) **Body**  
Declarative S-ending  
Tag  
-ci, an-kulay?  
';,..., isn't it so?'
  
( <- an-kule-hay?)
  not-so-be
  -kule.h.ci-anh.a?
  so-not-be
The *an-kulay* 'isn't-it-so' tag, with its variants (*an-kule.h.mi?/an-kuleh.supnikka?/...), can be tensed both in the tag and in the body, even if the nonpast tag is preferred. The function of this tag question is also to show that the speaker invites confirmation of or agreement to the preceding statement.

(15) Examples: ..., *an-kulay?* '..., isn't it so/right?'

a. *Pi-ka monhi o. ass-e, an-kulay?
  rain lot come.PST-SE not-so.be?
  'It rained a lot, isn't it (so/right)?'

b. *Pi-ka an w. ass-ci, an-kulay?
  rain not come.PST-SU not-so.be?
  'It didn't rain, isn't it (so/right)?'

c. *Hyen-i kwunin-i- ess-ci-yo, an-kule.h-supnikka?
  soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE not-so.be-INT
  'Hyen was a soldier, isn't it (so/right)?'

d. *Ku.i-nun pwilhayghay-s-s-ci, an-kule.h-na?
  he unhappy- PST-SU not-so.be-INT?
  'He was unhappy, isn't it (so/right)?'

The type-2 tag can have a past-tense form.

(16) a. *Pi-ka monhi o. ass-e, an-kulay-ss-ni?
  rain lot come.PST-SE not-so- PST-INT
  'It rained a lot, wasn't it (so/right)?'

b. *Pi-ka an o. ass-ci, an-kulay-ss-ni?
  rain not come-PST-SU not-so- PST-INT
  'It didn't rain, wasn't it so/right?'

c. *Hyen-i kwunin-i-ess-ci-yo, an-kulay-ss-supnikka?
  soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE not-so-PST-INT
  'Hyen was a soldier, wasn't he (so)?'

d. *Ku.i-nun pwilhayghay-s-s-ci, an-kulay-ss-na?
  he unhappy- PST-SU not-so-PST-INT
  'He was unhappy, wasn't he (so)?'

A third type of tag question has the *kule-h-ci?* (< *kule-ha-ci?* 'so-be-it?') and the polite form <*kule-h-ci-yo?>. The statement in the body has a declarative ending including -ci. Like the *an-kulay* tag, it is also based on the anaphoric proform *kule-hata* 'so-be', and can be treated as consisting of two sentences--the statement and the tag.

(17) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Tag</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative S-ending, <em>kule.h-ci?</em></td>
<td>'.../is it so?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-SU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(18) Examples
   a. *Pi-ka o ass-ci, kule h-ci?
      rain come.PST-SU so.be-SU
      'It rained, isn’t it so?’
   b. *Pi-ka an o ass-e. Kule h-ci?.
      not come-PST-SE, so.be-SU
      'It didn’t rain. Isn’t it so?’
      soldier-COP-PST-SU-SE so be-SU-PO
      'Hyen was a soldier. Is it right?’
      he unhappy-PST-SU SO-be-SU
      'He was unhappy. Isn’t it so?’

Intonation plays a significant role in the anha-tag question. If the terminal contour is rising, it shows the speaker’s request for verification, expecting the hearer to indicate the truth or falsity of the proposition in the statement. The tag with the falling or level contour, on the other hand, invites the confirmation of the statement and has the force of an assertion rather than of a question.

(19) a. *Pi-ka o ass-ci an-h-a↑
      rain come.PST-SU not-be-SE
      'It rained, didn’t it ↑'
   b. *Pi-ka o ass-ci anha ↓→
      rain come.PST-SU not-be-SE
      'It rained, didn’t it ↓'

7.2.3. Rhetorical Utterances

The best-known type of rhetorical expression is rhetorical questions. Another type, less known but rhetorical nonetheless, is what is called rhetorical conditional statements.

The rhetorical question is interrogative in structure but it invites a polarity-opposite assertion. A positive rhetorical yes-no question implies a strong negative assertion and a negative question a strong positive one (S.-J. Chang 1982).

(20) Positive Q → Negative Assertion
   a. *Mia-ka a- pnikka?
      know-FO/INT
      'Does Mia know?'
      not.know-FO/DCL
      'Mia doesn’t know.'
   a. *Yong-i o- l.swa.issna-yo?
      know-FO/INT
      'Does Yong-i know?'
   b. *Yong-i o- l.swa.epse-yo.
      not.know-FO/DCL
      'Yong-i doesn’t know.'
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come can-PO/INT come cannot-PO/DCL
'Can Yong come?' 'Yong cannot come.'

(21) Negative Q → Positive Assertion

   I not so-PST-INT 1 so-PST-SU

   answer clear-SU not answer clear-DCL

Isn't the answer clear?' 'The answer is clear.'

Some rhetorical wh-questions are used as frozen expressions. The positive rhetorical wh-question carries the force of a negative assertion; conversely, the less common negative rhetorical wh-question has the force of a positive assertion.

(22) Positive WH-Q → Negative assertion

a. Nwukal a? who know-INT
   'Who knows?'

b. Ney-ka encey kulay-ss-ni? → Ney-ka kulay-n
   you when so.say-PST-INT you so.say ADNZ case not be-DCL
   'When did you say so?'

(23) Negative WH-Q → Positive Assertion

   that who not.know-INT anyone-or all know GER be-DCL
   'Who doesn't know?'

   I why not.know-INT I.TOP know GER be-DCL
   'Why don't I know?'

'Of course, I know.'

The rhetorical conditional statement, for all its appearance of expressing a neutral condition, only makes an assertion strong. The conditional clause is introduced by the subordinator myen 'if' and the assertion is derived from the conditional clause. When the proposition made in the main clause is absurd, the proposition in the conditional clause is negative in meaning.

   the friend pass if you president
   'If he passes the exam, you are President.'

   Implication: You are not President, so he will never pass the exam.

   the friend pass if sun west from rise-will-SE
   'If he passes the exam, the sun would rise in the west.'
Implication: The sun never rises in the west, so he'll never pass the exam.

The use of this type of conditional sentence may be derived from logical inferences, and is thus applicable to many languages.

7.2.4. *Echo Utterances*

Echo utterances are a unique type of utterance in discourse; they are basically repetitive—a partial or the whole repetition of an earlier utterance expressed in the form of a question or a statement. The echo question indicates the speaker’s request for confirmation or clarification of the addressee’s earlier utterance, whereas the echo statement indicates confirmation or clarification of the speaker’s earlier utterance. Echo sentences are structurally distinct in that they end in the quotative particle *ko* ‘that’. In addition to the syntactic marker of the sentence-final quotative *ko*, the echo question has the terminal contour of a rising (↑) or high-rising (↑↑) intonation, whereas the echo statement has that of a falling (↓) intonation.

The following dialogues between A and B may illustrate the way echo questions and statements are used.

    I  like-DCL  
    B: Ne-nun Mia-ka coh-ia- ko? ↑  
        you  like-DCL QU  
    A: Na-nun Mia-ka coh-ia- ko. ↓  
        I  like-DCL QU  
        'I like Mia.'  
        '(Did you say) You like Mia?'  

(26) A: Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya?  
       return-PST-PL/INT  
    B: Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya- ko? ↑  
       return-PST-PL/INT QU  
    A: Mia-ka tolaw-ass-nunya-ko ↓  
       QU  
       '(I said) Did Mia come back? ↓'  
       'Did Mia come back? ↑ (Did you say?)'

(27) A: Nayil tiena-la.  
       tomorrow leave-PL/IMP  
    B: Nayil tiena- la- ko? ↑  
       tomorrow leave-PL/IMP QU  
    A: Nayil tiena-la- ko. ↓  
       leave-PL/IMP QU  
       'Leave tomorrow!'  
       'Leave tomorrow? ↑ (Did you say?)'  
       'Leave tomorrow! (I said.)'

The echo question can also be in the form of a *wh*-question for clarification.

    'This dress costs 50,000 won.'
this dress 5 x 10,000 COP-DCL

B: Eina-la-ko? ṕ
  how.much-PL/DCL-QU

'(Did you say) How much? ṕ'

(29) A: Nayil tien-la.
  tomorrow leave-IMP
B: Encey tien-la-ko? ṕ
  when leave-PL/IMP-QU

'Leave tomorrow!'
'Leave WHEN? ṕ'

An echo question with a high-rising tone expresses the speaker's surprise, disbelief, or even a polarity-opposite assertion.

    sec-PST
B: Mia-lul po-ass.ta-ko? ṕ
    sec-PST.DCL-QU
Kule.1 li- ka iss.na?
    such reason-SM be.INT
A: Yay, Mia-lul po.ass.ta-ko-ye. ṕ
    yes saw.DCL-QU-PO

'I saw Mia.'
'You saw Mia? ṕ'
'How can it be?'
'Yes, I saw Mia (, I said).'

An echo question with the high-rising tone ( ṕ ) or a retorted question 'raised to the second power', as dubbed by Jespersen (1924:304), has a function similar to that of a rhetorical question--a polarity-opposite assertion.

7.2.5 Reported Speech

Speech is quoted either directly or indirectly and quoted or reported speech is introduced by the quotative ko/hako/lako 'that' followed by a verb of saying (malhata 'say', hata 'say') (cf. 6.3.1). The following is a summary of indirect quotation illustrated with similar examples. Recall that only those sentence enders (-ta/la, -(nu)nya, -la and -ca) representing the plain speech level can be formed into a quotative construction with the quotative particle ko 'that' and a verb of saying.

(31) Reported Clause - Ending + ko + hata/malhata/mwuta/...
     that say say ask

  a. Declarative     ta
     (Copula i-)     la
  b. Interrogative   (nu)nya
  c. Imperative      la
  d. Propositive     ca
(32) Examples

a. Declarative ending (-ta/-la) + ko

- Yong-i Mia-ka tol-a w. ass-ia-ko malhay-ss-la.

return- PST-DCL-QU say-PST-SE

'Yong said that Mia had returned.'

- Cikun-un seykeyhwa-uy sitay-(i-) la-ko Yong-un malhay-ss.ta.

now TOP globalization-of age-(COP-)SE-QU say-PST-SE

'Yong said that now is the age of globalization.'

b. Interrogative ending (-nu/nyu) + ko


go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE

'Mia asked Yuna if Yong had gone.'


who go-PST-INT-QU to ask-PST-SE

'Mia asked Yuna who had gone.'

c. Imperative ending (-la) + ko

Tes-i o- ci malla-ko Mia-ka Yong-eykey yokwuhay-ss-ta.

again come-SU don't-QU to request-PST-SE

'Mia requested Yong not to come again.'

d. Propositional ending (-ca) + ko

Kathi ka-ca-ko Yong-i Mia-eykey ceyankhay-ss-ta.

together go-PRP-QU to propose-PST-SE

'Yong proposed to Mia that they go together.'

In addition to the general form of indirect quotations illustrated above, there are some subtypes of reported speech widespread in discourse. We will take up two: (1) the reported speech ending in the quotative ko ‘that’; (2) the reported speech ending in a contracted form of <the reported clause ending ta/la/... + ko + hat'a ‘say’>. The first subtype structurally resembles echo utterances. The second subtype is realized in contracted forms including -tay (< -ta ko hay), -lay (< -la ko hay), and -tatela (< -ta-ko-hatela), which may be rendered as ‘it is said that .../ they say that ...’.

In the following examples (33), B's answer represents the first subtype of reported speech ending in -ko(yo).

(33) Reported Speech: -ko

a. A: Ku salam.tul-i mwe- la-ko hay-ss.ni?

the people what-(COP-)DCL-QU say-PST-INT

'What did they say?

B: Hyen-i tolaw-ass-ia-ko-yo.

return-PST-DCL-QU-PO

'(They said that) Hyen returned.
DISCOURSE

b. A: Ku salam tul-i mwe- la-ko ha-te,y?
    the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-RETR-INT
    'What did they say, (you recall)?

    return-PST-INT-QU-PO
    '(They asked whether) Hyen returned.'

c. A: Ku salam tul-i mwe- la-ko hay-ss-n?
    the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-PST-INT
    'What did they say, (you recall)?'

B: Na-poko tola ka-la-ko-ya.
    I to return-IMP-QU-PO
    'They told me to return.'

d. A: Ku salam tul-i mwe- la-ko ha-te,y?
    the people what-(COP)-DCL-QU say-RETR-INT
    'What did they say, do you recall?

B: Wuli-poko kathi il-ha-ca-ko-ya.
    we to together work-PRP-QU-PO
    'They told us to work together.'

As an illustration of the second subtype of reported speech <ta/la..+ko + hanta> 'it is said that...', four major sentence types of sentence are reported along with the three speech levels—intimate, plain, and formal.

(34) Reported speech: -ko hanta (-QU say) 'it is said that - )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-type</th>
<th>S-level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Declarative: Long</td>
<td>ta/la-ko-hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'They say that ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Interrogative: Long</td>
<td>nyay-ko-hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'They ask wh- ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Imperative: Long</td>
<td>la-ko-hey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'They request that ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Propositive: Long</td>
<td>ca-ko-hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'They propose that ...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(35) Examples: i. -tay/nyay/lay/cay
    ii. -tanta/nyaynta/ta/ta/canta

- a. i. Hyen-i tola.wa-ss- tay-yo.
    return- PST-DCL(.QU.say)-SE

- b. i. Hyen-un kwunin-i-lay-yo.
    soldier-COP-DCL(.QU.say)-SE

- c. i. Nwwa.wass- nyay-yo.
    who came-INT(.QU.say)-SE

- d. i. Na-poko tola.ka-lay-yo.
    I to return-IMP(.QU.say)-SE

- e. i. Wuli-poko kathi ka-cay-yo.'
    we-to together go-PRP(.QU.say)-SE

(The reporting verb *hata* 'say' is in the present tense, which indicates that the reporting is concurrent to the speech time in the discourse. The reporting time can be in the past as well; the verb of saying is *hayssta* 'they said; it was said' instead of *hanta* 'they say'.

