A Korean Grammar on Semantic-Pragmatic Principles

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## Contents

- Preface .................................................. 5
- 1. Sentence-enders .................................... 7
- 2. Postposition ......................................... 33
- 3. Particles .............................................. 55
- 4. Auxiliary Verbs ..................................... 107
- 5. Passives .............................................. 269
- 6. Negation .............................................. 311
- 7. Nominalization ...................................... 339
- 8. Tense-Aspect-Modality ............................ 379
- 9. Verbal Connectives ................................. 435

References ............................................... 561
Preface

I have been learning English for more than twenty years, but there are still many expressions which I cannot use with proper understanding. The proper use of the definite article and the proper choice of the tenses are some of the most difficult problems that Koreans learning English have to face. There are many books on English grammar, but there is almost none which could give adequate answers to the problems. It is not unreasonable to assume that foreigners learning Korean might have similar difficulties and for these problems no books on Korean grammar presently available can give adequate explanations. For example, the proper choice of the postpositions, of -um and -ki and of the numerous connective markers. This book is designed for advanced students of Korean. However, I hope that linguists interested in Korean would also find the book useful. This does not deal with a comprehensive Korean reference grammar as the title of the book suggests; it deals with selected topics in Korean grammar.

I would like to express my gratitude to the teachers, and scholars who have made it possible for me to work on this book. First I owe a great deal to Professor Byron W. Bender, who introduced me into a fascinating world of linguistics. Through him, I came to work on Kusaiean, one of the Micronesian languages, and through the work I have come to realize that describing a language, doing a practical analysis, is as important as any concern in theory. My thanks also go to Professor Stanley Starosta, who has taught me how to do linguistics. I have also greatly benefited from Dwight Bolinger, Ronald W. Langacker, and Talmi Givon. Their conception of grammar and analyses underlie many of the findings in this book.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Horace H. Under-
wood, who showed a great interest in this work and encouraged me to keep on working. I am also very appreciative of Jinsook Lee's help at the final stage of this book.

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Chapter 1  Sentence-Enders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.0.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.</td>
<td>ta (다)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.</td>
<td>e (여)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.</td>
<td>ci (치)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.</td>
<td>kwuna (구나)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.</td>
<td>ney (네)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6.</td>
<td>tela (더라)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.0. Introduction

Successful verbal communication is possible only when the speaker assesses constantly what is in his own mind and in his listener's, and naturally some grammatical morphemes reflect such aspects of verbal communication. Thus, in many cases, a meaningful linguistic description of grammatical morphemes is impossible without considering the participants and their consciousness. This is substantiated by the sentence-enders in Korean.

In Korean there is a set of sentence-enders. These enders can be divided into two major groups. One group denotes speech acts and the other denotes the speaker's attitudes. The speech acts markers are as follows:

- ta  'assertive'
- na  'dubitative'
- ca  'proposative'
- ma  'promissive'

Some representative attitude markers are: ci, kwuna, ney, o, and tela. Traditionally these morphemes were considered as relevant only to speech styles and levels, but were not regarded in the light of the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content and his assessment of the listener. The purpose of this chapter is to present the basic pragmatic meanings of the sentence-enders and the pragmatic inferences that can be derived from the basic pragmatic meanings and from other contextual factors.

In this chapter, the following five sentence-enders (the underlined elements in the sentences below) are dealt with:

고 사라져 갑다 / 저 / 구나 / 네 / 어.
ku salam-i ka-ass-/ta/CI/kwuna/ney/o.

The man went.
The above sentences have the same propositional content, but
the speaker expresses different attitudes towards each of the
propositional content and makes different assumptions about the
listener. The basic pragmatic meanings of the sentence-enders are
summarized below:

**ta:** The speaker thinks that he is imparting something
new to the listener and that the listener is not biased
in any way.

**ci:** The speaker believes in the propositional content and
he also assumes that the listener will agree with him.

**kwuna:** The speaker was not aware of the state of affairs
expressed by the propositional content and he sees unexpectedly some evidence or consequence pointing to the
state of affairs.

**ney:** The speaker was not disposed to the propositional
content and sees something that disconfirms his belief.

**e:** The speaker finds it necessary to emphasize the propositional content because he feels that the listener is
not willing to believe what he says.

The sentence-enders above will be exemplified, compared and
contrasted with one another, and the way in which various prag-
matic inferences such as solidarity, surprise, unexpectedness, irri-
tation, etc. are derived from the sentence-enders will be shown.

The general implication of this chapter is that a meaningful
linguistic description of grammatical morphemes (sentence-enders,
auxiliary verbs, verbal connectives among others in Korean) can-
not be made without taking into consideration those pragmatic

factors considered in this chapter: the speaker's attitude toward
the proposition and his assessment of the listener.

**1.1. ta (다)**

The sentence-ender *ta* is used when the speaker thinks that he
is imparting something new to the addressee and the addressee is
not biased in any way. Let us examine the following conversa-
tional exchange:

(1) a. 그 일 다 했나?
   ku il ta hayssna?
   Are you through with the work?

b. 그래, 다 했다.
   kusay, ta haysssa.
   Yes, I am through.

The speaker of (1a) is neutral: he is not biased, and the
speaker simply provides the information the addressee (the speak-
er of (1b)) does not know and wants to know. In this case, the
speaker of (1b) does not presuppose any objection, prejudice or
bias on the part of the addressee (the inquirer). If the addressee
is thought to have any objection, bias, or prejudice, a different
sentence-ender such as *ci* or *e* will be used. (These will be dealt
with in subsequent sections.)

Thus, as a conversation starter, *ta* is normally used, whereas
*ci* or *e* is not used. An additional example is given in (2).

(2) a. 출다. 운 탐아라.
   chwupta. mun tatala.
   It's cold. Close the door.
b. 추위, 몸 닫아라.
    chuuwe, mun tatala.
    It is cold. Close the door.

Sentence (2a) will be used when the speaker does not presuppose or assume any objection on the part of the addressee. If the speaker assumes some objection or resistance on the part of the addressee, sentence (2b) will be used because this is a more emphatic form.

The sentence-ender ta is the simplest in terms of the speaker's presupposition about the addressee's attitude toward the proposition. When children boast of something which they think their addressees do not know, they use this ender, ta.

1.2. e (어)

The sentence-ender e is used when the speaker thinks that there is some resistance on the part of the addressee toward what the speaker is saying and the speaker feels it necessary to emphasize what he is saying. This ender is used in statements, questions and commands, in which we will examine them. The pragmatic meaning of the ender, however, does not change in the different moods.

1.2.1. Statement

The sentence-ender is used in statements as in the following sentence.

(3) a. 너 이것 안 읽었지?
    ne i kes an ilkessci?
    You have not read this yet?

b. 읽었어.
    ilkess.
    I have.

The speaker of (3a) assumes that his listener (the speaker of (3b) has not read something. It is not a neutral question but a biased one. From the form of the question, the speaker of (3b) knows that his answer will meet with some objection, because he has already read the material and his answer does not agree with the inquirer's expectation. Therefore, the speaker of (3b) makes his answer emphatic by using the ender e.

Let us examine an additional example. Suppose someone was about to touch something very cold. I, the speaker, would warn him with (4a) for the first time. But if the addressee did not believe or disregarded what I was saying, I may warn him again by using sentence (4b).

(4) a. 그 물 차다.
    ku mul chata.
    The water is cold.

b. 그 물 차.
    ku mul chaa.
    The water is cold.

The difference between the following two sentences can be explained in a similar way.

(5) a. 무겁다. 얽지마.
    mukepta, enccima.
    It is heavy. Don't put it on.

b. 무거워 얽지마.
    mukewa, enccima.
    It is heavy. Don't put it on.

Suppose I am holding a bunch of books in my arms. A friend of mine comes along and tries to put his books on top of mine. I don't want him to put his books on mine. To stop him, I would
use sentence (5a) the first time. But if my friend ignored or would not listen to me, I would ask him not to put his books on mine, using sentence (5b).

To recapitulate, the sentence-ender e is used when the speaker assumes that the addressee is not accepting what the speaker says, and the speaker finds it necessary to emphasize what he says in statements. Below we will examine its use in questions.

1.2.2. Question

Let us first examine the following question:

(6) 철수가 담배를 피워요?
    Chelswuka tampayi phiwe?
    Chelswu smokes cigarettes?

Suppose the speaker of (6) has heard something to the effect that Chelswu smoked. But this is something the speaker cannot accept readily. So he wants to confirm what he has heard and uses sentence (6). Thus, in questions it is the speaker who would not readily accept what the addressee has said. Therefore, sentence (6) can have a pragmatic meaning of challenge: you (the addressee) said something, but I (the speaker) cannot accept it readily. Are you sure of what you have said?

Let us examine another example.

(7) 그 사람 살아 왔어요?
    ku salam sala oasse?
    Has the man come back alive?

The speaker thinks that the man is dead, but he has heard something to the effect that the man came back alive. He cannot believe what the addressee has said, and uses sentence (7), which sounds like a challenge: Do you really mean that the man came back alive?

1.2.3. Imperative

The sentence-ender e is used in the imperative when the addressee is ignoring or does not pay attention to what the speaker says and the speaker finds it necessary to emphasize his command. Thus, when the speaker asks someone to do something for the first time, he will use -ela (or -ala). But, when the addressee ignores him or does not pay any attention to him, he will use the ender e as in the following sentences.

(8) a. 빨리 와라.
    ppali oala.
    Come quickly.

b. 빨리 와.
    ppali o.
    Do come quickly.

Sentence (8a) is used the first time to ask someone to come, but when the order is not carried out immediately, sentence (8b) will be used to urge the addressee to come. Sentence (8b) is a more emphatic command.

1.3. ci (지)

The sentence-ender ci is used when the speaker believes in the truth of the proposition and also believes or expects that the addressee will agree with him. This ender is used in questions, statements and suggestions, which we will examine respectively. But as we will see, the basic meaning of ci remains the same in whatever mood it is used.
(9) a. 천수 갔나?
   chelswu kassna?
   Did Chelswu go?

   b. 천수 갔지?
   chelswu kassci?
   Chelswu went, didn’t he?

Sentence (9a) with na is a genuine question. The speaker does not know whether Chelswu went or not. He is neutral. But sentence (9b) with ci is not a genuine question. The speaker is not neutral but is biased. He already believes in the truth of the proposition and expects that the addressee will agree with him. Therefore, sentence (9b) asks for confirmation instead of information and in this respect, (9b) contrasts with (9a) which asks for information.

1.3.1. Statement

The sentence-ender ci can also be used in statements as in the following sentences.

(10) a. 너 내일 가나?
   ne nayil kana?
   Are you going tomorrow?

   b. 그래 갈다.
   kuley kanta.
   Yes, I am.

   c. 그럼, 가지.
   kulem, kaci.
   Of course, I am.

Sentence (10a) is a genuine question and one can answer with (10b) or (10c). Sentence (10b) simply gives the relevant information to the question, but sentence (10c) can additionally imply rebuke. The sense of rebuke is derived in the following way. The speaker of (10a) asks a neutral question; he is not biased. He does not know whether the addressee is going or not. However, the speaker of (10c) thinks that the speaker of (10a) should know that he is going. Thus, the answer (10c) implies that the speaker of (10a) is asking something too obvious to ask. Compare the following conversational exchange.

(11) a. 너 숙제 했나?
   ne swukcey hayssna?
   Have you finished your homework?

   b. 그럼, 했지.
   kulem, hayssci.
   Of course, I have.

Sentence (11a) is a neutral question, but sentence (11b) like sentence (10c) implies that the speaker of (11a) should know that the speaker of (11b) has already done the homework. Thus, the answer (11b) implies that the question (11a) is too obvious to ask or that the speaker of (11a) is asking something that is not worth asking. In other words, sentence (11b) as an answer implies that the questioner should know better.

1.3.2. Suggestion

The sentence-ender ci is used to suggest that someone do something. That is, it is used as a propositive sentence-ender. This propositive meaning is derived from its basic pragmatic meaning, and it is different from that of the propositive ender na.

This difference can be seen in the sentences below.
(12) a. 이제 가자.
icely kacari.
Let's go now.
b. 이제 가지.
icely kacac.
You want to go now, don't you?

When the speaker does not know whether the addressee is willing to go or not, he will use the propositional ender ca, and when he assumes that the addressee is ready to do what he says, he will use ci. Specifically, sentence (12a) will be used when the speaker does not know whether the addressee will accept his proposal willingly or not. But in the case of (12b), the speaker believes that the listener will accept his proposal.

The propositional meaning of ci can have different pragmatic inferences depending upon the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In the previous examples, it is assumed that the speaker and the addressee are of the same age group or very familiar with each other equal. But on the other hand, the speaker may be in a superior position to the addressee. In this case, ci can have a stronger meaning, a command, as shown in the following sentence.

(13) a. 이제 그만 가지.
icely kuman kacari.
You want to go now, I presume.
Why don't you go now?
b. 이제 그만 가.
icely kuman kaaa.
Now, go.

The sentence-ender ci in (13a) denotes that the speaker assumes that the addressee will accept the speaker's suggestion. Suppose the speaker is superior to the addressee. The addressee, since he knows the underlying assumption of acceptance of ci, will interpret (13a) as a command. In other words, in this case the acceptance of the command on the part of the addressee is presupposed and it is stronger than a regular command expressed by ca as in (13b).

In the preceding section, we have examined the sentence-ender ci in questions, statements, and proposals. In the following section, we will examine ci in some other environments; for example, negation. There are two kinds of negative sentences in Korean. One uses ci as in (14b) and the other does not use the ender, as in (14a).

(14) a. 나는 술을 안 머셨다.
nanun swului an masiessta.
I did not drink.
b. 나는 술을 마시지 않았다.
nanun swulu masici anbassta.
I did not drink (although you think I did).

Here we will limit our attention to the negative sentences with ci. Sentence (14b) can be broken down into two parts as in (15).

(15) a. 나는 술을 마시지 않았다.
nanun swulu masici anbassta.
I drank not be
1.4. kwuna

A speaker can be unaware of some state of affairs until he sees some evidence or consequence pointing to the state of affairs. In other words, it is possible that he becomes aware of a state of affairs when he happens to see the evidence or consequence. In such a case, the sentence-ender kwuna is used.

(16) 철수 왔구나.
    Chelswu oaskwuna.
    Chelswu has come!

The speaker is not aware of Chelswu’s arrival nor did he see Chelswu come, but he can infer that he has come on the basis of some evidence. For example, the speaker notices Chelswu’s car in front of his house, and he becomes aware of Chelswu and his arrival. As soon as he notices this, he can utter sentence (16). Thus, the sentence-ender kwuna is thought to express surprise or unexpectedness. This meaning of surprise comes from the fact that the speaker notices something that he was not aware of and did not expect to occur.

The evidence on which the speaker’s inference is based can be any kind of sensory evidence as can be seen in the following examples.

(17) a. 너 담배 피쳤구나!
    ne tampay phiwesskwuna.
    You have smoked.

b. 너 술 먹었구나!
    ne swul masiesskwuna.
    You have drunk.

c. 너 넘어갔구나!
    ne nemeciesskwuna.
    You have fallen down.

d. 너 물에 빠졌구나!
    ne mulay ppaciosskwuna.
    You have fallen into water.

In the case of (17a) the speaker is not aware of the addressee’s smoking. By smelling tobacco on him, for example, the speaker was able to figure out that the addressee had smoked. Thus, the evidence for the speaker’s inference in (17a) is smell, but in (17b) the detector could be smell, complexion or behavior. The speaker may not have seen the addressee drink, but from his complexion, breath or behavior, he can tell that he drank. The evidence in (17c and d) can be perceptual: the speaker did not see the process of the addressee’s falling, but he may have noticed some dirt on his clothes or notices that his clothes were wet. From this the speaker infers that the addressee fell in water and utters the sentences.

To summarize, the speaker infers some process or event on the basis of the consequence or some other evidence. In the following diagram, Part A is the process and Part B is the consequence. By seeing, hearing or sensing something of Part A, the speaker infers the process of Part A, which he was not aware of until he noticed Part B. Thus, Part A can be a surprise to him.

(18)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part A</th>
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<td>process</td>
<td>result</td>
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</tbody>
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The sentence-ender kwuna can be used to infer what the speaker himself did unconsciously as can be seen in the following sentences.
(19) a. 내가 좀 잔구나.
    nayka com casskwuna.
    I have slept a while!
b. 내가 술을 많이 마셨구나.
    nayka swulul manhi masiesskwuna.
    I have drunk too much.
c. 내가 사기를 당했구나.
    nayka sakilul tanghaysskwuna.
    I have been cheated.

Suppose one was reading and fell asleep. Upon waking up, he
notices that a few hours have gone by, and he may utter sen-
tence (19a). The passing of time is the evidence upon which the
speaker infers the event of his own sleeping. In the case of
(19b), the speaker was not aware that he was drinking too much
at the time of his drinking, but he may realize this from a terrible
hangover the next morning. To understand (19c), let us suppose
the following situation. Someone bought a watch from a stranger.
He paid a lot, thinking that the watch was good. But a few days
later, the watch stopped running. Although the one who bought
the watch consciously participated in the transaction, he was not
aware that it was a faulty watch. He may utter (19c), after he rea-
лизает that he was cheated.

In some cases, the evidence for inference can be the presence
of the addressee himself as in the following sentence.

(20) 아, 철수 너 여기 있구나!
    ah, Chelswu, ne yeki isskwuna.
    Ah, Chelswu, you are here.

The speaker sees Chelswu in a certain place. But he was not
aware that Chelswu was there or that he was to come. So until
the speaker saw him he was not aware of him and utters (20)
out of surprise.

In the preceding paragraphs, we examined example sentences
in which kwuna appears after the past tense morpheme, -ess (or
-ess). But the sentence-ender can appear after the present tense
morpheme -nun. However, the meaning of the sentence-ender re-
mains the same whether it appears after the past tense or the
present tense. Let us examine the following sentences.

(21) a. 철수 담배 피우는구나!
    Chelswu tampay phiwununkwuna.
    Chelswu, you smoke!
b. 철수 스케이트 배우는구나!
    Chelswu sukheyith paywununkwuna.
    Chelswu, you are learning to skate.

Sentence (21a) can be used in the following situation. The
speaker is not aware that Chelswu is in the habit of smoking,
until he sees, for example, a pack of cigarettes and a lighter in
his shirt. This is a new discovery which he was not aware of and
is a surprise to him so he utters (21a). In the case of (21b),
the speaker is not aware that Chelswu skates, until he sees a pair
of skates with his name on them. From this, the speaker infers that
Chelswu learned to skate or is learning and utters (21b).

This kind of evidence on which the speaker bases his inference
can also be the very act of Chelswu’s smoking or skating. Upon
seeing Chelswu smoking or skating, the speaker can use the two
sentences in (21), if he was not aware before that Chelswu
smoked or skated.

The expression of -nun kwuna, can be used to predicate some-
ting about the speaker himself, as in the following sentences.

(22) a. 내가 양동한 곳으로 가고 있구나.
    nayka engtunghan kosulo kako isskwuna.
    I am going in the wrong direction.
The conflict, however, can be caused by other factors. In the following sentence, the adverb *cengmal* ‘really’ is used and it indicates that the speaker had a different idea than the addressee but some evidence made the speaker agree with the addressee.

(24) 칠수 정말 갔어요.
    Chelswu cengmal kassney.
    Chelswu has really gone.

Sentence (24) can be used in the following situation. The speaker of (24) thought that Chelswu did not go, but somebody else told him that Chelswu went. A conflict arises in his mind and it is resolved when he sees some evidence pointing to Chelswu’s having gone. This prompts him to utter sentence (24). The following sentences can be accounted for in a similar way.

(25) a. 누가 맥주를 마셨나요.
    nwuka maykewulul masiessney.
    Someone has drunk my beer.

b. 누가 맥주를 정말 마셨나요.
    nwuka maykewulul cengmal masiessney.
    Someone has really drunk my beer.

The speaker of (25a) thought that the beer had not been touched, but contrary to his expectation, he sees that the beer had been consumed, and he utters the sentence. The speaker of (25b) thought that the beer had not been touched, but someone told him that the beer had been touched. Later he sees some evidence of the beer having been consumed and he uses the adverb *cengmal* in uttering his surprise.

The sentence-ender *ney* can also be used from the addressee’s perspective. Sentence (23), which is repeated below as (26), can be used when the speaker thinks that the content of the proposition may cause the addressee some surprise. Let us examine the
following sentence again.

(26) 철수 갑네.
   Chelswu kassney.
   Chelswu has gone.

As we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, the ender *ney* is used from the speaker’s perspective. That is, the speaker thinks that Chelswu did not go, but now he sees some evidence pointing to his leaving. The same ender can be used from the addressee’s perspective. The speaker assumes that his addressee thinks that Chelswu did not go, but the speaker knows that Chelswu went. Thus, the speaker knows that Chelswu’s leaving is news and a surprise to the addressee. Sentence (26) can be extended to (27).

(27) 철수 갑네. 보아라.
   Chelswu kassney. poala.
   Chelswu has gone. Look.

The expression *poala* ‘look’ will be uttered with some tangible evidence in hand, which shows that the addressee’s original thought was wrong.

The example sentences we have examined above were positive sentences, but *ney* can also be used in negative sentences as can be seen below.

(28) 철수 안 갑네.
    Chelswu an kassney.
    Chelswu has not gone.

The speaker of (28) thinks that Chelswu went but he sees some evidence which indicates that he did not go, and he utters (28), showing surprise. As was pointed out above, sentence (28) can also be used from the addressee’s perspective. The speaker of (28) assumes that the addressee thinks that Chelswu went, the speaker has evidence to the contrary and utters (28), which may surprise the addressee.

The example sentences we examined above contain the past tense morpheme *-ess* (or *-ass*). But, this does not mean that *ney* is used only with the past tense morpheme. It can also be used with the present tense and the future tense morphemes, as in the following examples.

(29) a. 철수가 가지 가네.
    Chelswuka ceki kaney.
    Chelswu is going there.

b. 토끼가 쥐 풀은 밭네. 보아라.
    thokkika ce phululmekney. poala.
    The rabbit is eating the grass. Look.

To summarize, the sentence-ender *ney* is used when the speaker thinks of a situation in a certain way and then sees some evidence which is contrary to his original thought. From this, an element of surprise is derived. In this respect a comparison with *kwuna* would be useful, because *kwuna* also expresses some surprise. In the case of *kwuna*, the speaker is not aware of the state of affairs and becomes aware of it upon seeing some evidence or consequence leading to the state of affairs. On the other hand, in the case of *ney*, the speaker is already aware of the state of affairs expressed by the proposition, but later discovers something contrary to his expectation. Both can denote surprise, but the surprise is different in kind. In the case of *kwuna*, the surprise comes from the discovery of unexpected or unthought of state of affairs; whereas in the case of *ney*, the surprise comes from the discovery of a state of affairs contrary to expectation. This contrast is illustrated in (30).
(30) a. 그 책 여기 있구나.
    ku chayk yeki isskwuna.
The book is here.
b. 그 책 여기 있네.
    ku chayk yeki issney.
The book is here.

The speaker of (30a) was not aware of the book until he noticed it. He discovered it unexpectedly. The speaker of (30b), on the other hand, was aware of the book, but he did not expect to find the book where he found it. Thus, the discovery is contrary to his expectation.

The speaker can project himself into the listener's viewpoint, and he can use the sentence-ender ney, when he thinks that something will be contrary to the addressee's expectation. Observe the following.

(31) a. 나 여기 있네.
    na yeki issney.
    I am here.
b. 나도 가 보았네.
    nato ka poasney.
    I have been there, too.

Suppose a child were looking for his daddy. The child tried to find the place where his daddy was hiding, but he didn't try hard enough and gave up. Then, the daddy comes out of his hiding place and utters (31a), knowing that this will be a surprise to the child. He assumes that his hiding place is contrary to the child's expectation. Similarly, sentence (31b) is used in the following situation. Speaker A assumes that the speaker of (31b) has not been to a certain place. To contradict speaker A, the speaker of (31b) can utter the sentence, believing that this is new and surprising to the addressee. But this projection is not possible with the ender kwuna.

Let us compare another pair of sentences.

(32) a. 너 여기 있구나.
    ne yeki isskwuna.
    You are here.
b. 너 여기 있네.
    ne yeki issney.
    You are here.

In the case of (32a), the speaker was not aware of the listener and all of a sudden, he sees the listener and becomes aware of him, and he utters the sentence. Sentence (32b), on the other hand, can be used in the following situation. The addressee is in a strange city. The speaker of (32b) tries to convince the addressee that he is at a certain place, but the addressee does not believe the speaker.

1.6. tela (더라)

The sentence-ender tela is used when the speaker is noncommittal toward a proposition. To see this, let us examine the following conversational exchanges.

(33) 철수 어디 있냐?
    Chelswu eti issna?
    Where's Chelswu?

(34) a. 도서관에 있었다.
    tosekwaney issessta.
    He was in the library.
b. 도서관에 있다.

tosekwaneoy istela.

He's in the library.

The speaker of (33) asks where Chelswu is now. The speaker of (34) does not know where he is now, but he saw Chelswu at the library some time ago. If he uses (34a) as an answer to (33), it is irrelevant, giving little information to the inquirer. On the other hand, if he uses (34b) as an answer to (33), he may be wrong. So the two sentences in (34) are both inappropriate. In such a case, sentence (35) can be used.

(35) 도서관에 있더라.

tosekwaneoy istela.

He was in the library (but I am not sure whether he is still there or not.)

What sentence (35) means is that the speaker personally saw Chelswu in the library some time ago, and that he is noncommittal as to Chelswu's present whereabouts. Thus, sentence (35) does not give the necessary information directly, but the inquirer can take the given information into consideration if he wants to. Let us examine another similar example.

(36) a. 그 책 사왔나?
    ku chayk saosanna?
    Have you bought the book?

b. 그 책 없더라.
    ku chayk epstela.

It was not available (at the time I was there, and I am not sure whether it is available now).

The speaker of (36) is interested in knowing if his addressee has bought a certain book. The addressee (the speaker of (36b)) says that according to his examination and observation, the book was not in the bookstore. This expression, however, leaves open the possibility that someone other than the speaker might have been able to find the book in the bookstore, or that the book may now be in the bookstore. Thus, sentence (36b) does not give a direct answer to the question, but it is something that the addressee may take into account.

The sentence-ender tela can be used after the sentence-ender ta, as in the following example.

(37) a. 철수 왔어?
    Chelswu oassna?
    Has Chelswu come?

b. 왔다더라.
    oastetaela.

I heard that he came (but I am not sure whether he is still here).

The speaker of (37a) is interested in knowing whether Chelswu is here. But his addressee (the speaker of (37b)) cannot provide him with a direct answer. However, he heard that Chelswu had come and uses (37b). The answer leaves open the possibility that Chelswu might have gone back in the meantime or that the speaker may have heard incorrectly. So, the answer is noncommittal as to the present location of Chelswu.
Chapter 2 Postpositions

2.1. ey (에) .............................................................................. 35
2.2. eykey (에게) ................................................................. 40
2.3. eyse (에서) ................................................................. 43
2.4. ulo (으로) ........................................................................ 46
   2.4.1. kilo (기로) ................................................................. 50
   2.4.2. umulo (음으로) .......................................................... 50
   2.4.3. kesulo (것으로) .......................................................... 51
   2.4.4. ulose (으로서) .......................................................... 52
2.1. *ey* (에)

The postposition 에 like other postpositions relates two entities. The relation denoted by 에 can be compared to the figure-ground contrast. In the contrast, the figure is smaller, weaker, nearer and clearer than the ground. And the figure tends to be mobile whereas the ground tends to be static. We will examine the meaning of 에 in light of the figure-ground contrast.

First, 에 is used in locative expressions. Here the antecedent (y) of 에 denotes a reference point with regard to which the location of another entity (x) is specified. Observe the following:

(1) 철수의 방에 있다.
    Chelswuk'a pangey issta.
    Chelswu is in the room.

(2) 책이 선반에 있다.
    chayki senpaney issta.
    The book is on the shelf.

In some relations the figure and the ground can be reversed when the two entities are not clearly distinguished, as in the following examples.

(3) a. 옥타리 안에 집이 있다.
    wuthali aney cipi issta.
    There is a house inside the fence.

b. 집 주위에 옥타리가 있다.
    cip cuwuwiye wuthalika issta.
    There is a fence around the house.

However, the following examples show us that there are relations in which x and y cannot be reversed. Structurally both expressions in (4) should be possible, but actually only the first is acceptable.
The hat was blown away by the wind.

In (6) the wind is dynamic and it is something that can exert some influence upon another thing in front of or around it. In this context, the tree and the hat can be thought to have undergone some change because of the wind. Thus, the wind in (6) is interpreted to be a cause. The relation between the waves and the boat in (7) can be interpreted in a similar way.

(7) 파도에 배가 휘몰려갔다.
    phatoey payka hwipssullyekaassta.
    The boat was swept away by the waves.

So far we have examined cases in which the subject is the figure. In what follows we will examine cases in which the object of the transitive verb is the figure.

(8) a. 그는 선반에 책을 올려놓았다.
    kunun senpaney chaykul ollyenohassta.
    He put the book on the shelf.

b. 그는 물을 밥에 뿌었다.
    kunun mwulul papey pueessta.
    He poured the water onto the rice.

In (8a) the subject is an agent, and he causes the book to go onto the shelf. In (8b) the water is a figure and it moves with regard to the ground (the rice). In (9) below, the fire is something that can influence something else and it is interpreted to be a cause or means of cooking.

(9) 그는 연탄불에 밥을 지었다.
    kunun yenthanpwuley papul ciesssta.
    He cooked the rice on the briquette fire.
In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that the antecedent of *ey* denotes a spacial reference point, with regard to which the existence or movement of *x* is specified. In this section we will see that the concept of the spacial reference point can be extended metaphorically in various ways, denoting abstract reference points. In the following example, the concrete and abstract relations denoted by *ey* are contrasted:

(10) a. 전화기가 책자 위에 있다.
    cenhwakika thakca wiey IELDS.
    The telephone is on the table.
 b. 그녀는 봉투에 관심이 많다.
    kununun cengkwey kwansimi manhia.
    Her interest lies in tennis.

In (10a) both *x* and *y* are concrete entities, but in (10b) both entities are abstract. Thus, in (10b) the abstract location of her interest is specified with regard to the abstract activity of playing tennis. Observe the following additional examples.

(11) a. 그는 봉투에 우표를 붙여졌다.
    kunun pongthwuey wuphoyolul pushiessta.
    He put the stamp onto the envelop.
 b. 그는 바둑에 취미를 붙여졌다.
    kunun patwukey chwimilul pushiessta.
    He enjoys playing chess.

In (11a) both *x* and *y* are concrete, but in (11b) both *x* and *y* are abstract.

In (10–11) the *y*'s are static and they are not thought to have any influence upon things around them. But in the following examples, the *y*'s are dynamic and can be thought to influence things around them:

(12) a. 아이가 추위에 떨고 있다.
    aika chuwuyeey tselko ista.
    The child is shivering with cold.
 b. 그는 맥주에 취해 있다.
    kunun maykweu ye chwihay ista.
    He is drunk from too much beer.
 c. 우리는 그의 겨릿말에 술자 말아야 한다.
    wulinun kuuy kecsmaley sokci malayahanta.
    We must not be deceived by his lies.

In (12a) the child is undergoing some change or process (shivering) and coldness is something that can influence things around it. And in this case, the coldness is interpreted as a cause for the shivering. In (12b) the man is drunk and the beer is something that can influence people who drink it. It is thought to be the cause of the man's drunkenness. A similar thing can be said about the relation between gullibility and lies in (12c).

The antecedent of *y* can be a time expression which is used to specify the existence of a situation in time. The time expression, *y*- *ey* can be a point or a duration of time as can be seen below:

(13) a. 그는 작년에 왔다.
    kunun caknyemey oassta.
    He came last year.
 b. 그는 야식에 점시를 남겼다.
    kunun yelsiye cipul nakassta.
    He left home at ten o'clock.

(14) 그 논문은 육개울에 견ける 섭사되었다.
    ku nonmunun yuukayweley kelchyesye smsatayessta.
    The dissertation was reviewed over a six-week period.
In addition, y can be a reference point with regard to which something is evaluated and frequency is determined, as in the following examples.

(15) 음식은 건강에 좋다.
    i umsikun kenkangey cohta.
This food is good for health.

(16) 이 생선은 엽마리에 친원이다.
    i sayngsenu yelmaley chenwenita.
This fish cost 1,000 won per ten fish.

kkey (기에)

In the preceding examples, the postposition ey relates two entities, concrete or abstract. In the following examples, we will see that kkey can relate two processes. Observe the following example:

(17) 아이가 길에서 울기예, 내가 집으로 데리고 왔다.
    aika kileysë wukkey, nayka cipulo taliko qassta.
As the child was crying on the road, I took him home.

In the example above, ey is used with ki, which marks the existence of a situation. In this case the ground is an existence of a situation and the figure is also a situation. Thus, it means that the figure situation took place in relation to the ground situation: taking the child home took place in the situation of the child crying on the street.

2.2. eykey (에게)

The postposition eykey is made up of two morphemes: ey and kkey. ey is the postposition that we examined in the preceding section, and kkey is a marker of animacy. It denotes an animate and conscious participant in a situation other than the subject. Let us observe the following:

(18) 나는 아이에게 물을 주었다.
    nanun aieykey mwwulul cwwessta.
I gave the child some water.

(19) 나는 꽃받에 물을 주었다.
    nanun kkochpathey mwwulul cwwessta.
I put some water on the flower bed.

In (18) the child is an animate participant and eykey is used, whereas in (19) the garden is not an animate participant and ey is used. Observe the following additional examples:

(20) a. 나는 그 돈을 회사에/에게 보냈다.
    nanun ku tonul hoysaey/?eykey ponayssta.
I sent the money to the company.
 b. 나는 그 돈을 친구에게/?에 보냈다.
    nanun ku tonul chinkeuykey/ey ponayssta.
I sent the money to the friend.

In (20a) the recipient is inanimate and eykey cannot be used with it, whereas in (20b) the recipient is animate and ey cannot be used.

In general, eykey marks an animate participant other than the subject. But it can have more specific meanings depending upon the meaning of the verb involved: it can denote a source or a goal. Let us consider the following:

(21) a. 나는 그 문에게 영어를 배웠다.
    nanun ku pwuneykey yengelul paywessta.
I learned English from him.
The difficulty of an exam is relative. It depends on who takes it. The one who takes it is a reference point with regard to which the difficulty can be assessed.

2.3. eyse (에서)

The postposition ey relates two entities in a figure-ground relation. The relation between two entities can be concrete or abstract. The postposition eyse denotes a general background for a situation. To see the difference between ey and eyse let us compare the following two sentences:

(24) a. 어머니가 냄비에 / 냄비에서 밥을 끓는다.
   emenika naympley/?nampieyse papul cisinunta.
   Mother cooks rice in the pot.

   b. 어머니가 부엌에서 / 부엌에 밥을 끓는다.
   emenika puuekhye ye/tpuekhye papul cisinunta.
   Mother cooks in the kitchen.

In (24a) the postposition ey relates the rice to the pan, and eyse in (24b) relates the process of cooking to a place. In (24a) ey can be used but eyse cannot, because one cannot go into a pan and cook something. In other words, a pan cannot be a general location for cooking. On the other hand, in (24b) eyse is used but ey cannot be, because a kitchen cannot be thought of as a utensil for cooking.

Some intransitive verbs such as 산다 can take both ey and eyse, but with a difference in meaning. Observe:

25. 그는 서울에 /에서 산다.
   kunun sevuley/eyse santa.
   He lives in Seoul.
When *ey* is used, his location is specified with regard to Seoul, and the sentence means 'he resides in Seoul.' But when *eye* is used, the sentence means 'he makes a living in Seoul.' Seoul is a place for his activity.

When *eye* is used with locomotion verbs, it denotes source, as the following contrast shows:

(26) 그는 운동장에서 뛰고 있다.
    kunun wuntyongcang ese twiko ista.
    He is jumping in the playground.

(27) 그는 학교에서 왔다.
    kunun hakkyoese oastta.
    He came from the school.

In (26) 학교에서 denotes a general background of someone’s jumping, whereas in (27) the same expression denotes a source (a starting point) of someone’s coming. The difference comes from the verbs used with *eye*. In (26) a manner-of-locomotion verb is used, and in (27) a locomotion verb is used. The locomotion verb 오다 has two distinct phases of starting from a source and reaching a goal, and 뛰는 is associated with the source, where the process begins.

This concept of source is associated with various starting points as in the following:

(28) 그들은 열심해서 열마섯 살 사이의 아이들이다.
    kutulun yelsetsey eyltasessaal sauy atullita.
    Their ages range from ten to fifteen.

(29) 그 회사는 봉급에서 그 돈을 벌었다.
    ku hoysanun pongkupesye ku tonul ppayessta.

The company deducted the money from his salary.

(30) 교육적 관점에서 그것은 좋지가 못하다.
    kyoyukkeek kwanceumyseye kuksesun cohicka moshata.
    From the educational viewpoint, that is not good.

The postposition *eye*, like any other postposition, denotes not only concrete spatial locations but also abstract locations. In the following examples, the two uses of the postposition are contrasted:

(31) 그는 나를 방에서 때리었다.
    kunun naluul pangseeyse ttaliessta.
    He hit me in the room.

(32) 그는 그녀를 친구심에서 때리었다.
    kunun kunyelyul ciftwusumyeeyse ttaliessta.
    He hit her out of jealousy.

In (31) 방에서 denotes a general background in which the beating took place. Likewise in (32), 친구심에서 denotes an abstract mental location or a situation in which the beating took place. Some additional examples are presented below:

(33) a. 그녀는 호기심에서 그 문을 열어 보았다.
    kunyenuun hokisimyseye ku mwunul yelepoasta.
    She opened the door out of curiosity.

    b. 그는 그 일을 책임감에서 했다.
    kunun ku ilul chayikamkameeyse haysta.
    He did the work from a sense of responsibility.

The agent in a situation is an energy source. Energy flows from the agent. The source is also a location from which energy flows. In this respect, the agent and the source are similar, and sometimes *eye*
acts like a subject marker, as in the following examples.

(34) a. 이 비용은 회사에서 부담한다.
    i piyongun hoysaeyse pwutamhanta.
The firm bears all these expenses.
    b. 이 법은 나라에서 정했다.
    i pepun nalayeysye cenghayyssta.
The government made the law.

2.4. ulo (으로)

The general meaning of ulo is accompaniment. Something x accompanies another thing y when x cooccursor is copresent with y. Let us first examine this concept of accompaniment with the usage of locomotion. When something moves, it has a path, a direction, a goal and a speed. It can also use some means of locomotion. All these are expressed with ulo as in the following:

(35) a. 그는 신작로 갔다.
    kunun sincaklolo kassta.
    He went along a path.
b. 우리는 학교로 갔다.
    wulinun hakkyolo kassta.
    We went to school.
c. 그는 북쪽으로 갔다.
    kunun pwukccokulo kassta.
    He went north.
d. 그는 빠른 걸음으로 뛰어갔다.
    kunun ppalun kelumulo ttwiekassta.
    He went with a quick pace.
e. 그는 버스로 학교에 갔다.
    kunun ppesulo hakkyoey kassta.
    He went to school by bus.

The path, the direction, the goal, the speed and the means of locomotion are different from one another and in languages such as English, they are expressed with different prepositions. But in Korean the differences are disregarded and the common feature of accompanying the locomotion is made important and this is expressed with the postposition ulo.

This means that it is not easy to tell what ulo exactly means because the postposition simply tells us that y accompanies some movement. But the general and vague meaning of the postposition is made more specific when y is replaced by a noun. The meaning of the noun usually helps us to derive more specific meanings such as path, goal, direction, speed and means. Given the meaning of a noun, we can tell what role the noun will play in a locomotion.

(36) a. 그는 옛손으로 공을 잡았다.
    kunun oynnsonulo kongul capassta.
    He caught the ball with his left hand.
b. 그는 이케로 열 사람을 밀었다.
    kunun ekkaylo yep salamul milessta.
    He pushed the man next to him with his shoulder.
c. 우리는 옷겨운 마음으로 그를 맞이 했다.
    wulinun culkewun maumulo kulul macihayyssta.
    We welcomed him with a warm heart.

In (36a—b) what accompanies the agent is parts of his body, and in (36c) what accompanies the agent is his state of minds, feelings or facial expressions. In the following examples, tools and instruments are also thought to accompany the agent.

(37) a. 그는 스폴로 벽에 못을 박았다.
    kunun mangchilo pyekey mosul pakassta.
    He hit nail into the wall with a hammer.
b. 그는 펜으로 나무를 갔다.
   kunun thopulo namwulul callassta.
   He cut the tree with a saw.

c. 그는 그 물건을 베로 보냈다.
   kunun ku mwulkenul paylo ponayssta.
   He sent the things by ship.

d. 그는 신문을 우편으로 보냈다.
   kunun sinmunul wuphyentulo ponayssta.
   He sent the newspaper by mail.

In (37a–b) the hammer and the saw are tools that the agent controls directly, and they are literally tools or instruments. But in (37c–d) the ship or the mail is not something that the agent can control directly. But for the purpose of linguistic expression they are treated as tools.

When making something, the agent uses some materials. Materials are different from tools, but they both accompany the agent when he makes something. Thus, materials are also expressed with the postposition ulo.

(38) a. 그는 밀가루로 식빵을 만들었다.
    kunun milkalwulo ppanggul mantulessta.
    He made the bread out of flour.

b. 그는 쌀로 밥을 만들었다.
    kunun ssalo ttekul mantulessta.
    He made the rice cake out of rice.

When the object is affected by the agent, it can undergo some change of state. This new state is something that accompanies the original state and it is expressed by ulo, as in the following:

(39) a. 그는 연필을 두 동강으로 만들었다.
    kunun yenphilul twu tongkangulo mantulessta.
    He broke the pencil into two pieces.

b. 그는 그 옷을 여러 갈래로 찢었다.
    kunun ku osul yele kallaylo coyessta.
    He tore the clothes into many pieces.

When the postposition is used with mental activity verbs, it can denote attendant properties or characteristics of a certain object, as is illustrated in the following examples:

(40) a. 우리는 그를 체게로 여긴다.
    wulinun kulul chencaylo yekinta.
    We regard him as a genius.

b. 그는 우리를 거짓말쟁이로 본다.
    kunun wulilul kecismalayngilo ponta.
    He regards us as liars.

Genius and liars are usually associated with the objects of the sentences. In other words, they are something that accompanies the objects.

In (36–37) we examined examples in which the subject is agentive and the agent controls the tools, whether directly or indirectly. But there are other cases in which the subject is nonagentive and still controls the tools by what accompanies it. In such cases, the ulo phrase denotes cause, as in the following examples:

(41) a. 그는 잠자로 누워있었다.
    kunun kamkilo nwueissta.
    He is down with a cold.

b. 그녀는 친구의 도움으로 다시 일어났다.
    kunyenumun chinkwuyu towumulo tasi ilenassta.
    She stood up again with her friend's help.
The postposition ulo can be used with ki, um, and kes and in the following section we will observe that the postposition maintains the general meaning even when it is used with the morphemes.

2.4.1. kilo (기로)

The morpheme kilo is a nominalizer, making adjectives and verbs into nominals and denoting existence of states, activities or events. In this section, we will observe that verbs denoting futurity are used with kilo, as in the following:

(42) a. 우리는 내일 가기로 약속했다.
    wulinun nayiil kaksi kilo yaksokhayssta.
    We promised to go tomorrow.

b. 그는 당배를 안 피우기로 결심했다.
    kunun tampayulu anphiwukilo kyelsimhayssta.
    He decided not to smoke.

When someone promises or decides to do something, the action to be carried out is not realized at the time of the promising or deciding. It is to be realized in the future and serves as a direction or a goal of the promise or the decision. The action to be executed is something attendant upon a promise or a decision. Because of this semantic feature, the postposition ulo is used in both sentences above.

2.4.2. umulo (음으로)

um is a nominalizer, but it differs from ki in that ki denotes the existence of states or events, while um denotes abstract propositions. When um is used with ulo, the combined form denotes a ground or basis of one’s judgement. Consider the following:

(43) a. 날씨가 좋지 않으므로, 농사가 잘 안();).
    nalssika cohci anhumulo, nongsaka caal antuykeyssta.
    The weather being bad, we may not have good crops.

b. 우리는 군사력이 강하므로, 이길 수 있다.
    wulinun kwunsalyeki kanghamulo ikil swu issta.
    As we have strong military powers, we can win.

2.4.3. kesulo (것으로)

When the dependent noun kes ‘fact’ or ‘reality’ is used with epistemic verbs, it can be used with ul ‘object marker’ or ulo, with corresponding differences in meaning. Consider the following:

(44) 나는 그가 온 것을 안다.
    nanun kuka on kesul anta.
    I know that he came.

(45) 나는 그가 온 것으로 안다.
    nanun kuka on kesulo anta.
    I assume that he came.
In (44) one's knowing is already on the target (the fact that he came), but in (45) one's knowing is not on the target but is directed toward the target. From this, it is implied that the subject's knowledge in (44) is certain but that in (45) it is not certain. Observe the following additional example:

(46) 그는 그녀가 살아 있는 것을 /으로 믿는다.
    kunun kuniyeka sala issrun kesul/ulo mitnunta.
    He knows/assumes that she is alive.

2.4.4. ulose (으로서)

In some cases, ulo can be used with se as in ulose, as can be seen below:

(47) a. ?나는 벡스로써 학교에 갔다.
    nanun ppresulose hakkyoey kastst.
    I went to school by bus.

b. ?나는 망치로써 그것을 만들었다.
    nanun mangchilose kukeusul mantulessta.
    I made it with a hammer.

c. 장교로서 그는 무능하다.
    cangkyolose kunun mwununghata.
    As an officer, he is incompetent.

The general meaning of ulo is accompaniment but it can have specific meanings in context. One of its specific meanings is capacity. ulose is used to emphasize the specific meaning of the present capacity. 장교로서 can denote a present or a future capacity of the subject. In the following example, the capacity of officer is a resultant state, and only ulo can be used:

(48) 그는 장교로/?장교로서 되었다.
    kunun cangkyolose/toyessta.
    He became an officer.

In summary, we have examined the meanings of the postpositions ey, eykey, eyee, and ulo. The postposition eyse is used to provide a background for a situation. ey is used to provide a reference point for location or locomotion in a situation. eykey is used to express a conscious participant other than the subject in a situation. ulo is used to express accompaniments, committants or attendants.
Chapter 3  Particles

3.0. Introduction ................................................. 57
3.1. cocha (조차) ............................................... 57
3.2. lato (라도) .................................................. 60
3.3. mace (마저) .................................................. 66
3.4. man (만) .................................................... 69
3.5. nama (나마) ............................................... 75
3.6. na (나) ..................................................... 77
3.7. to (도) ..................................................... 83
3.8. ya (야) ..................................................... 95
3.0. Introduction

There is a set of words that are used to express the speaker’s attitudes toward some elements in the sentence. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the meaning of the particles.

3.1. cocha (조사)

The speaker uses cocha when a choice is contrary to his expectation. In other words, he uses the particle, when a referent is thought to be on the unexpected side of a scale of expectation. Thus cocha is used with a noun in the positive sentence when the referent of the noun is thought to be on the unexpected side. This can be illustrated with the following sentences.

(1) a. 창수조사 왔다.
   Changswucocha oassia.
   Even Changswu (who was not expected to come) came.

b. 그는 치즈조사 잘 먹는다.
   kyun chicucocha call meknunta.
   He eats even cheese well (which the speaker thinks he does not like).

c. 눈조사 많이 왔다.
   ohayunun nwuncocha manhi oassta.
   This year even snow (which was not expected) came a lot.

In (1a), the speaker puts Changswu in his thought on the unexpected side of the expectation scale. He thinks that Changswu is not supposed or expected to come. But contrary to his expectation, in actuality he came. In (1b), the cheese and in (1c), the snow are thought to be on the unexpected side, but they turned out to be on the expected side, contrary to the speaker’s expecta
tion. Roughly the scale of expectation with regard to (1) can be represented in the following way.

(2) scale of expectation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unexpected</th>
<th>expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changswu (1a)</td>
<td>Chelswu (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheese (1b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow (1c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to (2), the speaker thinks that Changswu in (1a) was not thought to be coming, but in actuality he came. This is in addition to others who came according to the speaker’s expectation. When something is unexpected, it can be sometimes undesirable. So the unexpected side can correspond to the undesirable side. Thus, sentence (1a) can be expanded in the following way.

(3) 점수는 음운 창수조차 앞다.
Chelswuun mullon Changswucosecha oassta.
Not to speak of Chelswu, even Changswu (who was not expected to come) came.

According to the speaker’s expectation, Chelswu is on the expected side of the scale (2), and he came according to the expectation. He contrasts with Changswu.

When the speaker uses cocha in the negative sentence, the expectation is reversed and the choice is assumed to be on the expected side. The particle is used when in his estimation his expectation is not fulfilled. Contrary to his anticipation. Let us observe the following examples.

(4) a. 창수조차 오지 않았다.
Changswucosecha ocic anhassta.
Even Changswu (who was expected to come) did not come.

b. 그는 창수조차 찾 안 먹는다.
kunun cheese cocha cel ammeknunta.
He does not eat even cheese (which is expected to like).

c. 음혜는 눌조차 많이 안 온다.
olhayunw nwooncocha manhi an on ta.
There is not much snow (which is usually expected).
This year not much snow has come.

In (4a), for example, the speaker expected that Changswu would come, but contrary to expectation he did not come. Again this is in addition to others who did not come. Thus, (4a) can be expanded in the following way.

(5) 점수는 커팅, 창수조차 앞다.
Chelswuun khenyeng, Changswucosecha anhassta.
Even Changswu did not come, not to speak of Chelswu.

The speaker thinks that Chelswu is on the unexpected side, but that Changswu is on the expected side. The two persons in (5) can be placed on the expectation scale in the following way.

(6) unexpected expected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chelswu</th>
<th>Changswu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

According to the scale above, Changswu is thought to be more likely to come than Chelswu, and Changswu did not show up. Thus, khenyeng means that it is natural that Chelswu did not show up. The two other sentences in (4) can be accounted for in a similar way.
3.2. lato (라도)

The speaker uses the particle lato with a choice which is not his primary choice but is thought to be the last one available under the given circumstances. To see this, let us observe the following conversational give-and-take. Speaker (1b) wants to ride a bus or the subway, but both are not available at the moment, and so then he wants to take a taxi, if it is available. Thus, the taxi is not his primary choice. In terms of speed and convenience, a taxi can be his first choice, but in terms of expense, it may not be his first choice. But he is forced to take this under the given circumstances. To show this, he uses the particle lato, as in (1b).

(1) a. 시간이 늦어서 버스도 전철도 안나오는데.
   sikani nucese ppesuto cencheito antaninuntey.
   It is late, and there is no bus and no subway train.
b. 그럼, 택시라도 타고 가자.
   kulem, tayklsītō thako kaca.
   Then, let's go by taxi.

A similar example is presented below. The primary choice of speaker (2a) is cooked rice, but since it is not available, he settles on something else (ramyen).

(2) a. 밥 좀 주세요.
   pap com cwuseyyo.
   Give me some rice.
b. 라면 밥에 없어요.
   ramyen ppakkey epseyo.
   There's only ramyen.
a. 라면이라도 주세요.
   ramyenilato cwuseyyo.
   Give me even ramyen.

The particle lato indicates that ramyen is the last available choice. The fact that he wants to have the one last thing available seems to imply a strong determination, urgency or sometimes desperation on the part of the speaker.

The following examples clearly show that when more than two second-best choices are available, the particle lato is not appropriate and in such a case na is used instead.

(3) a. 밥주 주세요.
   maykwu cwuseyyo.
   Give us beer.
b. 택주는 않고, 소주하고 정통만 있어요.
   maykewunun epsko, socwuha ko cengcongman isseyo.
   There is no beer, and we have only soju and cengcong.
a. 그럼 소주나 주세요.
   kulem, socwuna cwuseyyo. (*socwulato cwuseyyo.)
   Then, give us soju.

In (3), the primary choice of speaker (3a) is beer, but this is not available. However, there are two second-best choices and speaker (3a) can choose one out of the two. In this case, the particle, thus lato is not appropriate. In contrast, in the following example, only one second-best choice is available and, thus lato is appropriate.

(4) a. 밥주 주세요.
   maykwu cwuseyyo.
   Give me beer.
b. 다른 술은 없고, 소주 뿐인데요.
   talun swulun epsko, socwu ppmuntayyo.
   There is only soju and no other kind.
c. 어떻게 합니까? 소주라도 마실까요?
etehkey halka? socwulato masilka?
What shall we do? Shall we have even socwu?

Again the primary choice of speaker (4a) is beer, but it is not available. Socwu is the only drink available and so the speaker uses lato with it.

Observe some additional examples, in which ul and ilato are contrasted.

(5) 이 돈으로 공책(올/이라도) 한권 사실시요.
i tonulo kongchayk (-ul / -ilato) hankwen susipsiyo.
Buy a notebook with this money.

When the object marker ul is used, the speaker asks the listener to buy a notebook. He does not indicate any presupposition about the choice. When he uses ilato, he assumes that a notebook is not the addressee's primary choice but that it is the only thing available given the amount of money. Thus, sentence (5) with ilato implies that the money the speaker gives is not much, thereby showing his humble attitude. Sentence (6) below has a similar implication.

(6) 차를/라도 한잔 합시다.
chalul/lato hancan hapsita.
Let's have a cup of tea.

When a person meets a friend or an acquaintance, he may suggest something to drink. When the object marker ul is used, the speaker simply names the drink. But when the particle lato is used, the speaker assumes that a cup of tea is not the best or primary choice of the addressee, but under the given circumstances, the speaker thinks that it is the only choice available. That is to say, there is not enough time to invite him to either lunch or dinner. Thus sentence (6) with lato implies that the speaker is not offering something best or primary.

The particle lato can be used in question, as can be seen in the following example sentences.

(7) a. 무슨 좋은 일이 있습니까?
musun coahun ili issupnikka?
What good thing is there?

b. 무슨 좋은 일이라도 있습니까?
musun coahun iliilato issupnikka?
Is there anything good?

In the reading of (7a), the speaker presupposes that there is something good and he is interested in knowing what that good thing is. In contrast, sentence (7b), where lato is used, does not always presuppose the existence of the item to which lato is added. The speaker is not sure if there is any thing good. It also implies detachment of the speaker from the item. That is, it means that the speaker is not much interested in 'the good thing': he simply asks about it in passing. The difference between the following two sentences can be explained similarly.

(8) a. 어떤 좋은 사람이 나타났습니까?
etten coahun salami nathanassupnikka?
Has someone good turned up yet?

b. 어떤 좋은 사람이라도 나타났습니까?
etten coahun salamilato nathanassupnikka?
Did any good person appear?

In (8a), the speaker presupposes that there is someone who is good and he wants to identify that person. But with (8b), the speaker does not presuppose the existence of the good person and
the sentence with lato, implies that the speaker is not particularly interested in the item.

The particle lato can also be used with interrogative words, as in the following.

(9) a. 누가 오나?
   nwiku ona?
   Who is coming?

b. 철수밖에 잘 사람이 없는데요.
   Chelsipakkey kal salami epsmunteyyo.
   There is no one but Chelswu who can go.

c. 누구라도 와야 해.
   nwikwulato oayay hay.
   Whoever has to come.

The word nwikwu can be used both as an interrogative word 'who' and as an indefinite pronoun 'someone.' nwikwu in nwikwulato is an indefinite pronoun and it means 'anyone who is available regardless of his qualification or desirability.' So (9a) means that whoever is available must come even if he is not the best qualified. The following sentences show some other interrogative words used with lato.

(10) a. 내일 아침에 올 수 있나?
   nayil achiimey ol swu issna?
   Can you come tomorrow morning?

b. 내일은 안 되고, 모레 오전에 시간이 나겠습니까.
   nayilun antoyoko, molay ohwueynia sikani nakeyssupnita.
   Not tomorrow morning, but I am available in the afternoon of the day after tomorrow.

c. 언제라도 오세요.
   encey lato oseyyoe.
   Come at any time.

(11) a. 부산에 갈까?
   pusaney kalkka?
   Shall we go to Pusan?

b. 표가 없이요. 인천에 갈까요?
   phyoka epseyo. incheney kalikkayo?
   There's no ticket. Shall we go to Incheon?

c. 어디라도 갈 수 있는데 가요.
   etilato kal swu issnuntyey kayo.
   Let's go wherever we can.

In the following sentences, the particle lato denotes concession.

(12) 이 일은 바보라도 할 수 있다.
   i ilun papolato hal swu issta.
   Even a blockhead can do this.

With regard to a certain work, we can put people on some scale of intelligence. Some people are smart and some are dumb. The particle lato in (12) indicates that the person who can do the work is not the smartest one. However, the second best choice happens to be the one on the opposite side of the intelligence scale. From this, a meaning of strong concession comes out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>expectation scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot solve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blockhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following sentence, the expectation scale is reversed.

(13) 이것은 천재라도 풀 수 없다.
    ikesun chencey lato phwul swu epsta.
    Even a genius cannot solve this.
A blockhead is not expected to be able to solve a problem. In this case, the blockhead is the best candidate, and a genius is not the best choice. But the second-best choice happens to be one who is on the other extreme side. Therefore, sentence (13) has a strong concessive meaning, like sentence (12).

3.3. Mace (마저)

The particle mace is similar to cocha in that both have to do with some expectation scale and that both are sensitive to the positive or negative nature of the sentences in which they are used. Like cocha, mace puts the speaker’s choice on the unexpected side in the positive sentence, and puts the speaker’s choice on the expected side in the negative sentence. Observe the following.

(1) a. 창수마저 왔다.
Changswumace osassta.
Even Changswu (who was thought to be the last to come) came.

b. 창수마저 오지 않았다.
Changswumace oci anhassta.
Even Changswu (who was thought to be the first to come) did not come.

In (1a), Changswu is on the unexpected side of the expectation scale in the speaker’s estimation, but he came contrary to the speaker’s expectation. In (1b) the speaker expected Changswu to come, but he did not. That is, Changswu was on the expected side in the speaker’s estimation, but he did not come.

The particle mace, however, is different from cocha in that it is more specific. When mace is used, the choice is on the extreme edge of the expectation scale. To see this, let us compare the following sentences.

(2) a. 창수조차 갔다.
Changswucoche kasstaa.
Even Changswu went.

b. 창수마저 갔다.
Changswumace kassta.
Even Changswu (who was the last person to go) went.

In (2a), where cocha is used, Changswu is thought to be on the unexpected side of the expectation scale. But it is not specific enough to show us where he is on the scale. In contrast, in (2b), where mace is used, the particle indicates that Changswu is on the extreme edge of the unexpected side.

On the other hand, the following sentences are negative and Changswu is on the other side of the expectation scale.

(3) a. 창수조차 오지 않았다.
Changswucoche oci anhassta.
Even Changswu (who was expected to come) did not come.

b. 창수마저 오지 않았다.
Changswumace oci anhassta.
Even Changswu (who was the first to come) did not come.

In (3) the speaker thinks that Changswu is on the expected side. But mace in (3b) is more specific than cocha in (3a) in that it indicates that Changswu is on the extreme edge (the first) of the expected side.

In the sentences examined above, the particle is used with the subject. But it can be used with the object of the transitive verb as can be seen below.
c. 이 편지를 마저 쓴다.
i phyencilul mace swela.
Finish writing the letter.

3.4. man (만)

The particle man is used when the addressee has, tends to have or is believed to have an expectation which is bigger than that of the speaker and the speaker wants to restrict the addressee's expectation. To see this, let us examine the following.

(1) a. 요즘 한국어와 일본어를 중부십시오?
yocuumto hankwikewa ilponelul kongpuhaspinlica?
Are you still studying Korean and Japanese?
b. 아니요, 한국어만 중부합니다.
aniiyo, hankukeman kongpuhapnita.
No, I'm studying only Korean.

The speaker of (1a) assumes that his addressee is studying both Korean and Japanese and wants to confirm his assumption. The speaker of (1b) is studying Korean but not Japanese and has to limit the languages to Korean. To show this, the particle man is used. This can be represented in the following way. The outer circle represents the addressee's expectation and the smaller inner circle represents the reduced portion of the expectation by the speaker.

(2)

The speaker's expectation or estimation  
The addressee's expectation or evaluation

Observe the following additional example:

(6) a. 그는 그 일을 마저하고 갔다.
kunun ku ilul macehako kassta.
He went after finishing the work.
b. 저녁을 마저 먹었다.
cenyekul mace mekessta.
He finished his dinner.
(3) a. 그림 얼마나니까?
kukes elma ipnikka?
How much is it?
b. 이천원입니까.
ichenwenipnita.
2,000 Won.
a. 뭐, 이천원아? 천오백원만 합시다.
mue, ichenwenyo? chenopaykwenman haprisita.
What, 2,000 Won? I’ll pay only 1,500 Won.

The seller (the speaker of (3b)) wants two thousand Won, but the buyer (the speaker of (3a)) wants to reduce the price. Thus, man in (3c) denotes that the amount of ႞1,500 (chenopayk-Wen) is smaller than what the seller demands. Observe some additional examples.

(4) a. 다섯 오셨습니까?
tatul osiessupnikka?
Has everybody come?
b. 아니요, 세 사람만 왔어요.
anioy,sey salamman oasseyo.
No, only three persons came.

(5) a. 다 드시었습니까?
ta tusiessupnikka?
Have you taken all?
b. 아니요, 조금만 먹었습니다.
anioy, cokumman mekessupnita.
No, I have taken only some.

(6) a. 메일 학교에 가십니까?
mayil hakkyoeyp kasipnikka?
Do you go to school everyday?
b. 아니요, 아 bom만 갑니다.
anioy, ithulman kapnita.
No, only two days.

The speaker of (4a) has all the members in mind, but the speaker of (4b) restricts the number of people present to three. The speaker of (5a) tends to believe that the addressee has finished all his drink. But the speaker of (5b) uses man because he drank only some of the drink but not all. The speaker of (6a) has every day of the week in mind, but the speaker of (6b) goes to school only two days and he has to restrict the addressee’s expectation using the particle man.

The particle man can be used with other particles such as i/ka, un/nun, ul/lul, ulo, ey, eyse, as in the following examples.

(7) a. 여기는 학생들만 들어갈 수 있습니다.
yekinun haksayntulman tule kal swu issupnita.
Here only students can enter.
b. 여기는 학생들만 들여갈 수 있습니다.
yekinun haksayntulmanun tule kal swu issupnita.
The students alone can enter here.

(8) a. 그 풍물은 풍만을 먹고 산다.
ku tongmulun phwulmanul mekko santa.
That animal lives on only grass.
b. 우리는 생선을 먹고 살 수 없다.
wulinun ppangmanul mekko sal swu epta.
We cannot live on only bread.

In (7) and (8) the particle man precedes the subject and the object markers. But it follows the other postpositions as can be seen below.
(9) a. 그것은 완료된 냉이 져다.
   kukukunes khaliaman kulpe cinta.
   That can be scratched off only with a knife.
b. 이편에는 미국에만 갔다 왔다.
   ipeneynum mikwukuymar kassts oamts.
   This time I went only to America.
c. 이 풀은 깔은 산 속에서만 봄 수 있다.
   i phwulun kiphun san sokeyseman pol swu issta.
   This grass can be found only deep in the mountains.

The particle man is also used after the nominalizing suffix ki as in the following examples:

(10) a. 그는 우리가 돌아오기를 기다린다.
   kunun wulika tolakimanul kitalinta.
   He is only waiting for our return.
b. 나는 그가 살아오기를 고대한다.
   nanun kuka saolkimanul kotayhanta.
   I expect only his safe return.

The meaning of man remains the same although it is used with the nominalizer ki. In (10a) the subject expects us to return and he does not expect anything else such as returning with a lot of money. In (10b) the speaker wants him to come back alive, and this is the only thing he wants, although others may want something else.

The ki-man is sometimes used in a sarcastic way, but the sarcastic meaning is derived from the meaning of man. Let us examine the following.

(11) a. 이 과자 맛기만 하네.
   i kwaca talkiman haney.
   This cookie is sweet. (Boy, this cookie is sweet.)

b. 이 연필 좋기만 하네.
   i yenphil cohkiman haney.
   This pencil is good. (Boy, this pencil is good.)
c. 이 자동차 가기만 잘 가네.
   i catongcha kakiman cah kaney.
   This car runs anything but well. (This car really runs well.)

With regard to a certain cookie, there can be different opinions. Some may say that it is not sweet enough, and some others may say that it is sweet enough. The particle man in (11a) indicates that despite the different opinions of others, to the speaker, the cookie is sweet enough. Similarly, with regard to a pencil in (11b), people may have different opinions about it, and there may be some who think that the pencil is not good. But the speaker maintains that to him the pencil is good enough. In (11c) to the speaker the car runs well despite different views about it.

In the following conversational exchanges, kimian restricts what the addressee has in mind to a smaller extent.

(12) a. 이 화분 누가 깨웠나?
   i hwapun nwuka kkeyessna?
   Who broke this vase?
b. 놀라요.
   molleyo.
   I don't know.
a. 너가 어제 만지겠지 않나?
   neka ecey mancieissippihna?
   'You handled it yesterday, didn't you?'
b. 만지기만 했어요.
   mancikiman hayesseyo.
   I only touched it.
The speaker of (12a) assumes that his addressee (12b) has touched and broken a vase. The addressee admits that he has touched it but refuses to admit that he has broken the vase. That is, the speaker of (12b) partly accepts what the speaker of (12a) assumes, and he uses the particle man to indicate his partial acceptance.

The particle man is also used with the suspensive marker ci. The suspensive marker ci is used when the speaker wants to express some proposition which he believes and expects his addressee to believe. But there are cases in which the speaker can only accept part of what the addressee has or tends to have or is likely to have. To indicate such partial acceptance, the speaker uses ciman which is made up of ci and man.

(13) a. 금년에는 눈이 많이 왔서 보리농사가 잘 되었다.
    Kumnyeneyunu nwuni manhi wase polinongsaka cal toyesta.
    This year we had a lot snow and we had a good harvest of barley.

b. 눈�이 많이 왔지만 보리농사 는 적지 않아요.
    Nwuniya manhi wassciman polinongsanun kuce kulayyo.
    There was a lot of snow, but the harvest of barley is not so good.

c. 보리농사가 잘 되었지만 눈 때문에은 아니요.
    Polinongsaya cal toyessciman nwun taymunun aniy.
    The harvest of barley is good, but it is not because of the snow.

The speaker of (13a) presents two facts which are causally related. The addressee in (13b) accepts the cause part but does not accept the result part. On the other hand, the addressee in (13c) accepts the result part, but not the cause part. In both cases (13b and c) the speakers do not accept all of what the speaker of (13a) says but accept only part of it. What is partially accepted is indicated by ciman. In (13a) the connective se is used, but other connectives can also be used with the same result. In the following sentence, the connective ko is used.

(14) a. 철수는 부지런하고 착하다.
    Chelswunun pwcucenhako chakhata.
    Chelswu is diligent and honest.

b. 부지런하지만 착하지는 않다.
    Pwcucenhaciman chakhacinun anhta.
    He is diligent, but not honest.

c. 착하지만 부지런하지는 않다.
    Chakhacinun pwcucenhaciman anhta.
    He is honest, but not diligent.

Part of (14a) is accepted in (14b and c) and what is accepted is indicated by ciman.

The particle man is also used with ya to indicate a unique or sole condition.

(15) a. 우리는 이곳을 떠나야만 살 수 있다.
    Wulinnun ikosul tenayaman sal swu isssta.
    We can live only when we leave this place.

b. 이 약을 먹어야만 잘 수 있다.
    I yakul mekeyaman cal swu isssta.
    You can sleep only when you take this medicine.

c. 이 빚을 갚아야만 또 법할 수 있다.
    I picul kapayaman tto pillil swu isssta.
    You can borrow again only when we pay back this debt.

3.5. nama (나아)

The speaker uses the particle nama to show that a certain
item is not exactly what he wants but he is satisfied with it nevertheless, since there is no better alternative. To see this, let us examine the following examples.

(1) a. 부레나마 하나 있었으면 좋겠다.
    pwuchaynama hana issessumyen cohkeyssta.
    (I would be happy) if there were a fan (although it is not exactly what is needed).

b. 밥이나마 설 것이 먹었으면 좋겠다.
    papinama silkes mekossumyen cohkeyssta.
    (I would be happy) if I could afford to have enough rice.

In (1a) the hand fan is not exactly what the speaker wants, but, as there is no better alternative available, he does not mind having it if one is available. In (1b) the rice would not be exactly what the speaker wants if other better things are available. But there being no better thing available, he would be satisfied with it, as a second-best thing.

Observe the following additional examples.

(2) a. 소낙비나마 한 줄기 내렸으면 좋겠다.
    sonakpinama han cuulki naysyssumyen cohkeyssta.
    I would be happy if only we could have a drop of rain.

b. 우물이나마 하나 있었으면 좋겠다.
    wumwulinama hana issessumyen cohkeyssta.
    I would be happy if only we had a well.

The speaker of (2a) is waiting for steady rain, but it is not coming, so he longs for a shower although it is not exactly what he wants. Similarly, in (2b) a well is not exactly what the speaker wants, but no better alternative is available and he wants to have at least the well.

The particle nama can be used with the postpositions such as ulo, gy, and eyse.

(3) a. 제주도에냐마 한별 가보았으면 좋겠다.
    Ceycwooyyna mana harpen kapossumyen cohkeyssta.
    I would be happy if only we could go to Ceycu Island once.

b. 말로냐마 친절했으면 좋겠다.
    mallonama chinchhayssumyen cohkeyssta.
    I would be happy if only he were kind in words.

c. 집에서도냐마 열심히 공부를 해라.
    cipeysunama yimsimi kongpulu hayla.
    Work hard at home at least.

The antecedents of nama is not exactly what the speaker wants. Nevertheless he does not reject them outright and regards them favorably.

3.6. na (나)

The speaker uses na when the choice is a second best of some possible alternatives. Let us observe the following conversational exchanges.

(1) a. 비행기표가 하나도 없어요.
    pihayngkipyoka hanato epeyso.
    The plane tickets are all out.

b. 그럼, 기차가 타고 갈 싶다.
    kulem, kichana thako kapisita.
    Then, let’s go by train (though it is not exactly what I want)

Suppose one wants to go somewhere by plane, but a ticket is
not available. Then he can decide on the train as a second best alternative. The particle na indicates that the train is the second best choice to the speaker, and that the choice is not a unique choice, but just one of many possible choices. Observe the following additional examples.

(2) a. 줄이 없으면 어떻게 할까요?
   soli epsumyen ettehkey halkayo?
   If the Sol brand is not available, what shall I do?
   b. 아리랑이나 한 갓 사오나라.
       arirangina han kap saonela.
       Buy me a pack of Arirang.

The speaker of (2b) wants Sol brand of cigarettes, but if it is not available, he wants the Arirang brand as a second choice.

The meaning of the particle na can be represented diagrammatically in the following way.

(3)

\[ \xrightarrow{X-na} \]

\( X \)'s stand for second best choices and X-na means that \( X \) is a random choice among the second bests. This means that a meaning of contrast is presupposed when na is used. In the prototypical case, the contrast is between the best choice and the second best choices as we saw in the examples in (1) and (2).

Sometimes the meaning of this contrast is realized in terms of an exact number and its approximation. The exact number can be compared to the best choice and the approximation to the second best choices. Compare the following.

(4) a. 연필을 몇 개 사시겠어요?
    yenphilul myech calwu saskeyssyo?
    How many pencils do you want to buy?
   b. 연필을 몇 개 사시겠어요?
    yenphilul myech calwu saskeyssyo?
    About how many pencils do you want to buy?

myech calwu in (4a) asks the exact number of pencils to buy, but myech calwuna in (4b) asks an approximate number of pencils to buy. The following pair of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way.

(5) a. 매칠 계실 것입니까?
    myechil kyeysil kesipnikka?
    How many days are you going to stay here?
   b. 매칠이나 계실 것입니까?
    myechilina kyeysil kesipnikka?
    About how many days are you going to stay here?

Sentence (5a) asks the exact number of days and (5b) asks an approximate number of days.

Sometimes the meaning of contrast is realized in terms of the speaker's expectation. When we assume that \( X \) is a number that
the speaker expects. X-na denotes an approximate number which can be more than X.

(6) a. 그 모임에 열명이 왔다.
   ku moimey yelmyengi oassta.
   Ten people came to the meeting.

b. 그 모임에 열명이나 왔다.
   ku moimey yelmyengina oassta.
   Ten people (which is more than what the speaker expects) came to the meeting.

Sentence (6a) simply describes that ten people came to a meeting. (6b) additionally describes that ten people are more than the speaker expected: the number is not exactly what the speaker expects.

Sometimes the reference point can be the addressee’s expectation, as in the following sentences.

(7) a. 그 분은 사실을 되었습니까?
   ku punun sasipcum toyesssupnikka?
   Is he about 40 now?

b. 벨써 오십이나 되었다.
   polse osipina toyessta.
   He is already 50.

Speaker (7a) thinks that a certain person is about 40 years old. But speaker (7b) knows that the person is over 40, approaching 50. The particle na expresses this difference.

In some context, “more than one’s expectation” can be interpreted as “unnecessary” as in the following examples.

(8) a. 그 일에 열명이나 붙여있다.
   ku iley yelmyengina puwtheissta.
   Ten people (which are more than necessary) are at work.

b. 그 일을 할당이나 하고 있다.
   ku ilul hantalina hako isssta.
   (Someone) has been working on the work for a month (which is more than necessary).

In (8a) the speaker feels that 10 persons are more than the number of people needed, and in (8b) one months is more than what he thinks is necessary.

The particle na can be used with indefinite pronouns (which are interrogative words originally), as in the following examples.

(9) a. 누구나 올 수 있어요.
   nwuktwuna ol swu isseyo.
   Anybody can come.

b. 그것은 어디서나 살 수 있어요.
   kukesun etisena sal swu isseyo.
   We can buy it anywhere.

c. 여기서는 무엇이나 할 수 있어요.
   yekisenun musina malhi swu isseyo.
   You can say anything here.

The indefinite pronouns are indeterminate in their reference, na also carries a meaning of indeterminacy and both are compatible. nwuktwuna in (9a) means anyone (possibly except for someone identified), and etisena in (9b) means any place (possibly except for some identified place), and musina in (9c) means anything (possibly except for some identified thing).

The particle na can be added to postpositions such as ey or eeye.
(10) a. 수영장에나 갑시다.
   swuyengcangeyna hapsita.
   Let's go to the swimming pool.

b. 그것은 집에서나 하세요.
   kusesun cipeysora haseyyo.
   Do it at your house.

c. 오늘은 기차로나 가지요.
   onulun kichalona kaseyyo.
   Go today by train.

The goal in (10a), the location in (10b) and the manner in (10c) are all random second-best choices.

The particle na can be used in a proposal or a command. Because of its meaning, a proposal or command with na is milder. The particle na means that the choice is not the best but a second choice to the speaker. Therefore, when the speaker uses na, the addressee can refuse the speaker's suggestion or command, more politely. Compare the following.

(11) a. 차 한잔 합시다.
   cha hancan hapsita.
   Let's have a cup of tea.

b. 차나 한잔 합시다.
   cha hancan hapsita.
   Let's have a cup of tea (which is not my primary choice).

In (11a) the choice cha is more or less fixed and the speaker does not have anything else in mind. But in (11b) the choice cha is not what the speaker has solely in mind: he can change it at any moment. So he is not serious about it and he will not be hurt even if it is refused by the addressee. Observe the following additional examples.

(12) a. 담배 한 갑 사오너라.
   tampay han kap saonela.
   Go and buy me a pack of cigarettes.

b. 담배나 한 갑 사오너라.
   tampayna han kap saonela.
   Go and buy me a pack of cigarettes (although that is not what I want exactly).

3.7. to (도)

The particle denotes increment either in the positive or in the negative direction, and the speaker uses it to show that something is an increment (to another). In the following conversational exchanges (3a and b), to is used.

(1) a. 이게 얼마예요?
   ikey elmayeyo?
   How much is it?

b. 천원입니다.
   chenwen ipnita.
   It is 1,000 Won.

(2) a. 너무 비싼데요. 좀 싸게 합시다.
   nemu piaanteeyo. com ssakey hapsita.
   It is too expensive. Can you make it a little cheaper?

b. 900원만 주세요.
   900wenman cwuseyyo.
   Give me only 900 Won.

(3) a. 오백원도 안치겠는데요.
   500wento antoykeyssunteeyo.
   It is not worth even 500 Won.
b. 이천원도 넘는 물건이에요.
2,000원이 넘는 물건이에요.
It is worth even more than 2,000 Wen.

From the viewpoint of the seller (speaker b), anything above 1,000 Wen is an increment, and to is used with 2,000 Wen in (3b). On the other hand, from the viewpoint of the buyer (speaker a), anything below 900 is an increment, and to is used with 500 in (3a). This can be represented in the following way.

(4)

For the seller who wants to get more, the upward direction is an increment, and for the buyer who wants to pay less, the downward direction is an increment.

Let us examine some additional examples.

(5) a. 돈 좀 빌려 주세요.
ton com pillye cwuseyyo.
Lend me some money.
b. 얼마나?
elmana?
How much?
a. 삼천원이요.
samchenwenyo.
Only 3,000 Wen.

b. 삼천원 아니라는 삼천원도 없다.
samchenwen anila sampaykwento epsta.
I cannot lend even 300 Wen, not to speak of 3,000 Wen.

In (5), speaker (b) is not ready or willing to lend speaker (a) any money. He wants to decrease the amount as far down as possible. For him the decrease is an increase of expectation. In (6) below, speaker (b) is willing to lend speaker (a) some money and he is willing to increase the amount of money he lends. In this case, the increase is an increase.

(6) a. 돈 좀 빌려 주세요.
ton com pillye cwuseyyo.
Lend me some money.
b. 얼마가?
elmana?
How much?
a. 삼천원이요.
samchenwenyo.
3,000 Wen.