(36) Intimate level : ko hay.ss.e  (< QU say.PST.SE> 'it was said that -) → taysse
Polite level : ko hay.ss.e.yo → taysseyo
Plain level : ko hay.ss.ta → tayssta
Formal level : ko hay.supnita → taypnita

(37) Examples: -tay.ss.e(yo)/ta

- a. Hyen-i tolaon-tay-
    return-DCL(.QU.say)-PST-SE

' (They told me) Hyen would return.'
b. *Hyen-un kwunin-i- lay-ss-e.*
   soldier-COP-DCL.(QU.say)-PST-SE
   'They said' Hyen was a soldier.'

c. *Nwuka o- nayay- ess-eye.*
   who come-INTI.(QU.say)-PST-SE
   'They asked' Who would come?'

d. *Na-poko toka ko-lay-ss-supnita.*
   I-to return-IMP.(QU.say)-PST-FO/DCL
   They told me to go back.'

e. *Wuli-poko kahi kah-ss-supnita.*
   we-to together go-PRP.(QU.say)-PST-SE
   They told me that we should go with them.'

In the reported speech the reporter is usually unspecified and a general term like *kutul* 'they' is understood to be the reporter. However, the unexpressed reporter can also be identified with the subject of the reported clause, particularly when the reported clause is declarative, thus giving rise to two readings, as illustrated below.

(38) a. *Yong-i ne-lul cohahan-ta-y.*
   you like-DCL.(QU.say)-SE
   i. 'They say Yong likes you.'
   ii. 'Yong says he (= Yong) likes you.'

b. *Mia-ka Yong-ekey phyenci-lul ponay-ss-ia-y.*
   to letter send-PST-DCL.(QU.say)-SE
   i. 'They say Mia sent a letter to Yong.'
   ii. 'Mia says she (= Mia) sent a letter to Yong.'

When the reported clause is imperative or propositive, the surface subject is the reporter, not the unspecified 'they'.

(39) a. *Yong-i na-poko ka-lay-ss-e.*
   I to go-IMP.(QU.say)-PST-SE
   'Yong told me to go.'

b. *Yong-i wuli-poko ka-cay-ss-e.*
   we to go-PROP.(QU.say)-PST-SE
   'Yong told us that we should go with him (= Yong)!'
you recall it was said that ...?). Here the reported clause is limited to the declarative.

(40) Examples: *tate*.*la* / *tate*.*nya*

a. *Yong-i an on-ta te la.*
   not come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.DCL
   'They said Yong won't come, I recall.'

b. *Yong-i an on- ta te nya?*
   not come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.INT
   'Did they say Yong won't come, do you recall?'

c. *Yong-i encey on- ta te nya?*
   when come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.INT
   'When did they say Yong would come, do you recall?'

As in the *ko-hanta* reported speech, the reporter in the retrospective (-*tate*la) speech may also be the subject of the reported clause and the reporter is usually suppressed. So the examples in (40) are each given a second reading (ii), as appended in (41).

(41) a. *Yong-i an on- ta te la.*
   not come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.DCL
   i. 'They said Yong won't come, I recall.'
   ii. 'Yong said he (=Yong) won't come, I recall.'

b. *Yong-i an on- ta te nya?*
   not come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.INT
   i. 'Did they say Yong won't come, do you recall?'
   ii. 'Did Yong say he (= Yong) won't come, do you recall?'

c. *Yong-i encey on- ta te nya?*
   when come-DCL.(QU.say).RET.INT
   i. 'When did they say Yong would come, do you recall?'
   ii. 'When did Yong say he (=Yong) would come, do you recall?'

7.3. Honorification

The speaker-hearer interplay and their relation with the subject (and object) referent are grammaticalized in Korean. This is generally known as honorification. It is viewed as consisting of three subsystems: (1) speech (or discourse) levels, based on the interplay between the speaker and the hearer, (2) subject honorification, based on the interplay between the speaker and the subject referent, and (3) object honorification, based on the interplay between the
speaker and the indirect-object referent. The speech level is structurally
manifested in the form of sentence enders (SE) and the subject honorification in
the honorific suffix *si* and certain lexical items. Object honorification is marginal
in that it is formed by only a handful lexical items. Honorification is an integral
part of Korean grammar, imbued in the cognitive system of the language users. It
is simply impossible to think of Korean discourse free from the system of
honorification.

The underlying principle of honorification is self-lowering: the speaker
deprojects him/her-self. Here the self was once extended to include the speaker’s
ingroup.56

7.3.1. Speech Levels

About half a dozen speech levels are recognized in modern Korean. The
appropriate use of speech levels is speaker-oriented: the speaker’s relative
status with the hearer and degree of solidarity with the hearer are major factors
determining the speech level in discourse. Violation of speech levels in discourse,
however, is not the same as that of rules of grammar; it is a matter of
inappropriateness rather than grammatical ill-formedness.

Six speech levels, characterized by sentence endings, are reintroduced
below with reference to the four basic sentence types (cf. 4.3.1).56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(42)</th>
<th>Speech Level</th>
<th>Sentence Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>*(su)*pitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>*(e)*yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>Blunt</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Familiar</td>
<td>ney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Intimate</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These six levels are divided roughly into three levels—high, mid and low. The two
mid-levels, blunt and familiar, are a little archaic and used mostly by elderly
people, and as such they may eventually fade out. The formal level, often
interchangeable with the polite level, may also disappear in the long run. The
intimate and plain levels, both nonpolite, are interchangeable. The plain level,
however, is commonly used in writing of various sorts, including newspaper
articles, editorials, theses, diaries, or the like. So it would seem not too far-
fetched to assume that three speech levels will continue to be prominent: the
polite and intimate levels for speaking and the plain level for writing.
(43) Speech Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaking:</th>
<th>Polite</th>
<th>Declarative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpolite:</td>
<td>Intimate</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writing:

Plain: i

In the following exposition and illustration, however, the formal level is treated together with the polite level as constituting an honorific speech level. Under the non-honorific level are two sublevels: plain and intimate. For ease of reference, we may use the term honorific for both polite and formal, and non-honorific for both plain and intimate.

(44) Speech Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific:</th>
<th>Formal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-honorific: Intimate

| Plain |

The honorific level is used unilaterally by the low to the high status (Low → High) in terms of the vertical axis of power/status; it is used bilaterally between the unacquainted or those whose relationship is not solid (A ← x → B). Once solidarity is tightly established, the honorific level may turn into the nonhonorific one. Put differently, the non-honorific level is used unilaterally by the high to the low status (High → Low); it is used bilaterally between friends or those whose relationship is solid (A ← 0 → B).

(45) a. Power/Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High:</th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>teacher</th>
<th>senior officer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low:</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>junior private</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Solidarity

Tight: friends (A ← 0 → B)

Loose: unacquainted (A ← x → B)

(46) a. Honorific Level:

i. High

ii. Unacquainted

↑

A ← x → B

Low

b. Non-honorific Level

i. High

ii. Friends

↓

A ← 0 → B

Low
(47) a. (Mother to Son): Non-honorific
   Ne pap mek-ess-nil?
   you meal eat-PST-IN/INT
   'Have you eaten?'

b. (Son to Mother): Honorific
   Emen sikscha-si-ess-eyo?
   mother eat HON-PST-PO/INT
   'Have you eaten, Mom?'

c. (Teacher to Student): Non-honorific
   Nay-ka ney-key i chayik-ul czu-keiyss-ia.
   I you-to this book-OM give-VOL-PL/DCL
   I'll give this book to you.'

d. (Student to Teacher): Honorific
   Ceyka sensaying.nim-kekey i chayik-ul tudi-keiyss-supnita.
   I-SM teacher HON to this book- give-VOL-FO/DCL
   I'll give this book to you.'

c. (Between the unacquainted): Honorific
   A: Cey-ka Cina-ny ayip\textsuperscript{91} i-phon.
      I-SM of father(-HON) COP-FO/DCL
      'I'm Cina's father.'
   B: Cheun popp.keyss-supnita.
      first see(HON), VOL-FO/DCL
      (lit.) I see you for the first time.
      → 'How do you do?'

f. (Between friends): Non-honorific
   A: Yosoy caymi-ka ette-nil?
      lately interest-SM how IN/INT
      'How is everything these days?'
   B: Kuce kuilay.
      just so.IN/DCL
      'Just so and so.'

The speech level between husband and wife has been traditionally unilateral in that the husband uses the non-honorific and the wife the honorific, but nowadays couples tend to use the same speech level--the plain (mostly by young couples) or the honorific (mostly by elderly ones).

7.3.2 Subject Honorification

In a discourse, when the referent of the subject is honoured by the speaker, the feature 'honorific' [HON] is spread, so to speak, over the whole sentence, demanding honorific lexical items, if any, and insertion of the honorific suffix \textit{si} into the predicate. The 'honorific' lexical items include the following.
(48) **Honorable (HON)** **Plain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Verb</th>
<th>Honorable (HON)</th>
<th>Plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>capwusita</em></td>
<td><em>mekta</em></td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wumwusita</em></td>
<td><em>cata</em></td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>keysita</em></td>
<td><em>issia</em></td>
<td>'exist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tolakasita</em></td>
<td><em>cwukta</em></td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cin</em></td>
<td><em>pap</em></td>
<td>'meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>conham, sergham</em></td>
<td><em>ilum</em></td>
<td>'name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cwunchwu, yensey</em></td>
<td><em>nai</em></td>
<td>'ago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>openim</em></td>
<td><em>apeci</em></td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>malssun</em></td>
<td><em>mal</em></td>
<td>'word, speech'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Particle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kkeyse</em></td>
<td><em>i/ka</em></td>
<td>subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kkey</em></td>
<td><em>eykey</em></td>
<td>(indirect) object marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(49) **Examples: Honorable Subject**

a. (Mia to Yong)

```
Halapeci- kkeyse cin-ci-lul tusi- ko keysi-n-ta.
grandfather-HON meal-OM eat(HON)-ing be(HON)-PL/DCL
'Grandfather is eating.'
```

b. (Mia to Yong)

```
Halmeni- kkeyse-nun cwumwusi-kp keysi- pna.
grandmother-HON TOP sleep(HON)-ing-be(HON)-FO/DCL
'Grandmother is sleeping.'
```

- Compared with nonhonorable subject

a'. (Mia to Yong)

```
Hyen-i pap mek-kp iss-ta.  'Hyen is eating.'
meal eat-ing be-PL/DCL
```

b'. *Cina-ko ca- ko iss-ta.  'Cina is sleeping.'

sleep-ing be-PL/DCL

Notice that the honorable utterances (49.a,b) are much longer than the nonhonorable ones. A general rule: the longer the form, the more polite the expression.

When the grandfather says to Mia (in 50.a) 'I am eating', the subject 'I' can never have an honorable verb or honorific -si; this is due to the self-lowering principle: 'The speaker lowers him/her-self.'

(50) a. (Grandfather to Mia)

```
## Nav-ka cin-ci-lul tu -si- ko keysi-n-ta.
I meal eat-HON-ing be[HON]-PL/DCL
```

Meaning: 'I am eating.'
7.3.3. Object Honorification

When the referent of the indirect (or direct) object is someone to be honoured by the speaker, certain self-lowering (or condescending) lexical items are used in place of the plain ones. These words are condescending in that the speaker lowers him/her-self by using them, rather than honoring the object referent. Such words include the first-person pronoun ce 'I' or ce.hu'y 'we'. We can honour a person by using either honorific or condescending terms or both.

(51) Self-lowering Words

a. Pronouns:
   1st person: ce 'I', ce.hu'y 'we'
   epithet : so.in (lit. 'little man'), so.sayng (lit. 'little birth') 'I'
             so.nye (lit. 'little woman') 'I' (female)
             mwunhasayng (lit. 'pupil') 'I'

b. Verb:
   tulita 'give' (plain: cwuta)
   poypta 'see' (plain: pola)
   yeccwupta 'say' (plain: malhata)
   malssum.tulita 'say' (plain: malhata)

c. Noun:
   aypi 'father' (plain: apeci; honorific: apei.nim)
   eymi 'mother' (plain: emeni; honorific: eme.nim)

(52) a. (Mia to Grandfather)

   Cey-ka sensayngnim-kkey kukes-ul tuli-ess-suprita.
   I-teacher-to(HON) it give-PST-FO/DCL

   'I gave it to the teacher.'

b. (Mother to Mia)

   Ney-ka halapeki-kkey malssum.tuliy.e-la.
   you-SM grandfather-to(HON) word.give-PL?IMP

   'You tell Grandpa.'

c. (Mia to Yong)

   Nay-ka sensyang.nim-ul chaca.poiy-keyss-ta.
   I SM teacher.HON-OM find.sec(HON)-VOL-PL/DCL

   'I will visit the teacher.'

It would be inappropriate or infelicitous to use the plain predicate forms in (52): cwu.ess.ta 'gave', malhayla 'say', chaca poi.y.keyssta 'will visit', since the indirect object (in 52.a,b) or the direct object (in 52.c) is someone the speaker honours.

The following illustration shows different ways in which honorific or non-honorific expressions are used, depending on who speaks to whom and who is the object referent mentioned.
(53) Discourse Participants

A = Mia (girl; 8th grader), B = Mia's mother, C = Mia's grandmother

a. (A to B)
- Emma, nay-ka ike halmeci-hanthey kaceta.tuli-l.kkey.
  this grandmother-to take.give-will-IN

ii. Emma, cey-ka ike halmeci-kkey kacta.tuli-keyss-supniia.
    I this grandmother-to (HON) take.give-will- FO
    'Mom, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

b. (B to A)
- Mia-yo, nay-ka ike halmeci-kkey kacta tuli-keyss-ia.
  VOC I this grandmother-io (HON) take.give-will-PL
  'Mia, I'll take this to Grandmother.'

c. (A to C)
- Halfmen, cey-ka ike emma-hanthey kaceta.tuli-l.kkey-yo.
  grandmother I this mother-to take.give-will-PO
  'Grandmother, I'll take this to Mother.'

d. (C to A)
- Mia-ya, nay-ka ike ney cymi-hanthey kaceta.cwu-keyss-ta.
  VOL I SM this your mother-to take.give-will-PL
  'Mia, I'll take this to your mother.'

e. (C to B)
- Emem, cey-ka ike Mia-eykey kaceta.cwu-l.kkey-yo.
  mother I- SM this to take.give-will-PO
  'Mother, I'll take this to Mia.'

f. (C to B)
- Emem, nay-ka ike Mia-eykey kaceta.cwu-keyss.to.
  mother I- SM this to take.give-will-PL/DCL
  'I'll take this to Mia.'

Contentwise, all the sentences in (53) mean the same: 'x will take this to y.' What is different is what x and y stand for and their relative status. In (a), Mia can talk to her mother either in the plain level (53.a) to show a close affinity between them, or she can use the formal level to show her respect. But the mixing of the honorific and non-honorific levels in a single sentence would make the utterance inappropriate.

In contrast to (53), the following are all inappropriate (#)--some more so, as indicated with ##.