There are two adverbs that indicate the direction of to. One is mullen 'of course' and it indicates both directions. The other one is khenyen 'not to speak of...' and it indicates a negative direction. Let us observe the following.
(7) a. 심은은 물론 백원도 벌리 주겠다.
10wun m场合, 100wento pillye cwukeysta.
I can lend you even 100 Won, not to speak of 10 Wen.
b. 심은은 강녕 일전도 못 벌리주겠다.
10wun khenyeng, lcento mos pillye cwukeysta.
I will not lend you even a cent, not to speak of 10 Wen.

mullon in (7a) means that the preceding item is taken for granted and implies that something better is also available. 100 Won compared with 10 Won is much better. And in (7b) 10 is compared with one cent and khenyeng means that 10 is not to be taken for granted and even something less is not to be taken granted either. Observe the following additional examples.

(8) a. 받은 물론 (*기념) 백도 주겠다.
pupun m场合 (*khenyeng) tekto cwukeysta.
(Someone) will give (us) rice cake not to speak of rice.
b. 자동차는 물론 (*기념) 잡도 사주겠다.
catongchun m场合 (*khenyeng) cipto sacwuessta.
(Someone) bought (us) a house not to speak of a car.

(9) a. 받은 기념(물론), 물도 안주겠다.
pupun khenyeng (m场合), mutuo ancowetela.
(Someone) did not give (us) even water not to speak of rice.
b. 기념은 기념(물론), 구중도 안할Ḉ있다.
chingchenun khenyeng (m场合), kkwucwungto anhatela.
(Someone) did not even scold, not to speak of praise.

In (8a), two things (cooked rice and rice cake) are compared, and in Korean culture, rice cake is better or more precious than cooked rice and khenyeng cannot be used in (8a). Similarly a house is more expensive than a car and khenyeng cannot be used in (8b). In (9a) water and rice are compared and water is less in value than rice and here khenyeng can be used naturally be-
cause the comparison is negative. In (9b) scolding is less desirable than praising and khenyeng is natural. The examples above show that the adverb mullon seems to be possible in both directions, but khenyeng is possible in one direction.

In the preceding examples, to is used with amounts of money, but it can be used with anything that can be expressed in numbers or scales. In the following examples, it is used with degrees of temperature.

(10) a. 서울은 겨울에 수온이가 영하 20도까지 떨어진다.
Sewulun kyewumej swuungcwuka yengha 20tokkaci ttelecinta.
In winter temperature drops to 20 degrees below zero in Seoul.
b. 그건 아무것도 아니야. 토론도는 영하 30도까지도 떨어진다.
Kukun amukesto aniya, torotonun yengha 30tokkaci ttelecinta.
That is nothing. It drops to 30 degrees below zero in Toronto.

Both speakers in (10) are interested in how cold their cities can be in the winter. Thus, 30 degrees below zero is greater than 20 degrees below zero and it is used with the particle to, and to show this increase. In (11) below, the speakers are interested in how hot their cities can be.

(11) a. 서울은 여름에 30도가 넘는다.
Sewulun yelumej 30toka nemuntu.
In Seoul, it goes over 30 degrees in summer.
b. 아라비아는 40도도 넘는다.
Alabianun 40toto nemuntu.
In Arabia, it goes over even 40 degrees.

40 degrees is greater than 30 degrees and it is used with to in (11b).

One thing to note with regard to the use of to is that only
one direction is allowed, and it is not possible to have two different directions by two speakers.

(12) a. 서울은 겨울에 영하 20도까지 내려간다.
    sewurum kyewuley yengha 20tokkaci naylyeskanta.
    In Seoul it goes down to 20 degrees below zero in the winter.

b. 하와이는 여름에 30도까지 올라간다.
    hawaijun yelumey 39tokkaci ollakanta.
    In Hawaii it goes up to 30 degrees.

Speaker (12a) is thinking of coldness, while speaker (12b) is thinking of hotness, and to cannot be used with 30 degrees, although it is higher than the 20 degrees below zero. This is because the direction is different.

In the preceding examples, we have examined cases which are expressed with numerical values. In what follows, we will examine cases whose values are not numerical but are determined by implicit scales the speakers of the language have. Certain things can be graded according to a certain value. Cars, for example, can be graded according to their speed or price. Airplanes, for another, can be graded according to speed or size. Thus, comparison is possible between cars and airplanes, or among cars or airplanes themselves. The particle to is used to show that something is greater or faster in positive sentences. Let us observe the following examples.

(13) a. 난 오늘 동일호 타보다.
    nan onul thongilho thapossta.
    I enjoyed riding the Thongil Express Train.

b. 난 새마을도 타보다.
    nan saymaulto thapossta.
    I enjoyed riding even more the Saymaul Express Train.

In (13a) the speaker is bragging that he enjoyed riding an express train. At this, the speaker of (13b) responds that he rode an express train faster than the Thongilho. The particle to used in (13b) denotes that the Saymaul express train is faster than the Thongilho.

A series of things to a common goal can be put in order on a scale. When one activity is away from the goal contrary to the addressee's expectation, it is used with to, as in the following.

(14) a. 이저 가자.
    esse kaca.
    Let us go quickly.

b. 아직 세수도 안했어요.
    acik sayswuto anhayssyo.
    I have not even washed my face yet.

There is a series of things that one has to do before going. One has to get up, wash his face, eat breakfast, and dress, etc. Speaker (14a) assumes that his addressee is ready to go, but speaker (14b) says that he has not washed his face yet. He is away from the goal assumed by speaker (14a) and he expresses this, by using to. He might have the following scale in mind.

(15) × × × × ×
    getting up washing eating dressing going

Goal

Speaker (14a) assumes that his addressee is near going but in actuality the addressee is far from that and is not even at the point of washing. Speaker (14b) uses to to show this difference (distance).

Observe the following additional examples:
(16) a. 숙제 다 했나?
    swukceey ta hayssna?
    Have you finished your homework?
b. 시작도 안했어요.
    sicakto anhayssseyo.
    I have not even started yet.

(17) a. 내 책 어디 치웠나?
    nay chayk eti chiwessna?
    Where did you put my book?
b. 보지도 못했어요.
    pocito moshayssseyo.
    I have not even seen it.

In (16), finishing something implies (or presupposes) starting. In other words, starting and finishing are at two different points. Speaker (16a) asks if the addressee has finished his homework. In other words, he wonders if the addressee is at the finishing point. But the addressee (speaker 16b) is not at the finishing point, nor is he at the starting point. To show this distance, speaker (16b) uses to. In (17), asking if one put something away implies if he has seen it. Speaker (17b) uses to to show that he has not even seen it, let alone putting it away.

To summarize, the particle to is used to show that one thing is an increase over another in the same direction. Thus, X-to means that X is an increment over another point Y. This idea of increment is extended to that of addition. When we add some things, the total number increases. The idea of increase is illustrated in the following examples. Notice that to is used more than once.

(18) a. 나는 옷도 사고 사과도 사고 책도 샀다.
    nanun osto sako sakwato sako chaykto sassta.
    I bought clothes, apples, and books.

b. 오늘 모임에 참 수도 오고, 참 수도 오고, 방식이도 했다.
    onul moimney Changswuto oko, Chelswuto oko, Myengsik to oassta.
    Changswu, Chelswu and Myengsik came to the meeting today.

In the above example, the idea of addition is expressed by the same speaker, but it can be expressed by different speakers, as in the following example:

(19) a. 나는 오늘 제미있는 영화를 봤어요.
    nanun onul caymlissmun yenghwalul poasseyo.
    I saw an interesting movie today.
b. 난도요.
    natoyo.
    Me too.
c. 난도요.
    natoyo.
    Me too.

The number of persons who saw the movie increases by the different speakers and the addition is expressed by the particle to. In the following examples, different speakers add to the things that should have been done before going to school:

(20) a. 학교에 가자.
    hakkyoey kaca.
    Let us go to school.
b. 난 세수도 안했어요.
    nan seyswuto anhayssseyo.
    I have not washed my face yet.
c. 난 밤도 안먹었어요.
   nan papto amnekesseseyo.
   I have not eaten yet.

d. 난 옷도 안입었어요.
   nan osto anipesseneyo.
   I have not dressed yet.

3.7.1. to and amwu (도와 아우)

The particle to is commonly used with amu to express 'no one at all' or 'nothing at all', etc. to and amu are used in the following combinations.

(21) a. 아무도    amwu-to    no one at all
    b. 아무것도  amwukes-to  nothing at all
    c. 아무래도  amwutey-to nowhere at all
    d. 아무래도  amwulay-to  in no way at all

In what follows we will examine how the expressions above are used. First let us consider amwu-to in the following conversational exchanges.

(22) a. 좀 들어가도 좋습니까?
      com tulekato cohsupnikks?
      May I go in?
    b. 안됩니다.
      antoypnita.
      No, you cannot.
    a. 이것 보세요, 난 순경이요.
      ikes poseyeyo, nan swunkyengiyo.
      Look, I am a policeman.
    b. 아무도 안됩니다.
      amwuto antoypnita.
      No one at all can go in.

In the given situation the policeman is the reference point and the expression amwuto means no one above or below the policeman. In other words, when to is interpreted positively, it means no one above the policeman, and when it is interpreted negatively, it means no one below the policeman.

The use of amwukesto is illustrated in the following example:

(23) a. 아리랑 한 갑 주세요.
      arirang han kap cwusseyo.
      Give me a pack of Arirang.
    b. 없어요.
      epseyo.
      We don't have it.
    a. 그럼 순한 갑 주세요.
      kulem sol han kap cwusseyo.
      Then, give me a pack of Sol.
    b. 미안합니다. 오늘은 아무것도 없어요.
      mianhappnita. onulun amwukesto epseyo.
      I am sorry, but we don't have anything at all.

Speaker (23a) wants to buy a pack of Arirang cigarettes, but it is not available, and asks for a pack of Sol, which is more expensive than Arirang. It is not available either and speaker (23b) uses amwukesto denoting that nothing in either direction (above or below) is available.

In the following, amwuteyto is exemplified.

(24) a. 내 시계 못보았나?
      nay sikye y mospoassna?
      Have you seen my watch?
    b. 책상 위에 보았나?
      chayksang wiey poassna?
      Have you checked the table?
The adverb acikto can be used with negative sentences too, as in the following sentences.

\((27)\) a. 그는 아직 안 자고 있다.
kunun acikto ancako issa.
He is not asleep yet. (He has not gone to sleep yet.)

b. 그는 아직도 아침을 안 먹고 있다.
kunun acikto achimul anmekko issa.
He has not eaten his breakfast yet.

Suppose X in (26) is the time he is supposed to go to bed. Sentence (27a) means that he has not gone to bed yet at Y, which is a point beyond X. The particle to indicates this increment. In (27b), the subject is to eat his breakfast at a certain point of time, but he has not done it at a point which is beyond that point.

3.8. ya (야)

There are times when the speaker wants to emphasize a certain item, especially when he has an idea different from that of the addressee. There are also times when he wants to reinforce an idea held by the addressee. In such a case, he uses the particle ya. To see this, let us examine the following examples.

\((1)\) a. 이 문제는 쉬운데.
i mwunceynun swivuntey.
This problem is easy.

b. 그 문제야 쉽지.
ku mwunciyya swipoi.
Of course that problem is easy.

The speaker of (1a) finds a certain problem easy, which is
surprising news to him. But the speaker of (1b) has a different idea about it. To him it is quite natural that the problem is easy. To emphasize this contrast, the speaker uses the particle ya. Observe the following additional examples.

(2)  a. 그 사람 액추는 마시던세요.
ku salam maykwunun masitsenteyyo.
That man was seen drinking beer.

b. 액추야 물론 마시지.
maykwuya mullon masici.
He drinks beer (of course). (Why,) of course he drinks beer.

The speaker of (2a) finds it strange that the man drank beer, but to the speaker of (2b) it is something that can be taken for granted. Thus, the two speakers have different ideas about the distance. To contrast the difference, the speaker of (3b) uses the particle ya, emphasizing the taken-for-granted nature of the ya-attached element. In (4a) the speaker discovers that it takes three hours and it is longer than he expects, but the speaker of (4b) regards it as a matter-of-fact situation and to show this, he uses the particle ya.

In the preceding examples, the particle ya is used in affirmative sentences. In the following sentences, it is used in negative sentences. However, the particle has the same meaning in the negative sentences, too.

(5)  a. 철수는 못한다라고 하더라.
Chelsuwun mokantako hatela.
(I was told that) Chelswu cannot go.

b. 그 너석이야 물론 못가지.
kuyeyesiya mullon mokacici.
Of course he cannot go.

(6)  a. 그것은 비싸서 살수가 없다.
kukisun pisase sal swuka epsta.
That is too expensive to buy.

b. 그게야 살 수 없지.
kukeya sal su epsci.
Of course we cannot buy that.

In (5a) the fact that Chelswu cannot go is news to the speaker, but to the speaker of (5b) it is a recognized fact. To express this matter-of-fact attitude, he uses the particle ya in (5b). In (6a) the speaker discovers that something is very expensive, but the speaker of (6b) thinks that the expensiveness of the thing is
taken for granted. The particle ya is used to express this matter of fact attitude.

When some process itself is at issue, the verb or the adjective becomes nominalized and then the particle ya is used, as in the following sentences.

(7) a. 이 시계 잘 가네.
   i sikyey cal kaney.
   I find this watch runs well.

b. 가기야 잘 가지. 그러나 모양이 안 좋야.
   kakiya cal kaci. kulena moyangi anchoa.
   Of course it does run well. But the style is not good.

(8) a. 이 꽃 예쁘네.
   i kkoch yeyppuney.
   I find this flower is pretty.

b. 예쁘기야 예쁘지. 그러나 향기가 없야.
   yeyppukiya yeyppuci. kulena hyangkika epse.
   Of course it is pretty. But it has no fragrance.

In (7a) the speaker finds, possibly for the first time, that a certain watch runs well. But in (7b) the speaker takes its running well for granted. In (8a) the speaker finds a certain flower pretty, but in (8b) the speaker takes its prettiness for granted. The (b) speakers have ideas different from the (a) speakers about some processes or states, and to express these different ideas and to emphasize the taken-for-grantedness, the speaker uses the particle ya.

In the preceding examples, the particle ya is attached to the nominalized forms. But it can be attached to the unnominalized simple forms as in the following:

(9) a. 그 자동차 정상히 빠르다.
   ku catongcha koyngeanghi ppaluta.
   The car is very fast.

b. 빨리야 얼마나 빠르셨죠?
   ppallaya elmana ppalukeyse?
   Granting that it is fast, how fast is it?

The speaker of (9a) believes in the fastness of the car and he expresses it very enthusiastically. But the speaker of (9b) has an opposing idea about it. He does not believe that the car is really fast. So he accepts the addressee's idea with some reservation, and adds rhetorically that it is not really so fast.

Observe the following additional examples.

(10) a. 그 사람 돈이 많으십시오.
   ku salam toni manhtapnita.
   The man has a lot of money.

b. 얼마나 얼마나 많이 있겠어요?
   manhayya elmana manhaykeyse?
   Granting he has, how much can he have?

(11) a. 그 절은 멀 데 있다.
   ke celun men tey issa.
   The temple is far away.

b. 멀이야 얼마나 멀겠어요?
   meleya elmana melkeysse?
   Granting it is far away, how far can it be?

The particle ya in the b-sentences above indicates that the speakers using ya do not completely agree with their addressee, but assume their assumption with some reservation, and then adds a question showing his doubt.

The particle ya is used with the verbs, too. When the speaker
has a proposition in mind which is different from that of his addressee, he uses the particle to contrast and emphasize the difference. Let us examine the following.

(12) a. 이제 이 악 뭐한테 아세요?
    icy even kuman meknunkey ettekkayo?
    What if I stop taking the medicine?

b. 아니요. 이제 이 주일엔 더 먹어야 됩니다.
    aniyoe. aikic iewuiin te mekeya toynita.
    No, you would have to take it for two more weeks.

The speaker of (12a) proposes that he should stop taking some medicine. But the speaker of (12b) has an opposing idea: the medicine should be taken for two more weeks. Thus, the speaker (12b) has an idea about taking the medicine which is different from the addressee's. To contrast this, the speaker of (12b) uses ya. In the following example, myen is used instead of ya, because there is no conflict and the speaker (13b) does not have to emphasize his proposition.

(13) a. 이제 얼마나 먹어야 할까요?
    icy elmana mekeya hapnikka?
    How long do I have to take this medicine?

b. 악 이 주일 더 먹으면 됩니다.
    icy i ewuii te mekeyna toynita.
    About two more weeks.

The speaker (13a) knows that he has to take the medicine and he only wants to know how long he has to take it. The speaker (13b) also thinks that the addressee should take the medicine more, and there is no conflict between the two speakers.

The fact that the particle ya is used when the speaker's idea conflicts with the addressee's can be observed in the following leave-taking.

(14) 저는 이런 가야겠습니까.
    cenun iman kayakeyssupnita.
    Now I ought to go now.

The leave-taking expression presupposes that the addressee does not want the speaker to leave and the speaker expresses that he has to go despite the addressee. Normally this assumption works. But there are occasions when the addressee actually wants the speaker to go. In such a case, the normal assumption does not work, and the addressee of (14) can sneer at him by saying (15):

(15) 가지. 누가 못가라고 했나?
    kaci. nwuka moskalako hayssna?
    Why not? Did anyone tell you not to go?

Observe the following additional leave-taking expression (16a) and different responses to it.

(16) a. 이제 그만 가야겠습니다.
    icy kuman kayakeyssupnita.
    Now I have to go now.

b. 좀 더 있거라.
    com te iskelka.
    Stay a little longer.

c. 그래 그만 가게라.
    kulay kuman cakela.
    OK, go now.

d. 좋아, 누가 못가라고 했나?
    hung, nwuka moskalako hayssna?
    Did anyone tell you not to go?

Sentence (16a) is a leave-taking and it assumes that the
addressee wants the speaker to stay longer. Normally this assumption works and in such a normal case sentence (16b) is proper response. The speaker (16b) wants the addressee to stay longer. This corresponds with the presupposition of (16a). Response (16c) has the same presupposition of (16b), but allows the addressee to go. Sentence (16d) shows that the normal assumption does not work. It is a sneering expression, rejecting the assumption of the speaker (16a).

In the preceding examples, the opposing idea was presupposed. But it can be explicitly expressed as in the following examples.

(17) a. 가지 마세요.
    kaci maseyyo.
    Don't go.

b. 가지겠습니까.
    kayakeyssupnita.
    I have to go.

(18) a. 먹시지 마세요.
    masici maseyyo.
    Don't drink.

b. 좀 마셔겠습니까.
    com masiayakeyssupnita.
    I have to drink some.

In (17a) the speaker wants the addressee not to go, but in (17b) the speaker wants to go. In (18a) the speaker does not want the addressee to drink, but in (18b) the speaker wants to drink. In both cases, the speakers' intention is opposed to the speakers' and the particle ya is used to show that the speakers will carry out some actions despite some objections on the part of their addressees.

Let us examine the following exchange:

(19) a. 쌍리 가.
    ppalli kaa.
    Go soon.

b. 목 가야 합니까?
    kkok kaya hapnikka?
    Do I have to go soon?

Sentence (19a) is a command, and the speaker wants the addressee to go. But the speaker of (19b) does not want to go. To show his resistance, the particle ya is used.

The opposition we observed above is an interpersonal one. But a similar opposition can be observed in an intrapersonal relation. To see this, let us observe the following examples.

(20) a. 나는 가야 해
    nanun kaya hay.
    I have to go.

b. 가기 싫지만 아이들 때문에 나는 가야 해.
    kaki silhciman aitul teaymuney nanun kaya hay.
    I don't want to go, but I have to because of the children.

In (20a) alone it is not easy to detect any opposition between the speaker and the addressee. But when (20a) is expanded as (20b), we can easily detect two opposing forces in one person. It is as if the self is divided, and one part does not want to go, but the other part thinks it has to go. Thus, sentence (20a) means that he has to go despite some internal opposition within him.

Similar examples are presented below.

(21) a. 먹지 싫지만, 삶기 위해서 먹어야 해.
    mekki silhciman, salki wihayse mekeya hay.
    I don't want to eat, but have to in order to live.
b. 배우기 싫지만, 나중을 위해서 배워야 해.
    paywuki silhciman, nacwungul wihayse payweya hay.
    I don't want to study, but I have to for my future.

In (21a) the speaker does not want to eat, but there is a reason that he should eat. The particle ya implies that the reason for eating should overcome the lack of appetite. In (21b) the speaker does not want to study, but he has to think of the future. Thus, there are two opposing thoughts in the speaker. The particle ya implies that the speaker should overcome his reluctance to learn with the thought for future.

Sometimes the opposing forces can be social customs, religious teachings, or any other value systems. Observe the following examples.

(22) a. 불쌍한 사람들을 도와 주어야 한다.
    pwulssaghan salamtulul towa cwueya hanta.
    We have to help the poor.

b. 가난한 사람들을 미소지 말아야 한다.
    kananhan salamtulul piwusci malaya hanta.
    We must not laugh at the poor.

(22a) assumes that there are people who do not like to help the poor. However, there are religious teachings or moral lessons that teach us to help the poor. The particle ya means that we have to help the poor despite our dislike or reluctance. (22b) means that we must not laugh at the poor despite our tendency to do so.

In the following sentences, the opposing forces are rules or regulations.

(23) a. 이 책은 내일까지 돌려주어야 합니다.
    i chaykun nayilkkaci tollyecwueya hapnia.
    I have to return this book by tomorrow.

b. 이 돈은 다음 주까지 갚아야 합니다.
    i tonun taumcwukkaci kapaya hapnita.
    I have to repay this money by next week.
Chapter 4 Auxiliary Verbs

4. 1. cita (지다) .......................................................... 109
4. 2. cwuta (주다) ....................................................... 123
4. 3. hata (하다) ......................................................... 133
4. 4. issta (있다) ......................................................... 160
4. 5. kata and ota (가다와 오다) ................................... 197
4. 6. nayta (내다) ....................................................... 212
4. 7. nohta (놓다) ....................................................... 220
4. 8. pelita (버리다) .................................................... 238
4. 9. pota (보다) ......................................................... 243
4.10. ssahta (숴다) .................................................... 251
4.11. tayta (태다) ....................................................... 255
4.12. twuta (두다) ..................................................... 257
4.1. cita (지다)

In this chapter, I examine the meaning of the verb cita in terms of its prototypical meaning and show how the prototypical meaning is extended figuratively. The verb is used as a main verb and also as an auxiliary verb. We will also examine what aspects of the prototypical meaning are used when cita is used as an auxiliary verb.

The verb cita is used in the following sentences.

(1) a. 꽃이 지다.
   kkochi cita.
   The flower fell.

b. 이슬이 지다.
   isuli cita.
   The dew dropped off.

c. 해가 지다.
   hayka cita.
   The sun set.

d. 싸움에 그이가 졌다.
   ssawumey kuكا ciessta.
   He was defeated in a fight.

e. 불이 졌다.
   pwuli ciessta.
   The fire is out.

The verb cita in (1a) seems to represent a prototypical process. The process of cita involves two forces: the mover is the flower, and another force against it is the stem. the flower has a tendency to fall, but it is held back by the stronger force, the stem. This is an example of a steady state within a dynamic pattern.

This steady state can be changed into a state of change. This change can take place either when the stem is removed or when it be-
comes weaker than the flower. In either case, the flower, which is being held back by the stem, begins to move (fall).

Let us return to sentence (1a). When a flower is cut off from its stem, it falls because it has the tendency to fall and the restraining force is removed. Or it can fall because the stem becomes weak and it cannot hold the flower. In either case, the result of the force interaction is a change in the steady state and motion takes place. The process of flowers falling can be a prototypical one of cita. It involves two states: a steady state and a state of change. Furthermore, the movement is typically downward.

There can be variations from the prototypical process. In the case of leaves or flowers, the movement is downward. But in the case of dirt coming off clothes, the direction may not be downward. In some cases, the change of state is metaphorically extended and describes a change in state from life to death, from continuity to discontinuity and from visibility to invisibility or vice versa as in (1d, f). Finally, cita in (1e) can be accounted for naturally by the force–dynamic framework. At the beginning of a fight, two forces are opposing. But after a while one of the two forces is found to be weaker. That is, the steady state gives rise to a change of state. This change of state is expressed by the verb cita. In addition, it is usually the case that the weaker one goes down and the stronger one goes up. This dynamic interaction may be applied to argument and quarrel which have nothing to do with physical movement, and thus it is a metaphorical extension.

4.1.1. cita as an auxiliary verb

In the preceding paragraphs we examined the meaning of cita as a main verb. In this section we will examine cita as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary verb, it can combine with stative adjectives as well as non-stative verbs, and it denotes inchoation: a change from state to process. Let us examine first the compound form of adjective–e cita.

4.1.2. adjective–e cita

The stative adjectives in Korean differ from the non-stative verbs, and the difference shows in the use of the present tense marker nun. The marker can be used with non-stative verbs but not with stative adjectives, as can be seen below:

(2) a. 그는 매일 여섯 시에 저녁을 먹는다.
   kunun mayil yeses siy cenyekul meknunta.
   He has dinner at 6 o'clock.

   b. 그 물은 매우 맛다.
   ku mwulun maywu malk(*nun)ta.
   The water is clear.

In the following sentences, the predicates are all stative adjectives and they describe certain steady states in which certain things exist:

(3) a. 그 물이 맛다.
   ku mwuli malkta.
   The water is clear.

   b. 그 방이 매우 따뜻하다.
   ku pangi maywu ttattushata.
   The room is very warm.

   c. 날이 흐리다.
   nali hulita.
   It is cloudy.

   d. 그 아이의 손이 차갑다.
   ku aiui soni chagapta.
   The child's hands are very cold.
malk-ta in (3a), for example, denotes a constant condition of the water, and ttattushata in (3b) also denotes a constant condition of warmth in the room.

When these stative adjectives are compounded with the auxiliary verb cita, the resulting compounds denote change of state, as the translations in (4) show:

(4) a. 그 물이 깨어 진다.
   ku mwuli malka cinta.
   The water becomes clear.
   b. 그 바람이 따뜻해 진다.
   ku pangi ttattushay cinta.
   The room becomes warm.
   c. 날이 흐리어 진다.
   nali hulie cinta.
   It becomes cloudy.
   d. 그 아이의 손이 차가워 진다.
   ku alui soni chakawe cinta.
   The child's hands are becoming cold.

Then, why is the verb cita used in denoting change of state? Is it simply accidental or does it have some semantic motivation? The answer seems to be self-evident. cita, as we have seen in the preceding section, denotes change of state from rest to motion.

The water in (4a) is in a steady state of being unclear. The steady state is maintained by the constant flowing in of muddy water. But when the external factor is removed, change of state takes place and the water becomes clear. Thus, when cita is used with an adjective, it denotes a change of state: a change toward the state indicated by the adjective. Sentence (4b), for another, implies that the room was cold and the cold state was maintained by the cold temperature. But when the influencing factor is replaced by another (a stove, a radiator), a change takes place and the room becomes warm. The rest of the two sentences in (4) can be accounted for in a similar way.

There are two points to note with regard to the dynamic pattern of adjective-e cita. First, in the examples above, the subject is the agonist, but the antagonist counterforce is not expressed in the sentences. Nevertheless it is understood easily from our general knowledge of the world. Another point is that the role of the agent is not important. In the case of (4b), for example, there might be an agent who decided to turn on the heat or light a stove. But when the cita-compound is used, the role of the agent is not important, because the whole process is regarded as an interaction between two opposing forces. This second point will be taken up again in the following paragraphs, in which the auxiliary verb is discussed.

4.1.3. verb-e cita

The auxiliary verb cita can also be used with verbs (both intransitive and transitive). We will examine first the meaning of the compound form, intransitive verb-e cita. When cita is used with intransitive verbs, it denotes potentiality. The two opposing forces are not physical, but they are associated with mental expectation. This means that cita as an auxiliary verb has a metaphorically extended meaning. The speaker can have the expectation of an interaction between two forces. In his estimation, the number of persons is greater than the size of the room can hold and so the process of fitting everybody into the room could not have taken place, but in actuality the agonist is not greater than the antagonist, and a process took place. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences:
(5) a. 그 많은 사람들이 그 방에서 자었다.
   ku manhun salamulti ku panye yse cässta.
   That many people slept in the room.

b. 그 많은 사람들이 그 방에서 자겠다.
   ku manhun salamulti ku panye yse cacüssta.
   That many people managed to sleep in the room.

Sentence (5a) simply describes that a number of people slept in a certain room. On the other hand, sentence (5b) additionally implies the speaker's expectation that the room was too small for the people. In other words, the speaker knows the size of the particular room and the space that would be taken up by the people. In his estimation, the size of the room is barely equal to or smaller than the space to be taken up by the people. And he expects that the people cannot sleep in the room. But in actuality, all the people were able to sleep in the room. This is as if there were a change in the force dynamic pattern.

The following two sentences can be explained in the same way, because both relate to space as the previous example:

(6) a. 그 많은 사람들이 그 차에 다 탔다.
   ku manhun salamulti ku chaey ta cässta.
   That many people managed to get in the car.

b. 그 많은 병이 그 창고에 다 들어가겠다.
   ku manhun pyeungi ku changkoe y ta tuleka cässta.
   That many bottles were able to be put in the room.

The following sentences involve the speaker's expectation about the interaction between distance and speed, and its manifestation:

(7) a. 그곳까지 자동차로 한 시간 만에 갔다.
   kukowkkací catongchalo han sikan maney kassta.
   We went there by car in an hour.

b. 그곳까지 자동차로 한 시간 만에 가겠다.
   kukowkkací catongchalo han sikan maney kaküssta.
   We managed to go there by car in an hour.

(7a) simply describes the fact that someone went to a certain place by car in an hour. But (7b) implies an expectation on the part of the speaker that the distance could not be covered in an hour by car. In this case, the actual distance and the distance a car can cover in a certain time are opposing. The distance was thought greater than that which the car could cover in an hour. In reality, the distance was covered in the given amount of time by car. This is again as if there were a change in the antagonist. The stronger antagonist is replaced with an actual weaker antagonist, and the process takes place.

The following cita compound can be accounted for in a similar way:

(8) a. 추력이 빙판 위로 지나갔다.
   thwuleki pingphan wilo cinaka cässta.
   The truck went over the ice.

b. 추력이 빙판 위로 지나가겠다.
   thwuleki pingphan wilo cinaka cacüssta.
   The truck managed to go over the ice.

(8a) simply describes an event: truck crossed some ice. (8b) additionally implies the speaker's expectation. He thought that the ice was too thin and could not support the truck. In this case, the supporting force of the ice and the weight of the truck are opposing. In the speaker's estimation, the ice is weaker and the process could not take place. But in reality the process is able to take place, because the ice is thick enough.

4.1.4. transitive verb-e cita

The verb cita can also be used with transitive verbs, but with
some changes in their valence. The object of the transitive verb must be made the subject of the cita-compound. This means that the sentences with the cita-compound are similar to the passive structures with an infix. The two constructions will be compared and contrasted in the following subsection 2.4. In the meantime, we will compare the transitive verb and its cita-compound verb. Let us examine the following sentences:

(9) a. 사람들의 강물을 막았다.
   salamtuli kangmwulul makassta.
   People blocked the river.

b. *사람들의 강물을 막아졌다.
   *salamtuli kangmwulul makaciessta.

c. 강물을 막아졌다.
   kangmwuli makaciessta.
   The river became blocked.

In (9a) a transitive verb is used. In (9b) its corresponding cita-compound is used, but it is ungrammatical because the object is not made the subject of the sentence as in (9c). A similar result obtains with the verb cis-ta:

(10) a. 창수가 집을 지었다.
    Changswuka cipul ciessta.
    Changswu built a house.

b. *창수가 집을 지어졌다.
   *Changswuka cipul ciciessta.

c. 집이 지어졌다.
   cipi ciciessta.
   A house managed to get built.

The (c) sentences in (9-10) show that the subject of the cita-compound corresponds to the object of the transitive verb.

The obligatory non-appearance of the agent in the sentence with the cita-compound is significant because like any other constructions involving the auxiliary verb cita there are two opposing forces between non-agentive forces. Thus, the agent need not and cannot be expressed with the cita-compound. In the following sentence, the post positional phrase Changswueykey is used but it is not interpreted as an agent. A somewhat forced interpretation of it is dative or beneficiary.

(11) 집이 창수에게 지어졌다.
    cipi Changswueykey ciciessta.
    The house managed to get built for Changswu.

When the agent (his ability, to be more specific) is one of the opposing forces, a compound verb using the auxiliary verb nayta is used. Observe the following:

(12) a. 그는 집을 지었다.
    kunun cipul ciessta.
    He built a house.

b. 그는 집을 지이 내었다.
   kunun cipul cie nayessta.
   He managed to build a house.

(12a) simply describes that someone built a house. But (12b) additionally implies the speaker’s assumption: The speaker assumed that the subject was not capable of building the house. But he managed to build the house.

Returning to (9c), we can see that there are two force dynamic patterns. One is a steady state force-dynamic pattern, and the other is the change of state force-dynamic pattern. Let us examine the sentence again (it is repeated below):
(9) c. 강물이 막아졌다.
    Kangmuli maka oyessta.
The river was blocked.

In the steady state, the following two forces are involved: one is the force of the flow of the river and the other is the force of something to be used to block the flow of the river. In the speaker's estimation, the force of the flow of the river is greater than that of the blocking material such as a dam or a pile of sandbags. So he thinks that the blocking will not succeed. In reality, the river flow was blocked. A change of state took place. This is as if some antagonist were brought in and he, the agonist, is blocked.

In the sentences with the cite-compound, the postposition ulo is interpreted as instrument, as can be seen below:

(9) c. 강물이 모래 주머니로 막아졌다.
    Kangmuli molyecwumenilo maka oyessta.
The river was blocked with sandbags.

d. *강물이 모래 주머니에 막아졌다.
    Kangmuli molyecwumeney maka oyessta.
The river was blocked at the sandbags.

When something is involved actively or dynamically in a process, it is expressed by this postposition ulo. When something is involved passively in a process, it is expressed by the postposition ey.

This seems to indicate that the water and the sandbags are involved in a dynamic interaction. We can see the difference between the two postpositions in the following pair of sentences:

(13) a. 나는 그것을 송곳으로 돌았다.
    Nanun kukesul songkosey ttwulhessta.
    I drilled it at the gimlet.

b. 나는 그것을 송곳으로 돌았다.
    Nanun kukesul songkosulo ttwulhessta.
    I drilled it with a gimlet.

When the postposition ey is used, we understand that the instrument is fixed at a certain place. On the other hand, when the postposition ulo is used, we understand that it was in the agent's hand and was dynamically involved in the drilling process.

Let us examine another sentence, returning to (10). Sentence (10a) simply describes that someone built a house. On the other hand, (10c) additionally implies the speaker's assumption: the house probably will not be built. The two opposing forces are not expressed, but they can be inferred from the context. And they can also be expressed as in the following sentence:

(10) d. 그 집이 열흘만에 지어졌다.
    Kup iepi yeolhulmangje ciessta.
The house managed to get built in ten days.

The two opposing forces in (10d) are the usual number of days required to build a house and the number of available days. In the speaker's estimation, the ten days is far less than the normal number of days required and the house may not be built. But in actuality, the house was built as if the antagonist became smaller.

4.1.5. Comparison with Morphological Passives

In Korean the morphological passives are formed with the morpheme /C1/ as in the following:

(14) 롱다  'draw out'  롱하다  ppop-ta  ppop-hi-ta
In the passive sentence the object of a transitive verb becomes the subject of its corresponding passive as can be seen in the following examples:

(15) a. 나는 그 꽃을 꽃았다.
   nanun ku kkochul ppmahasat.
   I picked the flower.

b. *나는 꽃이 꽃하였다.
   *nanun ppmahiesata.

c. 그 꽃이 꽃하였다.
   ku kkochi ppmahiesata.
   The flower was picked.
ed as corresponding to the subject of (15a). But it is grammatical when it is interpreted as the object. Sentence (15c) is grammatical because ku kkoch corresponds to the object of (15a). In this regard, the cita-compound examined in the preceding section is similar to the passive in that its subject corresponds to the object of a transitive verb. Compare the following:

(16) a. 그 물이 훔쳤다.
   ku mosi ppophiessta.
The nail was removed.

b. 그 물이 훔쳤다.
   ku mosi ppopaclessta.
The nail was managed to be removed.

Despite the syntactic similarity between the two sentences in (16), the two sentences differ semantically. (16a) is a simple description of a process without the speaker's expectation. But (16b) involves the speaker's expectation that the nail might not come out. As it was demonstrated earlier, the instrumental phrase expressed with the postposition ulo, is one of opposing forces. The instrument is assumed to be under the direct control of the agent. So the meaning of the hidden agent is also implied. Thus, the natural processes, such as changes of weather which are accidental processes in which human exertion is not involved, are expressed by the morphological passives as in the following:

(17) a. 날씨가 풀리였다. (*gulpieysta)
   nalissika phulliessta. (*phuleciessta)
The weather became warm.

b. 운이 열리었다. (*gulpieysta)
   wuni yelliessta. (*yeleciessta)
Fortune turned in his favor.

c. 우리 마을은 산으로 물려 쌓이었다. (*sahiessta)
   wuli maulun sanulo twulle ssahiessta. (*ssahaciessta)
Our village was surrounded with mountains.

For a detailed comparison between the morphological passive and compound passive, see Chapter 5.

4.2. cwuta (주다)

The verb cwuta means 'to give'. What can we give? We can give something concrete or abstract, and we can give something good or bad to the recipient. The recipient can be animate or inanimate.

(1) a. 그에게 책을 주었다.
   kunun naeykey chaykul cwuessta.
   He gave me the book.

b. 그에게 정을 주었다.
   kunun naeykey cengul cwuessta.
   He gave me affection.

c. 그에게 상을 주었다.
   kunun naeykey sangul cwuessta.
   He gave me the prize.

d. 그에게 벌을 주었다.
   kunun naeykey pelul cwuessta.
   He gave me the punishment.

e. 그에게 물을 주었다.
   kunun pathey mulul cwuessta.
   He watered the field. (He gave water to the field.)

The recipient is expressed in the sentences with the expression NP-ekeykey (animate) and NP-e (inanimate).

The verb can also be used as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary verb, the meaning of the verb is more abstract in that
what is given is action rather than things (concrete or abstract), and the beneficiary of the action is not limited to the one expressed with the expression NP-eykey or NP-ey. The one expressed with NP-ey(key) can only be one of the possible recipient among others. The others like the speaker, the hearer and some other participants can be the beneficiary.

When the verb cvuota is used in the compound form verb-e cvuota, it means that the subject does something for the sake of someone else. To understand this, let us compare the following two sentences:

(2) a. 그는 갔다.
   kunun kassta.
   He went.

b. 그는 가 주었다.
   kunun ka cvuessta.
   He went (for someone).

(2a) means that he went. (2b) additionally means that he went for the sake of someone else. The following two sentences are interpreted in the same way:

(3) a. 나는 노래를 불리 주었다.
   nanun nolayul pwulle cvuessta.
   I sang a song.

b. 그는 나에게 읽어 주었다.
   kunun naeykey phyciliul issue cvuessta.
   He wrote me for someone.

In (3a) my singing is not for me but someone else, and in (3b) his writing the letter is not for himself but for someone else.

Who can be the beneficiary of the action? When the postpositional phrase NP-ey (key) is used in the sentence, the antecedent can be the beneficiary, but not always. Let us observe the following:

(4) 나는 그에게 돈을 같이 주었다.
   nanun kueykey tonul kapha cvuessta.
   I paid the money back to him (for him).
   I paid the money back (for someone other than him).

With regard to the possible beneficiary, the sentence above can be ambiguous. In one reading, kapha can be the beneficiary. He wants his money back and so I paid him back the money. In another reading, someone other than he can be a beneficiary. Suppose X owes some money to Y, and X is unable to pay the money back although he wants to. If I pay the money back to Y, I am doing this for X, or Y. In such a case, the expressions NP-ul wihayse “for someone” or NP-taysiney can be used.

The beneficiary of the action is not always expressed in the given sentence, and the possible beneficiary can be the speaker, the addressee or some other participants, as can be seen in the following examples:

(5) a. 그는 (나를 위해) 책을 읽어 주었다.
   kunun (nalul wihay) chaykyl ilke cvuessta.
   He read the book for me.

b. 나는 (나를 위해) 그 일을 같이 보아 주겠다.
   nanun (nelul wihay) ku ilul mule poa cvukeyessta.
   I will ask about the thing for you.

c. 우리는 (그를 위해) 노래를 불렀다.
   wulinun (kulul wihay) nolayul pullessta.
   We sang a song for him.

When cvuota is used, the subject does something for someone else consciously and intentionally. Thus, verbs which denote pro-
cesses which the subject cannot control are not used with cwutesa. Compare the following two sets of sentences:

(6) a. 나는 꽃을 찰어 주었다.
   nanun kkochul kkekke cwuessta.
   I picked a flower (for someone).

   b. 나는 그 식을 쏘어 주었다.
   nanun ku silul kkunhe cwuessta.
   I cut the thread (for someone).

(7) a. ?나는 머리가 아파 주었다.
   nanun melika apha cwuessta.
   ? I had a headache for someone.

   b. ?나는 손발이 시리 주었다.
   nanun sonpali silye cwuessta.
   ? I had cold hands and feet for someone.

In (6) the verbs denote processes which the subject controls and they can be used with cwuta. But in (7) the verbs denote processes which the agent cannot control, and cwuta cannot be used. Some verbs can be ambiguous in this regard. They can denote an intentional or unintentional process. However, when these verbs are used in the cwuta-compounds, only the intentional meaning is possible. Observe the following:

(8) a. 나는 그를 (우연히) 걸어서 만났다.
   nanun kulul (wuyenhi) kileye mannassta.
   I met him on the way by chance.

   b. 나는 그를 (*우연히) 걸어서 만나 주었다.
   nanun kulul (*wuyenhi) kileye mana cwuessta.
   By chance, I met him on the way.

(8a) is ambiguous: I met him intentionally in the street or I

met him accidentally in the street. But (8b) is not ambiguous. It only means that I met him intentionally in the street, so that the adverb meaning 'accidentally' cannot be used with the cwuta-compound. Some verbs usually denote involuntary processes, but when they are used with cwuta, they denote voluntary processes:

(9) a. 나는 노는데 돈을 잃었다.
   nanun nolumey tonul ilhessta.
   I lost money in gambling.

   b. 나는 노는데 돈을 잃어 주었다.
   nanun nolumey tonul ilhe cwuessta.
   I lost money in gambling for someone.

(9a) means that he lost money in a gamble. The losing was involuntary. On the other hand, sentence (9b) means that he lost money in a gamble intentionally.

The facts noted above are all very general. But there are also some idiosyncratic facts too. When the verbs of instruction such as kaluchita ‘to teach’, alukhita ‘to inform’ and ilkaywuta ‘to awaken’ are used in the cwuta-compound, they denote that the recipient of the instruction is actually affected. Let us compare the following pair of sentences:

(10) a. 나는 학생들에게 영어를 가르쳤다.
   nanun hakseayntuleykey yengelul kaluchyessta.
   I taught English to the students.

   b. 나는 학생들에게 영어를 가르쳐 주었다.
   nanun hakseayntuleykey yengelul kaluchye cwuessta.
   I taught the students English.

(10a) simply means that I was engaged in teaching the students, but (10b) additionally means that the children learned from the teaching. This difference comes out clearly when the
two sentences are expanded in the following way:

(11) a. 며해 전에 나는 영어를 학생들에게 가르쳤으나, 다 잊어 버렸다.
   myechhay cene yannu yengelul haksayntulekey kaluchyessuna, ta ice polyessta.
   A few years ago I taught English to the students but I have forgotten.

b. 며해 전에 나는 영어를 학생들에게 가르쳐 주었으나, 다 잊어 버렸다.
   myechhay cene yannu yengelul haksayntulekey kaluchye owuessuna, ta ice polyessta.
   A few years ago I taught the students English, but they have forgotten.

The two sentences above differ with regard to the possible interpretation of who forgot English. In (11a) it is the teacher who forgot English and in (11b) it is the children who forgot English. In other words, (11a) means that I was engaged in teaching English to the children, but (11b) additionally means that the children learned English from my teaching.

In a few cases, the cwuta-compound differs from its simple counterpart not only in meaning but also in syntax. Compare the following pairs:

(12) a. 피리 소리가 들렸다.
   phili solika tullyessta.
   The sound of a flute was heard.

b. 그는 나에게 피리 소리를 들려 주었다.
   kunun naeykey phili solilul tullye cwuessta.
   He had me hear the sound of the flute.

(13) a. 비행기가 보였다.
   pihayngkika poyessta.
   An airplane was seen.

b. 그는 나에게 비행기를 보여 주었다.
   kunun naeykey pihayngkiul poye cwuessta.
   He showed me an airplane.

tullita and poita are the passive forms of tutta and pota respectively, and they are one-argument verbs. On the other hand, tulli-e cwuta and poi-e cwuta are the causative counterparts of tutta and pota.

In one case the meaning of the cwuta-compound changes. Piliita means "to borrow", but its cwuta-counterpart means "to lend".

(14) a. 나는 그에게 책을 빌렸다.
   nanun kueykey charkul pillyessta.
   I borrowed a book from him.

b. 나는 그에게 책을 빌려 주었다.
   nanun kueykey charkul pillye cwuessta.
   I lent him a book.

In the preceding paragraphs we observed the auxiliary verb cwuta in statements. But the cwuta-compound is also used in the other modes such as commands and questions. In what follows we will observe the cwuta-compound in directives. Both the cwuta-compound and its simple counterpart can be used as directives, with a concomitant difference in meaning. The compound form is more polite than its simple counterpart and it is closer to a request in function. The compound form is polite because it indicates that the addressee's action will constitute a favor to someone else. This contrasts with the simple form which simply imposes some action on the addressee. Let us compare the following:
The sentences above simply impose some action on the addressee, but the (b) sentences mean in addition that the action the addressee is to carry out will be a favor to someone else. Thus, the (b) sentences are closer to a request than a command.

In directives, the understood beneficiary can be the speaker, especially with the causative verbs such as the following ones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 맛다</td>
<td>b. 맛이다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mekta</td>
<td>mekita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>‘to feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>입다</td>
<td>입히다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipta</td>
<td>‘put on(clothes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to dress’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>신다</td>
<td>신기다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinta</td>
<td>sinkita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put on(shoes)’</td>
<td>‘to put on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>기타</td>
<td>기우다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k kita</td>
<td>kkiwuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put on(gloves)’</td>
<td>‘to put on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs mek-i-ta and cewuta-compound mek-i-e-ewuta are contrasted below:

(18) a. 밥을 먹여라.
papul mekyela.
‘Feed himself!’

b. 밥을 먹여 주세요.
papul mekye cewuseyyo.
‘Feed me!’ or 'Feed someone for me.'

Sentence (18a) asks the addressee to feed himself. Sentence (18b) on the other hand can be ambiguous: it can be used to ask the addressee to feed the speaker himself, or to feed someone else. (18b) also can mean that the speaker wants the addressee to feed someone else for the speaker. Thus, sentence (18b) can be ambiguous. Likewise, the following sentences are ambiguous:

(19) a. 옷을 입혀 주세요.
osul iphye cewuseyyo.
‘Dress me!’ or ‘Dress someone for me.’

b. 신을 신기 주세요.
sinul sinkye cewuseyyo.
‘Put the shoes on me.’ or ‘Put the shoes on someone else for me.’

c. 장갑을 지워 주세요.
cangkapul kkiwutu cewuseyyo.
‘Put the gloves on me!’ or ‘Put the gloves on someone else for me.’

In Korean some words have their honorific counterparts as can be seen in the list below.

(20) 있다    isita    ‘be’

재서다    kyeysita
| 자다 | 주무시다 |
| cata | 'sleep' | cwumusita |
| 먹다 | 잡수시다 |
| mekta | 'eat' | capsusita |
| 묻다 | 여полн다 |
| mutta | 'ask' | yeccwupta |
| 보다 | 비다 |
| pota | 'see' | poyta |
| 주다 | 드리다 |
| cwuta | 'give' | tulita |

The honorific counterpart of cwuta is tulita. When the beneficiary is someone superior to the speaker, the honorific counterpart tulita is used as in the following sentences:

(21) a. 동생이 할아버지에게 신문을 갔다 드렸다.
   tongsayngi halapecieykey simmunul kacta tulyessta.
   (*cwu-ess-ta).
   My young brother took the paper to Grandpa.

b. 어머니께서 아이에게 양말을 주셨다.
   emenikkeyse aieykey yangmalul kacta cwuessta.
   (*tuli-ess-ta).
   Mother took the socks to the child.

The verb tulita is also used as an auxiliary verb. It is used instead of cwuta when the beneficiary is superior to the subject.

(22) a. 그는 할머님께 신문을 읽어드렸다.
   kunun halmenimkkey sirnumul ilketulyessta.
   He read the paper for Grandma.

b. 그는 할머님께 사과를 견아 드렸다.
   kunun halmenimkkey sakwalul kkakka tulessta.
   He peeled the apple for Grandma.

There is another verb which contrasts with tulita. The base form of the verb is not clear. It may be tul-ta(?). It is used when the beneficiary is the speaker himself and the agent is inferior to the speaker in age or in social status. Look at the following sentences:

(23) a. 그 집지를 보여 달아.
   ku capcilul poye tao.
   Show me the magazine.

b. 그 옷을 좀 다리 다.
   ku osul com talye tao.
   Please iron the clothes for me.

The auxiliary verb tao is used and it indicates that the agent who is to show the magazine and to iron the clothes is inferior to the speaker.

4.3. hata (하다)

The verb hata has various uses. It is used to derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. It is also used as a proverb and it is used to emphasize a predicate. In what follows, we will examine each use of the verb. In the meantime, we will postulate an abstract and schematic meaning of hata. The meaning of the verb cannot but be very schematic, because it is a schema for all verbs and adjectives, except for issta 'to exist' and its 'to be' and the motion verbs ota and kata. In other words, hata can stand
for perfective and imperfective predicates, and transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. In the following examples, we can see that hata can be perfective and imperfective:

(1) a. 그는 열심히 일해 한다.
   kunun yelsimhi ilul hanta.
   He works hard.
   b. 그는 걱정을 많이 한다.
   kunun kekoengul manhi hanta.
   He worries a lot.

(2) a. 그는 건강하다.
   kunun kenkanghata. (*kenkangha-nun-ta)
   He is healthy.
   b. 그는 매우 관대하다.
   kunun maywu kwantayhata. (*kwantayha-nun-ta)
   He is very generous.

In (1) hata is a perfective predicate and in (2) it is an imperfective predicate. Being a schema for both perfective and imperfective predicates, hata simply designates a process with a positive temporal profile. The temporal profile is the span of time during which the evolution of a process lasts. Following Langacker (1987), we can represent the schematic meaning of hata in the following way. The bold horizontal line indicates the temporal profile, and the diagram as a whole represents that a certain relationship holds during the temporal extension.

(3) schematic meaning of hata.

The concept of the temporal profile can serve as a criterion for the distinction between verbs and nouns. Verbs denote processes which take place in time and adjectives denote states which exist in time. Both verbs and adjectives denote processes and states respectively that exist in time, whereas nouns denote things which exist in space and time but they are stable through time. For example, a stone exists in space and time and it is stable. But a process of a stone falling takes place in time and it is not stable in terms of time-stability.

Nouns can be classified into several subclasses in terms of concreteness and time dimension. First, there is a class of nouns which denote concrete things. Things such as stones, chairs, books and glasses exist in time and space. Secondly, there is another class of concrete nouns which require the concept of time dimension in their semantic specification. The noun runner denotes a person but to characterize this person, we need to include the process of running. The runner is part of the process of running. Thus, the runner and the process of running share the common base. But in the case of the runner, only the person who runs appears in profile and the rest in background, whereas in the case of running, the runner and the time dimension are juxtaposed. This can be represented in the following way:

(4) a. RUN
   b. RUNNER
The diagram (4a) shows that in the meaning of the verb run, the runner and the change through time and the temporal dimension are juxtaposed, and the diagram (4b) shows that in the meaning of the noun runner, only the person involved in the process is profiled.

Thirdly, there is a class of abstract nouns such as entrance and destruction, etc. These nouns share common bases with their corresponding verbs (enter and destroy). The difference between the verbs and the nouns lies in profiling. For example, in the case of the verb enter, all the component stages are in profile and the situation is scanned sequentially. That is, the situation is regarded as developing in time. Therefore, the verb has the positive temporal profile. By contrast, in the case of the noun entrance, the component stages, although important, are not in profile, and the whole situation is scanned simultaneously: the situation described by a noun is not regarded as developing in time. So the noun is atemporal. The two predicates are schematically represented below (5a, 5c):

4.3.1. Concrete Nouns

Some concrete nouns can combine with the verb hata to become a verb or a verb phrase. The combination is not determined by the meaning of the nouns alone but by convention or by context. The noun namwululu ‘firewood’, for example, can combine with the verb as in the following sentences:

(6) a. 그는 나무를 했다.
    kunun namwulul hayssta.
    He collected firewood.

b. 그는 나무 했다.
    kunun namwul hayssta.
    He collected firewood.

As we can see in (6), there are two combinations. As in (6a), the object can appear with the object marker ul, and as in (6b), the object can appear without the marker. Let us first observe the case represented by (6a).

Most verbs specify the relationship between the subject and the object. But hata, being schematic, does not specify the meaning and it simply indicates that a certain relationship exists between the subject and the object. The meaning is very vague, but it is made more specific by convention and context. In a situation or in a culture where people go out and collect firewood, given the vague meaning of sentence (6a), the participants in a given conversation can make out a more specific relationship between the subject and the object: the subject collects firewood. In other words, the relationship between the subject and the object is established not by the semantics of the verb hata and the noun, but by convention. The verb hata simply provides the temporal struc-
ture to the relationship established by convention. Thus, by convention, the noun namu is associated with a relationship in which people collect firewood. This relationship has a temporal structure in the base, but the temporal structure is not in profile. This temporal structure in profile is provided by the verb hata. The nouns san namul ‘wild herb’ and mulken ‘things’ are used similarly to namu:

(7) a. 그는 산 나물을 하러 갔다.
    kunun san namwulul kale kassta.
    He went to collect herbs.

b. 그는 물건을 하러 갔다.
    kunun mwulkenul kæle kassta.
    He went to buy things.

In the following sentence we can find some other conventionalized relationships:

(8) 그는 (밥, 술, 저녁, 정신)을 했다.
    kunun (pap, swul, cenyek, cemsim)ul hayssta.
    He had prepared (rice, rice wine, dinner, lunch).

Sentence (8) above is ambiguous because the subject’s role with regard to the object can normally be two-fold. For example, one can either cook or have rice. We can also either brew or drink alcoholic beverages. We can also either cook or have dinner or lunch. The ambiguity is usually solved by the context. The relationship between the subject and the object is established by convention and context and the verb hata simply provides the temporal structure.

The following expressions are not normally ambiguous because the way the subject does something to the objects is usually stereotyped:

(9) a. 그는 (노래, 담배, 옷)을 했다.
    kunun (nolay, tampay, os) ul hayssta.
    He sang. He smoked. He made clothing.

b. 그는 (전화, 전보, 편지)을 했다.
    kunun (cenhwaw, ceno, phyenci)ul hayssta.
    He sent a telephone, a telegram, a letter.

One usually sings a song, smokes tobacco and makes clothes. One usually uses a telephone, sends a telegram and writes and sends a letter. Thus, this usual relationship forms part of the meaning of the resulting expression.

Another group of nouns which are conventionally used with the verb hata is those denoting kinship or tools. When the kinship nouns are used with hata, the resulting expressions mean ‘to adopt or take someone as……’. Observe the following examples:

(10) a. 우리는 그룹 (아들, 사위) 했다.
    wulinun kulul (atul, sawi) hayssta.
    We took him as son, son-in-law.

b. 우리는 그녀를 (딸, 미누라) 했다.
    wulinun kuyelul (ttal, myunuli) hayssta.
    We took her as daughter, daughter-in-law.

Son or son-in-law denotes a relationship between the subject and the object. But the words are nouns and they do not have the temporal structure in profile, so hata profiles the structure. When the nouns of instruments are used with hata, the resulting expressions usually mean ‘to use something as……’. Observe the following:

(11) 이것을 망치/가레/남시데 봤습니다.
    ikesul mangchi/ kalay/ naksitay hapsta.
    Let’s use it as a hammer/ a shovel / a fishing rod.
So far in this section we have examined some examples in which the relationship between the subject and the object is conventionally established and the verb *hata* simply provides the temporal structure to the relationship. Besides this, there are cases in which the relationship between the subject and the object can be inferred from context. Let us examine the following conversational give-and–take:

(12) a. 돈 좀 빌려 주세요.
    ton com pillye cwuseyyo.
    Lend me some money.

b. 돈은 해서 무엇하게?
    tonun hayse mues hakey?
    What do you want to do with it?

(13) a. 사전 하나 빌려 주세요.
    sacen hana pillye cwuseyyo.
    Lend me a dictionary.

b. 그건 해서 무엇하게?
    kukeen hayse mwues hakey?
    What do you want to do with it?

In the given context, *hata* in (12b, 13b) means ‘to have.’

### 4.3.2. Agentive and Instrumental Nouns

There is an interesting dependent noun, *cil*. It is called ‘dependent’ because it is never used alone but must be used with a noun denoting an agent or a tool. The noun *cil* means a typical activity involving an agent or a tool. Thus, the compound form noun *cil* means an activity involving an agent or a tool expressed by the noun in the compound. Some examples are presented below. (Note that the compound nouns usually have unfavorable implication. When the speaker regards a certain activity performed by a person as unfavorable, he often uses the compound nouns.

(14) **noun**
- (a) 도둑
  totwuk ‘thief’
- (b) 도둑질
  totwukcil ‘stealing’
- (c) 순사
  swuns ‘policeman’
- (d) 순사질
  swunsacil ‘working as’
  a policeman
- (e) 선생
  sensayng ‘teacher’
- (f) 선생질
  sensayngcil ‘teaching’
- (g) 면장
  myencang ‘mayor’
- (h) 면장질
  myencangcil ‘administrating’

The compound nouns listed above are atemporal predicates which denote some relationship. That is, they denote actions which are performed by the nouns. As actions, they have a temporal structure in the base. This makes it possible for them to be combined with *hata*, which has the temporal structure in profile.

Let us inspect the following examples:

(15) a. 그가 도둑질을 했다.
    kuka totwukcilul hayssta.
    He stole. (He did stealing.)

b. 그가 면장질을 했다.
    kuka myencangcilul hayssta.
    He served as mayor. (He did mayoring.)
Sentence (15a) can be represented diagrammatically in the following way:

(16)

a. 도록
b. 절

cil is an abstract schema for an activity, and one part of it is elaborated by the thief. When thief and cil are combined, the resulting combination denotes an activity involving a thief. This is an atemporal relation. This compound form follows by the verb mata and this gives a positive temporal structure to the relationship expressed by the compound noun. The resulting composite form is (14b).

The dependent noun cil is also used with the nouns denoting tools or instruments. The resulting compound nouns denote typical activities involving the tools or the instruments. Some nouns of tools are listed in (17) below.

(17) 칼 삼 망치 가위 바늘 칫가락
khal sap mangchi kawi panul ceskalak
knife shovel scissors needle chopstick

손가락 솔 비 절레 부채 다리미
sonkalak sol pi kelley pvuchay talimi
finger brush broom mop fan iron

The nouns listed above can be used in the following way, forming compounds with cil:

(18) 그는 (상, 삼, 망치, 가위, 바늘)절을 하고 있다.

kunun (khal, sap, mangchi, kawi, panul)cilul hako ista.
He is doing some cutting, shoveling, hammering, scissoring, needling.

Unlike the agentive nouns we examined in the preceding paragraphs, the instrumental nouns do not have an unfavorable connotation when they form compound nouns with cil.

4.3.3. Deverbal Noun

There are three major types of deverbal nouns formed by the following three suffixes:

(19) -ki -um -i -key

The suffix -ki is very general and it can be used with any verb or adjective. Deverbalized nouns with ki denote atemporal processes and are commonly used with mata in emphatic constructions. This type of construction will be dealt with separately in Chapter 5.

The suffixes -um and -i are not general and it is not possible to predict the verbs and adjectives that can be used with the suffixes. Nor is it possible to predict the meanings of the derived words. Some derived words with the suffix -um denote concrete objects and some abstract objects. The noun elum ‘ice’ is derived from the verb el-ta ‘to freeze.’ By contrast, the noun esaum which is derived from the verb esaau-ta ‘to fight’ denotes an abstract process. Similarly, the derived nouns with the suffix -i can denote either concrete objects or processes. When the derived nouns denote processes, they can be used with mata as in the following:
(20) a. 그들은 (마을, 말다툼)을 했다.
kutulun (ssaum, maltathum)ul hayyssta.
They did some fighting, speaking, quarreling.
b. 그들은 (-selector이, 학급이)를 했다.
kutulun (talmaci, yuchnoli)ul hayyssta.
They did some viewing of the first full moon.
They did some playing of yut.

The deverbal nouns contain the relationships expressed by their corresponding verbs, but lack the positive temporal structure, which is provided by hata. The meaning of hata is vague, but is made more specific by the meaning of the deverbal nouns.

4.3.4. Onomatopoeic Words

These words describe various things such as sounds, movements, and feelings. Some common onomatopoeic words are listed below according to their meanings:

(21) sounds

풍풍
khwungkhwung ‘thumping noise’

바스락바스락
pasulakpasulak ‘rustling sound’

(22) shape

드문 드문
 tumun tumun ‘sparsely, thinly’

(23) feelings

따끈따끈
ttakkunttakkkun ‘warm’

따뜻기
micikun ‘lukewarm’

(24) sensation

따끔따끔
ttakumttakkum ‘prickly’

간질간질
kancilkancil ‘ticklish’

These words themselves describe certain states but do not have a temporal structure and when we want to express those certain sounds, movements, feelings, which are expressed by the onomatopoeic words, and which take place in time, we use the verb hata as in the following:

(25) a. 물결이 쏟대 쏟대 한다.
mukyelyi chwulengchwuleng hanta.
Waves are rolling.
b. 대포소리가 종종 한다.
taypho solika khwungkhwung hanta.
The cannons are making a billowing noise.
The Sino-Korean words can be divided into two major groups according to their meanings. One group denotes an abstract location, or a state. When the nouns of this group combine with hata, imperfective verbs result. A few examples are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>행복</td>
<td>행복하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayngpok</td>
<td>hayngpok-hata 'to be happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>건강</td>
<td>건강하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenkang</td>
<td>kenkang-hata 'to be healthy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>친절</td>
<td>친절하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chincel</td>
<td>chincel-hata 'to be kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>청착</td>
<td>청착하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimchak</td>
<td>chimchak-hata 'to be calm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>관대</td>
<td>관대하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwantay</td>
<td>kwantay-hata 'to be generous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>광범</td>
<td>광범하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwangpem</td>
<td>kwangpem-hata 'to be expansive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>명백</td>
<td>명백하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myengpoyk</td>
<td>myengpoyk-hata 'to be obvious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>동일</td>
<td>동일하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongil</td>
<td>tongil-hata 'to be uniform'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words in (29) denote a state but their temporal structure is not in profile, so they are nouns. When they are combined with
hata, the combined form has a temporal structure and results in imperfective predicates. One characteristic of the imperfective predicates in Korean is that they cannot be used with the present tense marker nun. The verb hayngpok-hata, for example, is imperfective and it cannot be used with the present tense marker nun as in (30). All the derived imperative verbs in (29) cannot be used with the marker nun.

(30) 그는 행복하다.

kunun hayngpokhata. (*hayngpok-ha-nun-ta).
He is happy.

Another group of Sino-Korean words denotes (a temporal) activity or process. Being atemporal, they do not have the temporal structure in profile, although they have it in their base. When these nouns combine with the verb hata, perfective verbs result. (The Sino-Korean words listed below are similar to the deverbal nouns we examined in 1.3, in that they have a temporal dimension in the base although it is not in profile).

(31) **Sino-Korean**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Sino-Korean</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>공헌</td>
<td>공헌을 하다</td>
<td>contribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konghen</td>
<td>konghenul hata</td>
<td>contribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contribution</td>
<td>konghennhata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>과로</td>
<td>과로를 하다</td>
<td>overwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwalo</td>
<td>kwalolul hata</td>
<td>overwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worry</td>
<td>고민을 하다</td>
<td>worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komin</td>
<td>kominul hata</td>
<td>worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kominhata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When these Sino-Korean words are used with hata, they can be used with or without the object marker as can be seen in (31). With the object marker, the noun is the object of hata, but without the object marker the noun seems to be incorporated into the verb-forming compound verbs. Let us examine the following:

(32) a. 그는 공헌을 크게 했다.

kunun konghenul khukey hayssta.
He made a great contribution.

b. 그는 크게 공헌을 했다.

kunun khukey konghenul hayssta.

(33) a. 그는 공헌 크게 했다.

kunun konghen khukey hayssta.
He contributed a great deal.

b. 그는 크게 공헌했다.

kunun khukey konghenhayssta.
He contributed a great deal.

When the object marker is used as in (32a), the object can be preceded or followed by adverbs such as khukey 'to a large extent.' By contrast, when the object marker is not used, the adverb after the Sino-Korean word makes the sentence (33a) awkward. The Sino-Korean word and hata form a syntactic unit and the unit does not allow something to come between them.
The following nouns are similar to those in (31) in that they become perfective verbs when they combine with hata. But they differ from them in that the derived verbs without the object marker can be used as transitive verbs.

(34) Sino-Korean Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sino-Korean Word</th>
<th>Korean Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>연구</td>
<td>연구를 하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yenkwu</td>
<td>yenkwul hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>research</td>
<td>to research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>조사</td>
<td>조사를 하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosa</td>
<td>cosalul hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>investigation</td>
<td>to investigate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>침략</td>
<td>침략을 하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimlyak</td>
<td>chimlyakul hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attack</td>
<td>to attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>관리</td>
<td>관리를 하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwanli</td>
<td>kwanliul hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>control</td>
<td>to control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>구금</td>
<td>구금을 하다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwukum</td>
<td>kwukumul hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confinement</td>
<td>to confine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the (a) sentences below, the Sino-Korean words are used as independent objects, but in the (b) sentences they are incorporated into the verbs and separate objects like physics and an accident are used.

(35) a. 그는 연구를 하고 있다.
    kunun yenkwulul hako issita.
    He is doing research.

b. 그는 물리학을 연구하고 있다.
    kunun multihakul yenkwuhako issita.
    He is researching physics.

(36) a. 그는 현장에서 조사를 하고 있다.
    kunun hyencangeyse cosalul hako issita.
    He is investigating on the spot.

b. 그는 현장에서 사건을 조사하고 있다.
    kunun hyencangeyse sakenul cosaňhako issita.
    He is investigating an accident on the spot.

4.3.6. Adjectives

In Korean, adjectives are imperfective. They denote homogeneous states with no clear beginning and end. These imperfective adjectives can be made into perfective verbs which denote processes having a beginning and an ending. Let us compare the adjective sulphuta and its derived transitive verb sulph hata.

(37) a. 그 영화는 슬프다.
    ku yenghwanun sulphuta.
    The movie is sad.

b. 그 일 때문에 내 마음이 슬프다.
    ku il taymuney nay mauni sulphuta.
    I (my mind) am sad because of the affair.

(38) 그는 그 일을 슬퍼한다.
    kunun ku ilul sulph hanta.
    He feels sad about the affair.

The adjectives in (37) describe a steady state with no foresee
able change. The corresponding verb in (38) describes a process with a beginning and an ending. Adjectives describing personal feelings can have their corresponding verbs as in (38).

(39) adjectives       verbs

기쁘다       기뻐하다     기呸하다     ‘glad’     kippehata ‘to feel glad’
희겁다       즐거워하다     즐거워하다   ‘enjoyable’  culkewehata ‘to be fond of’
예쁘다       예뻐하다     yeppahata     ‘pretty’     yeppahata ‘to be pretty’
슬프다       실이하다     silwehata     ‘disagreeable’  silwehata ‘to feel disagreeable’
귀찮다       귀찮아하다     kwichana     ‘troublesome’  kwichana ‘to feel annoyed’
놀랍다       놀라워하다  nolawehata   ‘frightening’  nolawehata ‘to feel frightened’
들다         실이하다     siphehata     ‘want’       siphehata ‘to feel like -ing’
고프다       고투하다     kophahata     ‘hungry’     kophahata ‘to feel hungry’
아프다       아파하다     aphahata      ‘ache’       aphahata ‘to feel hurt’

The adjectives and their derived verbs differ from each other both syntactically and semantically. The adjectives are one-argument predicates, and the derived verbs are two-argument predicates. They also differ in their use. The adjectives are usually used to describe the speaker's own feelings, whereas the derived transitive verbs are used to describe the speaker's or somebody else's feelings.

(40) a. 나는 고양이 같다.
     nanun kohyangi kulipta.
     I am homesick.

b. 나는 늘 고양이 그리워한다.
   nanun nul kohyangul kuliwehanta.
   I always long for home.

(41) a. 그는 고양이 같다.
    ?kunun kohyangi kulipta.
    He is homesick.

b. 그는 고양이 그리워 한다.
   kunun kohyangul kuliwehanta.
   He longs for home.

In (40) the subject is in the first person and it can be used with both the adjective and its derived verb. But in (41) the subject is in the third person and the use of the adjective is awkward. The reason might be that the adjectives describe states which are steady and unnoticed by others. In contrast, the derived transitive verbs describe processes with change which can be noticed by others.

To recapitulate, the adjectives are used to express steady
states and the derived verbs are used to express states which are variable. The verb hata is the profile determinant in the adjective -e hata compound and it gives the profile of the perfective temporal profile. This can be represented in the following way: figure (42b) has an imperfective temporal structure. When the perfective temporal structure (42c) is imposed upon (42b), figure (42a) results, which represents perfective predicates.

\[ \text{(42)} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{(a)} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{(b)} \\
\text{(c)}
\end{array} \\
\text{imperfective} & \quad \text{perfective}
\end{align*} \]

4.3.7. Emphatic Construction

Both perfective and imperfective verbs can be emphasized by forming the following construction:

\[ \begin{align*}
(43) \quad & \text{a. predicate-ki-prt predicate-nun-ta.} \\
& \text{b. predicate-ki-prt hata-(nun)-ta}
\end{align*} \]

\(\text{prt} = \text{particle}\)

The pattern above is illustrated in the following example sentences:

\(44)\ a. \) 그 띄운 꽃기는 몇나. (하다)
ku kkochun kopkinun kopta. (…nun hata.)
The flower is indeed pretty.
\b. 그 사람 볼이 시기만 빛나. (하다)
ku salam himi seyikiman setya. (…man hata.)
The man is only strong.
\c. 그 산이 높기도 높다. (하다)
kun sanio noptiko nopta. (…to hata.)
The mountain is indeed high.

In (44) the particles that are used are nun, man and to. As the adjectives are imperfective, the present tense marker nun is not used. The adjectives that appear after the particles can be replaced by the verb hata. In the following sentences, the predicates used are verbs:

\(45)\ a. \) 그 자동차는 가기는 잘 간다. (한다)
kucatongchanun kakinun kal kanta. (…nun cal hanta.)
The car does run well.
\b. 그 사람을 뭐기만 잘 한다. (한다)
kusalamun ttwikiman kal ttwinta. (…man cal hanta.)
The man does run well.
\c. 이 소는 크기도 잘 든다. (한다)
i sonun khukito cal khunta.
The cow does grow well.

In (45) the perfective verbs are used and the present tense marker nun is required.
This emphatic construction is used when the existence of a state or process is in question. Observe the following conversation-
al exchange:

(46) a. 이 시계 가나?
i sikey kana?
Does this watch run?
b. 그래가기는 잘 간다.
kulay kakinun cal kanta.
It does run well.

The speaker in (46a) is not sure whether a certain watch runs or not. In other words, the watch's ability to function is in question. Speaker (46b) knows that the watch runs well and in order to emphasize it, clearing the first speaker's doubt, he uses the emphatic construction of (46b).

The emphatic meaning is derived in the following way. The derived nominal ka-ki has the following structure (46a) in which the individual stages of the process are in profile, although the temporal structure is in background:

Thus, ka-ki itself cannot be used as a predicate. However, when it is combined with hata, the temporal structure is provided and the composite form ka-ki hata can be used as a predicate. And this predicate, unlike the regular simple predicate, puts the individual stages in profile. From this, the meaning of emphasizing a process results, as can be seen in (45c).

4.3.8. Causative Construction

The following construction is commonly called a causative construction:

(47) ...predicate-key hata.

The construction above is illustrated in the following examples:

(48) a. 나는 그가 일찍 오게 했다.
nun kuna ilcik okey hayssta.
I had him come early.
b. 나는 그가 곧 돌아가게 했다.
nun kuna kot tolakakey hayssta.
I had him return soon.

(49) a. 나는 그 그림을 크게 했다.
nun kuna kilmul kukey hayssta.
I made the picture bigger.
b. 나는 내 방을 예쁘게 했다.
nun nak pangul yeppukey hayssta.
I made the room pretty.

In (48), perfective verbs are used and in (49) imperfective adjectives are used, with key hata. The morpheme key of the causative construction is made up of the two morphems, ki and
ey. Inspected this way, the causative construction is nothing but a sentence with a transitive motion verb. In the sentence below, the transitive motion verb nohta 'to put' is used:

(50) 그는 그 책을 책상 위에 놓았다.
    kunun ku chaykul chayksang wiyehobassta.
    He put the book on the table.

In (50), the subject is an agent who moved the book onto the desk. Before the moving, the book was not on the desk, and after moving, it was on the desk. In a similar way, the subjects in (48–9) are an agent who moved something, to cause an action or a state. In (48), the subject caused someone to come or return. In (49), the subject brought something to a certain state. Thus, processes or states are abstract locations. The morpheme ki changes a process or a state into a temporal noun and ey is the goal marker.

The verb hata in the causative construction is very schematic and abstract and it is very vague out of context. All it says is that the subject does something intentionally or unintentionally to bring about a situation or a state. From the given sentence alone, it is not possible to predict what the subject does to make or to have the causee do or undergo something. However, some particles make the meaning of hata somewhat more specific. Observe the following examples:

(51) a. 나는 그를 쏘아 놓려 놓았다.
    nanun kulul kramcek nolakey hayessta.
    I made him frightened.

b. 나는 그에게 저녁을 먹게 했다.
    nanun kueykey cenyekul melkekey hayessta.
    I made him eat dinner.

In (51a) ku, 'he' is used with the object marker and in (51b) ku is used with the dative marker. These markers make the meaning of hata more specific. When the object marker is used, the speaker has a transitive verb in mind, which can take an object. Thus, hata in sentence (51a) can stand for the verbs such as milta, 'to push', or tangkita, 'to pull'.

(52) 나는 그를 놓려 놓았다/당기였다.
    nanun kulul nolakey milessta / tangkiessta.
    I pushed/pulled him to frighten him.

When the dative marker is used, hata is understood to stand for verbs which can take the dative actant such as malhata, to say, or myenglyenghata, to order:

(53) 나는 그에게 놓려로 견인游击队.
    nanu kueykey twiwekey solichyesta/malhayessta/yatanchyesta.
    I shouted, spoke, to him, so that he would come running.

4.3.9. Mental Activities

Most of the examples of hata we observed above stand for physical processes. But it can also stand for mental activities such as sayongkahehata, 'to think', leyelsehata, 'to decide', and uisimhata, 'to doubt'. Observe the following examples:

(54) a. 일이 잘 되었으면 한다.
    ili kul toyessumynen hanta.
    I hope everything will turn out well.

b. 일이 끝났는가 한다.
    ili kkuhnnassmunka hanta.
    I wonder if the work is finished.
c. 내일 그 분이 오시나 한다.
   nayil ku puni osina hanta.
   I suspect that the man will come.

d. 내일 아침에 가려고 한다.
   nayil ayuhoyey kalyeke hanta.
   I am thinking of going on a picnic.

e. 나는 내일 가야 한다.
   nanun nayil kaya hanta.
   I have to go tomorrow.

As in its other uses, the verb hata itself is very vague in meaning. It simply denotes that a relationship exists in time whether it is physical or mental. This vague meaning is made specific by the verbal connectives. In (54) the verbal connectives are related to mental activities, and the meaning of hata is restricted to mental activities. In (54a) myen is related to supposing, in (54b) nunka, to doubting, in (54c) na, to tentative assumption, in (54d) lyeke to intending and in (54e) ya, with obligation. These connectives make the meaning of hata more specific, as the translations suggest.

4.4 issta (있다)

4.4.1. issta as a main verb

The verb issta is used to predicate existence of things. It is a general verb and covers the range of the existential, locative and possessive verbs of other languages. The verb is used in the following sentences and we can note that there can be a great deal of variation in the choice of the subjects and the locative phrases:

(1) a. 책상 위에 책이 있다.
   chayksang wiey chayki issta.
   There is a book on the table.

   b. 교실에 칠판이 있다.
   kyosiley chimphani issta.
   There is a blackboard in the classroom.

(2) a. 자기에는 어제 철철한 전투가 있었다.
   kekeynun ecce ynehlan centhwnu issessta.
   There was fierce fighting yesterday.

   b. 오늘 운동장에서 배구 경기가 있었다.
   onul wuntongcangeysse paykwu kyengkika issessta.
   There was a volleyball game today.

(3) a. 그 사람에게는 양심이 있다.
   ku salameykeynun yangsimi issta.
   He has a conscience.

   b. 그 사람에게는 능력이 있다.
   ku salameykeynun nunglyeke issta.
   He has ability.

The subject of the verb issta can vary from nouns denoting concrete objects to those denoting abstract things. In (1) the subjects are concrete objects. The concrete objects exist both in space and in time. In (2) the subjects are events that take place in time and space, but they are often regarded as primarily existing in time. In (3) the subjects are abstract objects.

The locative expressions can vary from spatial location to abstract location as can be seen in the following examples:

(4) a. 산에 나무가 있다.
   saney namuka issta.
   There are trees in the mountains.
b. 마을에 초가집이 있다.
mauley chokaciipi issta.
There are thatched houses in the village.

(5) a. 그에게 돈이 많이 있다.
kueykkey toni manhi issta.
He has a lot of money.
b. 나에게는 양심이 있다.
naeykeykynun yangsimi issta.
I have a conscience.

(6) a. 그의 마음은 나라사랑에 있다.
kuy maumun nalaalangey issta.
His mind is on the love of his country.
b. 그의 관심은 연구에 있다.
kuy kwansimun yenkuwey issta.
His interest is in research.