(54) a. (A to B)
- #Emma, nay-ka ike halmenci-hanthey kaceta.cwu.kkey.
  this grandmother-to take.give-will-IN
  'Mom, I'll take this to Grandmother.'
The honorific system of Korean is an interaction of all the major facets of grammar—lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics. Furthermore, a proper understanding of it requires pragmatics, the actual use of language in both social and psychological settings.

The system of honorification may be summed up roughly in a diagram as follows.
(55) Honorification
Interplay
S(peaker)-H(earer): Speech Level (-yo-(s)upnita)
Subject: SM: kkeyse
Honorific si
Object: OM: kkey
Self-lowering words: tulita, paypia, ...

7.4. Topic and Focus

Topic and focus are viewed here as discourse functions complementary to each other, both dealing with the flow of discourse information with respect to whether it is given/known or new/unknown. Topic is what is being talked about or what is presupposed or understood as given by the speaker. It can be a discourse topic in the domain of a discourse as a whole or it is a sentence topic. It is commonly realized as a phrase carrying the so-called topic marker (n)un in sentence-initial position. Focus, on the other hand, is the carrier of new information and often appears as a string containing the intonation center (Chomsky 1971) or a wh-word or a string which replaces the wh-word. It is also realized syntactically as a predicate in the (pseudo-) cleft construction, in which the presupposed clause is the topic-subject.

The topic-focus information, known as TFA (topic-focus articulation) in the Prague School, may be interpreted as something suprasegmental and superimposed on a string of utterances. With multiple occurrences of both topic and focus in a sentence, the topic is regarded as constituting a list and the focus a set. Members of the topic-list are ordered along the scale of topicality, identifiable as the surface linear order—more prominent (left) to less prominent (right); members of the focus-set are unordered.

(56) \[ \text{TOPIC} = \langle t_1, t_2, \ldots \rangle \]
\[ \text{FOCUS} = \{ f_1, f_2, \ldots \} \]
In the following short exchange between Kim-sensayng 'Teacher Kim' and Mia, the dialogue-initial utterance (57.a) is analyzed as consisting of a set of focused elements; so is Mia's reply (57.b). The next question by Teacher Kim is an echo question and as such only the wh-word is a focus; the rest are topics. Mia's reply (57.d) is elliptical; the topical elements are not repeated.

(57) a. Kim-sensayng: *Mwusun il-i iss.ess.nya?*  
what event be.PST.PL/INT  
$f_1$ $f_2$ $f_3$  
F = \{f_1, f_2, f_3\}

b. Mia: *Yong-hako Hyen-i ssawa.ss.eye.*  
and fight.PST.PO/DCL  
$f_1$ $f_2$ $f_3$  
F = \{f_1, f_2, f_3\}

'Yong and Hyen had a fight.'

c. Kim-sensayng: *Yong-i mwukwu-hako ssawa.ss.ta-ko?*  
who with fight.PST.DCL-QU  
$t_1$ $f$ $t_2$  
T = \{t_1, t_2\}  
F = \{f\}

'Who did you say Yong fought with?'

d. Mia: *Hyen-hako.yo.*  
with.PO  
$f$  
F = \{f\}

'With Hyen.'

Once the topic is introduced in an unstressed form, it is suppressed in the succeeding utterances or realized in a pronominal form. Otherwise, the same topic is repeated.

(58) *Mia-mun ko.sam-t tway.yo.*  
Nay.nyen-ey [ky.ay.nun/Mia.nun] tayhak-e y ka-jo.  
high three become-SE next.year-at she TOP college-to go-SE  
*Kulayse [ky.ay.nun/Mia.nun] yelsim.hi kongpwa-ko iss.e.yo.*  
therefore she-TOP diligently study-ing is.PO/DCL  
'Mia becomes a highschool 3rd grader. She goes to college next year. So she is studying hard.'

In the above discourse setting, Mia is the topic in the first sentence. It continues to be the topic and is realized by zero or the pronominal *kyay.nun* (< *ku-ay-mm*) 'the child/(s)he'.

As in the multiple occurrences of the subject (cf. 5.1.1), there are constructions with multiple topics. The leftmost topic is the most prominent one. It is treated as the unmarked topic and the rest of the *nn*-marked topics are contrastive ones, which may function as focus, depending on the thematic information and the speaker's intention. Since topic-focus articulation (TFA) functions as a layer superimposed onto the grammatical functions such as subject
and object, the two kinds of function interact in an intricate way, whose proper understanding rests on a discourse sequence, not on isolated sentences.

The following is an illustration of double-topic, as well as double-subject, constructions with the often-cited sentence: Khokkili-nun kho-nun kilta. 'The elephant has a long nose.' In the right column, a discourse context (a preceding question in a question-answer exchange) is provided.

(59) a. Khokkili-ka kho-ka kilta. % In answer to: Mwues-i eti-ka ki-nya?
   elephant-SM nose-SM long
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
f_1 & f_2 & t
\end{array} \]
   'It is the elephant that has a long nose.'

b. Khokkili-nun kho-nun kilta. % In answer to: Khokkili-nun kho-nun ettenya?
   TOP TOP
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
t_1 & t_2 & f
\end{array} \]
   'Speaking of elephants, their nose is long.'

c. Khokkili-nun kho-ka kilta. % In answer to: Khokkili-nun mwues-i ki-nya?
   TOP SM
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
t_1 & f & t_2
\end{array} \]
   'As for elephants, what is long with them?'

d. Khokkili-ka kho-nun kilta. % In answer to: Mwues-i kho-nun ki-nya?
   SM TOP
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
f & t_1 & t_2
\end{array} \]
   'Speaking of a nose, what has a long one?'

e. Kho-nun khokkili-nun kilta. % In answer to: Kho-nun khokkili-nun ettay?
   TOP TOP
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
t_1 & t_2 & f
\end{array} \]
   'How is the elephant's nose?'

f. Kho-nun khokkili-ka kilta. % In answer to: Kho-nun mwues-i ki-nya?
   TOP SM
   \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
t_1 & f & t_2
\end{array} \]
   'As for noses, what has a long nose?'

'Speaking of noses, it is the elephant that has a long one.'
g. *Kho-ka khokkili-nun kilta.* % In answer to: *Mwues-i khokkili-nun ki-nya?*

\[
\text{SM} & \text{TOP} \\
| & | \\
| & | \\
f & t_1 & t_2 \\
\]

'Speaking of an elephant, what is long is its nose.'

h. *Kho-ka khokkili-ka kilta.* % In answer to: *Mwues-i eti-ka ki-nya?* (Scrambling of (59.a))

\[
\text{SM} & \text{SM} \\
| & | \\
| & | \\
f_1 & f_2 & t \\
\]

'What's long is the nose, the elephant's nose.'

As we observed above, sentences in isolation are simply impossible to earmark for TFA. The sentence (60) may get different topic-focus assignments, depending on the topic-focus alignment of the preceding questions, as in (61).

(60) *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.*

\[
\text{SM} & \text{OM} \quad \text{beat} \quad \text{PST-SE} \\
\]

'Hyen beat Yong.'

(61) a. A: *Mwusun il-i issessni?*

\[
\text{what} \quad \text{event-SM was} \\
f_1 & f_2 & f_3 \\
\]

'What happened?'

B: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.* (Focus: the whole string)

\[
\text{SM} & \text{OM} \quad \text{beat} \\
| & | \\
f_1 & f_2 & f_3 \\
\]

'Hyen beat Yong.'

b. A: *Hyen-i nwukwu-ul ttayli.ess.nya?*

\[
\text{SM} & \text{who-OM} \quad \text{beat} \\
t_1 & f & t_2 \\
\]

'What did Hyen beat?'

B: *Hyen-un Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.* (Focus: Yong)

\[
\text{TOP} & \text{OM} \quad \text{beat} \\
t_1 & f & t_2 \\
\]

'Hyen beat Yong.'

c. A: *Nwu-ka Yong-ul ttayli.ess.nya?*

\[
\text{who-SM} & \text{OM} \quad \text{beat} \\
f & t_1 & t_2 \\
\]

'Who beat Yong?'

B: *Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli.ess.eyo.* (Focus: Hyen)

\[
f & t_1 & t_2 \\
\]

'Hyen beat Yong.'
d. A: Hyen-i Yong-ul ettehike hayss nya?
   SM    OM    how did
   t₁     t₂     f₁     f₂
    'What did Hyen do to Yong?'

B: Hyen-i Yong-ul ttayli ess eyo.
   (Focus: ttayli ess eyo 'beat')
   SM    OM    beat
   t₁     t₂     f
    'Hyen beat Yong.'

7.5. Discourse Reference

Two types of reference are distinguished in discourse: anaphoric (or cataphoric) and deictic. The basic formal device for reference is a class of pronouns known as determiners: proximal i 'this', mesial ku 'that', distal ce 'yonder' and indefinite enu/etien 'some'. For deictic reference, these determiners are used relative to the coordination of the speaker (S) and the hearer (H). For anaphoric reference, the mesial ku 'the' is the unmarked term and the proximal i 'this' is used mainly for cataphoric reference.

(62) Reference:

Deictic: S-H Coordination

   i-          'this' : referent close to S
   ku-         'that' : referent close to H
   ce-         'yonder' : referent distal from S and H
   enu/etien-  'some' : referent indefinite/unknown

Anaphoric: ku-

   i-          'the'

   i-          'the (very)'

   i-          'this'

Discourse-deictic conjunctive particles are formed with kule.ha- 'do/be so') and inflectional suffixes: e.g. kuliko (< kule.ha + ko) 'and', kulena (< kule.ha + na) 'but', kulemyen 'then' and kulenikka 'because' (cf. 4.7.1.4).

In contrast to the ku-series, the i-series (i + lena/lenikka/lemyen/...) impart a sense of imminence.

(63) a. Ku  ttay cong-i  wulli ess eyo.
      the time bell-SM rang
 'The bell rang then.'

   b. I    ttay cong-i  wulli ess eyo.
      this time bell      rang
At that very moment the bell rang.

The $i$-series is also used for cataphoric reference, to which we will return in the next section along with anaphoric reference.

7.5.1. Anaphoric Reference

Anaphoric reference is a type of discourse reference—the coreferring relation between an antecedent and an anaphor. The anaphor is realized in a pronoun, a reflexive, a pro-verb, or a zero anaphor. The zero anaphor is the unmarked discourse reference in Korean, whereas the pronominal anaphor is the unmarked one in English. In addition to the backward-referring anaphoric reference, there is a forward-referring type of discourse reference: cataphoric reference—that is, the referring relation between a cataphor and a 'postcoedent'.

In the following utterances, which are made up of three sentences (S1, S2 and S3), S2 contains a pronominal anaphor in (64.a), a reflexive in (64.b) and a zero anaphor in (64.c). S3 contains a zero subject and an example of cataphoric reference.

(64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-1</th>
<th>S-2</th>
<th>S-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo. Ku ay-nun molun.tayyo. Kuliko [ ] itayseoyo...</td>
<td>to asked she not know say and said like this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo. Caki-nun molun.tayyo. Kuliko [ ] itayseoyo...</td>
<td>self not know say and said like this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Mia-eykey mwul.esseyo. [ ] molun.tayyo. Kuliko [ ] itayseoyo...</td>
<td>not know say and said like this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a,b,c:)

S-1 S-2 S-3

'I asked Mia. She said she doesn't know. And she said this ...')

Out of the three formally distinct examples of discourse reference in S-2 above, the zero anaphor (64.c) is the unmarked one. The use of the reflexive caki in (64.b) shows the speaker's empathy with Mia, whereas in the use of the zero or pronominal form ku.ay 'the kid' in (64.c) and (64.a), respectively, Mia is empathy-free.
7.5.2. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is an extension of zero anaphora from the perspective of reference. It is a way of keeping a discourse cohesive by suppressing or omitting redundant information. In this section, elliptical constructions, except for zero pronominals, are confined to sentence-level ellipsis, including yes-no answers in a dialogue.

In conversation, a speaker normally uses elliptical, often fragmentary, sentences when responding to, commenting on, or questioning previous sentences spoken by another speaker. Ellipsis avoids repetition, highlighting focal elements on the surface. What is suppressed may be recovered from the context and its structure reconstructed by way of copying and modifying the previous sentences.

(65) A: _Nwuka ne-lul ponay.ss.ni?
    who you sent
    'Who sent you?'
B: _Sensaynim.i.yo.
    teacher
    → Sensaynim-i [na-lul ponaysse] yo]
    'The teacher (sent me).

    I-TOP go-VOL-SE
    'I'll go.'
B: _Way?
    why
    → Way [ne-nun kanunya?]
    'Why (do you want to go)?'

(67) _Gwuso-nun? Cenhwa.penho-nun?
    address-TOP telephone.number-TOP
    'Your address? Your telephone number?'

As given in the last example above, elements of an utterance which may be recovered readily from the discourse context are omitted. Such utterances appear incomplete on the surface. In grammatical description, such utterances may be reconstructed into complete sentences. But what pronominal form is to be supplied in (67.a) is not obvious; what matters here is to interpret correctly what the suppressed referent is.

In (68.a) both the subject and the object of the two-place predicate _alta 'know' are suppressed and they are recoverable from the discourse situation: the subject 'I' and the object 'it'. In (68.b), the subject _ce-nun is contrasted with
other individuals in the context, in (68.c), cey-ka is highlighted as focus.

(68) a. Al- ko iss.supnita.
    know-ing be.FO/DCL
    'I know (it).'

b. Ce-nun al- ko iss.supnita.
    I-TOP know-ing be.FO/DCL
    '(As for me/as contrasted to others), I know (it).

b. Cey-ka al. ko iss.supnita.
    I-SM know-ing be.FO/DCL
    'I know (it). (In answer to 'Who knows it?)

Delimited in this way, the subject cannot be omitted in (68.b,c).

One of the common types of ellipsis is 'gapping', whereby an identical predicate(s) in a coordinate sentence may be omitted from all but the last conjunct. In SVO languages like English, by contrast, an identical predicate(s) in a coordinate sentence may be omitted from all but the first conjunct.

(69) SOV Language: Korean

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S & O & V} & \rightarrow \ldots \rightarrow \text{S & O & V} \\
\downarrow & \\
\text{S & O & V} & \rightarrow \ldots \rightarrow \text{S & O & V}
\end{align*}
\]

(where: Vs are identical; Ss and Os are nonidentical.)

(70) Yong-un sakwa-lul, Hyen-un pay-lul, Mia-nun kyul-ul cohaanta.
    apple pear orange like
    'Yong likes apples, and Hyen pears, and Mia oranges.'

(71) Mica-nun Yengkwak-ulo, (kuliko) Yuna-nun Phulangsuo-lo, (kuliko) Mia-nun Tokel-
    England toward and France toward and Germany
    lo ttenassta.
    toward left
    'Mica left for England, and Yuna for France, and Mia for Germany.'

In the gapped utterance the conjunctive particle kuliko 'and' (or kulena 'but') is optional; if it is present, the utterance has more of a spoken flavour. The non-

identical remnant in one conjunct is parallel to that in another.
(72) a. *Mia-nun Yong-eykey ponci-lul, kuliko*
   TOP to ring-OM and
   
   *Yuna-nun Hyen-eykey sikey-lul cwiseessta.*
   TOP to watch-OM gave
   'Mia gave a ring to Yong and Yuna a watch to Hyen.'

b. *Mia-nun Yong-eykey, kuliko*
   TOP to and
   
   *Yuna-nun Hyen-eykey sikey-lul cwiseessta.*
   TOP to watch-OM gave
   'Mia gave a watch to Yong and Yuna to Hyen.'

c. *Yong-eykey Mia-ka ponci-lul kuliko*
   to SM ring-OM and
   
   *Yuna-ka sikey-lul cwiseessta.*
   SM watch OM gave
   'To Yong, Mia gave a ring and Yuna a watch.'

In addition to the process of gapping, coreference in predicates across sentence and speaker boundaries is often reduced to the pro-predicate form *kuul.hata* 'be/doi so'.

(73) a. A: *Mia-ya, ney-ka mwul epcyessni?*
   VOC you water spilt
   'Did you spill the water?'

   B: *Ney, cey-ka kulay:ss eyo.*
   yes I did so
   'Yes, I did.'

b. A: *Ne chwup.ni?*
   you cold
   'Are you cold?'

   B: i. *Ney, chwueyo.*
   yes cold
   'Yes, I am.'
   ii. *Kul.ay-yeo.*
   so be-PO
   'Yes.'

c. A: *Wuli cikum iten.ikka?*
   we now leave will
   'Shall we leave now?'

   B: *Ney, ku.lay-yeo*
   yes so do-PO
   'Yes, let's do so.'
Another type of ellipsis involves the repetition of a coreferential predicate by way of deleting everything else recoverable from the context.

(74) A: *Yong-un chinkwa.tul-hako yeoceng-taylo yelun-ey Yulep.yehayng-ul tenasmi?*
friend.PLU-with schedule-as summer-in Europe. travel-OM left
'Did Yong leave for a European tour with his friends in the summer, as he had planned?'

B: *Tenasse.*
left
'Yes, he left (for the European tour with his friends in the summer, as he had planned).'

7.6. Discourse Analysis

Two types of discourse are analyzed: a short dialogue and a passage from a literary essay. One is typical of spoken discourse and the other of written discourse.

7.6.1. Dialogue

The following is a dialogue between the teacher, Mr. Kim and two of his middle-school students, Yong and Hyen.

(75) Dialogue

U1: Kim-sensayng : *Nwuka Mia-ilul cohahani?* 'Who likes Mia?'
   who OM like
U2: Yong : *Cey-ko.yo, sensayng nim.* I-SM.PO teacher
   'I (do), sir.'
U3: Kim-sensayng : *Mia-nun nwukwu-ilul cohahani?* 'Who does Mia like?'
   TOP who-OM like
U4: Yong : *Ce-ilul.yo.* (She likes) me'
   I-OM
U5: Hyen : *Ce-nun an cohahayyo.* (a) 'She doesn't like me.'
   I-TOP not like
   (b) 'I don't like her.'
U6: : *Kulehcinan, Yuna-nun cohahayyo.*
   but (a) 'But Yuna likes me.'
   like (b) 'But I like Yuna.'
   (c) 'But Mia likes Yuna.'

In this discourse situation there are two distinct speech levels: the plain level used by Mr. Kim and the polite level used by Yong and Hyen. We will analyze each utterance, adding some comments, paying particular attention to the
anaphoric reference in the dialogue.

(76) U1: Kim-sensayng: Nwuka Mia-lul cohahani?
      who OM like
      'Who likes Mia?'

Mr Kim's inquiry already assumes that someone likes Mia. In reply, Yong simply fills in the focus, while suppressing the topical presupposition.

(77) U2: Yong: Cey-ka.yo, sensayngnim. I (do), sir.
      I-SM.P0 teacher

U3 and U4 are a similar question-answer exchange. In reply, as in U2, the polite particle yo is attached to the object-marked pronoun ce-lul 'me'.

(78) U3: Kim-sensayng : Mia-nun nwukwu-lul cohahani? 'Who does Mia like?'
      who-OM like
      U4: Yong : Ce-lul.yo. (She likes) me.'

In U5, the exchange between the teacher and Yong is interrupted by Hyen. His reply is ambiguous between the two readings (a, b).

      a. 'She doesn't like me.'
      b. 'I don't like her.'

Whether the topic phrase ce-nun 'I/me (TOP)' is the subject or the object in U5? cannot be determined. Under the normal flow of information, U4 is likely to be taken as a response to the immediately preceding question (U3); besides, the same topic (in this case, Mia in U3 and U4) is retained. On these grounds the a-reading may be preferred. The b-reading may also be preferred, however, on the grounds that Hyen was waiting to answer the teacher's first question 'Who likes Mia?', even though it is not the immediately preceding question.

Hyen's successive utterance (U6) is again ambiguous; at least three interpretations are possible, as indicated below.

(80) U6: Kulehcimam, Yuna-nun cohahayyo. (a) 'But Yuna likes me.'
      but
      (b) 'But I like Yuna.'
      (c) 'But Mia likes Yuna.'

If we selected (a) in S5, either the a-reading or c-reading will be a likely
candidate; if we picked (b) in S5, then the b-reading will be the natural sequel, with the contrastive conjunctive particle *kulehiman* 'but'. The c-reading, which retains the same topic in zero form, might be rejected on the grounds that liking should not be between the same sex (although there is no such taboo in Korean society).\(^1\) After all, it depends on the speaker Hyen—his intention. What the speaker has in mind, however, should be made transparent to the interlocutor so that (s)he can infer the referent with the least effort.

7.6.2. *Literary Essay*

A short passage from a literary essay *Pom* 'spring' by Pi Chon-Deuk (Pi 1989) is analyzed below. The passage consists of five sentences (S1-S5). After presenting the text with interlineal glosses and a translation, a structural analysis is attempted in the form of tree diagrams.

(81) *Pom* 'spring'

S1. *Celmuun-um eneinyo bankyelkathi alumepta.*
   youth always constantly beautiful

S2. *Cinaka:n nal-uy ayin-ekeyse.nun hwanmyel-ul makkye-to nawkwuna*
   bygone day's lover-from disillusionment feel-though anyone
   *ilhepel.in celmu.un-ey.nun anthakkaw.un nilyen-ul kacunata.*
   lost youth-to annoying regret have

S3. *Nai-ul mel. anyen celmu ess.ul tay-uy choco-ya pennoy-lul haythatho-ko moom-i*
   age eat if young time-of impatience anguish deliver-end mind
   *kala.e.nen.ta-ko henta.*
   calm- QU say

S4. *t 'maum-uy aneeng'-ila.nu kes-un mwukilyek-ulo,pwuhe o.nun motun*
   this mind-of quiet-COP-ADNZ thing enervation-from come.ADNZ every
   *samwul-ey.tayha.n mwukwansim-ul malha nun kes-ita.*
   thing-about indifference-OM say—ADNZ fact-COP

S5. *Mwata.e ci. n eisen-kwa twahay.e ci.n kamsvsweng-ay.tayha.n sulphu.n*
   dull.become ADNZ intellect-and blunt become. ADNZ sensibility-about sad
   *wian-uy mal-ita.*
   consolation-of word-COP

'Youth is beautiful as ever. While everyone feels disillusionment for his bygone lover, he has a lingering attachment to his lost youth. When we get old, we are delivered from the anxiety and anguish of youthful days and have our mind calmed down, they say. This "peace of the mind" is nothing but indifference to everything coming from inertia; it is a word of sad consolation to the intellect and sensibility which have turned dull and blunt.'
(82) Analysis

DT (discourse type), REF (referent), SA (speech act), SL (speech level),
SS (sentence structure), ST (sentence type), TS (tree structure)

DT: literary essay
S1-S3
S1. SL: plain
ST: declarative
SA: assertive
SS: S-A[ADV-ADV-A]
TS: S1

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \text{Celnum-un encyna hankelkathi aluntapta.}
| youth-TOP always constantly beautiful
\end{array}
\]

S2. SL: plain
ST: declarative
SA: assertive
SS: ADVC[ADV-S-O-V[ADVZ]]-ADV-S-O-V
TS:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S2 \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \text{ADVC[1] ADVP S O V}
\end{array}
\]

a. ADVC[1]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
M \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \text{Cinaken nal-uy ayin-eykeyse nun}
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \text{...to the lover disillusionment feel-thought}
\end{array}
\]

b. S2

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S2 \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \\
| \text{ilhepeli}
| \\
| \text{celnum-ey nun nukwuna anhakkawan miyenv ul kacnunta.}
| lost youth-to [2] lingering attachment have
\end{array}
\]

REF: [2] nukwuna 'everyone'
S3. SL: plain level
ST: declarative
SA: assertive
S5: O[NCL[ADVC-CL[CL[CONJ]-CL]-QU]]-S-V
TS:

S4. SL: plain
ST: declarative
SA: assertive
SP: S[AC-N]-O[AC-N]-V
TS:

S5. SL: plain
ST: declarative
SA: assertive
S5: [S4]-C[SP[1]]-COP
TS: subject NP is S4; subject complement (Cs) is the whole NP tagged as [1]
S
  S  C_s  COP
  [NP]  [NP]  |
  |  [1]  |
  |  |  |
  [S4]  mal  ita
        word  be

REF: [S4] (the content of S4)

Sub-Tree [1]

NP[1]
  NP  N
    NP  P
      PP
        NP
          P  A  N
            NP
              AC  N
              AC  N

mmuiecin ciseng-kwa twun... cin kanswuseng eytayhan sulphun wian -uy mal
dull intellect-and blunt sensibility about sad consolation-of word
Appendix

Text 1. Swuswukkeykki ‘Puzzles’
2. Kewul ‘The Mirror’
3. Hwanghny Cengsung ‘Minister Hwang Huy’
4. Tankwun Iyaki ‘Tale of Tankwun’
5. Hankul ‘The Korean Alphabet’
6. Cwu.uy Kito ‘Lord’s Prayer’

1. Swuswukkeykki ‘Puzzles’

Sensayng: Onul.un swuswukkeykki lul phwul e po likka yo?
teacher today.TOP puzzle. OM solve.INF try.INT.PO

Mwuncey,lul nay. l. they.ni al.a. mac.hi. e. pwa.yo.
problem.OM produce.ANZ. plan.as find.INF. hit INF. try. PO

Achin.ey.nun ney pal.lo. mac.ei.nun tuw pal.lo. cenyek.ey.nun sey
morning.at TOP four leg. with noon.at.TOP two leg. with evening.at.TOP three

pal.lo ket. nun kes. un mwues.i. lkka.yo?
leg.with walk.ANZ thing.TOP what COP INT.PO

Hanako: A. ce kuke aya. Salam i ci yo?
ah I that know.PO person COP SU PO

NB: kuke < ku kes ‘the thing, that’

Sensayng: Nemwu swv.ess. kwun.yo. Kulem i.pen ey.n com elyev. un kel.lo
teacher too easy.PST.EXC.PO then this.time.at TOP bit difficult.ANZ thing.with

hana nay.keysse.yo. Ana machi. ki hintul. kel. yo
one produce will.PO perhaps hit. NOMZ difficult.maybe.PO

Mek.ko siph. ci anha.to nwukwuna mek.eya. ha.nun kes. un
eat.GER.desirous.SU not.though everyone eat.must.ANZ thing.TOP
mweći, yo?
what.COP.SU.PO

NB: kulom < kulo.myen 'then'; -en < -en; kel.ło < ker.ulo; mweći.yo < mweći.i.cii

perhaps meal not.INT.PO whoever eat.only if live.as. PO

Sensayng: ‘Pap’i anila ‘nai’i.key.yo. Nam. nun kel Hankwuk
meal.SM not.COP age COP.PO grow.old.ADNZ fact/OM Korea
salam.tul.un nai.tul mek.nunta.ko thanhay.yo.
person.PLU.TOP age.OB eat. SE. QU say. PO

NB: kel < kes.iul 'thing/fact/event.OB'

Mike: Cham cayni.iss.nun phyohyen. i kwun.yo. Sensayngnim, i.pen.evn
indeed interesting expression.COP.EXC.PO teacher this.time.at.TOP
cehuy.ka nay. ilkrey.yo.
we produce.will. PO

Twungtwungha.nyen itwungtwungha.lswulok kapyew.e.ci nun key
fat. if fat. the.more light.INF.SU.ADNZ thing
mwen. ci a. sey.yo?
what. SU know.HON.PO

NB: key < kes.i ; mwen < mwues.in 'what.COP'

Sensayng: Kulissey.yo. Kwiium.i.nka?
well. PO cloud.COP.INT

Barbara: Caysongha.piina.nam. i.pen. evn sensayng.nim.i thulli.pi esse.yo.
sorry. SE. though this.time.at.TOP teacher. IfON.SM wrong.HON.PST.PO

Puwungsen ley.yo.
balloon COP.PO

NB: eyen < eyunn

Hanako: Ce.io hana nay.i.key.yo. Haswuk.cip acwumeni. hartheysel.tul.un
i.too one produce.will.PO boarding.house aunt. from hear. ADNZ
ke.ttey.yo. ‘Ssu ki, nun ssu. ciman
thing.COP.EXC.PO. write/use/wear.NOMZ. TOP write/use/wear.though
tik ci mos. ha nun kes. un mwues.i.ikka.yo?
read.SU unable.ADNZ thing.TOP what. COP.INT.PO

NB: ke.ttey < kes. i. cey: ssu 'write, use, put on (headgear)' (lexically ambiguous)

Mike: Sww.un kes kathu.ttey el'eyep. kwun.yo. Kukey. mwe.ci.yo?
easy.ADNZ thing seem. but difficult EXC.PO that SM what.SU.PO

NB: kukey < kuses.i 'that.SM'

Hanako: Moca.lay.yo. ‘moca.lul ssunta’ ko ha.ci. anh.ayo?
hat.COP.PO hat.OB wear QU say. SU not.PO

NB: moca.lay.yo < moca.la.ko.hay.yo ' (she says) it is a hat'
APPENDIX

Sensayng: Nala.mato caymi.iss nun swinswukkeykki.ka manh ul the.yntey
country each interesting, ADNZ puzzle. SM many, expected, to and
han salam.ssit lok.a. ka.mye iyakiha.nun key ettay.yo?
one person each turn, INF go and talk. ADNZ thing how be PO
NB: ettay.yo < eite.hay.yo 'How is it?, How about?'