The locative expression can denote physical locations as in (4), and they can denote human beings as in (5). When the locative expressions are human beings, the sentences are possessive sentences. In other words, in Korean the possession is expressed as something existing at or with someone. Finally the locative expressions can be abstract locations as in (6).

What we have observed above is the stative use of the verb issta. But this verb can be used as a process verb. The difference between the two uses can be illustrated with the present tense marker. The stative existential verb issta cannot take the present tense marker whereas its nonstative use can be used with the marker as can be seen below:

(7) a. 내 책이 책상 위에 있다.
nay chayki chayksang wiey issta.
My book is on the desk.

b. ? 내 책이 책상 위에 있다는.
nay chayki chayksang wiey issnunta.

(8) a. 나는 오늘 집에 있다.
nanun onul cipey issta.
I will be at home today.
b. 나는 오늘 집에 있다.
nanun onul cipey issnunta.
I will stay at home today.

In (7) the subject is inanimate and issnunta cannot be used. But in (8) the subject is animate and issnunta is possible, meaning ‘to stay somewhere intentionally’.

On the basis of the preceding observation we can say that the verb is very general in meaning and it is also very general in the sense that it can be used as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary verb, it can be used in the following two constructions:

(9) a. verb-e issta (perfective aspect)
b. verb-ko issta (progressive aspect)

The construction in (9a) is called the perfect aspect because it denotes existence of a resulting state from a process, and the one in (9b) is called the progressive aspect because it denotes an internal view of an on-going process. In what follows we will examine them one by one.

4.4.2. issta as an auxiliary verb

In discussing aspect, it is necessary to classify the predicates into several aspectual classes, and there are several different aspectual classifications proposed in the literature on aspect. In discussing the Korean aspect, it is also necessary to classify the predicates. In this section we will observe what aspectual classes
are necessary by observing some cooccurrence restrictions.

(10) a. ?그는 집 한 개를 지어 왔다.
    kunun cip han chayla cie issta.
    b. 집 한 개가 지어져 있다.
    cip han chayka cieye issta.
    A house has been built.

(11) a. ?옷을 박아 있다.
    mosul paka issta.
    b. 옷이 박혀 있다.
    mosi pakhie issta.
    A nail is driven.

(12) a. ?나는 새 한 마리를 잡아 왔다.
    nanun say han malilul capa issta.
    b. 새 한 마리가 잡혀 있다.
    say han malika caphie issta.
    A bird has been captured.

In the (a) sentences the transitive verbs cista, pakta and capta are used and the sentences in the resulting perfective aspect are all ungrammatical. On the other hand, in the (b) sentences the passive forms are used and the sentences in the resulting perfect aspect are all grammatical. This distinction seems to support Delancy’s claim that aspect has something to do with the speaker’s viewpoint. With the transitive verbs, the speaker takes the agent/source as viewpoint, and with some passives and intransitive verbs, the speaker takes patient/goal as viewpoint. The suffix -e (or-a), which is used with issta, denotes the end point of process and the end point corresponds to the goal of locomotion or to the patient of some action. Thus it is natural that the transitive verbs do not appear in the perfect aspect, for they do not allow the end-point viewpoint. The restriction of the transitive verbs with regard to the perfect aspect is general and applicable to all transitive verbs. Some further examples are provided below. In (13), some transitive verbs are listed together with their ungrammatical perfect aspect. In (14) the corresponding passives are listed together with their grammatical perfect aspect.

(13) 접다
cepta  'to fold'  *cap-e issta

박다
makta  'to stop;'  *mak-e issta

연다
encta  'to place'  *tata issta

닫다
tatta  'to close'  *tata issta

놓다
mwwutta  'to bury'  *mwwut-e issta

(14) 접히다
cep-hi-ta  'to be folded'  cep-hi-e issta

닫히다
mak-hi-ta  'to be blocked'  mak-hi-e issta

입히다
enc-hi-ta  'to be placed'  enc-hi-e issta
(17) some imperfective predicates are used and they cannot take
the present tense marker. In (18) some perfective predicates are
used and they can take the marker.

(17) a. 그는 어린다. (?)어린다
   kunun eli(n)ta.
   He is young.

b. 그는 키가 작다. (?)작는다
   kunun khika caik(n)ta.
   He is short.

c. 그는 똑똑하다. (?)똑똑한하다
   kunun ttototto(nun)ha ta.
   He is smart.

(18) a. 그는 열심히 일한다.
   kunun yelsimbi ihanta
   He works hard.

b. 그는 잘 웃는다.
   kunun cal usuntu.
   He laughs easily.

c. 그는 잘 잠다.
   kunun cal canta.
   He sleeps well.

Imperfective predicates cannot be used in imperative construc-
tions, nor can they appear in the perfect aspect, nor in the pro-
gressive aspect, as the following examples show:

(19) a. 예쁘라!
   yeppela.
   Be pretty!

b. 예뻐있다.
   yepeissta.
c. 그는 예쁘고 있다.
kunun yeppuko issta.
He is being pretty.

Thus, the distinction between the two classes of predicates is clear and it is not something that is postulated in an ad hoc manner.

As for the perfective predicates, they all denote processes that go on in time with change. But they can be divided into two subclasses in terms of the end point of process. Some perfective predicates denote a process with the end point. Following Vendler, I will call these predicates “accomplishment” predicates. But this does not mean that English accomplishment predicates and Korean accomplishment predicates overlap. There are some overlaps, but many do not overlap because each language has a different way of looking at processes. The other class of nonstative predicates denotes processes that go on in time without any end point. These predicates will be called “activity predicates”.

These two classes of verbs can best be illustrated with the locomotion verbs kata and ota and the manner-of-motion verbs. Below some verbs belonging to each class are presented. In (20) the two, locomotion verbs are listed and in (21) some manner-of-motion verbs are listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(20)</th>
<th>가다</th>
<th>‘to go’</th>
<th>오다</th>
<th>‘to come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(21)</th>
<th>간다</th>
<th>‘to walk’</th>
<th>날다</th>
<th>‘to fly’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ketta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nalta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>기타</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>튀다</td>
<td>‘to jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ttwita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locomotion verbs describe processes which can have source and goal, and therefore the processes can be bounded both in time and in space. On the other hand, the manner-of-motion verbs do not allow source and goal, and they are not bounded in time nor in space. They simply describe continuation of motion in a certain manner through time. Compare the sentences in (22) and (23).

(22) 그는 서울에 갔다/왔다.
kunun sewuley kassta/oassta.
He went/came to Seoul.

(23) 그는 서울에 걸었다/날았다/기었다.
kunun sewuley kelesta/nalasta/kieesta.
He walked/flew/crawled to Seoul.

In (22) the locomotion verbs are used and they are compatible with the goal expression Sewuley. But in (23) the manner-of-motion verbs are used and they are not compatible with the goal expression and sentence (23) is not grammatical. From this, we can say that locomotion verbs are accomplishment verbs and manner-of-motion verbs are activity verbs. The manner-of-motion verbs can be made into accomplishment verbs when compounded with the locomotion verbs as in the following.

(24) 그는 서울에 걸어/날아/뛰어 갔다(왔다).
kunun sewuley kele/ nali/ twiie kassta (oassta).
He went (came) to Seoul walking/ flying/ running.

The difference between the two classes of verbs comes out in the perfect aspect. The perfect aspect is possible with the locomotion verbs with end points, but the same aspect is not possible with the manner-of-motion verbs without end points.
(25) 그는 서울에 왔다/가보다.
kunun sewuley oaissta/kaissta.
He is come/gone to Seoul.

(26) 그는 서울에 걸어있다/走去있다.
kunun sewuley keleissta/twweissta.

The perfect aspect means that the subject went (or came) to Seoul and he is there. The locomotion verbs which are compatible with the goals can appear in the perfect aspect, but the manner-of-locomotion verbs which are incompatible with the goals cannot appear in the perfect aspect.

In the preceding paragraphs, we observed two classes of motion verbs: locomotion verbs and manner-of-motion verbs. In addition to these motion verbs, other intransitive perfective verbs can be divided into the two classes of accomplishment and activity. To see this, let us compare the two verbs kktayta and cata. The verb kktayta can appear in the perfect aspect, but the verb cata can not:

(27) a. 그 사람이 쫓아있다.
kku salami kkaytaissta.
He is awake.
b. 그 사람이 자아있다.
kku salami caaissta.

(27) a. sleep

wakeup

b. sleep

The verb kktayta can be used in the perfect aspect because the verb describes a change from sleeping to waking. Waking is a turning point and at this point a new state begins and it can continue. Thus, sentence (27a) means that the subject came to the waking point and remains awake. The verb cata does not appear in the perfect aspect because it describes a continuous process without any change or an end point. In other words, it does not have any turning point.

Below are some examples of the two classes of intransitive verbs. In (28A) intransitive verbs with their inherent end point (turning point) are listed and in (28B) intransitive verbs without the end point are listed.

(28) A. Verbs with end-points

a. change of position

| 알다  | 'to sit' |
| ancta |        |
| 서다  | 'to stand' |
| seta  |        |
| 놀다  | 'to lie' |
| nwupta|        |
| 일어나다 | 'to rise' |
| ilenata|        |
| 앞드리다 | 'to prostrate oneself' |
| ephtulita|        |
| 구부리다 | 'to bend' |
| kwupulita|        |
| 비틀리다 | 'to twist' |
| pithullita|        |
### b. change of state

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phyeta</td>
<td>'to straighten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cichita</td>
<td>'to tire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khuta</td>
<td>'to become big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huluta</td>
<td>'to flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwuphulta</td>
<td>'to swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salta</td>
<td>'to live'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nesta</td>
<td>'to become well'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B. Verbs without end points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wusta</td>
<td>'to laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulta</td>
<td>'to cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colta</td>
<td>'to doze'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The verb followed by the suffix -e means that the process denoted by the verb is at its end point. The existential verb be gives a temporal extension to the end state. This can be schematically represented in the following way.

![Diagram](image-url)
In this analysis, the verbal suffix -e in V-ey is treated as a goal marker. In this regard, -e is very close to the postposition ey, which is also a goal marker. And the verbal suffix -ese can be compared to the postposition eyse, which in one of its senses means source. Let us examine the following sentences.

(30) a. 그는 학교에 있다.
    kunun hakkyoey issta.
    He is at school.

b. 그는 깨어 있다.
    kunun kkay ey issta.
    He is awake. (He is at the state of being awake.)

(31) a. 그는 학교에서 왔다.
    kunun hakkyoeyese oassta.
    He came from school.

b. 그는 추위에서 왔다.
    kunun chuwuwese oassta.
    He came out of the state of being cold.

In (30a) hakkyo is a concrete spatial location and in (30b) kkay is an abstract location. Likewise, in (31a) hakkyo is a concrete spatial source and in (31b) chuwuw is an abstract location.

The suggestion that e is related to ey and ese to eyse can be supported by the fact that there are other particles in Korean which can be used with both nouns and verbs. Observe the following pairs of examples:

(32) a. 나는 물만 마셨다.
    nanun mulman masiessita.
    I drank only water.

b. 나는 물은 마시었지만 술은 마시지 않았다.
    nanun mulmao masiessitum, suwulo masic anhassta.
    Although I drank water, I didn’t drink alcohol.

(33) a. 나는 술도 마셨다.
    nanun swulto masiessita.
    I also drank an alcoholic drink.

b. 나는 맥주를 마시아도 위스키는 마시지 않는다.
    nanun meykwunun maseiteto wiskhinun masic anhnunta.
    Even though I drink beer, I don’t drink whisky.

(34) a. 찬 밥이나 마시고 드세요.
    chan papinarnam manhi tuseyyo.
    Though it is left-over rice, have a lot.

b. 밥이 차나마 많이 드세요.
    papi chanarnam manhi tuseyyo.
    Though the rice is cold, have a lot.

(35) a. 택시라도 타고 갤시다.
    thayksilate thako kapsita.
    Let’s go by taxi (even though it is the last available choice).

b. 택시가 있다라도 갤시다.
    thayksika istelato kele kapsita.
    Even though the taxi is available, let’s go on foot.

In the (a) sentences the particles are used with nouns and in (b) sentences they are used with verbs. Although they are used in different syntactic environments, they retain the same meaning.

In the preceding paragraphs we have observed the behavior of the intransitive verbs with regard to the perfect aspect. In this section we will observe the behavior of the adjectives with regard to the aspect. In Korean the adjectives and the verbs can be morphologically distinguished. The present tense marker nun can be used with verbs but not with adjectives.
(36) a. 나는 오늘 학교에 갔다.
    nanun onul hakkyoey kanta.
    I go to school today.
b. 나는 오늘 머리가 아프다 (?아픈다)
    nanun onul melika aphuta (aphunta).
    I have a headache today.

But both can take the past tense morpheme as in the following:

(37) a. 나는 어제 학교에 갔다.
    nanun ecey hakkyoey kassta.
    I went to school yesterday.
b. 나는 어제 머리가 아팠다.
    nanun ecey melika aphassta.
    I had a headache yesterday.

The auxiliary verb issta and adjectives are alike in that neither can take the present tense morpheme.

(38) a. 그는 깨어 있다 (?있는다).
    kunun kkyaye issta (issnunta).
    He is awake.
b. 그는 쉽게 아프다 (?아픈다).
    kunun payka aphuta (aphunta).
    He has a stomachache.

And both issta and adjectives denote the existence of state. In (39) the auxiliary verb issta is used and the perfect aspect means that an end state of the process of lying down or standing up remains valid. In (40) the adjectives are used and they denote the existence of state.

(39) a. 그는 누워 있다.
    kunun nnuwe issta.
    He is lying.
b. 그는 서 있다.
    kunun see issta.
    He is standing.

(40) a. 나는 온종일 피곤하다.
    nanun oncongil phikonhata.
    I feel tired all day long.
b. 나는 금년 내내 몸이 아프다.
    nanun kumnnyen naynay momi aphuta.
    I don’t feel well all year round.

The adjectives in Korean cannot appear in the perfect aspect, because they do not describe a process with an end point and, as they already describe the existence of state, the use of issta will be superfluous. Some adjectives in Korean are listed below.

(41) 아름답다.
    aluntapta      ‘beautiful’
어렵다.
    elyepta      ‘difficult’
예쁘다.
    yepputa      ‘pretty’
ولد.
    olhta      ‘right’
적다.
    cekta      ‘few’
Adjectives can be derived from two kinds of process verbs. In one kind, the auxiliary verb *cita* is used and in the other, the auxiliary verb *toytta* is used. In (42) the use of *cita* is illustrated, and in (43) that of *toytta* is illustrated.

(42) a. 줄다 copta narrow
    즐어져다 copacita copacite issta
    줄어져 있다 copacite issta

b. 줄다 cohta good
    즐어져다 cohacita cohacite issta
    줄어져 있다 cohacite issta

(43) a. 줄다 copta narrow
    즐게 되다 copkey toytta copkey toyte issta
    줄게 되어 있다 copkey toyte issta

b. 줄다 cohta good
    즐게 되다 cokhacita cohacite issta
    줄게 되어 있다 cohacite issta

4.4.3. The progressive aspect

In the preceding section we examined the perfect aspect. As we have seen, the perfect aspect is a locative sentence because *V-e* is an abstract location and *issta* means 'to be'. The perfect aspect *V-e issta* indicates that the subject is in the abstract location. The progressive aspect is also a locative sentence in that *V-ko* can be regarded as an abstract location. Thus, what we have to do is characterize the abstract location expressed by *V-ko*, just as *V-e* is characterized as the end point of process. Langacker claims that ING in English is a stativizing predicate which focuses attention on a single arbitrarily selected internal point relative to a process. According to this definition, the verb *fall* in English is a perfective predicate which denotes a perfective process, and its present participial form *falling* denotes a single arbitrarily selected point. *Falling* is atemporal in that it does not have temporal structure. The verb *be* gives it the temporal structure to the point-like state. The three forms are represented in the following way:

(1) fall falling ing be falling be

In (1a) the process of *fall* is represented. The process takes place in time. In (1b) the state of *falling* is represented. The state is point-like and does not have the temporal structure. In (1c) *be falling* is represented and in it we can see that the verb *be* gives a temporal extension to the point-like state. As Delancy points out, aspect has something to do with viewpoint. The progressive aspect takes the internal viewpoint. It looks at the process inside of it. When we are inside a building, we cannot see the whole building. Likewise, when we take the internal viewpoint of
the progressive aspect, we cannot see the whole process but a portion of it, and thus the view is limited. The aspect does not tell us when the process begins and when it will end. It simply indicates that a certain process is going on at a certain point of time. The temporal structure in (1c) indicates that it will not last.

The very general meaning of the progressive form gives a more specific meaning when it is combined with a predicate with its own peculiar characteristics. We will examine some of the specific meanings below. First, the progressive aspect gives a meaning of incompletion when the verbs of accomplishment appear in the progressive aspect. The accomplishment verbs have inherent end points, but the progressive aspect indicates that the process is not at the end point, but somewhere in between. From this, the meaning of incompletion is derived. Observe the following examples.

(2) a. 그는 집을 한 채 짓고 있다.
    kunun cipul han chay cisko issta.
    He is building a house.

b. 그는 편지를 쓰고 있다.
    kunun phyenicul ssuko issta.
    He is writing a letter.

In building a house, there is a starting point and an end point. The end point comes when the house is completed. The progressive aspect indicates that the subject is neither at the beginning nor at the end, but somewhere in between. From this, the meaning of incompletion is derived. The same thing can be said of writing a letter. The progressive aspect indicates that the subject is somewhere in between the beginning and the end and from this, the meaning of incompletion is derived.

With the verbs of activity which do not have their inherent end points, the progressive aspect does not give the meaning of incompletion, as can be observed in the following examples:

(3) a. 그는 집짓고 있다.
    kunun cipcisko issta.
    He is building houses.

b. 그는 편지를 쓰고 있다.
    kunun phyenicul ssuko issta.
    He is writing letters.

The two sentences in (3) simply indicate that the subjects are engaged in certain activities.

At this point, a few words about the two classes of verbs seem to be in order. In many cases, the telic nature of the verbs is determined not only by the nature of the verbs themselves but also by the nature of other elements in the sentences. To see this, let us compare the following sentences:

(4) a. 그는 10리를 걸었다.
    kunun 10lilul kelessta.
    He walked 10 li.

b. 그는 걸었다.
    kunun kelessta.
    He walked.

In (4) the same verb kelessta is used in the two sentences, but the predicates in the two sentences are different. The predicate in (2a) is an accomplishment because it is bounded by the distance. So unless the subject covers the whole distance, the end point is not reached and we cannot truly say (2a). On the other hand, the predicate in (2b) is not bounded by an end point and it is an activity verb. Thus, as soon as the subject walks, we can truly say (2b). From this, we can see that the aspectual nature of a predicate is determined not only by the nature of a verb but also
by other elements, but in (5a) the boundedness of the object imposes boundedness on the predicate:

(5) a. 그는 노래 한 곡을 부르고 있다.
   kunun nolay han kokul puluko isssta.
   He is singing a song.

b. 그는 노래를 부르고 있다.
   kunun nolayul puluko isssta.
   He is singing.

In (5a) the object is bounded by the expression han kok ‘a song’, and the whole predicate is bounded. In (5b) the same verb puluta is used but both the object and the whole predicate are not bounded.

There are verbs whose process takes place instantaneously, and it is not easy to tell apart the beginning and the end of the process. Such verbs will be called instantaneous verbs. Verbs such as chita ‘to hit’, and chata ‘to kick’ and kkampakita ‘to blink’ are instantaneous verbs. These verbs, being instantaneous, do not normally allow an internal viewpoint. But still they can appear in the progressive aspect. This is possible because a series of instantaneous processes can be regarded as a process of sufficient duration to allow an internal viewpoint. Look at the following examples:

(6) a. 그는 공을 치고 있다.
   kunun kongul chiko isssta.
   He is hitting a ball.

b. 그는 공을 차고 있다.
   kunun kongul chako isssta.
   He is kicking a ball.

The verbs in (6) are all instantaneous and the instantaneous

verbs in the progressive aspect have a meaning of repetition to become compatible with the meaning of the progressive aspect. The meaning of (6a), for example, can be represented in the following way:

(7) 치다/치고 있다.

\[ 0 \quad \rightarrow \quad \cdots \quad \cdots \quad \cdots \quad \cdots \quad \cdots \]

A dot in (7) corresponds to an instantaneous process. It is too small to allow an internal viewpoint. But when they appear in sequence, they have duration and this allows an internal viewpoint. This accounts for the repetitive meaning of the instantaneous verbs in the progressive aspect.

There are several different cases in which this meaning of repetition is possible. First, the repetitive meaning arises when a single agent is doing something to a single object repeatedly. Secondly, the same meaning arises when a single agent is doing something to a number of objects one by one. Thirdly, a number of agents can do something to a single object or to a number of objects and a repetitive meaning arises. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(8) a. 그는 그 아이를 자구 때리고 있다.
   kunun ku aiulul cakkwu ttauylko isssta.
   He is hitting the child.

b. 그는 아이들을 자구 때리고 있다.
   kunun aiutulul cakkwu ttauолько isssta.
   He is hitting the children.

c. 그들은 아이들을 때리고 있다.
   kutuluun aiitulul ttauолько isssta.
   They are hitting the children.

With certain verbs, the progressive aspect can be ambiguous.
The verb ip-ta, for example, is ambiguous in the progressive aspect.

(9) 그는 옷을 입고 있다.
   kunun osul ipko issta.
   He is putting on his clothes.

In one reading, sentence (9) means that the subject is in the process of putting his clothes on. In another reading, it means that the subject finished putting on the clothes and he is in the resulting state of wearing the clothes. Not all verbs behave in this way. This can be seen when the verb ssuta is put in the progressive aspect.

(10) 그는 편지 한장을 쓰고 있다.
   kunun phyencl hancangul ssuko issta.
   He is writing a letter.

Sentence (10) is not ambiguous and it only means that the subject is in the process of writing a letter.

The verbs listed in (11) are ambiguous in the progressive aspect.

(11) 쓰다
    ssuta    'to put on a cap'
    ssinta   'to put on shoes'
    sspta    'to put on clothes'

It would be interesting if the verbs which are ambiguous in the progressive aspect and those which are not can be characterized semantically. In fact, this seems to be the case. The verbs listed in (11) can be characterized as verbs of contact. All these verbs denote processes that lead to an end point. When the processes reach the end point, something (the object of the verb) comes to be on the subject of the sentence. The progressive aspect of these verbs are ambiguous because it can refer to the process or the resulting state. The ambiguity can be represented in the following way:

(12) a. _ process _______ result
     b. _______ process
The wavy line in (12a) stands for a process and the straight line for the resulting state. (12b) shows that one can take an internal viewpoint either in the process or in the resulting state. The bold lines indicate the part expressed by the progressive aspect.

Another interesting point with regard to ambiguity is that the verbs in (11) may or may not be ambiguous in the progressive aspect depending upon the place on which the object of the verb is placed. Compare the following two sentences:

(13) a. 그는 머리에 뱀을 매고 있다.
   kunun melley titul mayko issta.
   He is wearing a band on the head.

b. 그는 가슴에 벨레를 매고 있다.
   kunun kitwungey ppallayculul mayko issta.
   He is tying a clothesline to the post.

Sentence (13a) is ambiguous. In one reading it means that the subject is in the process of tying a band around his head and in another reading it means that the subject is wearing a band around his head. On the other hand, (13b) is not ambiguous and has just one reading: the subject is in the process of tying a clothesline on a post. From this, we can see that the ambiguity of the certain verbs in the progressive aspect is determined not only by the verb but also by the nature of the object and the place on which the object is placed. In (13a) the headband is put on the head of the subject. In other words, the subject is an agent and at the same time a patient. But in (13b) the place on which the clothesline is tied is not part of the subject. Thus, it seems to be the case that the ambiguity arises when the verbs belong to the group of verbs of wearing as in (11) and the object of the verb puts something on the subject himself.

Observe some additional pairs of examples below:

(14) a. 그는 옷에 명찰을 달고 있다.
   kunun osey myengchhul talko issta.
   He is putting/wearing a name tag on the clothes.

b. 그는 문에 문패를 달고 있다.
   kunun munay mul talko issta.
   He is putting a nameplate on the door.

(15) a. 그는 앞치마를 걸치고 있다.
   kunun apchimal kelchiko issta.
   He is putting on/wearing an apron.

b. 그는 벌레줄에 벌레를 걸치고 있다.
   kunun ppallaycwluy ppallaycul kelchiko issta.
   He is hanging the wash on the clothesline.

(16) a. 그는 옷에 명찰을 붙이고 있다.
   kunun osey myengchhul puthiko issta.
   He is putting a name tag on his clothes.

b. 그는 몸투에 우표를 붙이고 있다.
   kunun pongthwuye wuphylul puthiko issta.
   He is posting a stamp on the envelope.

The same verb is used in each pair, but the (a) sentences are ambiguous whereas the (b) sentences are not. In the (a) sentences, the objects are put on the subjects but in the (b) sentences, the objects are not put on the agents. In the case of the (b) sentences, the continuation of the resulting state can be expressed in the progressive form when the verbs are made into the compound form with the auxiliary verb nohta or twuta, as in the following sentences:

(17) a. 그는 문에 문패를 달고 있다.
   kunun munay mul talko issta.
   He is putting a nameplate on the door.
c. 그는 문을 만들어 놓고 있다.
   kunun munul mantule nohko issta.
   He has made a door.

The verbs in (11) have their causative counterparts, which are listed below in (21):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(21)</th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>쓰다</td>
<td>ssuta</td>
<td>ssuiuta</td>
<td>'put on (hats)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>신다</td>
<td>sinkita</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put on (shoes)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>입다</td>
<td>입히다</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put on (clothes)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipta</td>
<td>iphita</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put on (clothes)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>까다</td>
<td>kkiuta</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put on (gloves)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>이다</td>
<td>이우다</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put something on the head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita</td>
<td>iuta</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put something on the head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>지다</td>
<td>지우다</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put something on the back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cita</td>
<td>ciuta</td>
<td></td>
<td>'put something on the back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>차다</td>
<td>체우다</td>
<td></td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These causative verbs in the progressive aspect are not ambiguous, because the subject puts something not on himself but on others. The following sentences only mean that the subjects are in the middle of a process. They do not mean that the subjects are
maintaining some resulting states.

(22) a. 그는 자기에게 모자를 챙우고 있다.
    kunun akyikeykey mocalul suiwuko issta.
    He is putting a hat on the child.
b. 그는 자기에게 신을 신기고 있다.
    kunun akyikeykey sinul sinkiko issta.
    He is putting shoes on the child.

When we want to express the idea that the subject is maintaining the resulting state, we have to use the compound verbs with nohta or twuta:

(23) a. 그는 자기에게 모자를 챙워 놓고 있다.
    kunun akyikeykey mocalul suiwwe nohko issta.
    He has put a hat on the child.
b. 그는 자기에게 신을 신기어 놓고 있다.
    kunun akyikeykey sinul sinkie nohko issta.
    He has put shoes on the child.

There is another group of contact verbs such as those in (24), which are ambiguous in the progressive aspect.

(24) ↑da
cwita  "to grasp"
점다
ciphta  "to lean on"
잡다
capta  "to catch"

The verbs in (24) are contact verbs in that as a result of the process denoted by each of the verbs, the subject comes into contact with the object instantaneously. However, the verbs in (24) are different from another group of contact verbs such as (those in (11)), which are not instantaneous. The verb cwita, for example, takes place in such a short time that it is not easy to tell apart the beginning from the end of the process. Therefore, the progressive aspect of this verb denotes only the continuation of the resulting state. This is unlike the verb ipita which can be ambiguous in the progressive aspect. To see this, let us examine the two sentences below:

(25) a. 그는 호미를 견고 있다.
    kunun homilul cwiko issta.
    He is holding a hoe.
b. 그는 옷을 입고 있다.
    kunun osul ipko issta.
    He is putting on clothes.
    He is wearing clothes.

Both of the verbs have the end points. But the way each reaches the end point is different. In the case of cwita, the end point is reached instantaneously whereas in the case of ipita, the end point is reached cumulatively. This accounts for the fact the cwita is not ambiguous but ipita can be ambiguous in the progressive aspect.

From the examination of the perfect and progressive aspects, we have found that there are two kinds of states. One state is expressed by the perfect aspect $\text{V-no issta}$ and the other state is expressed by the progressive aspect $\text{V-ko issta}$. In what follows we will compare and contrast the two kinds of state. Let us examine the following sentences first:
the given state whereas in (28b) the patient viewpoint is taken and the sentence means that the given state exists without the subject’s conscious efforts.

The following pairs of sentences can be explained in a similar way.

(29) a. 그 개가 눈을 뜨고 있다.
   ku kayka nwumul tukeu issta.
   The dog is opening/has opened his eyes.

   b. 그 개의 눈이 뜨여 있다.
   ku kayuy nwuni tuuey issta.
   The dog’s eyes are open.

(30) a. 그가 개를 잡고 있다.
   kuka kayulul capko issta.
   He is catching/has caught a dog.

   b. 그 개가 잡혀 있다.
   ku kayka caphye issta.
   The dog is caught.

(31) a. 그는 그 방의 불을 껐고 있다.
   kunun ku panguy pulul kkuko issta.
   He is turning/has turned off the light in the room.

   b. 그 방의 불이 껐게 있다.
   ku panguy puli kkoceye issta.
   The light in the room is turned off.

In the (a) sentences the given states are maintained by the subject and the subjects can continue or discontinue the states. In other words, the subjects can control the states. In the (b) sentences, however, the subjects cannot control the states.

In the preceding sections, it has been observed that there are two kinds of verbs. They are perfective and imperfective verbs. A
perfective process is bounded in time and it can be repeated. An imperfective process is not bounded in time and cannot be repeated. The imperfective process is homogeneous throughout and any subportion can be regarded as a valid instantiation of the category. However, the perfective verbs can be used imperfectively. The verb *mekta*, for example, is a perfective verb and the verb in the present tense usually describes an on-going process as can be seen below:

(32) a. 너 지금 무엇을 하나?
   ne cikum muesul hana?
   What are you doing now?
b. 나 지금 밥 먹는다.
   na cikum pap meknunta.
   I am eating now.

The present tense form *mek-nun-ta* in (32b) denotes an on-going process of eating. But the same form can also be used to describe habit. Habit is a kind of state. It is made up of a series of events. Each of the events is a perfective process and each may be distinct from the others. But when the verb is interpreted imperfectively, all the events are regarded as homogeneous and nondistinct. In the following sentence, the verb is used to describe habit:

(33) 나는 요즘을 저녁 여섯시에 밥을 먹는다.
    nanun yocuum cenyek yessesiy papul meknunta.
    Nowadays I eat dinner at six.

As the adverb *yocuum*, ‘lately,’ suggests, the verb does not describe an on-going process. Therefore the speaker can use sentence (33) while eating lunch, because the sentence is used to describe a habit. Compare the following additional pairs of sentences:

(34) a. 그 사람 지금 저 방에서 잡다.
    ku salam cikum ce pangeyse canta.
    The man is sleeping in that room now.
b. 그 사람 요즘을 저녁 여섯시에 잡다.
    ku salam yocuum cenyek yessesiy canta.
    The man sleeps at six in the evening.

(35) a. 그 사람 지금 운전을 한다.
    ku salam cikum wuncenul hanta.
    He is driving now.
b. 그 사람 요즘을 운전을 한다.
    ku salam yocuum wuncenul hanta.
    He drives nowadays.

Likewise, the progressive aspect of the perfective verbs can have an imperfective reading. That is, the perfective verbs in the progressive aspect can also denote habit. This means that a perfective verb can denote habit both in the present tense and progressive aspect. But the habitual states expressed by the two different forms may be different in meaning. To see this, let us examine the following pair of sentences:

(36) a. 그는 버스로 학교에 다닌다.
    kunun peslø hakkyoey taninta.
    He goes to school by bus.
b. 그는 버스로 학교에 다니고 있다.
    kunun peslø hakkyoey taniko issta.
    He is going to school by bus.

In (36a) the present tense form is used and it describes a habit that will go on with no foreseeable change. In (36b) the progressive aspect is used and it describes a temporary habit which may undergo change at any moment. As it was pointed
out before, the progressive aspect takes the internal viewpoint. From this viewpoint one cannot see the whole process nor can one see the beginning and the ending of a process. The progressive aspect presents just a part of a process. From this limited viewpoint, a meaning of temporariness arises. This accounts for the temporary habit of (36b). Observe the following additional examples.

(37) a. 그는 열심히 일을 한다.
   kunun yelsimhi ilul hanta.
   He works hard.

b. 그는 요즘을 열심히 일을 하고 있다.
   kunun yocuum yelsimhi ilul hako issta.
   He is working hard.

(38) a. 그는 술을 안마신다.
   kunun swulul ammasinta.
   He does not drink alcoholic drinks.

b. 그는 술을 안마시고 있다.
   kunun swulul ammasikho issta.
   He is not drinking an alcoholic drink.

The (b) sentences in (37-8) denote temporary habits of the subjects.

With the mental activity verbs, the meaning of temporariness expressed by the progressive aspect is extended to that of tentativeness. Let us compare the following pair of sentences.

(39) a. 그는 이 사실을 믿는다.
   kunun i sasiliul mitnunta.
   He believes in the fact.

b. 그는 이 사실을 믿고 있다.
   kunun i sasiliul mitko issta.
   He is believing in the fact.

In (39a) the present tense is used and this denotes that the subject's belief in the fact is firm and definite and the speaker assumes that his belief will not change. In (39b) on the other hand, the progressive aspect is used and it indicates that the subject's belief in the fact is tentative and indefinite, and he may change his mind at any moment. In the following pair, the verb 

alta is used and we can note the similar difference.

(40) a. 그는 이것을 사실로 한다.
   kunun ikesul sasillo anta.
   He knows it to be a fact.

b. 그는 이것을 사실로 알고 있다.
   kunun ikesul sasillo alko issta.
   He knows it to be a fact.

In the following pair the verb sayngkakhata is used and we can note the same difference:

(41) a. 나는 그것이 사실이라 생각한다.
   nanun kuksesasi sasiliul sayngkakhanta.
   I think that is true.

b. 나는 그것이 사실로 생각하고 있다.
   nanun kuksesasi sasiliul sayngkakhako issta.
   I am thinking that that is true.

4.5. kata and ota(가다와 오다)

The verbs kata and ota are deictic locomotion verbs. They denote movement from one place to another. Being deictic motion verbs, each needs a deictic center for the description of the mean-
The deictic center is usually the location of either the speaker or addressee. In addition to denoting spacial movement, the two verbs can figuratively denote passage of time and change of state. In this chapter, I will first examine the spacial uses and then the figurative uses.

### 4.5.1. Spacial Movement

With regard to the deictic center, there are two cases to consider. In one case, the speaker does not move and stays at a fixed place. The fixed location of the speaker can be the deictic center of the locomotion verbs. When something moves toward the deictic center, the movement is expressed by the verb *ota*, and when something moves away from the deictic center, the movement is expressed by the verb *kata*. This can be diagrammed in the following way:

![Diagram](image)

The following sentences illustrate the meanings of the two verbs:

1. **ota**
   - a. *창우는 이층으로 내려갔다.*
     - Changwunun ichungulo naylyekaassta.
     - Changwu went down to the second floor.
   - b. *창우는 이층으로 올라갔다.*
     - Changwunun ichungulo olikassta.
     - Changwu went up to the second floor.

2. **kata**
   - a. *창우는 이층으로 내려갔다.*
     - Changwunun ichungulo naylyekaassta.
     - Changwu came down to the second floor.
   - b. *창우는 이층으로 올라갔다.*
     - Changwunun ichungulo olikassta.
     - Changwu came up to the second floor.

In (3a) and (3b), the verb *kata* is used and this shows that the speaker was not on the second floor. In (2a) the speaker is above the second floor and in (2b) he is below the second floor. In (3), the verb *ota* is used and from this we can infer that the speaker was on the second floor. The speaker’s locations can be represented in the following way:

![Diagram](image)

In the case of *kata*, the speaker is not on the second floor, and in the case of *ota*, he is on the second floor.

The difference between the two sentences below can be accounted for in a similar way.
(5) a. 장우는 일터에 나갔다.
   Changwunun iltheey nakaassta.
   Changwu went to work.

b. 장우는 일터에 왔다.
   Changwunun iltheey naaassta.
   Changwu came to work.

Speaker (5a) is not at the place where Changwu works, whereas speaker (5b) is where Changwu works.

In the preceding examples, the past tense forms of the two verbs are used. But regardless of the tense, the same generalization holds. In the following examples, the present progressive form is used:

(6) a. 그는 우리의 집으로 가고 있다.
   kunun wulicipulo kako issta.
   He is going to our house.

b. 그는 우리의 집으로 오고 있다.
   kunun wulicipulo oko issta.
   He is coming to our house.

Sentence (6a) is used when the speaker is not at his home. In contrast, sentence (6b) is used when the speaker is at his home. In the following sentences, however, the present location of the speaker himself is the deictic center and kaka cannot be used.

(7) a. 그는 나에게 가고 있다.
   kunun naeykey kako issta.
   *He is going to me.

b. 그는 나에게 오고 있다.
   kunun naeykey oko issta.
   He is coming to me.

In the following sentences, the present tense refers to future:

(8) a. 그는 내일 부산에 간다.
   kunun nayil Pusaney kanta.
   He goes to Pusan tomorrow.

b. 그는 내일 부산에 온다.
   kunun nayil Pusaney ontta.
   He comes to Pusan tomorrow.

In (8) the subject is to travel to Pusan. This objective content is the same in the two sentences. But in (8a) the speaker is not at Pusan whereas in (8b) the speaker is at Pusan. As a slightly different case, sentence (8b) can be used even when the speaker is not at Pusan at the time of utterance: It can be used as long as he will be at Pusan or will go to Pusan tomorrow.

The generalization proposed in (1) is also valid for imperatives. Let us examine the following examples:

(9) a. 내일 그 식당으로 가거라.
   nayil ku siktangulo kakaela.
   Go to the restaurant tomorrow.

b. 내일 그 식당으로 오거라.
   nayil ku siktangulo onela.
   Come to the restaurant tomorrow.

The addressee is directed to take himself to a restaurant tomorrow. This is the same for the two imperatives in (9). But they are not identical. In (8a) the speaker will not be at the restaurant tomorrow, whereas in (8b) the speaker will be there.

So far we have examined examples in which the speaker is the deictic center, and, as the deictic center, he remains at a place. There are also cases in which the speaker himself moves from one place to another, as in the following examples:
(10) a. 나는 어제 학교에 갔다.
nanun ecey hakkoyoey kassta.
I went to school yesterday.

b. 나는 어제 학교에 왔다.
nanun ecey hakkoyoey oassta.
I came to school yesterday.

In (10) the speaker took himself to a school yesterday. Depending upon where he is now at the time of the utterance, he can use either sentence (10a) or (10b). If he is at the school at the utterance time, he will use sentence (10b) and otherwise sentence (10a) will be used.

In (10) the past tense is used and both kata and ota can be used, because the movement was in the past and the speaker’s location was fixed at the time of the utterance time. But when the present tense or the future tense is used, only kata is possible.

(11) a. 나는 지금 학교에 가고(★오고) 있다.
nanun cikum hakkoyoey kako (★oko) ista.
I am going to school now.

b. 네일 날도 그 모임에 가(★오)겠습니다.
nayil nato ko moimey ka(★o)keyssupnita.
I will go to the meeting tomorrow.