Teacher: Shall we try to solve puzzles today? I'll give you one. So you try to get a
right answer. It walks in four legs in the morning, two legs at noon and
two legs in the evening. What is it?
Hanako: Ah, that I know. It is a 'man', isn't it?
Teacher: It was too easy! Now I'll give you a slightly harder one this time. Perhaps it
must be difficult to hit the right mark. 'Nobody wants to eat it but everyone must
eat it?' What is it?
Barbara: Perhaps, it is food—isn't it? Because we can live only if we eat food.
Teacher: No, it isn't food—it is 'age'. Koreans say 'eating age', which means growing old.
Mike: It is really an interesting expression. This time we'll give you puzzles, sir.
"The fatter, the lighter." What is it?
Teacher: Well—a cloud, is it?
Barbara: Sorry. You are wrong this time. It's a balloon.
Hanako: I'll give you a puzzle, too. I heard it from my landlady. It is something you
can 'ssuta' but you can't write it. What will it be?
Mike: Sounds easy. But it is hard. What is it?
Hanako: It is a hat, she says. You say 'mo.ca.lul 'ssuta' (put on a hat), don't you?
Teacher: Every country may have plenty of interesting puzzles. How about everyone
taking turns and giving a talk on puzzles?

2. *Kewul* 'The Mirror'

Tlay: ye.yanal. kewul.i mvues.inci acik al. ci mos.ha.ten itay
time long-time-ago mirror SM what COP SU yet know SU unable ADNZ time
Kos: Seoul uy sicang, sikol.cip
place of market country, house
Nao.nun salam.tul: nongpwu. nongpwu.uy anpeci, nongpwu.uy anay, nongpwu.uy emeni,
appear ADNZ person, PLU farmer of father of wife of mother
kekey.cwoin
store owner
Acessi. yeki i tongulun mwulen.i mwues.i.pnikka? i.tay.kkaci

Uncle here this round thing SM what COP.INT this time till

po.ci mos.han isanghan kes.i kwon.yo.

See SU unable ADNZ strange ADNZ thing COP.EXC.PO

Kakecywuin: A, ike.yo? Acwu sinkh.a.n mwulen.i. ci.yo. kes.un mwulen.ul

Ah this PO very novel ADNZ thing COP SU.PO this SM thing OM

Ttokathii pichwwe cuw.nun kewul ila.nun ke.pnita. Cengma!
just the same reflect give ADNZ mirror COP ADNZ thing SE indeed

caymi.iss.nun mwulen.i ci.yo.

Interesting ADNZ stuff COP SU.PO

NB: ike.yo < ikes.i.yo; ke.pnita < kes.i.pnita

Nongpwa: Kewul.i.yo? Et com po.psita. (Cuwiin ulo.pwuthe kewul ul pat.a

Mirror COP PO well bit look PRP owner with from mirror OM receive

tul.ko caseyi ulyetapo.take kkaam ccnak nol.a.myo) ani i

Hold and in detail look at and suddenly surprise and dear me this

Sok ey weyn nanca.ka iss.nev.yo. I salam.i mwukwu.pnikka?
inside at what kind of male SM exist DCL PO this person SM who INT

NB: weyn < way.in 'that is how'

Kakecywuin: Ku salam.i paio tangsin.i.yo. Tingsin.uv elkwul.i kuleh.key sayngki ess eyo.

The person SM just you COP PO you. 's face SM so look PST PO

Tingsin.uv elkwul ul iss.nun kutaylo poy.e cuw.n kes.i yo
your face OM as it is show INF give ADNZ fact COP PO

Nongpwa: Cham sinkiha.n mwulen.i kwon.yo. Acessi. I kewul.i elma

Indeed novel ADNZ stuff COP EXC PO uncle this mirror SM how much

ci.yo? I kewul ul cey.ka sa keyss.supnita. (Nongpwa nun kewul ul

SU.PO this mirror OM I buy will DCL farmer TOP mirror OM

Santa.)

Buy

Kakecywuin: Cosinbay.se cal tul.ko ka say.yo.
carefully well hold and go HON PO

Nongpwa: Konap.supnita. (Cip ulo tola ka. ni ta.)
thank you house toward return SE
Time: a long time ago, when people didn’t know what a mirror was.

Place: a marketplace in Seoul and a village house.

Characters: farmer, father, mother, wife, and storekeeper.

Scene 1. (in front of a store in the market)

Farmer: What is this round stuff? It’s a strange thing I’ve never seen up to now.

Storekeeper: This one? Yes, it’s a very novel thing. It reflects objects exactly as they are. It is called a mirror. It really is an interesting object.

Farmer: Mirror? Let me take a look at it. (Taking the mirror from the storekeeper, he looks at it closely and suddenly gets startled.) Why! There is someone inside. Who is this man?

Storekeeper: That man is just you. Your face is like that. It shows your face exactly as it is.

Farmer: It is indeed a novel object. How much is this mirror? I’ll buy it.

(He buys the mirror.)

Storekeeper: Take it with you carefully.

Farmer: Thanks. (He returns home.)

scene house main.room wife.SN sleep.GER be.SEP farmer.TOP wife.SPEP sleep.
koreiss.nun.cii. hwakinha.na. Nongpwu.nun cangnong sok ey swunyk.e twu. n
GER be.ADNZ-SU make.sure SE farmer.TOP cabinet.inside.at hide.INF put.ADNZ
kewul.ul kkenay tulyetaponta.) mirror.OM take.out look.into.SEP

Nongpwu. Ike cengmal sinkiha.n il. i. ya. Nay elkwul.ul po. l. swu.
farmer this indeed novel.ADNZ event COP.SEP my face.OM look.ADNZ means
iss.ta. ni. (horca wus. e pon.ta) exist.SEP as alone laugh.INF try.SEP

NB: ike < ikes

Anay: Yepo! Tangsin cilum mwe.ha.ko isse.yo? Tangsin.un nay.ka ca. nun
dear you now what.do.ing be.PO you TOP I.SEP sleep.ADNZ
cwul.al. ass.cii.yo? Yocum tangsin. i nal.mata ku.kes. ul po. ko
how to know.PST.SU.PO lately you.SM day each the thing.OM look.and
horca coha.hay.se onu.un nay.ka ca. nun chek. he. ko iss.ess.eyo.
alone like as today.TOP I.SEP sleep.ADNZ pretend.do.ing be.PST.PO
Totaychey lakey mweve.yo?. Na.to eom pop.si.ta. (Anay.un kewul.ul on
on earth that what.COP.PO I.too bit look.PRJ wife.TOP mirror.OM
ppayas.ule ha.na)
snatch to.do.SEP

not.become.PO this TOP not.become.PO break.NOMZ easy.as careful
ya.hay.yo.
musi.PO

Anay:
(Kewul.ul ppayas.a tulyetapo.ko) Ani, ike.n celn.un yoracle
mirror.OM snatch.and look.into and my! this.TOP young.ADNZ woman
ani.yey.yo? Tangsin Seoul ka.ss.ta o.teni yeca.lul hana
not.be.PO you go.PST.SE come.then woman.OM one
teyli.ko wass.kwun.yo. Kuliko.nun I sok.ey svumki.e noh.ko
bring.GER came.EXC.PO and.TOP this.inside.at hide.INF put.and
nay.ka eps. ul tay po. ko iss.ess.kwun.yo. Aiko ile.1
I.SM not.exist. ADNZ time look.ing be.PST. EXC. PO oh.my this. ADNZ
swu. ka! (Anay.nun wul.myense kewul.ul tul.ko siemeni pang,
means.SM wife/TOP cry.ing mirror.OM hold.and mother-in-law room
ulo ttwi.e. kan.ta) toward run.INF go.SE

Emeni! ikes com po.sey.yo! Kuissey ce salam. i cinan.pen.ey Seoul.ey ka.ss.ta
mother this bit look.HON PO well that.person SM last.time.at to go.PST. SE
o. teni celn.un chep.ul hana teyli.ko wass.eyo. Ku
come.then young. ADNZ concubine.OM one bring.GER came.PO that
yeca.kal palo i sok. ey svum.e iss.eyo. Com po.sey.yo, emeni.
woman. SM exactly this inside.at hide.INF be.PO bit look.HON PO mother

Siemeni: Mwe la.ko? Chep.ila.ko? Eti po.ca. (Siemeni. nun
mother-in-law what.SE QU concubine.COP. SE. QU well look PRP mother-in-law.TOP
meynuli.) lo.pwuthe ppayas.a pon.ta) Ani ikey weyn
daughter-in-law from snatch.INF look.SE oh my this SM what sort of
il. i.nyoy. Ne.n nwukwu.nya? Ese noo. ci mos. hay? Aikwu
event.COP. INT you.TOP who.INT promptly come. OUT. SU can’t dear. me
ikel eece.na? Yay.ya. Ikek.n ney namphyen.uy chep. i anila
this.OM how.INT child.VOC this.TOP your husband of concubine COP not
ney siapeci.uy chep. i. lo. kwuna. (Siemeni. nun ca ko
your father-in-law of concubine.COP. EXC mother-in-law.TOP sleep.ing
iss.nun siapeci.lul kkaywu.nye) Yevo, tansginsin, etehkey toy.n
be. ADNZ father-in-law. OM wake. while dear you how become. ADNZ
il. i ey.yo? Tangsin na moilly eywen nulk.un y oracle. lul cip. ey
even. COP. PO you I secretly what sort of old. ADNZ woman. OM house.at
bring. and put. PST. PO who. COP. PO when bring.GER came. PO
Ppalli malhay.yo
quickly say. PO

NB: ikey < ikes.it, nen < ne-num; ikel < ikes.ul; iken < ikes.ur; yay < i ay ‘this child’

Siapeci: Mwe.la.ko? Nayaka chep. ul teyli. ko wass.ta.ko? Eti com
father-in-law what. COP. QU I SM concubine. OM bring. GER came. SE. QU well bit
APPENDIX

po.psita. (Siapcei. nun kewul.ul pon.ta) Ani! Yepo. ike.n look.PRP father-in-law.TOP mirror.OM look.SE oh.my dear this.TOP
weyn nul.n yengkan ani.o? Tangsin encey.pwu the na molu. key what.sort.of old.ADNZ old.man not.BL you when.from 1 secretly.
I yengkan.ul manna.ss.so? Enen nom.i.o? this.old.man.OM meet.PST.BL what.sort.of guy.COP.BL

Anay: Ani.yey.yo. Ape.nun ku.key ani.yey.yo. Ku sok.e.nun not.COP.PO father.HOM the thing.SM not.COP.PO the inside at.TOP
mos.seynki n celn.un yeca.ka hana iss.ess.yo. ugly.ADNZ young.ADNZ woman.SM one exist.PST.PO

NB: ku.key < ku.kes.i

Siemeni: Celmun. yeca. la. ni. Aniya. Pwunyeng hi nul.n yeca.ka young.ADNZ woman.COP.as not.COP clear.ly old.ADNZ woman.SM
na hanthey soli.lul cill.ess.e. I. to sound.OM yell.PST.IN

Siapcei: Ani ikey weyn il.i.ya? (Motwu selo kewul.ul dear.me this what.sort.of event.COP.IN all each.other里程.O Bernard
ppayas.ulye hanta. Kewul.i ttang.ev tilet.ci. e kkayci.ni.ta.) snatch.as.to do. SE mirror.SM ground.at fall become.INF.break.SE

Nongpuwu: Ahyu. Ikey kewul.ul po.l.swu.eps.key toy. ess.kwuna. Ku good.grief now mirror.Om look.can.not.so.that become.PST.EXC the
akkaw.un kes.ul kkay.ss. uni (Chencehri, him.eps.i) ike.n says ang.
precious.ADNZ thing.OR break.PST.so slowly feebly this.TOP world
motun kes. ul iss.nun.taylo po.ye cuw.nun kewul. ila.nun all thing.OM exist. as it is show.INF give.ADNZ mirror.COP.ADNZ
ke. yey.yo. Apecki po.si. myen apeci.uy elkewul. emeni.ka thing.COP.PO father.SM look.HON.if father.of face mother.SM
po.si. myen emeni.uy elkewul. kuliko tingsin.i po.myen tingsin.uy elkewul. i look.HON.if mother.of face and you.SM look.if your face.SM
po.i.nun. sinka.n mwukhen.i.yey.yo. Lcey kkaycy. e pety. ess uni visible.ADNZ novel.ADNZ thing.COP.PO now break.INF discard.PST.so
wuli.nun amwu. kes.to po.l.swu. eps.key toy. ess.yo. we.TOP any .thing.too look.can.not.so.that become.PST.PO

NB: ike.n <ikes.un

Siapcei: (Kokay.lul kkuteki.mye) wuli.nun kulen kes.to molu. ko.

Siemeni: head.OM nod.while we.TOP such thing too not know.GER
Scene 2. (house, the main room) The wife is sleeping. The farmer makes sure his wife is asleep. He takes out the mirror from the cabinet and looks at it.)

Farmer: It is indeed a strange thing. I can look at my own face! (He grins)
Wife: Dear, what are you doing now? Lately, you take a look at that thing every day and you look happy all alone. So today I pretended I was asleep. What on earth is that thing? Let me take a look at it, too. (Wife tries to snatch it away from him)

Farmer: No, you can't. Don't do it! It'll break. Be careful.
Wife: (Snatching the mirror, she looks at it) Dear me, this is a young woman, isn't it? You brought a woman back from Seoul. Then you hid her inside and were looking at her when I was not around. How dare you ...! (Crying and holding the mirror, wife dashes to Mother-in-law's room)
Mother! Look at this! He brought home a young mistress from Seoul. She's been hiding in it. Take a look at it, Mother.

Dear, what's the matter with you? You brought home an old dame and keep her here in secret. Who is she? When did you bring her? Answer me.

(Father-in-law looks at the mirror). My Goodness! This is an old man, isn't he? Since when have you been meeting this old man in secret? Who is this guy?

Wife: No. It's not that, Father. There was an ugly young woman inside.

Mother-in-law: A young woman? No, surely it's an old woman who yelled at me.