The reason might be that the speaker is in transit and when he is in a state of movement he cannot be the deictic center.

In a statement, the deictic center is the location of the speaker. In a question, the inquirer has two options: he can make his present location the deictic center or he can assume the addressee’s location as the deictic center. To understand this, let us examine the following sentences:

(12) a. 가롱, 거기 와있나?
Kihong, keki oaisstna?
Has Kihong come there?

b. 그래 왔다.
kulay oaissta.
Yes, he has come.

Let us assume that the two speakers (12a, and b) are at different places, and that Kihong moved to the speaker (12b). This is a movement away from the speaker (12a). According to the generalization (1), the verb kata should be used. But in actuality, the verb ota is used. This shows that the speaker (12a) assumes the location of the addressee as the deictic center, and keki, ‘there’, is understood as the place where the addressee is located. Suppose kata is used instead of ota as in (13). keki can be ambiguous and can be understood either as the addressee’s location or as some place.

(13) 가롱, 거기 가 있나?
Kihong, keki ka issna?
Has Kihong gone there?

The following sentence (14) can be interpreted in two different ways:

(14) 가롱 그 모임에 왔다?
Kihong ku moimey oasstenya?
Did Kihong come to the meeting?

In one reading, the speaker went to the meeting, but he did not see Kihong. In another reading, the speaker did not go to the meeting but the addresses did. In the first reading, the speaker’s past location is the deictic center, and, in the second reading, the addressee’s past location is the deictic center.
In the following sentence, the present tense refers to the future. The sentence can be interpreted in several different ways:

(15) 철수도 그 모임에 오니?  
Chelswuto ku moimey onunya?  
Does Chelswu come to the meeting?

In one reading, the speaker is going to attend the meeting. In this case the future location of the speaker is the deictic center. In another reading, the speaker is not going to attend the meeting. Thus, the speaker’s location cannot be the deictic center. In such a case, the deictic center is the meeting place where the addressee is going to be. If the meeting takes place somewhere else where the addressee is not going to be, the sentence may not be used appropriately.

kata and ota in their spacial sense can be used in the compound form (verb-e)★ kata/ota. (The asterisk mark ★ denotes that the element in parentheses can appear more than once in a sentence.) Verbs used in the compound are those that denote manners of locomotion as in (16) or directions as in (17).

(16) manners of locomotion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>갓다</th>
<th>튀다</th>
<th>날다</th>
<th>기다</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ketta</td>
<td>ttwita</td>
<td>nalta</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>crawl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) directions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>날다</th>
<th>들다</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nata</td>
<td>tulta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move out</td>
<td>move in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentences illustrate the compound:

(18) a. 새들이 계 집으로 날아들어 갔다.
saytuli cey cipulo nalatule kassta.
The birds flew into their own nests.
b. 아이들이 집 안으로 뛰어 들여 왔다.
aituli cip anulo ttwietule oassta.
The children ran into the house.
c. 개가 집 밖으로 뛰어 나갔다.
yayka cip pakkulo ttwie nakassta.
The dog ran out of the house.

4.5.2. Temporal Deixis

The spacial meaning of the two verbs are figuratively extended to express the passage of time and change of state. In this section, we will examine the temporal use of the two verbs. Time is an abstract concept, but for the purpose of linguistic expression, it is treated as something concrete and moving. In the following sentences, time is treated as moving from one point to another. Compare the subjects in each pair.

(19) a. 비행기는 빠르다.
pihayangkinun ppaluta.
Airplanes are fast.
b. 세월은 빠르다.
seywelun ppaluta.
Time is fast.

(20) a. 열차가 지나갔다.
yelchaka cinakassta.
The train passed.
b. 여름이 지나갔다.
yelumi cinakassta.
Summer is over.
(21) a. 특치한 대가 다가오고 있다.
thayks tarea takaoko isst.
A taxi is coming up.
b. 겨울이 다가오고 있다.
kyewuli takaoko isst.
Winter is approaching.

In the (b) sentences of (19–21), time, summer and winter are treated as something moving like an airplane, a train and a taxi respectively. When kata and ota are used to express passage of time, there must also be a deictic center. The deictic center in this case is the location in time of the speaker. In (20b), summer moved away from the speaker and this movement is expressed by kata. In (21b), winter is moving toward the speaker and the movement is expressed by ota.

For some linguistic expression, time is conceptualized as flowing from past to present and from present to future. Again the present location in time of the speaker is the deictic center. An activity or a process takes place in time and it moves along with time. An activity or a process can continue up to the present from some time in the past. The continuation is expressed by ota, because it is regarded as movement toward the deictic center. Continuation of an activity or a process from the present to the future is expressed by kata, because it is regarded as movement away from the deictic center. Observe the following examples:

(22) 창우는 작년부터 열심히 돈을 모아오고 있다.
Changwunun caknyenputhe yeolsimhi tonul moaoko isst.
Changwu has been saving money since last year.

Changwu says that he will continue saving money from now on.

The use of the two verbs kata and ota can be represented in the following way:

(24)
past ota present kata future

What is moving toward the present (the deictic center) is expressed by ota and what is moving away from the present is expressed by kata.

4.5.3. Change of State

Things can undergo change. In change of location, things move from one place to another. Similarly, things can move from one state to another. Change of state is patterned after or based upon change of location. And this change (movement) is expressed by kata and ota. Similarities between them can be captured in the following diagrams:

(25) a. locomotion

b. change of state
In (25a) something X is at location $L_1$ at time $t^1$ but after movement, it is at location $L_2$ at time $t^2$. Likewise in (25b) X is in state $S_i$ at time $t^1$ but after change it is in state $S_j$ at time $t^2$.

In expressing change of state with kata and ota, the deictic center is also essential and in this case, the deictic center is a normal state or a desirable state. There are changes that move toward normal states and changes of this sort are expressed by ota. There are also changes that move away from the normal state and changes of this sort are expressed by kata. This can be represented in the following way:

(26) change of state and kata and ota

The following sentence illustrates the verbs:

(27) (감침, 나쁨, 생명) 많이 끊다.
(kimchi, namul, saynsgen) masi kasssta.
(The kimchi, vegetable, fish) went bad.

The normal state of the food is edibility. When foods turn bad, they become inedible and this is a change that moves away from the deictic center. Thus, it is expressed by kata. When foods go bad, they cannot return to their normal state of being good again. But there are changes that move to bad and then back to normal again. Our mental health can be included in this kind of change. Sometime we may lose our rational or psychological well-being but it is possible to regain it. Observe the following examples:

(28) a. 이제야 제 정신이 돌아왔다.
icyuya cengsini tolaosstta.
Now I came to my senses.

b. 일군에 생기가 돌아왔다.
elkwoley sayngkika tolaosstta.
Liveliness returned to the face.

Regaining one's consciousness or animation is a change toward the normal state (the deictic center) and this is expressed by ota in (28). Losing one's mind or consciousness is a change away from the normal state and this change is expressed by kata as in the following:

(29) a. 그 사람의 머리가 점점 돌아가고 있다.
ku salamuy melika cemcem tolaakoko issta.
The man is losing his mind little by little.

b. 그는 잔자극에 혼수상태에 돌아갔다.
kunun ecenyekey honswusangthayey tulekassta.
He went into a coma last night.

The same thing can be said of shape. There are normal shapes for different body parts, for example. When a certain body part loses its normal shape, it is expressed by kata. In contrast, when a certain part regains its normal shape, it is expressed by ota. Observe the following:

(30) a. 그 사람이 입이 돌아갔다.
ku salamuy ipi tolaakastta.
The man's mouth became twisted.

b. 그 사람이 입이 돌아왔다.
kku salamuy ipi tolaakastta.
The man's mouth returned to its normal shape.

Change in temperature can be expressed by kata or ota, as can be seem in the following examples:
Desirable states can be the deictic center of kata and ota. It is because the desirable states are ones that the speaker wants to put himself in. Thus, when some change is toward a desirable state, it is expressed by ota and otherwise, by kata. Observe the following examples:

(34) a. 국가가 점점 올라온다.
    kokkaka cemcem ollaonta.
The price of grain is coming up.

b. 국가가 점점 올라갔다.
    kokkaka cemcem ollakanta.
The price of grain is going up.

Sentence (34a) may be used by a farmer who wants to have higher price for his grain. High price is what he wants, and this is the deictic center. Movement toward high price is expressed with ota by a farmer. On the other hand, sentence (34b) may be used by an ordinary consumer, who wants to pay less. Movement toward high price is movement away from his deictic center. The pair of sentences below can be accounted for in a similar way:

(35) a. 온돌이 점점 식어온다.
    ontoli cemcem sikeonta.
The floor is cooling off.

b. 온돌이 점점 식어갔다.
    ontoli cemcem sikekanta.
The floor is cooling off.

Speaker (35a) wants to have a cool floor. The cool floor is what he wants and it serves as the deictic center. The floor becoming cool is movement toward his deictic center and it is expressed by ota. In contrast, speaker (35b) wants to have a warm floor and its cooling off is a movement away from his deictic center which is expressed by
4.5.4. Change of Feelings and Sensations

Feelings are abstract things, but for linguistic expressions, they are regarded as concrete objects. When something comes to us, we become aware of it. Thus, when we become aware of certain feelings or sensations, they are treated as if they are coming to us. Observe the following examples.

(36) a. 손바닥 시리운다.
    sonpali silyeonta.
    The hands and feet are becoming cold.

b. 배가 고프다.
    payka kophaonta.
    I am getting hungry.

c. 마음이 시름 prática 온다.
    maumi sekulpheonta.
    My mind is getting sad. (I am getting sad.)

4.6. nayta (내다)

The general meaning of nayta as a main verb is that the subject takes something X out of a place Y. In many cases, the place out of which something is taken is not explicitly stated in the sentence, but it can be easily inferred. Let us compare the following:

(1) 장우는 휴비를 내었다.
    Changwunun thopyilul nayessta.
    Changwu took out the manure (from the pile)

(2) 장우는 허가를 내었다.
    Changwunun hekalul nayessta.
    Changwu got a license (from the government office).

(3) 장우는 세금을 내었다.
    Changwun seykumul nayessta.
    Changwu paid his taxes.

In (1) the object of the verb is a concrete thing and the subject took it out of its original place. In the case of the manure the original place is where it is collected. In (2) the subject got a license and one usually gets a license from a government office. In (3) the subject paid his taxes which comes out from the subject himself. Thus, what is important in the meaning of the verb nayta is that there is always an understood source, although it is often not expressed in the sentence.

The verb nayta in the sense of taking something out can appear in the verb-e nayta combination and any verb which denote means employed in moving something out can occur with nayta, as can be seen in the following sentences.

(4) 장우는 그 책장을 (물이/밀이/차) 내了出来시.
    Changwunun ku chaykcangul kkule/mile/chae nayessta.
    Changwu took out the bookcase by pushing it.
    "kicking"

The verbs in parentheses denote means of taking something out and can be used with nayta.

In Korean there are two distinct classes of motion verbs. There are motion verbs that denote manners of locomotion and they will be called manner-of-locomotion verbs. There are also motion verbs that only denote locomotion and these will be called locomotion verbs. The following verbs are manner-of-locomotion verbs.
A few representative verbs of locomotion are as follows:

(6) 가다  ‘to go’  오다  ‘to come’
kata  ‘to go’  ota  ‘to come’

내다  ‘to take out’  들다  ‘to take in’
nayta  ‘to take out’  tulita  ‘to take in’

These two classes of verbs have clear syntactic differences. The manner-of-locomotion verbs cannot occur with source or goal expressions. Observe the following examples.

(7) 창우는 책상을 방에서 (달기/끌기/밀기) 내었다.
Changwunun chayksangul pangeysse tangkiessta.
kkulessta.
milessta.
kulessta.

Changwun (pulled/pushed/dragged) the desk in the room.

(8) 창우는 책상을 방에서 (달기/끌기/밀기) 내었다.
Changwunun chayksangul pangeysse tangkiessta.
kkule
mile

Changwu took the desk out of the room by (pulling/dragging/pushing) it.

The same expression pangeysse is used in (7) and (8). But the meaning of the expression is different in the two sentences. In (7) it denotes a location in which the action of pulling, pushing or dragging took place. In (8) it denotes a starting point (a source). The two different readings result from the different natures of the verbs in (7) and (8). In (7) manner-of-locomotion verbs are used and in (8) locomotion verbs are used.

A similar observation can be made with regard to goal and direction expressions. They can cooccur with locomotion verbs but not with manner-of-locomotion verbs. Observe the following examples.

(9) *창우는 그 상자를 밖에 (달았다/끌었다/밀었다).
Changwunun ku sangcalul pakkey milessta.
kkulessta.
tangkiessta.

(10) 창우는 그 상자를 밖에 (밀기/끌기/달기) 내었다.
Changwunun ku sangcalul pakkey mile
nayesta.
kkule

Changwu took out the box by pushing/dragging/pulling it.

In (9), manner-of-locomotion verbs are used and they cannot cooccur with the goal expression pakkey, whereas in (10), locomotion verbs are used and they are compatible with the goal expression. From this we can see that nayta in the verb-e nayta compound turns a manner-of-locomotion verb into a locomotion verb.

The basic spacial meaning of nayta is extended to a meaning of creating something out of something else.
(11) 창우는 (시간, 자리, 책)을 내었다.  
Changwunun sikanul nayessta.  
calilul  
chaykul  
Changwu made (time/room/a book).

In (11) the sources are not expressed but they can be easily inferred. In the case of making or finding time, the source is one's schedule, and in the case of making room, the source is a space given in a particular situation. In the case of writing a book, the source can be one's experience or some other materials.

In the preceding paragraphs we examined the meaning of nayta as a main verb, and in what follows we will examine the meaning of nayta as an auxiliary verb. nayta as an auxiliary verb means that the subject carries the object X of the verb out of the process Y denoted by the verb. Taking something out of a process means carrying it out or finishing it. Thus the auxiliary verb denotes completion. This accounts for the fact that nayta is used only with bounded predicates, those that clearly have a beginning and an ending. In addition to the meaning of completion, the auxiliary verb also carries the implication that the task given to the subject is not easy but that he manages to do it. Compare the following two sentences.

(12) a. 그는 그 책을 읽었다.  
kunun ku chaykul ilkessta.  
He reads the book.  
b. 그는 그 책을 읽어내었다.  
kunun ku chaykul ilkenayessta.  
He managed to read the book.

Sentence (12a) can be ambiguous. In one reading, it means that the subject read the book but he has not finished it. In another reading, it means that he read it all the way through. In contrast, sen-
tence (12b) is not ambiguous and it only means that the subject finished reading the book. According to the description above, the second reading of (12a) should be synonymous to sentence (12b). But they are not, because sentence (12b) additionally carries the speaker's evaluation that the subject carried out the reading with great effort. Let us compare another pair of sentences.

(13) a. 그는 어제 그 시계를 찾았다.  
kunun ecey ku sikeyulu chacasssta.  
He looked for the watch yesterday.  
b. 그는 어제 그 시계를 찾아내었다.  
kunun ecey ku sikeyulu chacanayesssta.  
He managed to find the watch.

Sentence (13a) is ambiguous. In one reading, sentence (13a) means that the subject regained his watch. In another reading, it means that the subject simply engaged himself in looking for the watch, but it is not clear whether he succeeded or not. In contrast, sentence (13b) is not ambiguous in this regard and means that he succeeded in finding the watch. We can observe the difference more clearly when they are expanded as in the following.

(14) a. 그는 어제 그 시계를 찾았으나, 못 찾았다.  
kunun ecey ku sikeyulu chacasssta, moschacasssta.  
He looked for the watch yesterday, but failed to find it.  
b. 그는 어제 그 시계를 찾아내었으나, 못 찾았다.  
kunun ecey ku sikeyulu chacanayesssta, moschacasssta.  
He managed to find the watch, but failed to find it.

Sentence (14b) is awkward, because the nayta-compound denotes successful completion, but this is negated in the second part of the sentence.
4.6.1. Some Cooccurrence Restrictions

The meaning of the main verb nayta is to take something out of a bounded place, and that of the auxiliary verb nayta is to take something from a bounded process. As a corollary, the auxiliary verb nayta combines only with bounded predicates. To see this, let us compare the following sentences.

(15) a. 장수는 뛰었다.
Changswunun twiessta.
Changswu ran.
   
b. 장수는 운동장에서 뛰었다.
Changswunun wuntoncgangeyse twiessta.
Changswu ran in the playground.
   
c. 장수는 10리를 뛰었다.
Changswunun 10liilul twiessta.
Changswu ran 10li's.

In (15a) the predicate has no terminus. As soon as Changswu runs, one can say that he has run. It does not matter whether he runs one time or a hundred times, as there is no limit to the predicate. In (15b) the predicate does not have any terminus either, although the locative expression wuntoncgangeyse is used. The expression does not impose any terminus on the predication, and the predication is unbounded. In (15c), however, the predicate is bounded because the actant 10li imposes a terminus and the predication is bounded.

Although the same verb ttwita is used in the three sentences in (15), the predicates in (15) are not same. The first two predicates are not bounded and naturally they cannot be used with the auxiliary verb nayta and the last predicate is bounded and it can be used with the auxiliary verb nayta naturally, as can be seen below.

(16) a. 그는 운동장에서 뛰어내었다.
   kunun wuntoncgangeyse ttwienayestta.
   He managed to play out in the ground.
   
b. 그는 10리를 뛰어내었다.
   kunun siplilul ttwienayestta.
   He managed to run 10 li.

Observe the following additional examples. Sentence (17a) is awkward because the predicate does not have any terminus, whereas sentence (17b) is natural because the predicate of the sentence has a terminus.

(17) a. 장수는 나무를 심어내었다.
Changswunun namulul simenayestta.
Changswu managed to plant trees.
   
b. 장수는 나무 100그루를 하루에 심어내었다.
Changswunun namu 100kulwulul halwuye simenayestta.
Changswu managed to plant 100 trees in a day.

Another cooccurrence restriction is that the verbs to be combined with nayta must denote some activity that can be carried out intentionally. The following sentence sounds anomalous, because one cannot sleep intentionally for a certain period of time.

(18) 그는 한 시간을 자내었다.
   kunun han sikanul canayestta.
   He managed to sleep for one hour.

Lastly, the auxiliary verb nayta can not be combined with intransitive verbs including the passive forms of the transitive verbs with a terminus. Sentence (19a) below is ungrammatical because nayta is combined with an intransitive verb. In contrast, sentence (19b) is grammatical because a transitive verb is used and the predicate is
bounded.

(19) a. *나무 100그루가 한 시간안에 심겨어내었다.
   *namu 100kulwuka han sikanmaney simienyessta.
   *100 trees were managed to be planted.

b. 그는 나무 100그루를 한 시간안에 심어어내었다.
   kunun namu 100kulwulul han sikanmaney simenyessta.
   He managed to plant 100 trees in one hour.

In (19a) a passive verb is used and the predicate as a whole is bounded, but it cannot be used with nayta. It is because nayta has the agent viewpoint and the passive has the patient viewpoint. The auxiliary verb nayta with the agent viewpoint focuses on the agent’s ability.

4.7. nohta (등다)

When someone holds something in his hand, he controls the thing in a steady state. When he releases the thing, it gets out of his control and changes its place or state. The change from a steady state of holding something to a state of releasing it is expressed by the verb nohta. This can be diagrammatically represented in the following way.

(1) a. holding    b. releasing    c. reaching

In (1a) the object is held by the subject. In (1b) it is released and gets out from under the influence of the subject. In (1c) the object reaches a new place and enters into a steady state of remaining at

the place. Some uses of nohta capture the aspect of (1b) and other uses acquire that of (1c).

4.7.1. Releasing aspect

In the prototypical process of nohta, the object held in the hand of the subject is released although the hand is not always expressed in the sentence.

(2) a. 그는 물건을 잡았다가, 놓았다.
   kunun mulkenul cipcesoata, nohassta.
   He picked up the thing and put it down.

b. 그는 그 것을 잡았다가, 놓았다.
   kunun ku sayulul capesestoata, nohassta.
   He caught the bird and released it.

The subjects of the two sentences above are human beings and the part involved in holding and releasing something is the hand. This prototypical process of releasing something out of the hand is extended metaphorically, just as the hand can have metaphorically extended senses. The following examples show some extended senses of hand in English.

(3) a. The meeting is getting out of hand. Will everybody stop talking at once? (control)
   b. We fell into the enemy hands. (power, possession)
   c. Keep one’s hand in. (activity)
   d. I had a hand in arranging the party. (be responsible for)
   e. He had some money in hand. (use)
   f. She has the money on hand. (ready for use)
   g. It is out of (or off) my hand. (responsibility)
   h. It is still on my hands.
   i. We have the matter in hand. (control)
The following sentences illustrate the metaphorically extended senses of the verb nohsta. The objects of the verb are not under the control of the subject after being released.

(4) a. 그는 그 집을 전세 놔들었다.
   kunun ku cipul censey nohassta.
   He leased the house out.

b. 그는 그 돈을 그 사람에게 놔들었다.
   kunun ku tonul ku salameykey nohassta.
   He lent him the money.

Sentence (4a) means that the subject, 'he', released the house out of his use and it is not used by him. Sentence (4b) means that he released the money out of himself and it is not in his possession. In the following sentences, The objects denote things movable and after the process of nohsta, the objects are out of the control of the subject, and it is implied that they behave wildly.

(5) a. 그는 아이들을 놔아 기른다.
   kunun aitulul noha kilunta.
   He lets the children grow wildly (without taking care of them).

b. 그는 개를 놔아 기른다.
   kunun kaylul noha kilunta.
   He turns the dog loose.

c. 그는 고양이를 놔어 뭐를 잡았다.
   kunun koyangitiul noha cewil capassta.
   He released the cat and it caught a rat.

Sentence (5a) means that 'he' has released the children from his control and it implies that they behave wildly. Sentence (5b) also means that 'he' removes a leash from his dog and the dog roams freely everywhere. Likewise, (5c) also means that the cat is released from the subject's control and moves in his own way. In all these cases, the verb nohsta means that the subject puts or leaves the objects out of his control.

Abstract objects are treated as concrete and they can be used as the object of the verb nohsta, as can be in the following example sentences.

(6) a. 그는 한 시름을 놔들었다.
   kunun han silumul nohassta.
   He relieved himself of the worry.

b. 그는 자동차의 속력을 놔들었다.
   kunun catongchaui soklyekul nohassta.
   He released the speed of the car. (He sped up the car.)

Sentence (6a) means that 'he' released worry from himself and thus is relieved. In (6b) the speed is regarded as something under the subject's control and it can get out of his control unless it is checked controlled. Thus, (6b) means that the subject (agent) lifted his control on the speed of the car and the car sped up.

In the preceding section, we examined the releasing aspect of the verb nohsta. In the following section, we will examine the reaching aspect of the verb.

4.7.2. Reaching Aspect

When an agent releases an object under his control, the object moves and then reaches another place and enters into a steady state of remaining there. This aspect of nohsta is illustrated in the following sentences.

(7) a. 그는 꽃상 위에 화분을 놔들었다.
   kunun chaiksang wiwey hwapunul nohassta.
   He put the vase on the table.
b. 그는 길목에 잎을 놓았다.
kunun kilmokey techul nohassta.
He set a trap at the street corner.

Sentence (7a) means that the subject put the vase on the table and it implies that the vase, being inanimate, is on the table. Sentence (7b) means that the subject put the trap in the path and it also implies that the trap is in the path. In both cases, the things are out of the subject’s hands and are at new places. With regard to the subject, the reaching aspect of nohta differs from the releasing aspect. In (6) the subject is directly involved in releasing. But the subject of sentences in (7) may or may not be one who put the vase and the trap. It can be an indirect agent. Similarly, the subjects of the sentences in (8) below may not be directly involved in the processes described. (The subject of the sentences in (2) must be one who does the releasing.)

(8) a. 그는 집에 전화를 놓았다.
kunun cipey cenhwalul nohassta.
He installed a telephone. (He had a telephone installed.)

b. 그들은 그 강에 다리를 놓았다.
kunun ku kangey tallilul nohassta.
They put up a bridge across the river.
(They had a bridge put up across the river.)

The subject of sentence (8a), for example, may or may not be the one who installed the telephone at his house. Likewise, the subject of sentence (8b) may or may not be the one who put the bridge across a river. He may simply be the one who had the bridge put across the river.

The verb nohta in the following sentences focuses on the reaching aspect and the goal expressed by the marker -cy is either implied or expressed. (The goal expression is not allowed in the case of (6).)

(9) a. 그들은 나무에 불을 놓았다.
kutulen namuey pulul nohassta.
They set fire to the wood.

b. 그는 그 물건에 값이 놓았다.
kunun ku mulkeney kapsul nohassta.
He set a price on the thing.

c. 그는 우리 일에 해방을 놓았다.
kunun wuli iley hweypangul nohassta.
He interfered in our work.

4.7.2. nohta as an auxiliary verb

The verb nohta is used as a main verb and also as an auxiliary verb. In the preceding section we examined the meanings of the main verb nohta and in this section we will observe that nohta as an auxiliary verb which retains the meanings of the main verb.

4.7.2.1. Releasing aspect

When an agent releases something, the thing gets out of the control, possession or responsibility of the agent and then the agent becomes free. The auxiliary verb nohta also has this meaning. To see this, let us compare the following sentences.

(10) a. 그는 밤을 갈고 점심을 먹었다.
kunun pathel kalko cemismul mekessta.
He ploughed and ate lunch.

b. 그는 밤을 갈아놓고 점심을 먹었다.
kunun pathul kalanohkko cemismul mekessta.
He finished ploughing and ate his lunch.

The two sentences above have the same propositional contents: he ploughed and he ate lunch. But they differ from each other in other
respects. Sentence (10a) lists two things that were done, usually in the given order and the two things comprise a single process. But sentence (10b) has the additional meaning that the subject first finished ploughing and after the ploughing was off his hands, he ate lunch. When someone has several things to do, he can put some thing aside by finishing it first and then work on another task. The auxiliary verb nohta expresses this meaning of putting something off one's hands. Observe the following additional examples:

(11) a. 그는 집혼을 하고 대학원 공부를 했다.
   kunun kylehounul hako tayhakwen kongpulul hayssta.
   He married and (then) did his graduate work.

b. 그는 집혼을 해놓고 대학원 공부를 했다.
   kunun kylehounul haynohko tayhakwen kongpulul hayssta.
   He had married and then did his graduate work.

Sentence (11a) lists two events usually in the order of their occurrence. Sentence (11b) has the additional meaning that he first relieved himself of the burden of getting married and then did the graduate work. The following sentences can be accounted for in a similar way:

(12) a. 그는 차를 고쳐놓고 나갔다.
   kunun chahul kochyenohko nakassta.
   He freed himself from repairing the car and went out.

b. 그는 난료를 사놓고 첨대를 쌓았다.
   kunun nanloolul sanohko chimitayulul sassta.
   He had his hands free of buying a stove and bought a bed.

In (12a) the subject relieved himself of the burden of fixing his car and in (12b) of the burden of buying a bed, and then he did something else.

4.7.2.2. Reaching Aspect

When one releases something, it reaches another place, and it enters into a steady state of remaining there. Likewise, when a process comes to an end, it gets out of the agent’s control, and something else comes into existence. The result remains unless a further action is taken and the result is affected. This meaning of the resulting state remaining is expressed by nohta. Let us examine the following two sentences:

(13) a. 그는 집을 지었다.
   kunun cipul ciessta.
   He built a house.

b. 그는 집을 지어 놓았다.
   kunun cipul cie nohassta.
   He has built a house (and a house exists).

Sentence (13a) means that the subject was engaged in building a house. (13b) additionally means that the subject built a house and a house came into existence. To be more specific, sentence (13b) implies the following: the process of building a house has come to an end and a building is in existence. Thus, naturally verbs of creation are compatible with this meaning and are commonly used in the nohta compounds.

(14) a. 그는 견지를 써 놓았다.
   kunun phyenulul see nohassta.
   He has written a letter.

b. 그는 연필 만들어 놓았다.
   kunun yenul mantule nohassta.
   He has made a kite.

c. 그는 그림 한 폭을 그려 놓았다.
   kunun kulim han phokul kulie nohassta.
   He has painted a picture.
In (14a) the subject finished writing a letter and it has come into being. Likewise, a kite has come into being in (14b) and a picture in (14c).

Verbs of change can also be used with nohta because the result of breaking for example, can come into existence and remain in the given state. In the sentences below, verbs of change are used.

(15) a. 그는 피아노를 고쳐 놓았다.
   kunun pianohul koche nohassta.
   He has repaired the piano.
b. 그가 펜을 부수어 놓았다.
   kuka peynul puswue nohassta.
   He has broken the pen.
c. 그가 칼을 갈아 놓았다.
   kuka khalul kala nohassta.
   He has sharpened the knife.

In (15a) as a result of fixing the piano, it is fixed; in (15b) as a result of breaking the pen, it is broken, and in (15c) as a result of sharpening the knife, it is sharpened.

Instrumental verbs contrast with these verbs of creation and those verbs of change in that objects of instrumental verbs are not thought to undergo any change. Thus, these verbs are not often used with nohta in the sense of a remaining result.

(16) a. 그는 피아노를 쓰어 놓았다.
   kunun pianohul chye nohassta.
   He has played the piano.
b. 그는 화살을 쏘아 놓았다.
   kunun hwalul ssao nohassta.
   He has shot the arrows.
c. 그는 곰을 씹어 놓았다.
   kunun khalul sse nohassta.
   He has sharpened the knife.

When we use a piano, a gun or a knife, it may be affected in a certain way, but this is not important to the verbs of instrument. This is why all the sentences in (16) sound awkward.

Verbs of mental activity can also be used with nohta when they are thought to produce something that can remain in the mind. Let us compare the following sentences.

(17) a. 나는 고안을 생각했다.
   nanun myoanal sayngkakhassta.
   I thought of a wonderful idea.
b. 나는 고안을 생각해 놓았다.
   nanun myoanal sayngkakhay nohassta.
   I have thought out a wonderful idea.

(17a) means that I considered a plan, but (17b) additionally means that I thought out a plan and the plan is in existence in his mind. Similarly in the following sentences, the objects are thought to exist in the mind.

(18) a. 나는 그 집을 볼 놓았다.
   nanun ku cipul poa nohassta.
   I have seen the house.
b. 나는 그 얘기들을 들이 놓았다.
   nanun ku saykikul cal tule nohassta.
   I have listened to the story carefully.
c. 나는 그 편지를 읽어 놓았다.
   nanun ku phyencilul like nohassta.
   I have read the letter.
d. 나는 그의 송고를 잘 들어 놓았다.
   nanun kuui chwungkolul cal tule nohassta.
I have listened to his advice carefully.

The house, the story, the letter and his advice are thought to be in the mind of the speaker. The meaning of the nohta compounds below can be accounted for in a similar way.

(19) a. 나는 그 소식을 듣게 사람들에게 알리 놓았다.
   nanun ku sosikul tongney salamtuelykey allye nohassta.
I have told the villagers of the news.
b. 나는 그에게 내 소소를 가르쳐 주어 놓았다.
   nanun kueykey kuy cwusolul kaluchye cwue nohassta.
I have informed him of my address.
c. 나는 포일 장소를 발표하여 놓았다.
   nanun moom caangsolul palphyohaye nohassta.
I have announced the place of the meeting.

The auxiliary verb nohta denotes that the news, my address, and the place of a meeting are thought to be in the mind of the listeners.

Activities denoted by certain verbs are thought to produce psychological changes. Verbs denoting such activities can be used with nohta as in the following:

(20) a. 나는 아이를 꾸짖어 놓았다.
   nanun aiul kkwucice nohassta.
I have scolded him.
b. 나는 아이를 달래어 놓았다.
   nanun aiul tiallaye nohassta.
I have calmed him.
c. 나는 아이를 타일러 놓았다.
   nanun aiul taalile nohassta.
I have reasoned with him.

When the child is thought to be in a certain resultant state after being scolded, calmed and advised, the nohta compounds are used.

4.7.3. Comparison

In this section, the simple verb will be contrasted with its corresponding nohta compound, to make clear the semantic contribution made by nohta. First, we can see a clear difference between the two verb forms with regard to the connective-ese. Let us examine the following two sentences:

(21) a. 나는 생선을 구워서 먹었다.
   nanun sayngsenul kwuese mekesssta.
I broiled the fish and ate it.
b. ?나는 생선을 구워 놓어서 먹었다.
   nanun sayngsenul kwue nohase mekesssta.
I have broiled the fish and I ate it.
c. 그가 생선을 구워 놓아서 내가 먹었다.
   kuka sayngsenul kwue nohase nayka mekesssta.
He had broiled the fish and I ate it.

(21a) means that I baked the fish and ate it. The person who baked the fish and the person who ate it are identical. But sentence (21b), in which the nohta compound is used, does not allow the interpretation of the identical subject. In other words, 'I' in (21b) cannot be the one who baked and ate at the same time. The restriction comes naturally from the meaning of nohta. When one releases (nohta) something, the thing gets out of his control or possession. The form kwu-e noh-ass-te means that the agent baked something and put it out of his control or possession. This meaning conflicts with that of mek-te 'to eat'. When one eats something, it comes into the possession of the agent. In (21c) the one who baked is different from the one who ate. This makes sentence (21c) grammatical.
The following sets of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way:

(22) a. 그는 자동차를 고쳐서 쓴다.
   kunun catongchalul kochye saunta.
   He has repaired the car and uses it.

b. ?그는 자동차를 고쳐 놓아서, 그가 쓴다.
   kunun catongchalul kochye nohase, kuka saunta.

    c. 그가 자동차를 고쳐 놓아서, 내가 쓴다.
       kuka catongchalul kochye nohase, nayka saunta.
       He has repaired the car and I use it.

(23) a. 그는 용병이를 파서 쓰레기를 뿌려킨다.
   kunun wungtengilul phase ssuleykilul mutessta.
   He dug a hole and dumped the waste.

b. ?그는 용병이를 파서 쓰레기를 뿌려킨다.
   kunun wungtengilul pha nohase ssuleykilul mutessta.

    c. 그가 용병이를 파서, 내가 쓰레기를 뿌려킨다.
       kuka wungtengilul pha nohase, nayka ssuleykilul mutessta.
       He had dug a hole and I dumped waste in it.

The (b) sentences in (22) and (23) are ungrammatical when they are interpreted as having identical subjects.

Secondly, the simple form with the connective -eto denotes conation, but the compound form with the connective denotes completion, as can be seen below:

(24) a. 아무리 밀어도 밀리지 않는다.
   amuli mileto millici anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I push it it does not move.

b. ?아무리 밀어 놓아도 밀리지 않는다.
   amuli mileto nobato millici anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I have pushed it, it does not push.

In (24a) mileto denotes conation and it can be negated in the second clause. But mil-e noh-ato denotes completion and it cannot be negated without contradiction. The following pairs can be accounted for in a similar way:

(25) a. 아무리 급히도 급히지 않는다.
   amuli kwuphyeto kwuphyeeci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I bend it, it does not bend.

b. ?아무리 급히 놓아도 급히지 않는다.
   amuli kwuphye nohato kwuphyeeci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I have bent it, it does not bend.

(26) a. 아무리 잘라도 잘라지지 않는다.
   amuli callato callacci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I cut it, it does not cut.

b. ?아무리 잘라 놓아도 잘라지지 않는다.
   amuli calla nobato callacci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I have cut in, it does not cut.

(27) a. 아무리 깨어도 깨지지 않는다.
   amuli kkekko to kkekkeeci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I break it, it does not break.

b. ?아무리 깨어 놓아도 깨지지 않는다.
   amuli kkekko nobato kkekkeeci anhnunta.
   No matter how hard I have broken it, it does not break.

The (b) sentences above are all unacceptable because the first part of each sentence denotes successful completion, but the second part denotes incompleteness or unsuccessful attempts which is contradictory to the first part.

Thirdly, the suffix -myense is used in expressing two on-going parallel processes. Accordingly the nohta compound is not used with
the suffix because nohta denotes completion and the suffix denotes an on-going process: the two elements are incompatible.

(28) a. 그는 근방을 막으면서 책을 읽었다.
kunun kwunpamul mekumyense chaykul ilkessta.
He read a book while eating chestnuts.
b. 그는 근방을 막아 놓으면서 책을 읽었다.
kunun kwunpamul meke nohunyense chaykul ilkessta.

(29) a. 그는 젤을 혼으면서 타자를 쳤다.
kunun kkemul ssipumyense thacaalul chyessta.
He typed while chewing gum.
b. 그는 젤을 혼아 놓으면서 타자를 쳤다.
kunun kkemul ssipe nohunyense thacaalul chyessta.

Fourthly, the connective -taka is used to express that there is a discontinuation in the middle of a process. Thus, this connective is compatible with the simple form, which denotes an on-going process, but not with the nohta compound which denotes that a process has come to its logical conclusion. The following pairs of sentences show the contrast:

(30) a. 나는 연필을 깎다가 그만 두었다.
nanun yenphilul kkakktaka kuman twuessta.
I was sharpening a pencil, but gave up.
b. ?나는 연필을 깎아 놓다가 그만 두었다.
nanun yenphilul kkakka nohta kuman twuessta.
I have sharpened a pencil but gave up.

(31) a. 그는 신발을 벗다가 그만 두었다.
kunun sinpalul pestaka kuman twuessta.
He was taking off the shoes but stopped.

b. 그는 신발을 벗어 놓다가 그만 두었다.
kunun sinpalul pese nohta kuman twuessta.
He has taken off the shoes, but stopped.

The (b) sentences above are awkward because the connective -taka denotes incompleteness while the compound verb denotes completion and they are not incompatible.

4.7.4. Cooccurrence Restrictions

Not all verbs can be compounded with the auxiliary verb nohta and there are some cooccurrence restrictions. First, nohta is not used with nonagentive intransitive verbs. The reason for this restriction is that the verb nohta is an agentive verb which in turn is incompatible with the nonagentive intransitive verbs:

(32) a. 어머니가 생선을 구어 놓았다.
emenika sayngsenul kwue nohassta.
Mother has broiled the fish.
b. ?생선이 글이이 놓았다.
sayngseni kwuphie nohassta.

The resultative aspect of the passive verbs is expressed with the auxiliary verb iss-ta, which in turn is not used with the active counterparts, as can be seen below:

(33) a. ?어머니가 생선을 구어 있다.
emenika sayngsenul kwue issta.
b. 생선이 글이이 있다.
sayngseni kwuphie issta.
The fish is broiled.

The passive takes the patient viewpoint and the active counterpart
takes the agent viewpoint.

Secondly, verbs of dress such as those in (34) are not used with nohta. This restriction is a natural consequence of the meaning of nohta. The verb nohta means that the agent releases or removes something from himself, but verbs of dress mean that the agent puts something on himself. These two meanings do not agree and thus, the verb nohta and verbs of dress are incompatible.

(34) 입다
ipta ‘to put on clothes’

쓰다
suta ‘to put on hat or cap’

신다
sinta ‘to put on shoes or socks’

겨다
kkita ‘to put on gloves’

Observe the following sentences. They sound awkward.

(35) a. ?물은 옷을 입어 높았다.
Thomun osul ippe nohassta.
Tom has put on the clothes.

b. ?물을 모자를 챙 높았다.
Thomun mocaalul sse nohassta.
Tom has put on the hat.

c. ?물을 양말을 신어 높았다.
Thomun yangmalul sine nohassta.
Tom has put on his socks.

d. ?물을 장갑을 거어 높았다.
Thomun cangkapul kkie nohassta.
Tom has put on his gloves.

For those verbs, the progressive aspect instead of the nohta compound is used to express the resultant state as can be seen below:

(36) a. 물은 옷을 입고 있다.
Thomun osul ipko isssta.
Tom is wearing clothes.

b. 물은 모자를 챙고 있다.
Thomun mocaalul ssuko isssta.
Tom is wearing a hat.

c. 물은 양말을 신고 있다.
Thomun yangmalul sinko isssta.
Tom is wearing socks.

The verbs of dress have their causative counterparts: ip-hi-ta, ssu-iu-ta, sin-ki-ta, and kki-iu-ta. These verbs, however, do not have the restriction we noted in the preceding paragraphs. It is because the agent of the causative verbs puts something not on himself but on others. Observe the following:

(37) a. 나는 물에게 옷을 입혀 높았다.
nanun Thomeykey osul ipye nohassta.
I have put the clothes on Tom.

b. 나는 아이에게 모자를 챙워 높았다.
nanun aiyeykey mocaalul suiuwe nohassta.
I have put the hat on the child.

c. 나는 아이에게 양말을 신겨 높았다.
nanun aiyeykey yangmalul sinkye nohassta.
I have put the socks on the child.
d. 나는 아이에게 장갑을 까워 놔있다.
nanun sikey key cangkapul kkiwe nohassta.
I have put the gloves on the child.

Thirdly, the verbs of instrument are not used with the auxiliary verb nohta as we have already noted in (16).

4.8. pelita (버리다)

The verb pelita is used both as a main verb and as an auxiliary verb, and the meaning of pelita as a main verb seems to be extended to that of the auxiliary verb. The general meaning of the verb is that the subject throws something out of the domain of his possession or influence. The general meaning can be represented in the following way.

(1) a. before pelita  b. after pelita

In (1a) X is something to be thrown away and Y is an area or a source, where X is located. After the process of pelita, X comes out of Y. The object of the verb X can range from concrete to abstract, and Y also can range from a concrete spatial location to an abstract location. The following sentences illustrate the meaning of pelita. Notice that the general meaning becomes very specific in context.

(2) a. 창수가 쓰레기를 버렸다.
Changswuuka suleykilul pelyessta.
Changswu threw away the waste.

In (2a) the object is concrete and the area is also a concrete spatial one, that is, an area where the subject keeps his things. Thus, sentence (2a) means that the subject threw waste out of the area where he keeps his things. In (2b) the object is concrete, but the subject exerts no physical force. He simply neglects the children and they went out of his sphere of care and influence. In (2c) the object is concrete, but the area from which it comes can be not only a concrete spatial one but also an abstract state of use. Thus, sentence (2c) can be ambiguous. It can mean that the subject threw away his shoes, or that the subject, often unintentionally, ruined his shoes. In (2d) the thing to be thrown away is an abstract entity and the area is the subject’s mind.

In the preceding paragraphs, we examined the meaning of the main verb pelita. The meaning of the auxiliary verb pelita is not something completely different from that of the main verb but it seems to be extended from that of the main verb pelita. One meaning of pelita is to spoil something concrete or abstract. This is figuratively extended to mean ‘to spoil the speaker’s expectation’. Another meaning is to throw away or to get rid of something. This is extended to mean removing or getting rid of some psychological burden or hindrance. Let us examine these two meanings in detail.

4.8.1. Spoiling the Speaker’s Expectation

Let us first compare the following two sentences:
(3) a. 그는 갔다.
kunun kassta.
He went.
b. 그는 가버리였다.
kunun kapeliessta.
To my regret, he went away.

Sentence (3a) simply describes that somebody went away. In contrast, sentence (3b) additionally means that his going is a disappointment to the speaker. As concrete things can be spoiled, the speaker's expectation can be spoiled too. The difference between the simple verb and its pelita compound comes out more clearly in the following context.

(4) a. 오늘 그에게 일을 좀 시키려고 했는데.
onul kueykey ilul com sikhilyeko hayssnumtey.
I was going to ask him to do something for me today.
b. 그는 이제 갔다.
kunun ecey kassta.
He went yesterday.
c. 그는 이제 가버리였다.
kunun ecey kapeliessta.
Regretably, he went yesterday.

'His' going is a disappointment to the speaker and this disappointment is implied more in (4c) than (4b). Observe other similar examples.

(5) a. 같이 가자고 부탁을 했는데.
kathi kakacoko puthakul hayssnumtey.
I asked him to go with me.
b. 그는 갔다.
kunun kassta.
He went.
c. 그는 가버리었다.
kunun kapeliessta.
He went, to my regret.

Again sentence (5c) is more natural with (5a) than (5b) is with (5a). The pelita compounds in (4c) and (5c) describe the speaker's attitude: an evaluation of the proposition. Thus, sentence (5c), for example, can be analyzed in the following way.

(6) a. He went away.
b. The speaker did not want him to go away.
c. Thus, the fact of his going spoiled the speaker's expectation.

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that the auxiliary verb pelita is used to express the speaker's regret or disappointment. Naturally, verbs which denote processes leading to undesirable states such as michita 'to go crazy', cwukta 'to die', manghata 'to get ruined' etc. commonly appear in the pelita compound. But this does not mean that only verbs having such a semantic characteristic can appear in the compound form. Verbs which denote processes leading to desirable states can also appear in the pelita compound as long as the resulting state causes the speaker to be disappointed, as in the following.

(7) 그 사람의 빗이 나가버리었다.
ku salamuy pyengi napeliessta.
To my regret, he has become well.

Sentence (7) implies that the speaker of sentence (7) wanted the subject to die but the subject became well. This is a disappointment to the speaker and he used the pelita compound.
4.8.2. Removing Psychological hindrance

It was pointed out that in one sense, pelita means that the subject removes something concrete or abstract. When someone throws away something, usually the thing is useless or undesirable to him. This meaning is figuratively extended in the auxiliary verb to mean that the speaker feels relieved after something is removed or done with. Let us observe the following example.

(8) 나는 그 개를 팔아버리었다.
nanun ku kaylul phalaapelieasta.
To my relief, I sold the dog.

It would not be difficult to imagine a situation in which sentence (8) could be used appropriately. Suppose someone was keeping a dog, and because of the size of the dog, it was not easy to feed the dog and keep the yard clean. In one way or another, the dog gave the owner some trouble, so he sold it. This gave him some relief and this relief is expressed by the pelita compound.

Observe some additional examples.

(9) a. 나는 귀찮아서 그 집을 팔아버리었다.
nanun kwihanha se ku sipul phalaapelieasta.
I sold the house which is a nuisance, to my relief.

b. 우리는 그 음식을 먹어버리었다.
wulinun ku umsiikul mekepeleieesta.
We ate the food, to our relief.

It is implied that the house in (9a) and the food in (9b) were trouble to some speaker.

In the preceding paragraphs, we observed that pelita as an auxiliary verb has two major subsenses. It expresses the speaker’s regret and/or relief. This means that sentences with pelita compounds can be sometimes ambiguous. To see this, let us observe the following sentences:

(10) a. 그들이 내 과자를 먹어버리었다.
kutuli nay kwacalul mekepeleieasta.
To my regret, they ate my cookies.

b. 그 열차가 떼나버리었다.
ku yelchaka teneapelieesta.
To my regret, the train left.

To my relief, the train left.

4.9. pota (보다)

The primary meaning of pota ‘to see’ is to perceive something with the eyes. The perceiving can be done with or without purpose. When something comes into one’s view, we just see it without any purpose as in the following cases:

(1) a. 여기 오다가 길에서 꽃차를 보았다.
yeky otaka kileyse kkochmachaalul poassta.
On my way here I saw a flower cart.

b. 들에서 잔달래꽃을 보았다.
tuleyse cinteaykkochul poassta.
In the field I saw azaleas.

When visual perceiving is done on purpose, generally the following purposes seem to be involved conventionally:

(2) a. to gain knowledge: when we read (see) books, we do so to gain knowledge or other information.

그는 그림(신문, 잡지, 책)을 본다.
kunun kulim (sinmun, capoi, chayk)ul ponta.
He saw a picture (newspapers, magazines, books).
b. to consult or to meet: when we see (meet) someone consciously, we do so to get some advice or to consult with him.

그는 변호사(의사, 약사, 경찰관)를 보고 왔다.
kunun pyenhsa (uisa, yaksa, cemcangi)ul poko oassta.
He saw a lawyer (doctor, druggist, fortune-teller).

c. to protect or to take care of something: when we look after someone, we have to see that he is not getting into trouble. When we watch over a building, we have to see it.

그는 아이(집, 창고, 학교)를 보고 있다.
kunun ni (cip, changko, hakkyo)ul poko ista.
He is watching over the child (house, warehouse, school).

d. to pay attention to something or to work on something: in order to do some work, we have to see it. We cannot do the work without looking at it.

그는 일(집안일, 사무, 학교일)을 보고 있다.
kunun il (capanil, samu, hakkyolog)ul poko ista.
He is looking after the work (housework, business, school business).

e. to assess, to estimate: in order to know whether something is good or bad, we usually see the thing.

그는 난을 판단히 본다.
kunun nahnul manmanhi ponta.
He sees me as if I am easy.

f. to attend as observers: in order to see a play, we have to see it.

그는 구경(영화, 집시, 시장)을 보러 갔다.
kunun kwaykyeng (yengwa, canchi, sicang)ul pole kasset.
He went to see the sight (movie, festival, market).

g. We can see only what exists. We cannot see what does not exist. Thus, when something comes into existence, we can see it. This in turn can mean that when we see something new, the new thing has come into existence.

그는 떡(아들, 사위, 미느리, 세시방)을 보았다.
kunun ntal (atul, sawi, myenuli, saysepong)ul poassta.
He saw (had) a daughter (son, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, a new husband).

h. Finally, language treats abstract things as if they were concrete. This allows us to use the verb pota with abstract nouns such as end, dissolution or agreement.

우리는 결별(합의, 끝)을 보았다.
wulinun kyelmal (hupi kuthul)ul poassta.
I saw the conclusion (agreement, end).

The verb pota is used as an auxiliary verb and as an auxiliary verb, its meaning is abstract. What one sees with the auxiliary verb is not concrete objects but an abstract ability or result. Thus, the compound verb verb-pota can be ambiguous. In one reading it means 'to try to see if one has the ability to carry out the action denoted by the verb'. In another reading it means 'to try doing something to see the results or consequences of the action or process.' In the first interpretation, one's ability to do something is not presupposed, but in the second interpretation, one's ability to do something is presupposed. Let us examine the following sentence:

(3) 오늘 나는 걸이 보았다.
onul nanun kele poassta.
I tried to walk.
(I tried walking.)
kele-poassta in (3) is ambiguous and the ambiguity disappears when the sentence is expanded in the following way:

(4) a. 그는 가부스를 줄고 걸어 보았다.
   kunn kipusul phulko kele poassta.
   He took off the plaster and tried to walk.

b. 그는 소화불량을 고쳐라고 걸어 보았다.
   kunn sowhapunlyangul kochilyeko kele poassta.
   He tried walking to cure himself of indigestion.

In (4a) the ability to walk is not presupposed. After taking off the plaster, he is still not sure whether he can walk or not, and he tried to walk. In (4b) the ability to walk is taken for granted, and he tried walking to see if it could relieve him of indigestion. The trying such as (4a) will be called internal trying and the trying such as (4b) will be called external trying. The following sentences with the pota compounds all have two interpretations.

(5) a. 그는 그 높은 나무에 올라가 보았다.
   kunn ku nophun namuey ollaka poassta.
   He tried to climb up the tall tree.

b. 저부 위에 공이 있는지 보기 위해 그 나무에 올라가 보았다.
   cipung wiey kongi issnunci pokiy ku namuey ollaka poassta.
   He tried climbing the tree, to see if he could see the ball on the roof.

(6) a. 550볼로 한 달을 살아 보았다.
   550pullo han talul sala poassta.
   He tried to live on $550.

b. 그 사람들은 일마다 어떻게 사는지 알기 위해 550볼로 한 달을 살아 보았다.
   ku salamultul elmana elyepkey sanunci alki wihay 550pullo han talul sala poassta.
   He tried living on $550 to find out how hard their life would be.

In (a) sentences, the pota compounds mean internal trying and in (b) sentences the compounds mean external trying.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have noted some differences between the internal and external trying. In what follows we will examine some differences between the simple form and its compound counterparts. First, in the past tense the simple form denotes a successful completion of a process, but the compound counterpart does not necessarily denote completion. Let us compare the following two sentences:

(7) a. 나는 그 책을 읽었으나, 읽지 못하였다.
   nanun ku chaykul ilkessuna, ilkci moshayestta.
   I read the book but I did not read it.

b. 나는 그 책을 읽어 보았으나, 읽지 못하였다.
   nanun ku chaykul ilke poassuna ilkci moshayestta.
   I tried to read the book, but I could not read it.

(8) a. 나는 그 술을 마셨으나, 마시지 못하였다.
   nanun ku swulul masyessuna masic ci moshayestta.
   I drank the wine, but I did not drink it.

b. 나는 그 술을 마셔 보았으나, 마시지 못하였다.
   nanun ku swulul masey poassuna masic ci moshayestta.
   I tried to drink the wine, but I could not drink it.

The (a) sentences above are awkward because there is a contradiction: in (7a) ilk-ess means a successful occurrence of reading, but
it is contradicted in the second half of the sentence. In (8a) too, masi - ess means a successful occurrence of drinking, but it is denied in the second half. In the (b) sentences the compound verbs ilk-e po-ta and masi-e po-ta are used and these compounds do not presuppose the ability of the agent to carry out the given activity and its successful execution is not implied. Thus, there is no contradiction involved.

Secondly, the compound verbs denote processes which involve the conscious participation of the agent. Some verbs denote processes which can be carried out either intentionally or unintentionally. But their pota compounds denote processes which are carried out intentionally. For example, kkayta can be ambiguous in its simple form as can be seen below:

(9a) Changswuka cinakataka hwapunul kkayessta.
Changswu broke the vase while passing by.

(9b) Changswuka hwaka nase hwapunul kkayessta.
Changswu broke the vase out of anger.

In (9a) Changswu broke the vase accidentally and in (9b) he did it intentionally. However, with the compound form, only the intentional reading is allowed.

(10) Changswu hwapunul kkayessta.
Changswu tried to break/breaking the vase by mistake.

As kkay-e po-ta denotes conscious and intentional participation, the adverb silswulo ‘by mistake’ or ‘unintentionally’ cannot be used.

Thirdly, imperatives can be expressed either by the simple form or by its compound verb. However, they differ in meaning: the imperative expressed by the compound verb is relatively milder, less direct than that expressed by the simple form. Compare the following:

(11) a. 이 책 읽어.
i chayk ilke.
Read this book.

b. 이 책 읽어 봐.
i chayk ilke poa.
Try to read this book.

The speaker of (11a) presupposes that the listener can read the book, whereas in (11b) the addressee is not bound to carry out the order, because the speaker does not believe in the addressee’s ability to carry out the action. In other words, in (11b), the speaker leaves some room or options for the addressee to choose. Therefore, when the speaker wants to make his directives mild and indirect, he uses the pota compound. Some additional pairs of sentences are presented below:

(12) a. 이것 먹어라.
i kes meke la.
Have this.

b. 이것 먹어 보아라.
i kes meke poa la.
Try to have this.

(13) a. 이것 풀어라.
i kes phule la.
Untie this.

b. 이것 풀어 보아라.
i kes phule poa la.
Try to untie this.

A similar contrast can be observed in the propositive sentences. The simple form presupposes the ability to carry out the proposed action on the part of the addressee but its compound form does not.
Therefore, a proposative sentence with the compounded form is less imposing than the simple form. Compare the following pair of sentences:

(14) a. 이 거리로 옮겨 가지.
    ikes celilo omlmika.
    Let's move this over there.

b. 이 거리로 옮겨 보자.
    ikes celilo omlmey poca.
    Let's try to move this over there.

The speaker of (14a) assumes that 'this thing' can be moved by them and wants to carry out the action. On the other hand, the speaker of (14b) does not assume that 'this thing' can be moved, and he simply suggests trying to move it. Thus, even though the thing may not move, the speaker may not be disappointed and the addressee may have no reason to worry. This is the reason why the pota compound is pragmatically utilized to make a proposal less direct and imposing.

Finally, interrogative sentences can also be expressed by the compound verb but they differ from the meaning expressed by the simple verb. Let us compare the following examples.

(15) a. 이 책 읽었나?
    i chayk ilkessna?
    Have you read this?

b. 이 책 읽어 보었나?
    i chayk ilke poassa?
    Have you tried to read this?

The speaker in (15a) is interested in knowing whether the addressee read the book, assuming that the addressee is capable of reading it. (15b) is ambiguous. In one reading, the speaker, not being sure of whether the addressee is capable of reading the book, asks if the addressee tried to read the book. In another reading, the speaker knows that the addressee is capable of reading the book and he wants to know what the addressee thinks of the book after reading it.

4.10. ssahta (쓰다)

The verb ssahta means to put things on top of one another. The following examples illustrate the meaning:

(1) 그는 벽돌(장작, 쌓)을 쌓았다.
    kunun pyektol(cangak, chayk) ul ssahassta.
    He piled bricks/firewood/book.

The verb is also used as an auxiliary verb and as an auxiliary verb, it can be used with adjectives and verbs. Let us first examine ssahta with adjectives.

4.10.1. Adjective-e ssahta

Adjectives are static but ssahta is nonstatic (dynamic). In the adjective-e ssahta compound, the adjective denotes a goal state to which something has changed and the verb ssahta denotes the process of change. But the compound does not merely denote change of state. It also means that the resultant (goal) state is excessive or more than necessary. The meaning of excessiveness comes from the meaning of ssahta as a main verb. Let us compare the following two sentences.

(2) a. 그 물은 뜨겁다.
    ku muulun ttukepta.
    The water is hot.

b. 그 세로로 마시는 데로 싫다.
    ku serorol moasa isita.
    The water is bad to drink.
b. 그 물을 듬기위 쌓았다.
   ku mulun ttukewe ssahassta.
   The water became hotter than is necessary.

Speaker (2a) objectively describes the temperature of the water. But speaker (2b) describes it in a subjective way with some specific goal in mind, for which the water is to be used. Thus, sentence (2b) can be paraphrased in the following way: the speaker thinks that the water is too hot for a certain purpose he has in mind.

Observe the following additional examples:

(3) a. 그 사람은 젊다.
   ku salamun celmta.
   The man is young.

b. 그 사람은 젊어 쌓았다.
   ku salamun ceme ssahassta.
   The man is young enough.

(4) a. 그 집은 좋다.
   ku cipun cohta.
   The house is good.

b. 그 집은 좋아 쌓았다.
   ku cipun coha ssahassta.
   The house is good enough.

(5) a. 그 천은 두껍다.
   ku chenun twukkepta.
   The cloth is thick.

b. 그 천은 두꺼워 쌓았다.
   ku chenun twukkwe ssahassta.
   The cloth is thick enough.

The (a) sentences above simply describe the states or qualities of some objects more or less objectively, but the (b) sentences above mean additionally that the states or qualities are more than is necessary for a certain purpose the speaker has in mind.

4.10.2. verb-e ssaha

The process of ssaha is repetitious and continuous. When one lays bricks, he repeats the same process again and again. When ssaha forms the compound verb verb-e ssaha, it denotes that the process denoted by the verb is repeated excessively. Thus, the compound is often used when the speaker is irritated by a repetitious process. Compare the following sentences:

(6) a. 그 개가 시끄럽게 쳐는다.
   ku kayka sikkulepkey ciemunta.
   The dog barks noisily.

b. 그 개가 시끄럽게 쳐 쌓았다.
   ku kayka sikkulepkey cice ssahnunta.
   The dog barks noisily, irking the speaker.

Sentence (6a) simply describes the barking of a dog. In contrast, sentence (6b) additionally means that the barking is excessive, which irks the speaker. Observe the following additional examples:

(7) a. 아이들이 떠개도 울어 쳐는다.
   aituli toykeyto wule ssahnunta.
   The children are crying excessively.

b. 아이들이 많이도 막여 쳐는다.
   aituli manhito meke ssahnunta.
   The children are eating excessively.
The *ssahta* compound denotes repetition and it cannot be used with bounded predicates whose processes cannot be repeated once they reach their inherent end point. Compare the following sentences:

(8) a. 그는 술 한 병을 마시어 쓰고 있다.
   kunun swul han pyengul masie ssahuntu.
   He repeats drinking the bottle of alcoholic beverage.

b. 그는 술을 마시고 쓰고 있다.
   kunun swulul masie ssahuntu.
   He kept on drinking and drinking.

In (8a) the object imposes boundedness on the predicate and the predicate is bounded. Once the bottle is emptied, the same process cannot be repeated. This is the reason why sentence (8a) is awkward. However, in (8b) the object does not impose any boundedness and the predicate is not bounded and so it can be repeated. Thus, sentence (8b) is not ungrammatical. Observe the following additional examples:

(9) a. 그는 그 물건을 사쓰고 있다.
   kunun ku mulkenul sasahuntu.
   He repeats buying the thing.

b. 그는 물건을 사쓰고 있다.
   kunun mulkenul sasahuntu.
   He keeps on buying things.

(10) a. 그는 장기 한 판을 두어 쓰고 있다.
   kunun cangki han phanul twue ssahuntu.
   He repeats playing the match of cangki.

The meaning of the verb *tayta* is that the subject brings something X into contact with something else Y. The following sentences illustrate the meaning:

(1) a. 그는 수화기를 귀에 대었다.
   kunun swuhwakulini kwey tayessta.
   He held the receiver to his ear.

b. 그는 술잔을 입에 대었다.
   kunun swuleanul ipey tayessta.
   He set the glass to his lips.

c. 나는 그 앞에 손을 대지 않았다.
   nanun ku iley sonul tayci anhassta.
   He did not put his hands to the work.

d. 그는 배를 해안에 대었다.
   kunun phayul hayaney tayessta.
   He brought the ship to the shore.

In (1) the subject brought the object to something else in each sentence.

The verb is also used as an auxiliary verb. The meaning of the auxiliary verb is that the subject brings one occurrence of an action into contact with another occurrence of the same type. Thus, the
compound verb verb-e tayta means that the subject does something constantly and in addition it also expresses the speaker's attitude toward the repeated occurrences: he does not like them. Observe the following examples:

(2) a. 그 아이가 음식도 익어있다.
    ku aika mopsito wuletaynta.
    The child keeps on crying excessively.

b. 아이들이 음식도 피들어있다.
    aituli mopsito tetuletaynta.
    The children keep on making noise excessively.

In (2a), for example, the child cried and it is followed by more crying, which in turn is followed by more and so on. This can be diagrammed in the following way:

(3) cry cry cry...

There is no gap between two instances of crying and from this comes the meaning of constant repetition. This constant crying annoys the speaker and he expresses his feeling by using the compound. Observe the following additional examples:

(4) a. 그는 담배를 계속 피워있다.
    kunun tampaylul kyeysok phiwetaynta.
    He keeps on smoking.

b. 그는 코를 계속 흉이었다.
    kunun khoilul kyeysok kolataynta.
    He keeps on snoring.

c. 그는 술을 계속 마시어있다.
    kunun swulul kyeysok masietaynta.
    He keeps on drinking.

The smoking, snoring and drinking bother the speaker, but this is not expressed in the translation.

Both ssahta and tayta as auxiliaries, have similar meanings but they are not the same. They differ from each other in the images that they create. ssahta denotes repetition through the image of piling up of situations or events, whereas tayta does it through the image of linking up of situations or events. These two are contrasted in the diagrams below.

(5) a. ssahta
    (diagram)

b. tayta
    (diagram)

4.12. twuta (두다)

The verb twuta has two major subsenses. One is to put something at a place, and the other is to leave something at its own place. The first subsense is similar to one sense of nohita, in that both mean to put something at a place. But the two verbs differ in the nature of the place at which things are put. With nohita, the place is outside of the agent whereas with twuta it is inside the agent. To be more specific, when nohita is used, it is implied that the subject puts something outside his interest or influence, and when twuta is used, the subject puts something inside his interest or influence. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences:

(1) 그는 학문에 뜻을 놓고 있다.
    kunun hakmuney tusul nohko issita.
    He puts his mind off scholarship.

He puts scholarship out of his mind.
(2) 그는 학문에 뜻을 두고 있다.
    kunun haknumey tuusul twuko issta.
    He sets his mind on learning.

Sentence (1) means that the subject puts his desire for scholarship outside of himself and he no longer has it. Syntactically haknumey does not modify the verb but modifies the noun tuus. On the other hand, sentence (2) means that the subject puts his desire for scholarship inside of himself and he has it, and haknumey is interpreted as the goal of twuta. The following pair of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way:

(3) a. 그는 그 물건에 마음을 두고 있다.
    kunun ku mulkeney maumul twuko issta.
    He sets his mind on the thing.

b. 그는 그 물건에 마음을 놓고 있다.
    kunun ku mulkeney maumul nohko issta.
    He takes his mind off the thing.

(4) a. 그는 그 사람에게 양심(미안, 의심, 걱정)을 두고 있다.
    kunun ku salameykey yangsim (milyen, uisim, ceng)ul twuko issta.
    He sets his conscience (attachment, doubt, affection) on the man.

b. 그는 마음 (곤심, 심심)을 놓았다.
    kunun maum (kusim, simul)ul nohassta.
    He put his mind (worry, anxiety) off.

In the (a) sentences the objects are still in the sphere of the subject’s concern, but in the (b) sentences the objects are outside the subject’s sphere of concern.

Sometimes the same situation can be viewed and expressed in two different ways using the verb nohta and twuta. When you rent a part of your house (a room for example), you put the part out of your control. The same situation can be viewed as having the renters under your control. The former perspective is expressed by nohta and the latter perspective is expressed by twuta. Look at the following examples:

(5) a. 그는 방 하나를 세 놓았다.
    kunun pang hanalul sey nohassta.
    He leased a room.

twuta

b. 그는 방 하나에 세사람을 두었다.
    kunun pang hanaey seysalamul twuessta.
    He rented a room.

When the object is animate, nohta means to set it free or to let it go. But with a similar object, twuta means to keep them.

(6) a. 그는 말(소, 개, 아기)을 놓아 기르다.
    kunun mal (so, kay, a)ul noha kilunta.
    He raises horses (cattle, dogs, children) wildly.

b. 그는 하인(양자, 일꾼, 비서, 파수병, 수양말)을 두고 있다.
    kunun hain(yangca, ilkhwun, pise, phaswupyeong, swuyangtal)ul twuko issta.
    He keeps a servant (a son-in-law, a workman, a secretary, a guard, a daughter-in-law).

In (6a) the objects are out of the subject’s control, and in (6b) the objects are in the subject’s control.

The following pairs of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way:

(7) a. 그는 창고에 쌀을 두었다.
    kunun changkoey ssalul twuessta.
    He kept rice in the storehouse.
b. 그는 창고에 집을 놓았다.
kunun changko ey ssulul nohassta.
He put rice in the storehouse.

(8) a. 그는 돈을 금고에 두었다.
kunun tonul kumko ey twu essta.
He kept money in the safe.
b. 그는 돈을 금고에 놓았다.
kunun tonul kumko ey nohassta.
He put money in the safe.

(9) a. 그는 고리자기를 백장 깔으나 두었다.
kunun kolyecakifil pyekcang kiphswukhi twu essta.
He kept the porcelain in the wall closet.
b. 그는 고리자기를 백장 깔으나 놓았다.
kunun kolyecakifil pyekcang kiphswukhi nohassta.
He put the porcelain in the wall closet.

When nohta is used in (7~9), the subjects may not be the owners of the objects. They simply put the things at certain places. On the other hand, when twuta is used, the subjects are thought to be the owners of the things and they put the things at certain places to keep them.

In the following sentences, the verb twuta is acceptable but nohta is not. The reason is that the objects are not separate from the subjects, but are part of the subjects.

(10) a. 그 훈행은 지방에 지점을 두고 (??놓고) 있다.
k u unhayung ey cipang ey cicemul twuko (nohto) issta.
The bank sets up a branch in the country.
b. 그 학교는 야간부를 두고 (??놓고) 있다.
k u haku keun yakanulul twuko (nohto) issta.
The school has a night school.

c. 그는 종로에 사무실을 두고 (??놓고) 있다.
k u ncongly samusilul twuko (nohto) istta.
He set up an office on Congno.
d. 머리를 물에 두고 (??놓고) 자고자.
mellil muncokey twuko (nohto) cakela.
Sleep with your head facing the door.

In (10a) a local branch is still part of the main branch, and in (10b) a night section of a school is not separate from the main school. In (10c) one's office is still part of his possession, and in (10d) one's head is an inalienable part of him. Thus, in all cases, the verb twuta is used but nohta is not used.

To summarize, we examined in this section one sense of the verb twuta. According to this sense, twuta means that an agent puts something at a place which is under his control or jurisdiction. Thus, depending upon whether the place is under the subject's control or not, the choice of the two verbs nohta and twuta is determined. In what follows we will examine another sense of twuta, comparing it with that of nohta. Another sense of the verb twuta is to leave something where it is, without removing it. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences.

(11) a. 그 그림을 그대로 놓고 보자.
ku kulimul kutaylo nohto poca.
Look at the picture after putting it down as it is.
b. 그 그림을 그대로 두고 보자.
ku kulimul kutaylo twuko poca.
Look at the picture without moving it.

In (11a) the picture is being held by someone, and the speaker suggests that they put it down. In (11b) on the other hand, the picture is already laid down and the speaker suggests that they keep it there and just look at it. The following pair can be accounted for in a
similar way:

(12) a. 그 그림을 세자리에 그냥 놓았다.
   ku kulimul ceycalley kunyang nohassta.
   (I) put the picture down where it was.

b. 그 그림을 세자리에 그냥 두었다.
   ku kulimul ceycalley kunyang twuessta.
   (I) kept the picture where it was.

In (12a) the picture was picked up and then put down. But in
(12b) the picture was not picked up and was kept or left where it
was.

In the following sentences, twutsa is acceptable but nohta is not.

(13) a. 이것을 손대지 않고 그대로 두세요. (?능으세요)
   ikosul sonytei malko kutaylo twuseeyo.(nohuseeyo)
   Leave the thing alone, without touching it.

b. 그 부모는 아이들을 돌보지 않고 그대로 내버려 두었다.
   (?능었다)
   ku pumonun aiitul tolpoi anhko kutaylo naypelye
   twuessta.(nohassta)
   The parents left the children unattended.

When we put something down, we have to touch the thing. In
other words, we cannot put something down without touching it. This
is the reason why nohta is not used in (13a). Leaving something
where it is expressed by twutsa, and leaving something or someone in
a certain state is also expressed by twuta. This is the reason why
twutsa is acceptable in (13b) but nohta is not.

In the following sentences, the objects refer to distance or time.
With such objects, the verb twutsa means to keep or leave the existing
distance or time where or as it is.

(14) a. 우리는 100리를 사이에 두고 겹쳐 썼었다.
   wulinun 100liul saley twuko cekkwa ssawuessta.
   We fought against the enemy with 100li inbetween us.

b. 우리는 세 시간을 두고 토론을 했다.
   wulinun sey sikanul twuko tholomul haysta.
   We had a discussion for three hours.

The sense of keeping something without touching it is extended to
a sense of keeping something for future use as in the following:

(15) a. 이 책은 잘 두었다가 (?능했다가) 나중에 쓰시요.
   i chaykun cal twuesstaka (nohasstaka) nacwungey ssusiyo.
   Keep this book well and use it later.

b. 이 파일은 잘 두었다가 (?능있다가) 겨울에 드세요.
   i kwailun cal twuesstaka (nohasstaka) kyewuley tuoseyo.
   Keep this fruit well and eat it in winter.

As we can see in example sentences above, the verb nohta does
not have the extended sense of keeping something for future use.

Despite the subtle differences we have noted above between twuta
and nohta, the two verbs can be used interchangeably in the follow-
ing formulaic expressions:

(16) a. 그들은 장기(학업)을 두었다(능했다).
   kutulun cangki(patwuk)ul twuessta(noyassta).
   They put the pieces of the cheese(patwuk).
   They played cangki(patwuk).

b. 그는 옷에 속(당림)을 두었다(능했다).
   kunun osey som(talkthel)ul twuessta(nohassta).
   He put cotton(duckdown) into his clothes.
   He piled his clothes with cotton(duckdown).

c. 그는 밥에 콩(육수수)을 두었다(능했다).
   kunun papey khong(oksuswuwl)ul twuesstaka(nohassta).
   He put soybean(corn) in the rice.
This is possible because the two verbs share some points of similarity despite their differences.

4.12.1. **twuta** as an auxiliary verb

In the preceding section, we examined the meanings of **twuta** as a main verb. In this section, we will examine the meanings of **twuta** as an auxiliary verb, focusing on the way the meanings of the main verb are extended. To do this, comparison with the nohta compound is thought to be of help. Let us examine the following pair of sentences:

(17) a. 나는 그 편지를 써 놓았다.
    nanun ku phyencilul sse nohassta.
    I have finished writing the letter.

b. 나는 그 편지를 써 두었다.
    nanun ku phyencilul sse twuessta.
    I have written the letter for future use.

The nohta compound in (17a) means that the process of writing a letter came to an end, thus a letter now exists. At the same time, the burden of writing the letter is off the subject’s hands. He may or may not take care of the letter, and keeping the letter is not in the subject’s serious concern. On the other hand, the twuta compound in (17b) means that the subject is concerned with keeping the letter for future use. The difference can be diagrammed in the following way:

(18) a. verb-e nohta
    subject’s concern

b. verb-e twuta
    subject’s concern
    process→result

In (18a) the process comes to an end and a result comes into being. But the subject is not concerned with maintaining the result, because it is off his hands. In (18b), however, the process comes to an end and a result comes into being, and the subject is concerned with maintaining the result. This difference between the two verbs becomes clear when the subject is inanimate or insentient as in the following:

(19) a. 고양이가 콧받을 파헤쳐 놓았다.
    koyangika kkochpathul phaheychye nohassta.
    The cat has dug up the flower bed.

b. 고양이가 콧받을 파헤쳐 두었다.
    koyangika kkochpathul phaheychye twuessta.
    The cat has dug up the flower bed (for future use).

(20) a. 고양이가 휴를 잡아 놓았다.
    koyangika cwiul capa nohassta.
    The cat has caught a mouse.

b. 고양이가 휴를 잡아 두었다.
    koyangika cwiul capa twuessta.
    The cat has caught a mouse (for future use).

The (b) sentences in (19) and (20) are felt to be awkward, because the cat is thought not to be capable of keeping or maintaining certain resultant states as human beings do. As a further illustration, look at the following proverbial expressions. They are formulaic but still reflect the dichotomy of nohta and twuta.

(21) a. 쇠 놓은/안 놓이요
    ssoa nohun / twun saliyo
    It is an arrow released.

b. 물جلس 놓은/안 놓이요.
    ephelle nohun / twun mulita.
    It is water spilled.
When the arrow leaves the bow, it is out of the subject’s control, and this is the reason why nohta is possible but twuta is not in (21a). Likewise, when some water in a container is spilled out, we cannot control it, and for this reason, nohta is allowed but twuta is not allowed in (21b).

In the following sentences, both nohta and twuta are possible, but their meanings are predictably different.

(22) a. 그가 내 차를 고장내 놓았다.
   kuka nay chalul kocangnay nohassta.
   He had broken my car.

b. 그가 내 차를 고장내 두었다.
   kuka nay chalul kocangnay twuessta.
   He had broken my car for future use.

When nohta is used, the sentence means that ‘he’ put the car out of order. But when twuta is used, it additionally means that he put the car out of order and he keeps (or leaves) it in that state for future use. Normally this is not the case and the sentence sounds very awkward.

When the nohta compound is used, a change of state is implied, but when the twuta compound is used, a change of state is not always implied. Compare the following pairs of sentences.

(23) a. 그는 창문을 열린 그대로 그날 열어 두었다.
   kunun changmunul yellin kutaylo kunyang yelle nohassta.
   He left the window open as it was.

b. 그는 창문을 열린 그대로 그날 열어 두었다.
   kunun changmunul yellin kutaylo kunyang yelle twuessta.
   He left the window open as it was for future use.

(24) a. 그 그림을 걸어 놓고 보자.
   ku kulimul kelle nohko poca.
   Let’s look at the picture after hanging it.

b. 그 그림을 걸어 두고 보자.
   ku kulimul kelle twuko poca.
   Let’s look at the picture, hanging it.

In (23) the speaker suggests that they leave the opened window open, and twuta seems to be more natural because no change is involved. Sentence (24a) indicates that the picture is not hung up at the moment of speaking, and (24b) indicates that the picture is hung up and the speaker suggests leaving it in the given state.
Chapter 5  Passives

5.0. Introduction ................................................................. 271
5.1. Morphological passives ............................................... 272
  5.1.1. Agentive actant ..................................................... 272
  5.1.2. Manner adverbials ............................................... 275
  5.1.3. uyhayse .............................................................. 276
  5.1.4. Instrumental actant ............................................... 277
  5.1.5. Passives with no active counterparts ....................... 280
  5.1.6. negation ............................................................ 283
  5.1.7. Summary ........................................................... 284
5.2. Meanings of the two passives in Korean ....................... 285
  5.2.1.a. Transitive Verbs .............................................. 287
  5.2.1.b. Distribution .................................................... 290
  5.2.2. Two kinds of processes ....................................... 291
  5.2.3. A new pattern ................................................... 293
  5.2.4. Justification ..................................................... 294
   5.2.4.1. Simple passives and Compound Passives ............... 294
   5.2.4.2. Passives and Intransitives ................................ 306
5.3. Summary ................................................................. 309
5.0. Introduction

Some transitive verbs in Korean have passive forms. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the meaning of the passives, comparing them with their corresponding active verbs. The relationship between the active and its corresponding passive sentence are usually made in the following way:

(i) The object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the passive sentence.
(ii) The subject of the active sentence is not necessarily expressed.

Transformational grammarians in the 1960’s tried to account for the sentences between the active and passive relationship in a more formal and explicit way by using transformational rules.

With regard to Korean passives, some linguists, working within the theoretical framework of Chomsky’s syntactic structures, tried to derive passive sentences from their corresponding active sentences by transformational rules. Sentence (1b), which is passive, is assumed to be derived form its corresponding active sentence (1a).

(1) a. 순경이 도둑을 잡았다.
    (swunkyèngi totwúsul capasstá. (active)
    The policeman captured the thief.
    b. 도둑이 순경에게 잡혔다.
    (totwúsul swunkyèngexykey caphiessstá. (passive)
    The thief was captured by the policeman.

What I would like to show in this chapter is that passive sentences such as (1b) cannot be related transformationally to its corresponding active sentences such as (1a) without an ad-hoc
and brute-force method. Similar conclusions have been reached in the English (Hasegawa 1968) and Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1975). Langacker (1975: 791) points out specifically the following characteristics of the Uto-Aztecan passives: (i) the underlying semantic subject of the passive sentence is unspecified. An unspecified subject is sharply to be distinguished from a deleted argument; and (ii) no instrumental or agentive phrase (equivalent to the by-phrase in English) is posited as an integral part of the passive construction per se. It will be shown that similar observations can be made with regard to the Korean passive.