Father-in-Law: Well, well, what happened? (Everyone tries to get hold of the mirror. The mirror falls down onto the floor and breaks into pieces.)

Farmer: Oh Gosh. I can't look at the mirror anymore. The rare thing has broken! (Slowly and feebly) This is what they call ‘mirror’. It shows everything in the world exactly as it is. If Father looks at it, it shows Father's face. If Mother looks at it, it shows Mother's face and if you do, it shows your face. It is a unique thing. Now it's broken, we can see nothing.

Father-in-law:
Mother-in-law
Wife (Nodding) How ignorant we are!
3. **Hwang Huy Cengsung** 'Minister Hwang Huy'

Enu pom.nal. i ess.supnita. Celmn senpi han salam-i tul.kil. ul ka. ko
some spring day-be.PST.SE young scholar one person-SM field.road-OM go GER
iss.ess.supnita. Senpi nun mal tongmwu.ku epse. se com simsimhay.ess.supnita
be.PST.SE scholar.TOP talk.friend.SM not.existant.as bit bored. PST.SE
Kulayse camsi kelem.ul manchwu.ko cwnwi. lul twul.le.po. ass.supnita.
so awhile walking.OM stop. and surrounding.OM look.around. PST.SE

*Ku tay, so twu mail.io path.ul ka.nun nongpwwu.ku po.y. ess.supnita.
The time cow two CL. with field.OM plough.ADNZ farmer. SM. visible PST.SE
Han mail.nun nwule.n so, ito han mail.nun kemun so. i ess. supnita.
one CL. TOP yellow. ADNZ cow another one CL. ADNZ black cow. be.PST.SE
Senpi.nun nongpwwu.eykey khan soli.io mwul.ess.supnita.
scholar.TOP farmer. io loud voice. with ask.PST.SE

"Teposto, ku twu mail cwung.eyse enu so. ka il. ul te cal ha.pnika?"
yey the two CL middle from which cow SM work.OM more well do.SE
I mal. ul tui. un nongpwwu.nun senpi ka se its.nun kos. ulo takao. ass.-
this word.OM hear. ADNZ farmer TOP scholar. SM stand be ADNZ place.to approach.PST.
supnita.
SE

'Weyn il. i likka?'
what.sort.of.work.be.SE
Senpi.nun nongpwwu uy hayagtong.ul isangha.key yeki. ess.supnita.
scholar.TOP farmer. of deed. OM strangely consider.PST.SE
Kulentey te isangha.n il. i sayangki.ess.supnita. Takao. n nongpwwu.ka
but more strange. ADNZ event. SM occur. PST.SE approach ADNZ farmer. SM
senpi. uy kwi.ey yay. ko ilehkey malha.nun kes. i ess supnita
scholar.of car.to touch. and like. this say. ADNZ fact.be.PST.SE

"Nwule.n so. ka te cal ha.pnita."
yellow. ADNZ cow. SM more well do.SE
Senpi.nun ki. ka makh.ess.supnita.
scholar.TOP spirit .SM. clog. PST.SE

"Ant, kuiten kes. ul mwele. kwi. eya tay. ko soksakinta.n mai.i pnikka?"
why such thing.OM what ear.to touch. and whisper. ADNZ word be.SE
NB: mwele < mwele. ul 'what.OM'
Kui eca nongpwwu nun malhav.ss.supnita.
then farmer.TOP say. PST.SE

"Kem. un so.ka tui.unyen sewunhay.ha.likka.pwa kulay.yo.
black. ADNZ cow.SM hear if sorry.feel. INT. seeming so. be.PO
'It was a spring day. A young scholar was walking along a field path. He was a bit weary as there was no one to talk with. So he stopped walking awhile and looked around.

Then he saw a farmer ploughing the soil with two cows. One cow was yellow and the other was black.'

'The scholar asked the farmer in a loud voice.

'Hey there! Which one of the two cows does the work better?'

The farmer, hearing what the scholar said, came towards where the scholar was standing.

'What's the matter?'

The scholar thought the farmer's deed strange.

Then a stranger thing took place. The farmer, coming closer to the scholar, whispered to his ear:

'The yellow cow works better.'

The scholar was taken aback.

'Why! Why are you whispering to me?'

Then the farmer said:

'It was because the black cow might feel sorry if he heard what I'd said. A man would also feel sorry if he heard he is inferior to others, wouldn't he?'

Then he returned to the field where he had been working. The scholar looked at the figure of the farmer from behind. The scholar's head became lowered by itself.

Throughout his life the scholar kept the farmer's word in mind and he never spoke ill of others indiscriminately. He always treated people generously. This scholar was Hwang Huy the Teacher, who later became a famous Minister of State.'
4. Tankwun lyaki  ‘The Tale of Tankwun’

Yeysnal hanul nala. ey Hwanin.ila. nun hanul.uy inkum.i iss. ess. ta. old day heaven country.at COP. ADNZ heaven.of king SM exist PST. SE Hwanin. eykey. nun Hwanwung ila. nun hauityungka ko tidiotokha n atul.i iss. ess. ta. top. COP. ADNZ excellent and bright. ADNZ son SM exist PST. SE Hwanwung un hanul nala. eyse. to hayngpokha. ki. nun hay. ss. cimaan tting. ey TOP heaven country at too happy NOMZ. TOP be. PST though earth. at naylyeo. ko siphe. hay. ss. ta. Apeci Hwanin un atul eykey tting ul tasuli. iiok descend and desirous do. PST. SE father TOP son. to earth. OM rule so. that helakha. yess. ta. Kuliko tting. ul cal tasuli. ki wikey pi. kutum. palam. kwa pwuha permit PST. SE and earth. OM well rule. NOMZ for rain cloud wind and subordinate 3 chen. myeng. ul teyli. ko naylyekoa key hay. ss. ta. Ttong ulo naylyeo. n thousand CL. OM take and descend ADVT do. PST. SE earth. towards descend. ADNZ Hwanwung un Payktwu. son. ey man. ul mantul. ko paykseng ul mo e tasuli. ki TOP Mt. ai village. OM make and people. OM gather INF rule. NOMZ sicakhay ss. ta. begin. PST. SE

i. ttay Hwanwung. I sa.nun kos. eyse kuli mel. ci anh. un kos. ey this time SM live. ADNZ place from so far. SU not ADNZ place at holangi han mali. wa kom han mali. ka sai coh. key sai. ko iss. ess. ta. kutul. un tiger one CL. and bear one CL. SM relation good. ADVT live GER be. PST. SE they. TOP salam. i toy. nun kes. i sown. i ess. ta. Kulayse kutul. un Hwanwung eykey person SM become. ADNZ fact. SM wish. COP. PST. SE so they. TOP to chai. ka salam. i toy. key hay. tal. la ko pwuthakhay. ss. ta. visit and person. SM become. ADVT do. give. IMP. QU request. PST. SE

Hwanwung un ssywuk. kwa manul. ul cwe. myense taum. kwa kathi malhay. ss. ta. TOP wormwood and garlic. OM give while next. like say. PST. SE

’Ikes. ul mek. ko payk. li tongan etuwun. kwul sok. eyse moom. kwa manul. ul this. OM eat and 100 day duration dark. ADNZ cave inside. at body and mind. OM kkaytusha. key hanta. myen. salam. i toy. I swu iss. ul kes. i. ta. ‘ clean ly do. if person SM become. ADNZ means exist. ADNZ fact. COP. SE Holangi. nun paykop. un. ul cham. ci mosha. ko 20 il man. ey kwul. eyse na wass ko tiger. TOP hungry. NOMZ. OM endure. SU unable and day just at cave. from cane. cut. out and kom. un payk. il man. ey yeppun yeca lo tasi thayena. ss. ta. Salam. i toy. n kom. bear. TOP 100 day just at pretty woman as again born. PST. SE person SM become. ADNZ bear akosi wa Hwanwung. i kylehona ye thayena. n ai ka Tankwun-- Honkwuk ul seyw. n girl and SM marry and born. ADNZ child. SM Korea OM build. ADNZ seyw. un ches inkum. i. ta. Tankwun un te sal. ki coh. un kos. ul build. ADNZ first king COP. SE TOP more live. NOMZ good. ADNZ place. OM choc. a Payktwusan aloy. lo naylyewa. se ku kos. ey nalo. ul seyw. ko
A long time ago, there was a king called ‘Hwanin’ in the Kingdom of Heaven. Hwanin had a fine and bright son called Hwanwung. Hwanwung was happy in heaven but he wanted to come down to the earth. His father Hwanin permitted his son to rule the earth. And he let him take along rain, cloud and 3,000 subjects so that he could rule the earth well. Hwanwung, coming down to the earth, built a village on Mt. Payktwu, gathered people, and began ruling.

At that time, in a place not far from where Hwanwung resided were a tiger and a bear living together in a friendly relation. They had a wish to become human. So they came to see Hwanwung and asked him to make them human. Hwanwung, giving them some wormwood and garlic, said to them:

“Eat these and keep your mind and body clean in a dark cave for one hundred days. And then you may be able to become human.”

The tiger couldn’t stand hunger and came out of the cave after 20 days; the bear, after a hundred days, got reborn as a beautiful girl. The bear-girl, who became human, married Hwanwung and the child born was Tankwun, the first king that built Korea. Looking for a better place to live in, Tankwun moved down to the foot of Mt. Payktwu, where he founded a nation and called it ‘Cosen’—the Land of Morning Calm.

5. Hankul ‘The Korean Alphabet’
importantly think RETR. ADNZ some scholar PLU TOP firmly oppose NOMZ too hay ess ta. Kulen kulen pantay eyo pavulkuha ko kutul nyen kwu mun keyok toy do PST SE but such opposition to despite and they of research TOP continue ess ko machinmay hwuliyangha n kulca cheycey ka changcey toy ess ta PST and at last excellent ADNZ letter system SM create PAS PST SE
Hankul un ssu ki swip ko ilk ki swip ko pawu ki swip ta TOP write NOMZ easy and read NOMZ easy and learn NOMZ easy SE Hankul uy moum un hanul (·), ttang (ETING), salam ( / ), uy moyang ul po ko mulatal ess ko of vowel TOP heaven earth man of shape OM see and make PST and caun un ipswu (F), i ( A ), hye ( T ), nok kwuneng ( O ) tung uy moyang ul po ko consonant TOP lip tooth tongue nect hole etc of shape OM see and mulatal ess ta make PST SE
1446 nyen ey Sejong Tay wang i Hankul uy ceyceg ul panphoha ye 'paykseng year at great king SM of making OM promulgate and commoner eykey palun soli lul pawu tolol ( hwunmin, cengum ) ya ess ta. Ileh key haye to right sound OM learn so that teaching people right sound do PST SE doing like this Hankwuk in un seykey eyse cengnal calangha l swi iss mun kulca cheycey lul Korean people TOP world at truly proud ADNZ can ADNZ letter system OM kaci key toy ess ta. Hay mata si we kwu ul Hankul Nal ey Hankul uy possess ADVT became SE year each 10 month 9 day day at of ceyceg i cewkucek ulo kinyem toy ko iss ta making SM nation wide commemorate becoming be SE

'Up to the 15th century there was no writing system in Korea except Hanca (Chinese character). Even though there were letters called 'Itwu', which transcribed words by borrowing the sounds of Hanca, they were not genuine Korean letters. Hanca were not only numerous but also so difficult that the common people could not learn them easily. Itwu was also very inconvenient as it was unable to represent correctly what one wanted to say. Such difficulties and inconvenience indeed motivated the making of Hankul. Hankul was made by the effort of Great King Sejong and many scholars. Some scholars, who then regarded the Chinese culture as important, were strongly opposed to it. Despite such opposition, however, their research continued and at last an excellent writing system was created.
Hankul is easy to write, easy to read and easy to learn. The vowels of Hankul were modeled on the shapes of heaven (·), earth (ETING) and man ( / ) and the consonants on the shapes of lips ( F ), teeth ( A ), tongue ( T ), throat ( O ), and the like.

In 1446, King Sejong promulgated the making of Hankul, which is meant to have 'the common people learn the right sounds' ( hwunmin cengum ). Thus the Korean people have come to possess a writing system, which they can be truly proud of in the world. Every year, the making of Hankul is nationally commemorated on the Hankul Day--October 9.'
6. **Cwu.uy Kito**  

‘Lord’s Prayer’

\[ \text{Hanul ey keysi.n wuli apeci} \]
heaven.at exist (HON).ADNZ our father

\[ \text{apeci.uy ilun i kelwuk.hi pichno.si.mye} \]
father.of name.SM glorious.ly shine.HON.and

\[ \text{ku nala ka imha si mye} \]
the nation.SM come.HON.and

\[ \text{apeci.uy ttus.i hanul eyse wa kathi} \]
father.of will.SM heaven.at with same

\[ \text{itong eyse to ilwae ci sosse!} \]
earth.at too accomplish.become.SE

\[ \text{Onul wali eykey ilyongha.l yangsik ul cwu si ko,} \]
today we.to daily use.ADNZ food.OM give.HON.and

\[ \text{wali eykey calmoshan i lu wuul ka yongsheu ius i} \]
we.to wrong.do.ADNZ person.OM we SM forgive as

\[ \text{weli coy lu yongsheu si ko,} \]
our sin.OM forgive.HON and

\[ \text{wali lu yuhok ey ppaci ci mal key ha si ko} \]
we.OM temptation.at fall.SU not.so.that do HON and

\[ \text{ak eyse kwuha sosse.} \]
evil.from save.SE

---

**NB:** *ilwae ci sosse = ilwae ci sipso* ‘be-achieved.IMP’; *kwuha so se = kwuha sipso* ‘save.IMP’;  
- ‘sosse: a more formal and honored form of imperative than -psio ‘FO/IMP’ (cf. p.191).

‘Our Father, who art in heaven,  
hallowed be thy name;  
thy kingdom come;  
thy will be done on earth  
as it is in heaven.  
Give us this day our daily bread  
and forgive us our trespasses  
as we forgive those who trespass against us;  
and lead us not into temptation,  
but deliver us from evil.’
Notes

1 Speakers of Korean as native language: total 69.7 million (as of 1993; source: the National Academy of the Korean Language)

Distribution: South Korea 43 (million)
North Korea 22
Overseas 4.7 (China 1.92; U.S.A. 1.42; Japan 0.68; Russia 0.46; elsewhere 0.22)

2 Linking Korean to the Altaic family was pioneered by G. J. Ramstedt, N. Poppe, S. E. Martin, K.-M. Lee among others. There is also a 'south' theory which attempts to relate Korean and Japanese to the Malayo-Polynesian language family on the basis of common features like the honorific system and pitch accents. These features are absent in Altaic languages, but common to the Malayo-Polynesian family (S. Ohno 1970). For a brief account on the origin of Korean, see C.-W. Kim (1983) and S.-O. Yi (1983).

3 The Silla vernacular handed down to us in the writing of Chinese scripts is called Hyangga 'Silla Song'.

4 Three fricatives (/β/, /ζ/, /ɬ/) and one vowel (/o/) disappeared from Modern Korean; four vowels (/æ/, /æ/, /i/, /o/) were added to it.

5 The major dialects in Korea are:

   a. South Korea
      - Seoul Dialect: called 'standard', spoken in and around the capital Seoul and Kyengki Province, taught at school and used by mass media.
      - Kangwen Dialect: Mid-East
      - Chwungcheng Dialect: Central
      - Kyengsang Dialect: South-East
      - Celn Dialect: South-West
      - Ceyewu Dialect: Ceyewu Island

   b. North Korea
      - Phyengan Dialect: spoken in and around Pyengyang, the capital of North Korea.
      - Hamkyery Dialect: North-East
      - Hwanghay Dialect: Mid-West
Prior to the grammatical studies by the native scholars were some grammar books written by missionaries, including Ross (1877), Gale (1894, 1916), which are reprinted in Kim et al. (1988).

Beginning with Soek Choong Song (1967) and Soon-Ham Park (1967), more than one hundred Ph. D's on generative grammar have been produced (at the time of writing), mostly in the U. S. A.

In North Korea the use of Hanca was banned in 1949 in all walks of life not only at school but in the mass media as well. In 1953, the teaching of Hanca was partly restored; the total number of Hanca is delimited to 1,000 characters (Y.-K. Ko 1994).

Here vowel/consonant refers to the vowel/consonant letter, not sound.

For syllable-initial consonants, a dummy symbol \(< o >\), identical to the syllable-final nasal consonant \(< o /\rangle\), is used. The dummy \(< o >\) is assigned no Roman letter.

Notice that \(< r >\) and \(< i >\) are regarded as basic vowel letters, though they are formed of: \(< r > + < r > = < f >,\) \(< i > + < i > = < y >\). Furthermore, \(< r >\) and \(< i >\) behave like glides \(< y >\) and \(< w >\), respectively.

Note that simple letters \(< h >,\) \(< k >,\) \(< h >,\) and \(< p >\), \(< m >\), \(< m >\), \(< p >\) are each given a two-letter shape in the Romanization: \(< h >\) indicates aspiration, likewise, \(< k >,\) \(< h >,\) \(< m >\), \(< m >\), \(< p >\) in geminate forms each indicates tensing (or glottalization). In phonology, these aspirated or tense consonants are each analyzed as unitary.

As shown in (5, g), certain diphthongs, when combined with the semi-vowel \(< y >\) or \(< w >\), are written in two parts—one at the bottom, the other on the right of the block: \(< s o y >\) 'iron', \(< w o y >\) 'why', \(< tw i >\) 'twi' 'behind'.

In North Korea, three stages (or periods) are recognized for the spelling problem: i. Unified System Period (1945-54), ii. the Spelling Period (1954-56) and iii. Cultural Language Period (1966 onward) (cf. M.-S. Kim 1985:129).

The modern use of spaces probably began with Toklip Simnowun 'Independence Newspaper 1' (1896). It was practiced by the pioneer of Korean grammar Si-Kyeng Cwu (1907).

In most dialects, the high front round / ü / and the mid front round / ö / are non-existent; they are replaced by /wi/ and /vo/, respectively. Some dialects fail to distinguish /e/ and /æ/. For < ø > (\(< a y >\>) the open mid vowel / e / may be assigned in lieu of /æ/. In this book, however, the letter is chosen so as to fill in the low front slot.

The diphthong represented by letter \(< y >\) (\(< u y >\>) is, however, has dialectal and positional variations: [i], [i], [i] or [æ]. In the first case, we have a third semivowel (on-glide: high back spread /'ø/).

The Hankul vowel letter \(< e >\) (\(< e y >\>) is nondistinct from \(< e >\) (\(< y e >\>) after a consonant: (except for \(< s >\) (\(< h >\)); its phonemic value is /e/.
19 The lax obstruents are voiced after /m, n, l/ as well: [+voiced] _ V
tampay→tambay 'tobacco'; pantal→pandal 'half moon'; talgwal→talgwal 'egg'

20 The breakdown of the Korean vocabulary in the two comprehensive dictionaries in South Korea is as follows. (Proper names (of persons and places) are included in the figures.)

\[\text{Hankul Hakhay's (1992)} \quad \text{Kumseng's (1992)}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total entries</th>
<th>406,291</th>
<th>345,041</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NK words</td>
<td>112,343</td>
<td>128,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK words</td>
<td>179,147</td>
<td>195,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (approximately)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK words</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK words</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EK (European-Korean) words</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed words (e.g. NK + SK, SK + EK)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 The two words, *hwa.yong 'linguistic pragmatics' and hwa.hayng 'speech act' are not entered in Korean dictionaries, even though they are used by linguists.

22 The homonym, as used here, covers both homophonic (e.g. *sight, cite and site*) as well as homographic (e.g. *bank* and *banks*) in English.

23 The word 'computer' is translated as *cen.san.ki* but very few would use it. The days of borrowing by translation (such as 'telephone' and 'telescope' respectively as *cen.hwa* (lit. electricity-talk) and *mang.wo.n.kyong* (lit. distance-viewing-mirror), seem to have gone for good.

24 These loanwords, translated semantically (cf. 11.a) or pseudo-semantically (cf. 11.b,c), are borrowings from Japanese: *boo.en.kyoo* (望遠鏡) 'telescope'; *denwa* (電話) 'telephone'. *denpoo* (電話) 'telegram'. *Television* is curtailed to *tebei* in Japanese; *theyleypi* is also used in Korean along with *theyleypiyen* and *thihipi* 'TV'.

25 In the mass media, some VIPs' initials are used in Roman letters: *YS* (*Kim Yong Sam*), *DJ* (*Kim Dae Jung*), *JP* (*Kim Jong-Pil*).

26 The two-character word *chayk.sang* (冊 'book' + 床 'table' → 'desk'), as well as its constituents, is regarded as native. Note that an SK word for 'book' is *se.cek* (書籍).

27 Since *mayng* 'blind' is bound, *khem.mayng* as a whole may be analyzed as a single word. In order to include this and similar words as compounds we may have to redefine compounding as consisting of one free and one or more bound forms.

28 The general tendency of sound symbolism associated with the magnitude of a vowel is that the optimal vowel [a] (• 1a Jakobson 1942) expresses an affected meaning of being 'large-strong-heavy-slow', whereas the high-front vowel [i] expresses that of being 'small-weak-light-fast'. Aside from the correlate with each vowel's acoustic formant and its shape and size in the resonance chamber, Sapir's (1929) experiment with nonsense words *mal* and *mil* may evoke an association with the Latinate *maximum* and *minimum* in many European languages. What is remarkable about the Korean sound symbolism is that it is partially counter to this general tendency. Notice that in (24) the
affected meaning of being 'smaller-weaker-lighter-faster' (light isotope) is conveyed by
the mid vowel [o], not by the higher vowel [i] or [i].

29 The number of word classes varies around eight (traditional) to ten classes: e.g. S.-K.
Cwu (1910): (9 classes) noun, adjective, verb, particle, conjunctor, article, adverb,
interjector, sentence ender; H.-P. Choi (1937): (10 classes) noun, pronoun, numeral, verb,
adjective, copula, determiner, adverb, interjector, and particle.

30 *Tul may be added to a person’s name to indicate the person and his/her group: Mia-tul
‘Mia and her company/group’; by contrast, in English *Mary* stands for two or more
persons named *Mary*.

31 It is somewhat similar to the use of the second person pronouns *tu* and *vous* in French or
du and Sie in German. Japanese has a similar honorific system of personal pronouns.

32 The speaker's self-lowering or condescending is an indirect way of honouring the
addressee.

33 The form *(vixyce + epithet)* is for a deictic use. For anaphoric reference, the medial *ky*
is used with an epithet as the unmarked determiner; the proximal *i* is used to imply the
speaker’s proximity or empathy to the epithet; the distal *ce* is not used anaphorically.

34 *Caki*, originally a reflexive pronoun, has been used lately (post-1950) as a second person
pronoun between intimate persons such as husband and wife or lovers.

35 Other epithets for human reference include: *elusin* 'honoured elder', *elun* 'adult' and *noin
'aged person'. The following are bound nouns: *pwnn* 'honoured person', *i* 'person',
saykki 'idiot, son of a bitch (American English)'.

36 For a pragmatic reason the pejorative *yo*, *ko* and *ce* are not used with the honorific
person proform *pwnn* or *i*: *yo-pwnn/i*, *ko-pwnn/i*, *co-pwnn/i*.

37 *Ew* is unspecific and *etten* is specific, somewhat comparable to the English 'some' and
'certain'.

38 Note that *ce* has two pronominal senses: i. the first-person pronoun (self-lowering); ii. a
third-person reflexive pronoun. Likewise, its plural *cehuy(tul)*.

39 *Tangsin* is also used as a second person pronominal form. As reflexive it is used for an
estimable person like one’s grandparents; *caki* is also used as a second-person pronoun.

40 Martin (1954) uses 'processive' and 'descriptive' verbs for verbs and adjectives,
respectively; in Martin (1992), however, terms 'verb' and 'adjective' are also used for
classificatory purposes.

41 The seven sequence positions postulated here are different from those in Martin
present, stands for present/future, realized by zero ([ ] ) or *(nun*). Martin's third tense
(future: *keyss*) is treated here as vential mood (Mood1); our Mood2 is that of
retrospection, which in his analysis is included in the aspect category. His style and
aspect are absent in our analysis. The term aspect is reserved in this book for
constructions like <V-ko istta> and <V-e istta>, progressive and perfective aspects,
respectively (cf. 5.8.2). The category 'sentence modulator' assigned to the final position
here is what Martin calls 'mood', it extensively covers not only sentence type and level,
but shifting of clause types--nominalizing, adnominalizing, adverbializing, and clause or auxiliary linking as well.

42 The X-marked position indicates the non-occurrence of the suffix; the unmarked position is optional as to the occurrence of the suffix. The form in parentheses is an phonologically conditioned variant.

43 This position, called aspect position (Martin 1992:246), may be analyzed as including the processive -(nu)n, which is a feature differentiating a verb from an adjective.

44 The speech-act function of the sentence-final -ci is the speaker's weakening or reduction of assertive or tentative force to susceptible or suggestive one, casually seeking agreement or confirmation of a statement, a question, a proposal or a request. See 7.2 for further illustration on speech acts.

45 Of the two nominalizers: -(u)mn and ki, the former is used to represent relatively more abstract entities than the latter, somewhat similar to the English infinitive (to) and gerundive (-ing) nominals, respectively (e.g. to smoke vs. smoking). Besides these syntactic and productive nominalized words, there are derived (or fossilized) nouns with the -(u)mn or -ki nominalizer: sey.m 'calculation', po.ki 'example', analogous to the English findings, savings, etc. (S.-J. Chang 1966; Shim 1982).

46 The terms 'infinitive' and 'gerund' are those used by Martin (1954, 1992). He also uses these for his Japanese grammar (Martin 1975/88) (the infinitive i (for consonant verbs) or zero (for vowel verbs) and the gerund te). Somewhat misleading as they are, with no direct correspondence with their use in English, these terms are adopted here as they are widely known in the structural grammar of Japanese. The susceptible morpheme -ci, which is unknown in Japanese grammar, is also from Martin. The morphemes -e, -ko, and -ci are called 'complementizers' by some generative grammarians.

47 Historically, the form <V-e-iss> has turned into the past tense form: <V-ess> (< V-e-issa). Only a small subclass of intransitive verbs and certain cita-passive verbs (cf. 5.7.1.2) retain the form <V-e-iss> along with the past tense form: anc- (stem) 'sit': anc-ass 'sat' vs. anc-a-iss 'be sitting'; ali.e-ci-ess 'was known' vs. al.l.e.e-ci-e-iss 'is (being) known'.

48 In the list, cita 'become' and siphta 'likely' are auxiliaries, not functioning as main verbs: cita is an auxiliary verb and siphta an auxiliary adjective.

49 Some auxiliary, or compounding, verbs are also called 'serial verbs' (S. Lee 1992, Chung 1993, Jo 1995).

50 The proto verb hata in construction with a verbal noun (VN-hata) is also called 'light verb' (H.-D. Ahn 1988).

51 Imperatives with nonative adjectives like 'honest' and 'brave' are acceptable in English (Be honest!, Be brave!); in Korean, they may be rejected, or accepted as a contraction: of cengcik.hi 'honestly' + hay 'Do' ('Do honestly') (→ Cengcikhayl 'Be honest!')

52 When attached to pronouns, the possessive marker uy is contracted or suppressed: e.g.

i. na + uy → nay
ii. ne + uy → ney

1 of my you of your
ii. ce + uy → cey  iii. wuli + uy → wuli

I of (humble) we of our

53 There are hundreds of onomatopoetic adverbs of this sort.

54 Since 'case' is a grammatical term used for declensional endings of nouns in languages like Latin or Russian, its use for Korean nouns with no declensions is simply unfounded even though we may use the term 'case' particle (or marker) as a convenient cover term for the grammatical-function particles like i/ka (subject marker) and ul/ul (object marker).

55 These discourse-function particles are known as delimiters (I.-S. Yang 1972), focus particles (Martin 1992), special or auxiliary particles. Particles like 'only' and 'even' are also called 'focalizers' in Europe (Sgall 1991, Atlas 1991).

56 The comitative and conjunctive particles (k)wa and hako 'with/and' are identical in form in Korean; they are distinct in English: with vs. and. They are semantically related: 'A and B' vs. 'A with B'. The < -eyta ... eyta > form is also used conjunctively.

watch-and hat-and wallet-and all rob-PAS-PST-SE
'Watches, and hats, and wallets—everything was robbed.'

57 In generative grammar, S consists of Subject NP and Predicate VP: S → NP + VP. Other elements than the subject NP constitute a VP in this sense.

58 This is the mode of analysis expressed in Martin (1992:336). The subject or object of a sentence is an adverbial adjunct in his grammar of Korean.

59 The semantic role of the subject 'I' of the Korean emotive verbs in (14.b,d) may be described as nonstatic experienter in distinction to the static experienter role of the subject 'I' of the emotive adjectives in (14.a,c). Unlike Korean, whose emotive adjectives are regularly turned into emotive verbs by attaching hata to their stems, English has no uniform morphological process of forming emotive verbs from emotive adjectives or the other way around (e.g. hate - hateable - hateful; like - likable - *likeful; loath - loathie - *loathable - loathsome - loathful; love - lov(e)able - *loverful).

If the subject refers to 'hate' and 'like' are treated as static experienters, then these verbs, rather than adjectives 'hateful' and 'likable', may be used for the Korean emotive adjectives in (14.a,c); for the Korean emotive verbs in (14.b,d) we may then use some paraphrastic expressions such as 'evince (or manifest) hatred/liking towards' so as to 'externalize an internal feeling' (Yeon 1994). Alternatively, we may use 'hate' and 'like' for both Korean emotive verbs and adjectives, surmising that such English emotive verbs are simply insensitive to a distinction between static and nonstatic experiencing.

The object 'me' in (i) can be treated as a static and the subject 'I' in (ii) a nonstatic experienter. (The semantic role of 'John' is dubbed stimulus (cf. Dowty 1991:579).)

i. John pleases me.
ii. I like John.

60 The existential predicate issta 'exist' is a hybrid of an adjective and a verb; it cannot form progressive aspect -ko issta; it can form imperative sentences if the subject is an animate noun; it cannot have the present-tense suffix -<mu>n, which can occur as a verbal, not
adjectival, adnominalizer.

i. Cip-e y cha-ka *iss-ko-isssta.
   house-at car-SM

ii. *eps-ko-isssta.

iii. Cip-e y (ne-nun/*cha-ka) iss-ela! 'Stay home!'

iv. Cip-e y cha-ka iss-(*mun)-ta. 'There is a car in the house.'

v. Cip-e y cha-ka iss-nun/*un salam 'the man who has a car'
   ADNZ person

It is treated as constituting a subclass of adjective along with pure adjectives like monhta 'many/much' (cf. 4.4.2).

61 In Korean, the existential sentence (i) is preferred to the possessive sentence (ii).

i. Na-e ykey/nun cip-i issta.
   at/TOP house-SM be

   '(lit.) There is a house at me.'

   I-TOP house-OM have-GER be

   'I have a house.'

62 The Mia in the double object construction may have an additional discourse focus, while
the Mia in the possessive may not. Compare this with the double subject construction:

i. Mia-ka phal-l kilta.
   SM arm SM long

   'It is Mia who has long arms.'

Mia, in this construction, may have focus when contrasted to the possessive Mia-uy phal
'Mia's arms' in

ii. Mia-uy phal-l kilta. 'Mia's arms are long.'

63 The construction <nvukwu-(i)-nka-ka> (who - (COP) - INT - SM) is similar to the
Japanese indefinite/interrogative pronoun phrases: dare-ka-ga 'someone' vs. dare-ga
'who'. The nominative form nvuk.ka is shortening of nvukwu + ka.

64 This classification is based on the seven conjunctive roles in Quirk et al. (1985.634-6).

65 The hata in 'ani + hata' is an auxiliary, which stands for proto-action or proto-state ('do'
or 'be' in English); ani- ha.i.a is normally shortened to an.h.ta.

66 In this VN-hata construction, VN, as an object, may have the object marker (i)ul, the
hata thus behaving as a main verb (cf. 80.c).

i. yenkwu (vn. 'research'); yenkwu-hanta 'do-research' ↔

   yenkwu-lul hanta 'do research' → yenkwu-lul an hanta 'not do research'
   → yenkwu an hanta 'not do research'.

67 Notice that the English polarity-sensitive words such as hardly, rarely, scarcely, and
sedom are inherently negative and are used in positive, not negative, sentences.

i. Yong hardly/rarely likes anybody.

Such positive sentences may be rendered into Korean by using the negative-polarity word
pyello in negative sentences.
ii. *Yong-un pyello cohaba-nun salam-i epsta.
   particularly like-ADNZ person-SM not.exist
   '=- (i)'

68 If it is a one-character SK noun (e.g. *cen in *cen-hata 'convey'), the SK verb (e.g. *cen-hata) may have -cita attached to it (*cen.hata 'convey' → *cen.hay-cita 'be conveyed'), instead of -toya (*cen-toya).

69 The noun phi-hay 'suffering, damage' is a passive noun; the prefix phi- is similar to the English suffix '-ee' in meaning. The active prefix is ka-, similar to the English agentive '-er/er': ka-hay-ca 'one who afflicts damage' vs. phi-hay-ca 'one who suffers damage'. The passive nominal phi-hay 'suffering damage' is often (carelessly) used with a passive verb ipa 'suffer, receive' (e.g. phi-hay-lui ipa 'suffer (suffering) damage'—doubly passive!—as against hay-lui ipa 'suffer damage').

70 Martin (1992) calls -key adverbative and -tolok projective.

71 The lexical (short) and syntactic (long) causatives are comparable to the English causatives: lexical (e.g. deep-en, broad-en, light-en) and syntactic (e.g. make something deep/broad/light).

72 Even the short causative denotes indirectness; in the following example, Hitler is a causer but not a direct killer, as we know.

   Hithulle-nun swu-pavk nam-uy yuthayin-ul cwi:ess-ta.
   TOP several million;Jew-OM dic-CAU-PST-SE
   'Hitler killed millions of Jews.'

73 Aspect, unlike tense, is not a deictic category; it is not relative to the time of utterance (Lyons 1968:315).

74 As noted earlier (cf. Note 41), the terms aspect and mood we adopt here are quite different from those by Martin (1952, 1992); his retrospective aspects belong to our mood category, his mood is similar to our sentence modulator and his future tense (keyes) is our volitional mood.

75 Tradition and familiarity favor the retention of the term 'present' in place of 'nonpast'.

76 The performative sentence is a type of sentence—with a performative verb in the present tense and a first person subject, whose utterance is itself performing an act indicated by the performative verb—promising, apologizing, naming, awarding, etc. (Austin 1961).

77 Conversational implicature (à la Grice) is cancellable. The utterance 'John came.' (implicature: he is here) can be followed by 'But he left the same day,' thus cancelling the implicature 'John is here'.

78 The following phrasal constructions may be called aspectual:

   i. V-ko istta 'be'
   ii. V-e istta 'be! V-e pelita 'discard' / V-e twota 'place'/
       V-e kata 'go! V-e oia 'come' /...;
   iii. V-ki sicakhata 'begin V-ing'

In English, the verb phrase 'get V-ing' is aspectual and may be classified as a subtype of progressive aspect.
79 In English the state progressive is ungrammatical: *We are owning a house in the country; *John is loving Mary. It may be explained in part by way of regarding stative verb meanings as inimical to the notion that some thing is in progress. Formally, Korean has no such constraint. However, some stative verbs (e.g. iss' 'stay, exist'; its honorific form keyisa) do not allow progressive forms: *iss-ko issta. *keysi-ko issa 'be staying'. We treated this as an existential adjective (cf. 4.4.1).

80 In Korean, verbs for clothes are different from those for footwear, headgear or the like; by contrast, in English the same verb wear (stative) or put on (dynamic) is used uniformly. Japanese (J. in short) is similar to Korean in this respect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ipta} & \text{ 'wear/put-on (clothes)'} \\
\text{sinia} & \text{ 'wear/put-on (shoes)'} \\
\text{ssuta} & \text{ 'wear/put-on (a hat)'} \\
\text{ (glasses)} & \text{ (J. kakeru)} \\
\text{kkita} & \text{ 'wear/put-on (a ring)'} \\
\text{mayta} & \text{ 'wear/put-on (a tie)'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(J. kiru)
(J. hakun)
(J. kaburu)
(J. suru)
(J. horeru)
(J. kakeru)

81 In a situation where the speaker watches a video-tape in which his earlier event/state is displayed, it is perfectly natural for him to make a report by using a retrospective sentence:

\[
\text{Nay-ka kil-ka-ey } \text{novse-iss-te-la.}
\]

1 road side-at lie-INF-be-RET-SE
'I was lying on the roadside, I observed.'

82 In (1), the two clauses are conjoined doubly; in addition to the particle kuliko 'and', the first conjunct has the conjunctive ending -ko 'and'.

83 Non-clausal coordination includes the following (cf. 4.7.1.4):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i. Nominal:} & \quad \text{NP-wa/hako/lang NP} \ldots \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{(NP and NP)} \\
& \quad \text{NP-na NP} \ldots \quad \text{NP or NP} \\
& \quad \text{NP-kuliko/aninyen} \ldots \quad \text{NP and/or NP} \\
\text{iii. Verbal/Adjectival:} & \quad \text{V/ko/kena V/A} \ldots \quad \text{V/A and/or V/A} \\
& \quad \text{V/A-kono-kuliko/kulena} \ldots \quad \text{V/A and/or V/A} \\
\text{iv. Particle:} & \quad \text{PP-wa/na PP} \ldots \quad \text{PP and/or PP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Discourse coordination consists of a sentence followed by a sentential discourse particle kuliko 'and', kulena 'but', aninyen 'or', etc.

84 The retrospective -ten- may be cut into -i- (retrospective) and -un- (modifier); similarly, the future adnominalizer -(u)l can be treated as a single suffix rather than the composite <ul- (prospective aspect) + zero ([ ])> (Martin 1992:246).

85 Japanese has similar sensory appositive clauses.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sakana-o yai-} & \text{ te-iru nioi (44,a) 'fish-grilling smell'} \\
\text{fish-OM grill-GER be} & \text{ smell} \\
\text{smell coming from grilling fish'}
\end{align*}
\]
In a strict sense, the noun-oriented adverbial clause should be dealt with as an extended adverb phrase; instead, it is described as clausal by way of treating the phrase <N + adverbial particle) as an unanalyzed adverbial unit.

Although the two causative sentences in (80.a) are truth-conditionally nondistinct, the one marked with the dative *eykey* implies Mia's voluntary coming, whereas the other marked with the accusative implies Mia's involuntary coming.

In the tree structure of (92.a), the embedded quotative clause with *ko* behaves as a noun clause, so the higher node is marked as NC (noun clause).

The time adverbials *<ki-cen-ey>* 'before (the time when)' and *<n taum-ey>* 'after (the time when)' are treated as unitary adverbializers (cf. nominal subordinators in .3.3.1), and are marked as 'ADVZ' under the V node.

Comparable to this postposing is the preposing of clausal constituents in English: *Why she came I don’t know.* (vs. *I don’t know why she came.*)

Although the question of what types of speech act and how many of them there are in a language is indeterminate, the description made here is based on S.-J. Chang (1987), where seven speech-act types are presented: assertives, rogatives, directives, exercitives, commissives, expressives and reportives.

The description of Korean tag questions is based on S.-J. Chang (1985); see also I.-S. Yang (1993).

For some speakers there is no constraint of delimiting the tense of the body to nonpast.

Echo questions, in many languages, take the form of indirect questions, marked by a complementizer or connective, in clause-final position—as with French *si* 'if' and German *ob* 'whether'—or in clause-final position—as with Japanese *to* 'that'. Middle English used *that* for echo questions and indirect questions alike (Jespersen 1924:304).

The self-deeming principle traditionally extends over to the speaker's own family, including his/her spouse and parents as well, but it is no longer felt binding by contemporaries. In contrast, the concept of ingroup is fundamental to the self-lowering principle of the Japanese honorification system.

The terms for speech levels come from Martin (1954, 1992) with some modifications. Martin's casual (polite) styles, with ending *-ci* and *-ciyo* are not treated as independent levels, for they are taken to stand for a speech act of supposition/suspicion as against assertion, command, or proposal. What is dubbed 'blunt' here is called 'authoritative' (or semi-formal) by Martin. On top of the six levels posited in this book we may add an extremely formal and antiquated level characterized by the imperative ending *-spose* (vs. the formal *-psio*), which is widespread in prayers. The exclamatory (or 'apperceptive' by Martin) *kwun, kwun,yo, kwunan,* and the promissory (u)ma are regarded here as minor sentence types.

*Aypi* 'father' is marked [-HON], indicating it is a self-lowering word in contrast to the plain *apeci* or the honorific *apehinim* (cf. 51c). Along with the plain *apeci* or the pronoun *na* 'I', father may use *aypi* as a first-person epithet when speaking to his son.

i. *(Ney) aypi(uy) mol-ul tul-ela.*
NOTES

your father 's word-OM listen-SE
‘Listen to what I say.’
ii. Nay mal- ul tul-ela.
my word-OM listen-SE
‘= i’

Notice that in (53.d) the grandmother uses eymy 'mother' (in place of the plain emen) when talking to Mia and referring to her (=Mia’s) mother.

98 The relative low-high status among A, B and C may be diagrammed in the following way:

A = Mia, B = Mia’s mother, C = Mia’s grandmother.

High C
↑ / |
B ↓ \ |
Low A

99 It would be ungrammatical to say in German or French, *Sie bist... (vs. du bist...) or *tu êtes... (vs. vous êtes...). In Korean, (i) is much more deviant than (ii), each violating a pragmatic agreement between the pronominal subject and the verbal speech level.

i. #cay-ka ... -ita 'I am ...
I COP

ii. #na-ka ... -npita 'I am ...
I COP

100 In Europe, topic and focus, also known as TFA (topic-focus articulation), have been explored initially by Prague School linguists (cf. Firbas 1964, Daneš 1974, Hajičová and Sgall 1975,) along with such discourse-functional notions as theme and rheme, CD (communicative dynamism and FSP (functional sentence perspective); in America, topic and comment have been used by Structuralists (Hockett 1958). What is often confusing and disturbing is the use of two terms, theme and topic: many grammarians keep them almost interchangeable, favouring one term over the other—for instance, Halliday (1985) opts the former and Kuno (1987) the latter; some keep them distinct (cf. Dik (1978)).

101 For the description of topic and focus as complementary to each other, see S.-J. Chang (1993) and Hajičová et al. (1995).

102 Kuno (1987:206) defines empathy as 'the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence.'

103 The polite particle yo may float around, capable of occurring not only after the inflectional ending but after any major constituent, so as to conform with the polite level of speech.

104 If it were loving, rather than liking, the preferred reading would be the heterosexual loving, that is loving between Mia and Yong or Mia and Hyen.
The verb phrase, <V-nun-kes-ita> 'it is the case that V' is analyzed as phrasal, not clausal, for simplicity.

The reading materials (Texts 1-5) in the appendix are adapted from *Korean 3* (Language Research Institute, Seoul National University, 1994).
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- The author's name in brackets ([ ] ) is in the Yale Romanization.


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