5.1. Morphological passives

5.1.1. Agentive actant

First let us observe whether agentive phrases can occur with the passive verbs. Song (1967) classified Korean passive sentences into two types: those that admit agentive phrases and those that do not, where the agentive phrases can be optionally deleted in the passive sentences. It will be shown below that passive sentences in Korean do not allow agentive phrases. This means that passive sentences do not result from the mere switching of some actants of the corresponding active sentences. Look at the following sentences.

(2) a. 장수와 세가줄로 나무 농지를 감았다.
Changswuwa saykkiewullo namwu twungchilul kamassta.
Changswu wound the tree trunk with a straw rope.

b. 나무 농지를 장수에게 감기였다.
namwu twungchila Changswueykey kamkiessta.
?The tree trunk was wound by Changswu.

Sentence (2a) is used with the verb kamta 'to wind' and the instrumental phrase saykkiewullo and the so-called agentive phrase Changswueykey are used with the passive verb kam-ki-ta in (2b). According to Song, Changswueykey should be an agentive phrase. However, it is never interpreted as an agentive phrase but as a locative phrase. What sentence (2b) denotes is that the tree trunk is wound around Changswu (which is highly improbable, but is denoted by the sentence). Observe the following additional example sentences.

(3) a. 장수가 술을 끼웠다.
Changswuwa swuulul sotassta.
Changswu spilled the alcoholic drink.

b. 술이 장수에게 끼기었다.
swuli Changswueykey sotkiestaa.
The alcoholic drink was spilled on Changswu.

(4) a. 장수가 연필로 내 주소를 적었다.
Changswuwa yenphillo nay cuwusolu cekastes.
Changswu wrote down my name in pencil.

b. 내 주소가 장수에게 적혀있다.
any cuwusoka Changswueykey cekhiessta.
My name was written down to Changswu.

(5) a. 장수가 창가로 벽에 못을 박았다.
Changswuwa mangchilo pyekey mosul pakassta.
Changswu drove the nail into the wall with the hammer.

b. 못이 장수에게 박혀있다.
mosi Changswueykey pakhiessta.
The nail was driven into Changswu.

c. ?못이 장수에게 벽에 박혀있다.
mosi Changswueykey pyekey pakhiessta.
?The nail was driven into Changswu into wall.
In (3–5) the (b) sentences contain NP-eykey phrases, but they do not denote agentive actants. The actants simply denote locative phrases.

To be more specific, they are interpreted to be goals to which the subjects are directed. In (5), for example, the (b) sentence is acceptable with the NP-eykey interpreted as a goal. But the (c) sentences are not acceptable, because the two postpositional phrases are interpreted as goals. This point can be made clearer with the following additional examples.

(6) a. ? 돌이 창수에게 바닥에 쏘기었다.
    swul! Changswueykey patakey sotkieesta.
The drink was spilled on Changswu onto the floor.

b. ? 돌이 내 손에 벽에 박혔다.
    mosi nay soney pyekey pakkiesta.
The nail was driven into the hand into the wall.

The two sentences in (6) above are odd because the two postpositional phrases are thought to denote goals but they are not connected with a conjunction or with a conjunctive ending.

The following set of sentences shows that there are cases in which NP-eykey has no place in passive sentences at all.

(7) a. 창수가 그 것을 쪰었다.
    Changswuka ku silul callassta.
    Changswu cut the string.

b. ? 그 실이 창수에게 걸렸다.
    kusiil! Changswueykey calliessta.
    ?The string was cut by Changswu.

(8) a. 창수가 낮으로 줄을 빼었다.
    Changswuka nasulo phwulul peyessta.
    Changswu cut the grass with a scythe.

b. ?줄이 창수에게 쌓이었다.
    phwul! Changswueykey peyiessta.
    Grass was cut to Changswu.

NP-eykey in (7 and 8) do not give any possible interpretation in Korean, although the translations might lead us to believe that they have meaning. In other words, with the actant NP-eykey, sentences (7 and 8) sound very awkward as well as meaningless. Without the actants, sentences (7a and 8a) sound perfectly acceptable.

5.1.2. Manner Adverbials

In the preceding paragraphs we have observed two types of passive sentences. In (3–6), the actant NP-eykey can appear, but in (7–8), the actant cannot. Furthermore, the NP-eykey actant occurring in the passive sentences is not agentive in nature but locative. This fact can be made clearer in the following way. Some manner adverbials can occur in active sentences when the subjects are agentive but in its corresponding passive sentences in which the subject is not agentive the same manner adverbials cannot occur. Observe the following set of sentences.

(9) a. 창수가 새끼들로 나무 동치를 무지런히 갔었다.
    Changswuka saykkicwullo namwutwungchilul pwucilenhi kamassta.
    Changswu wound the tree trunk diligently with a straw rope.

b. ?나무동치가 무지런히 갔기었다.
    namwutwungchik! pwucilenhi kamkiessta.
    ?The tree trunk was diligently wound.
serve the following.

(12) a. 창수가 그 것을 잘랐다.
Changswu ku silul callassta.
Changswu cut the string.

b. 그 실이 창수에게 잘렸다.
ku sili Changswueykey calliessta.
The string was cut by Changswu.

c. 그 실이 창수에 의해서 잘렸다.
ku sili Changswuey uyhayse calliessta.
The string was cut through Changswu.

It has been already pointed out that sentence (12b) is meaningless because of the actant NP-eykey. If we compare the two sentences (12a and 12c), they seem to be synonymous superficially. But actually they are not. In (12a) Changswu is the one who does the cutting, and he is the topic. There is no room for ambiguity. However, in (12c) the topic is the string, and sentence (12c) can be ambiguous. In one reading Changswu can be one who does the cutting. In another reading Changswu may be the one who is indirectly involved in the cutting.

5.1.4. Instrumental Actant

In this section, we will examine whether or not instrumental phrases can occur in passive sentences. In active sentences the instrumental actant appears with the postposition -ulo. It was assumed that the instrumental phrase could also appear in passive sentences with the postposition ey. To say the conclusion first, it has been found that the instrumental phrases cannot occur in passive sentences just like agentive actants. Let us observe the following set of sentences.
(13) a. 장수가 연필로 절수의 이름을 썼다.
    Changswuwa yenphillo Chelswuuy illumul seessta.
    Changswu wrote Chelswu’s name with a pencil.
b. 절수의 이름이 연필로 쓰였다.
    Chelswuuy ilumi yenphillo ssuyessta.
    Chelswu’s name was used as a pencil.
c. 절수의 이름이 연필로 쓰였다.
    Chelswuuy ilumi yenphiley ssuyessta.
    Chelswu’s name was written on a pencil.

In (13a) yenphil-lo is definitely interpreted as an instrumental phrase. In (13b) the same phrase is not uniquely interpreted as an instrumental phrase and it forces the meaning of the verb to be interpreted as ‘to use’ rather than ‘to write’. (ssuta is homophonous, standing for the two verbs meaning ‘to use’ and ‘to write’.) In (13c) instead of the marker -lo, the marker -ey is used. But yenphil-ey is never interpreted as instrumental but as locative, as the translation indicates.

Observe the following additional sets of example sentences.

(14) a. 장수가 못으로 못을 박았다.
    Changswuwa mangchilo mosu pakassta.
    Changswu drove the nail with a hammer.
b. 못이 못으로 박혀있다.
    mosi mangchilo pakiesssta.
    Nails were driven towards the hammer.
c. 못이 못으로 박혀있다.
    mosi mangchiley pakiesssta.
    The nail was driven onto the hammer.

(15) a. 장수가 세끼줄로 나무 통치가 감기었다.
    Changswuwa saykkicwullo namwv tuwngchilul kamassta.
    Changswu wound the tree trunk with a straw rope.
b. 나무 통치가 세끼줄로 감기었다.
    namwv tuwngchika saykkicwullo kamsiesta.
    The tree trunk was wound with a straw rope.
c. 나무 통치가 세끼줄에 감기었다.
    namwv tuwngchika saykkiculey kamsiesta.
    The tree trunk was wound around the straw rope.

In (14–15) above, the (a) sentences are active and the NP-lo phrases are interpreted as instrumental. The (b) sentences, which are passive, contain NP-lo phrases but these phrases are not interpreted as instrumental. Rather, they are interpreted as directional. The (c) sentences above, which are also passive, contain the phrase NP-ey which is not interpreted as instrumental but as locative. All these examples show that the NP-lo is interpreted as instrumental when there is an agent. Otherwise it is not interpreted as instrumental. The passives do not allow agents and the NP-lo is not interpreted as instrumental.

The fact that the NP-ey phrase in passive sentences is locative can be made clearer when we observe the following set of sentences.

(16) a. 풀이 낙에 박여있다.
    phuli nasey peyiesssta.
    Grass was cut by the scythe.
b. 손가락이 낙에 박여있다.
    sonkalaki nasey peyiesssta.
    The finger was cut by the scythe.

Sentence (16a) sounds very awkward. However, sentence (16b) sounds perfectly normal. A possible explanation for this difference can be made in the following way: the actant nas-ey in (16) is a locative actant, which is fixed and denotes a general background in which an event takes place. The locative actant is
not directly and dynamically involved in an event. Changswu could have moved his hand around and cut it accidentally by touching the scythe. This may be the reason why sentence (16b) is acceptable. On the other hand, grass is something generally fixed in a certain place and it does not move around as freely as a hand. Two fixed things at different places can seldom affect one another, which may explain why sentence (16a) sounds so awkward.

5.1.5. Passives with no active counterparts

In the preceding paragraphs, it is shown that the agentive phrase, which can occur in the active sentence, cannot occur in the passive sentence. In what follows, it will be shown that there are passive sentences whose corresponding active sentences cannot be thought of. Let us start with the following pairs of active and passive sentences. The (a) sentences below are passives and the (b) sentences are to be their corresponding active sentences.

(17) a. 날씨가 풀었다.
   nalssika phullyesst.
   The weather turned warm.
   b. ?____이 날씨를 풀었다.
   ?____ i nalssitul phwulesst.
   Something thawed the weather.

(18) a. 집과 여자는 가구기에 달렸다.
   cipkwa yecanun kakkwukiey talysst.
   (The beauty of) the woman and house depends on decorating.
   b. ?____이 집과 여자를 가구기에 달았다.
   ?____ i cipkwa yecalul kakkwukiey talalst.
   Something hung the woman and the house.

(19) a. 마을이 어둠에 잔가졌다.
   mauli etwumey camkiessst.
   The village was sunken in darkness.
   b. ?_____이 마을을 어둠에 잔가졌다.
   ?____ i maulul etwumey camkwuesst.

(20) a. 그는 요즘 눈에 안 빛난다.
   kunun yoczum nwuney an ttuitnt.
   He has not been seen lately.
   b. ?_____이 그를 요즘 눈에 안 빛났다.
   ?____ i kulul yoczum nwuney an ttuesst.

(21) a. 그녀는 가정에 묻혔다.
   kunynun kacengey mwurthiesst.
   She is tied up with house keeping.
   b. ?_____이 그녀를 가정에 묻혔다.
   ?____ i kunyelul kacengey mwutesst.
   She is buried in the family.

The (a) sentences above are passive and no agents are expressed. The (b) sentences are to be their corresponding active sentences, but they are not acceptable on two counts. First, nothing can fill the blanks in the (b) sentences to give near synonymous meaning to the passives. In other words, no agent can be stated in the (b) sentences. Secondly, the range of meaning denoted by the passive verbs are wider. That is, the passive verbs are more freely used metaphorically than their corresponding active verbs.
Thus, the active verb phulta generally means 'to untie'. But its passive verb can be used to describe something abstract such as weather becoming warm. 'Untying the weather' does not mean anything in Korean, but its passive counterpart is commonly used in Korean, describing the weather being released or untied from a frozen state. This is not an isolated case. Most of the passive verbs can be used in an abstract and metaphorically extended meaning, as the following additional examples show.

(22) a. 하늘에 별이 촘촘 박혀있다.
hanuley pyeli chongchong pakhiiessta.
The sky is closely studded with stars.
b. ?____ 이 하늘에 별을 촘촘 박았다.
?____ - i hanuley pyelul chongchong pakassta.
Somebody studded the skies with stars.

Sentence (22a) can be used to describe natural night sky. However we cannot find any occasion to use sentence (22b) for a description of natural phenomena. Of course, we can use sentence (22b), when talking about a planetarium. A planetarium is being designed and the designer can place as many stars in the ceiling as he wishes. Sentence (22a) can also be used for such an occasion. We can notice the following discrepancy between pakta and pak-hi-ta: pak-hi-ta can be used for a description of natural or artificial phenomena, but pakta cannot be used for a description of natural phenomena.

Observe the following additional set. In (22), the passive sentence is perfectly normal and meaningful. Its corresponding active sentence is also meaningful but the meaning is completely different from its passive counterpart. However, there are some other cases in which the active counterparts of some passive sentences awkward, as can be seen in the following examples.

(23) a. 성공은 노력에 달려있다.
sengkongun nolyekey talliessta.
Success depends upon effort.
b. ?창수는 성공을 노력에 달았다.
?Changswunun sengkongul nolyekey talassta.
Changswu put his success on his effort.

(24) a. 창수의 대답은 틀렸었다.
Changswuwyu taytapun thulliessta.
Changswu's answer was wrong.
b. ?창수는 대답을 들었다.
?Changswunun taytapul thulessta.
Changswu twisted the answer.

All these unacceptable active sentences seem to result from the different semantic ranges of active and passive verbs.

5.1.6. Negation

The negation marker an is interpreted differently depending on the verb forms. The negation marker an in the active sentence (25a) negates the intention or habit of the agent, as the translation indicates. In its corresponding passive sentence the negation marker indicates whether something denoted by the subject, which was a certain quality, is to undergo a certain process or not. Thus, the meaning of the negation marker an is different depending on the voice of the verb.

(25) a. 그는 그 고기를 안 익힌다.
Kunun ku kokilul an asiipnunta.
He does (or will) not chew the meat.
b. 그 고기는 안 익힌다.
Ku kokimun an asiiphinta.
The meat is not chewed.
There is another negation marker in Korean, mos. It can occur in the active sentence, and it denotes absence of process by an external force. But it cannot occur in the passive sentence, as is illustrated in the following sentences.

(26) a. 그는 그 고기를 몹 싶는다.
kunun ku kokikul mos ssipmuntta.
He cannot chew the meat (because he does not have any teeth).

b. 그 고기는 몹 싶힌다.
?ku kokinun mos ssiphinta.
The meat cannot chew.

5.1.7. Summary

In summary, we can list the following facts about the discrepancies between the active and its corresponding passive verbs.

(1) The agentive actant cannot occur in the passive, although it can occur in the corresponding active sentence.

(2) The relationship between passive and active sentences is not a one-to-one relationship: many passive sentences do not have corresponding active sentences, and vice versa.

(3) The range of meanings denoted by an active verb is generally far narrower than that denoted by its corresponding passive verb.

(4) The negation marker mos can occur in the active sentence but not in its corresponding passive sentence. The negation marker an can occur both in active and passive sentences but it has different meanings depending upon the voice.

5.2. Meanings of the two passives in Korean

This present chapter deals with distinguishing the meanings of the two passives in Korean, thereby revealing the systematic nature of the Korean verb system. One passive form is made with the infix -hi- and the other with the auxiliary verb cita. In productivity the two passives are different from each other. The auxiliary passive is productive whereas the infix passive is not. However, they have been regarded to be synonymous. It is claimed here that the two passives have different meanings. The infix passive denotes spontaneous and accidental processes whereas the auxiliary passive denotes processes which are carried out intentionally. Sentence (1) below means that the chimney was blocked naturally; sentence (2) means that the chimney was blocked with some efforts on the part of the speaker.

(1) 구름이 막혀있다.
kwulttwuki makhessta.
The chimney is stopped up.

(2) 구름이 막혀지었다.
kwulttwuki makaciessta.
The chimney managed to be stopped up.

So natural phenomena and other unnatural processes which cannot be controlled by humans are expressed by the infix passive. This suggests that the function of the intransitive verbs and that of the infix passives are very similar to each other. The processes denoted by the intransitive verbs are spontaneous and auto-
matic just as those denoted by the infix passives. In (3) and (4) an intransitive verb and an infix passive are used respectively.

(3) 그 옷은 몸에 적색 뭉الت다.
   ku osun money ccekcek puthungunta.
The clothes cling to the body.

(4) 그 옷은 몸에 첨정 감기인다.
   ku osun money chingching kamkikinta.
The clothes wind around the body.

Despite their morphological difference both intransitive verbs and infix passives denote spontaneous processes, whose occurrences are attributable to the nature of the subject noun phrase, rather than to the agent.

These functional similarities between the intransitives and the infix passives can account for the complementary distribution of the two: transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive verbs do not have the infix passives, and only transitive verbs which are not derived from intransitives have the infix passives. The verb *tol-hi*-*ta* 'to turn*(VI)* is derived from *tol-ta* *(VI)* and does not have an infix passive. The verb *mak-ta* 'to block' does not have an intransitive verb but it has an infix passive *mak-hi-ta*. The complementary distribution of the intransitive verbs and the infix passives seems to confirm the functional similarities between the two.

To summarize, there can be two kinds of processes: spontaneous and non-spontaneous. The former is expressed by intransitives and passives, and the latter by the auxiliary verb *cita*. This discovery helps us to account for the complementary distribution of the intransitive verbs and the infix passives. In what follows, the auxiliary passive and the infix passive will be compared and contrasted.

The auxiliary verb *cita* (지다) can be combined with transitive, intransitive and adjectives. We will examine what meanings the auxiliary verb adds to the words with which it combines. First, transitive verbs will be examined.

### 5.2.1.a. Transitive Verbs

To characterize some differences among the transitive verbs, the transitive verbs can be classified as in (1) in terms of derivation. The transitive verbs in (1a) have their corresponding passives. Those in (1b) are derived from their corresponding intransitive verbs, and those in (1c) are derived from adjectives. In (1d), the causative verbs are derived from transitive verbs. In (1e) some transitive verbs are listed, but they do not have any corresponding intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>깨다</td>
<td>깨히다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccik-ta</td>
<td>ccik-hi-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chop</td>
<td>be chopped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>젤다</td>
<td>젤히다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cip-ta</td>
<td>cip-hi-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>be picked up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>곱다</td>
<td>곱히다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkul-ta</td>
<td>kkul-hi-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draw</td>
<td>be drawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitives derived from Intransitives</td>
<td>Intransitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>마크다</td>
<td>막히다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>쿨리다</td>
<td>쿨다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>농하다</td>
<td>농다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>올리다</td>
<td>오르다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>늦하다</td>
<td>늦다</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Casuatives derived from Transitives</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>causatives</td>
<td>transitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>신기하다</td>
<td>신다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>입하다</td>
<td>입다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>읽기다</td>
<td>읽다</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>씻기다</td>
<td>씻다</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. Other transitives with neither passives nor intransitives


\[ \text{갑다} \\
\text{talm-\text{-ta}} \]  
resemble

\[ \text{좋아하다} \\
\text{cohaha-\text{-ta}} \]  
like

\[ \text{성기다} \\
\text{semki-\text{-ta}} \]  
respect

\[ \text{달래다} \\
\text{tallay-\text{-ta}} \]  
soothe

\[ \text{다루다} \\
\text{talwu-\text{-ta}} \]  
deal with

5.2.1.b. Distribution

When we confine our attention to the first three transitives, we can note the following distributional pattern:

\[(2) \begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|} \hline 
V_t & V_i & \text{Passive} & \text{-\text{cita}} \\
\hline 
a & \text{mak-\text{-ta}} & 0 & \text{mak-\text{-hi-\text{-ta}}} & \text{mak-a-\text{-cita}} \\
b & \text{kwul-li-\text{-ta}} & \text{kwulu-\text{-ta}} & 0 & \text{kwul-li-e-\text{-cita}} \\
c & \text{cop-hi-\text{-ta}} & 0 & \text{cop-hi-e-\text{-cita}} & \text{cop-hi-e-\text{-cita}} \\
\hline \end{array}\]

From the above chart we can note that transitives with their corresponding passives do not have intransitives, while those derived from intransitives do not have passives. So the intransitives and the passives seem to have a complementary distribution. The transitive verb mak-\text{-ta}, for example, has the passive form, but it does not have a corresponding intransitive verb. The transitive verb kwul-li-\text{-ta}, for another, is derived from the intransitive verb kwulu-\text{-ta} and it does not have a passive form. The transitive verb cop-hi-\text{-ta} is derived from the adjective cop-\text{-ta}. It has neither the intransitive verb nor the passive verb. (Later it will be pointed out that cop-a citi has the same function as the intransitive verb.) The auxiliary verb citi, however, can be combined with all the different kinds of transitive verbs.

With the distributional pattern in (2) we can ask the following question: does the distributional pattern reveal an underlying regularity or is it simply a random occurrence? My conclusion is that the distributional pattern reflects a hidden regularity, which will be made clear in what follows.

5.2.2. Two Kinds of Processes

The distributional pattern in (2) seems to reflect our categorization of processes into two classes: autonomous and nonautonomous processes. When a process takes place and is believed to take place in itself, it is an autonomous process. On the other hand, when a process does not take place in itself, but takes place due to an outside agent or force, it is a nonautonomous process. To see the distinction between the two kinds of processes, let us compare the two verbs thu-\text{-ta} and thu-e citi.

\[(3) \text{a. 왕이 (토 / *터지)있어.} \\
\text{ssaki (\text{ thu / *thecl)}essta.} \]

The bud broke open.
b. 동이 (토/터지)었다.
    tongi ( thu/ theci) essta.
    The day broke.

(4) a. 콩기가 (주/터지)었다.
    congkika ( thu/ theci) essta.
    The boil broke open.

b. 수도관이 (주/터지)었다.
    swutokwani ( thu/ theci) essta.
    The water pipe broke.

In (3) we can see that ssak ‘bud’ and tong ‘daybreak’ can be used with thu-ta, but not with thu-e cita. On the other hand, congki ‘boil’ and swutokwan ‘water pipe’ can be used with thu-e cita, but not with thu-ta. The ungrammatical combinations call for some explanation.

Both thu-ta and thu-e cita are derived from the verb thu-ta ‘to break open’. Both denote that something is in a broken state. Their difference lies in the processes leading to the result. The process denoted by thu-ta is autonomous or is thought to be autonomous. In this case, we attribute some force or responsibility to the subject itself which undergoes the process. Imagine chapped hands. Biologically speaking, there must be some cause for having chapped hands. The hands must have been wet or they must have been exposed to cold weather. The conjuction of water on the hand with the cold weather makes the hand chapped. But this external cause is disregarded, and the hand itself is regarded as responsible for the process and result. We express this as son-i thu-ess-ta ‘the hand is chapped.’ The expression son-i thu-e cis-ess-ta ‘the hand is broken open’ implies that the result is brought about by some separate external force such as hitting.

In the case of the hand, both thu-ta and thu-e cita can be used. But in the case of swutokwan ‘water pipe’, it is used only with thu-e cita. Then, why is this the case? How is the hand different from the water pipe? There are things, mostly animate things and machines, which are responsible for processes, in which they are involved and they undergo or are thought to undergo processes without any external forces. As for inanimate things, they are not thought to be responsible for processes affecting them. Thus, without some external force the process cannot take place. The water pipe, for example, is not animate and is not thought to be responsible for its breaking. In cold weather sometimes, the water inside the pipe freezes up and the ice exerts some force on the pipe and it breaks. This force is regarded as an external one.

5.2.3. A New Pattern

In the preceding section we observed that there are two processes in Korean. In light of this observation, we can account for the distributional pattern in (2): the gaps and the complementary distribution of the intransitives and the passives. Both the intransitives and the passives are used to denote autonomous processes. Thus, there is no need for a transitive verb to have both intransitive and passive. For the transitive verbs derived from adjectives, there is neither intransitive nor passive forms. But adjectives can be directly combined with cita as in cop-e cita. This derived form is used to describe autonomous processes. On the basis of these observations, we can rearrange the distributional pattern presented in (2) into the following one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitives</th>
<th>Autonomous</th>
<th>Nonautonomous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mak-ta</td>
<td>mak-hi-ta</td>
<td>mak-a-cita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwul-li-ta</td>
<td>kwulu-ta</td>
<td>kwul-li-e-ci-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cop-hi-ta</td>
<td>cop-a-cita</td>
<td>cop-hi-e-cita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin-ki-ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>sin-ki-e-cita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Under the 'autonomous' heading in (5), there is the passive form mak-hi-ta, the intransitive form kwulu-ta and the compound form cop-a cita. But despite this formal difference, the three forms seem to have the same function of describing the autonomous process. The causative verbs derived from transitive verbs such as sin-ki-ta do not have their corresponding intransitive verbs nor passives. But they can be combined with cita as in (6):

(6) 그 신이 아이에게 신기어치었다.
ku sini aiekeyy sinkieciessta.
The shoes could be put on the child.

5.2.4. Justification

In this section the simple passive form (using the infix) will be compared with the compound passive form (using the auxiliary verb cita) in terms of meaning, in order to justify the claim that the simple passives denote autonomous processes and that the intransitives and the simple passives, although different in form, have the same function of denoting autonomous processes.

5.2.4.1. Simple Passives and Compound Passives

When the auxiliary verb cita is used with transitive verbs, it is thought to turn transitives into passives. Thus, it has been regarded that Korean has two kinds of passives: one is expressed by the suffix and the other by the auxiliary verb cita. To take mek-ta as an example, its simple passive is mek-hi-ta and its compound passive is mek-e-cita. Syntactically the two forms are very similar. The transitive verb mek-ta takes a subject and an object. The object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the simple and compound passives as can be seen in (8):

(7) 우리는 옷을 막았다.
wulinun kwulttwukul makassta.
We blocked the chimney.

(8) a. 옷을 막았다.
kwulttwuki makheessta.
The chimney is blocked.
b. 옷을 막았다.
kwulttwuki makheessta.
The chimney was managed to be blocked.

In (8) the chimney, which is the object of the transitive verb in (7), is the subject of the two sentences.

In what follows we will examine the semantic differences between the simple and compound passives. Traditionally, the two forms were regarded to be synonymous. However, in this chapter it will be shown that there are systematic differences between the two. First, observe the following pairs of sentences:

(9) a. 나무 가지에 얼굴이 금하였다.
namu kacies eykwuli kulkheessta.
The face is scratched from the tree branch.
b. 나무 가지에 얼굴이 금하였다.
namu kacies eykwuli kulkheessta.
The face managed to be scratched with the tree branch.

(10) a. 가시가 손에 박었다.
kasika soneey pakheessta.
A thorn penetrated into the hand.
b. 가시가 손에 박았다.
kasika soneey pakheessta.
A thorn managed to penetrate into the hand.
(11) a. 하수구가 막혔습니다.
haswukwuka makhiessta.
The drainage blocked up.
b. 하수구가 막겨졌다.
haswukwuka makcyessta.
The drainage managed to be blocked.

In (9-11) the simple passives and their corresponding compound passives are contrasted. When contrasted in this way, no native speaker of Korean would say that the paired sentences are synonymous. The compound passives on the one hand imply that:

1. the speaker wants to have a process to take place;
2. there is some difficulty for it to take place; and
3. there is a hidden agent behind the process.

On the other hand, when the simple passives are used, their processes are thought to take place spontaneously. There is no implication of a hidden agent nor that of difficulty.

More specifically, in (9a) the simple passive kulh-hi-ta is used and it denotes that the process took place spontaneously or accidentally. It is neither planned nor intended. Whereas kul-a cita in (9b) implies that the process was intended (possibly by the speaker) and that some difficulty was expected. In (10a) pak-hi-ta denotes that the process was accidental whereas pak-a cita in (10b) denotes that the process was intended or planned. The difference between mak-hi-ta and mak-a cita in (11) can be similarly accounted for in terms of spontaneity.

In the preceding paragraphs we examined and found that one main characteristic of the simple passives is spontaneity. This semantic characteristic can account for in the following grammatical (or acceptable) and ungrammatical (or unacceptable) sentences.

(12) a. 음식이 목에 걸려있다.
umsiki mokey kelliessta.
A piece of food was caught in the throat.
b. 음식이 목에 걸렸다.
umsiki mokey keleyessta.
A piece of food managed to be caught in the throat.

(13) a. 연이 전기줄에 걸렸다.
yeni cenicwuley kelliessta.
The kite was caught on the telephone line.
b. 연이 전기줄에 걸려있다.
yeni cenicwuley keleyessta.
The kite managed to be caught on the telephone line.

In (12), the simple passive sounds natural but the compound passive sounds very awkward. The awkwardness of (12b) comes from the fact that nobody will try or intend to make food get caught in his throat. When kel-e ci-ta is used, we feel that someone tried to make the food get stuck in his throat. The two sentences in (13) are both natural. A kite can be caught on a telephone line both by accident (13a) or on purpose (13b).

I have claimed that a hidden agent is involved in the compound passives. We will examine whether this is plausible or not by using the postpositions -ulo and -ey. Let us compare the following two sentences.

(14) a. 나는 술장에 고기를 구웠다.
nanun swuchpwuley kokilul kruwessta.
I roasted the meat on the charcoal fire.
b. 나는 숯불로 고기를 구웠다.
nanun swuchpwullo kokilul kwuweessta.
I roasted the meat using the charcoal fire.

At first glance the two sentences in (14) seem to be synonymous. Yet, a closer examination reveals that they are not. Both swuchpul-eey and swuchpul-lo serve as instrumental, but they are different in kind. swuchpul-eey can be regarded as a static instrument in the sense that the agent makes use of it where it is. On the other hand, swuchpul-lo can be regarded as an active instrument in the sense that the agent manipulates it while roasting the meat. This means that the instrumental phrase NP-ulo can be used only when an agent appears or is implied in a sentence. We can read a clear-cut difference between NP-ulo and NP-eey in the following pair.

(15) a. ?우리는 모래주머니에 독을 맺었다.
wulinun molaycumeniyy twukul makanesta.
We blocked the dam with sand bags.
b. 우리는 모래주머니로 독을 맺었다.
wulinun molaycumenilo twukul makanesta.
We blocked the dam with sand bags.

Sentence (15a) is anomalous, because if a river is flooded due to a break in the dam it is impossible to block it without moving sandbags to the dam. NP-eey in (15a) suggests that the sand bags were not moved. In (15b), on the other hand, it is implied that the agent moved sand bags to the dam.

On the basis of the above observation, we can predict that we can use NP-ulo with the compound passives, in which an agent is implied, whereas we cannot use NP-ulo with the simple passives, in which no agent is implied.

(16) a. ?이 작은 글씨는 확대경으로 읽혔다.
i cakun kulissinun hwaktaykyengulo ilkiyessta.
This small letter was read with a magnifying glass.
b. 이 작은 글씨는 확대경으로 읽어졌다.
i cakun kulissinun hwaktaykyengulo ilkiyessta.
This small letter was managed to be read with a magnifying glass.

(17) a. 그 땅은 기름으로 닦아졌다.
ku tayyynun kilumulo taktakessta.
The dirt was cleaned onto the oil.
b. 그 땅은 기름으로 닦겨졌다.
ku tayyynun kilumulo takkacessta.
The dirt was managed to be cleaned with oil.

NP-ulo in (16–17) are more natural with the compound passives, whereas it is less natural with the simple passives, although not completely unacceptable. This is due to the fact that an agent is implied in the compound passives. On the other hand, when NP-eey is used with the compound passives, it denotes not instrumentals, but goals or locations in some cases. In other cases, it does not make any sense at all.

(18) a. 그 돈은 지렛대에 떨어졌다.
ku tolun cileystayey mileyeyessta.
The stone was managed to be pushed to the lever.
b. 그 땅은 기름에 닦여졌다.
ku tayyynun kilumye ttaka ciyessta.
The dirt was cleaned onto the oil.
c. 그 글씨는 확대경에 읽어졌다.
kulissinun hwaktaykyengey ilkiyessta.
The letter was managed to be read onto the magnifying glass.
In (18a) NP-ey denotes a goal toward which the stone was moved. In (18b) NP-ey can denote a goal, although the interpretation is somewhat strained. In (18c) NP-ey also is a goal.

So far we observed some differences between the simple and compound passives and we can characterize the differences in the following way:

(19) a. **simple passive**: denotes a spontaneous process, and the subject is regarded as responsible for the process.

   b. **compound passive**: denotes a non-spontaneous process and some hidden agent is responsible for the process.

The above characterization can account for what has been generally regarded as idiosyncratic or idiomatic uses of the passives. That is, it can provide a more natural explanation in which an idiomatic use turns out to be not irregular and unpredictable, but regular. Let us compare the following examples:

(20) a. 운이 열리었다.

   wuni yelliessta.

   We are in fortune's way.

b. ?운이 열어졌다.

   wuni yeleyessta.

(21) a. 느라서 기가 막히었다.

   nollase kika makhiessta.

   Frightened, I lost my breath.

b. ?느라서 기가 막히었다.

   nollase kika makyiessta.

(22) a. 바람에 큰 나무가 쩔어졌다.

   palamey khan namwuka ppophiessta.

   Because of the wind, the big tree was uprooted

   b. ?바람에 큰 나무가 쩔어졌다.

   palamey khan namwuka ppopacyessta.

Normally, we cannot control our fortune, nor natural phenomena. Thus it is natural that these should be expressed by the simple passives instead of the compound passives. When the compound passives are used as in (b) sentences in (20–22), it is implied that the processes were activated by some agents. This is incompatible with the autonomous or spontaneous processes of natural phenomena. Specifically, (20a) sounds natural but (20b) sounds very awkward, because we cannot control our fortune. Similarly (21a) sounds normal for describing our surprise, because we cannot control or plan our feelings such as surprise or amazement. (21b), however, sounds awkward: the first part (nollase) describes mental state but the second part (ki-ka maka ci-ess-ta) has something to do with voluntariness. That is, it implies that losing one's breath because of fright is something that can be controlled at will. In (22) the wind (palam) is a force that brought about the rooting out of the big tree and no other agent is necessary. That is the reason why (22b) is unacceptable. Suppose the subject of the sentences in (20) is mvun ‘door’ instead of wun, both simple and compound passives are possible.

(23) a. 문이 열리었다.

   mwuni yelliessta.

   The door opened.

b. 문이 열어졌다.

   mwuni yeleyessta.

   The door has managed to be opened.

It is because a door can be opened spontaneously or intentionally by an agent, whereas fortune cannot be intended at will.
Some additional examples of natural phenomena or processes follow:

(24) a. 날씨가 풀려졌다.
    nalissika phwulliessta.
    The weather warmed.

b. 날씨가 풀려졌다.
    nalissika phwulecyessta.

(25) a. 실이 풀려졌다.
    sili phwulliessta.
    The thread disentangled.

b. 실이 풀려졌다.
    sili phwulecyessta.
    The thread has managed to be disentangled.

The subject in (24) is nalissi ‘weather’ which we cannot control. So in describing the change of weather, the simple passive can be used but not their corresponding compound passive. When science has advanced enough to control weather, then sentence (24) can be meaningfully used. The subject in (25) is sili ‘thread’, which is tied or fastened and can be untied or disentangled without any external force. It can also be untied by an agent. So sili can be used with both passives.

Besides natural phenomena, natural environments are also described with the simple passives, which is predictable from the observation we have made above.

(26) a. 우리 마을은 산으로 둘러싸여 있다.
    wuli maulun sanulo twullessahie ista.
    Our village is surrounded with mountains.

b. 우리 마을은 산으로 둘러싸여 있다.
    wuli maulun sanulo twullessahacye ista.
    Our village is managed to be surrounded with mountains.

(27) a. 우리나라의 상편이 바다로 뻗어 있어 있다.
    wulinalanun sammyeniyi patalo ssahie ista.
    Our land is surrounded with the sea on three sides.

b. 우리나라의 상편이 바다로 뻗어 있어 있다.
    wulinalanun sammyeniyi patalo ssahacye ista.
    Our land is managed to be surrounded with the sea on three sides.

In the (a) sentences above, the simple passives are used and the sentences sound natural, but in the (b) sentences, the compound passives are used and the sentences are not natural.

Similarly, we cannot control perception. That is, we cannot control what we see or hear. Whether we intend it or not, we hear or see what is heard or seen. Thus, it can be expected that the simple passives are to be used to describe perception.

(28) a. 눈 앞에 큰 산이 보여 있었다.
    nwun afheph khusan poiessta.
    I saw a big mountain.

b. 눈 앞에 큰 산이 보여 있었다.
    nwun afheph khusan poacyessta.
    A big mountain was managed to be seen by me.

(29) a. 푸른 파리소리가 들려왔다.
    kwusulphun philisoli twulliessta.
    A melancholic flute sound was heard.

b. 푸른 파리소리가 들려왔다.
    kwusulphun phili solika tulecyessta.
    A melancholic flute sound was managed to be heard.
In the (a) sentences in (28–29) the simple passives are used and they sound natural. But in the (b) sentences the compound passives are used and they sound very awkward.

However, the verbs po-ta and tut-ta can be ambiguous. In (28–29) they are used to describe perception, but they can also be used to describe conscious activity. In other words, they can be used agentively. In the following sentences the two verbs are used agentively:

(30) a. 나는 그 책을 두 시간 동안 보았다.
    nanun ku chaykul twu sikan tongan poassta.
    I read the book for two hours.

b. ?나는 그 음악을 열심히 들었다.
    nanun ku umakul yelsimhi tulessta.
    I listened to the music attentively.

Corresponding to the agentive use of the two verbs, there are compound passives as in (31).

(31) a. 그 책은 두 시간 만에 다 보였다.
    ku chaykun twu sikan maney ta pomacysta.
    The book was managed to be read in two hours.

b. 그 음악은 심분 만에 다 들려졌다.
    ku umakun sippun maney ta tulecysta.
    The music was managed to be listened to in 10 minutes.

Lastly, there are certain adverbs that make the difference between the two passives clearer. The adverbs cecello, ceyphwuley-ey, and ceymewul-ey, mean "by itself", "of its own accord", and "spontaneously" respectively. These adverbs can occur with the simple passives, but not with the compound passives:

(33) a. 옥쪽이 저절로 막혔다.
    kwultwuki cecello makhiessta.
    The chimney was blocked by itself.

b. ?옥쪽이 저절로 막쳤다.
    kwultwuki cecello makacyessta.
    The chimney was managed to be blocked by itself.

(34) a. 못이 저절로 끝났다.
    mosi cecello ppppiessta.
    The nail was out by itself.

b. ?못이 저절로 끝났다.
    mosi cecello pppapacyessta.

(35) a. 그 사람의 기가 제품에 잠겨있다.
    ku salamuy kika ceyphwuley kkekkiyeysta.
    The man's spirit is down on itself.

b. ?그 사람의 기가 제품에 잠겨있다.
    ku salamuy kika ceyphwuley kkekkiyeysta.

The adverbs in (33–35) do not affect the acceptability of the (a) sentences. But they make the (b) sentences unacceptable. Why is this the case? The simple passives denote spontaneous and automatic processes and they are compatible with the meaning of the adverbs. But compound passives denote processes which are not spontaneous. Thus, they cannot co-occur with the adverbs. In the case of the compound passive of adjective-e ci-ta, which although it is formally a compound, behaves like the simple passive.

So far we have observed that the processes denoted by the simple passives are spontaneous and automatic. This means that the subject of the simple passive is responsible for what takes place. This, in turn, can mean that the property or nature of the subject is responsible for the process. Compare the following two sentences.
(36) a. 이 비누는 바닷물에 잘 풀린다.
i pinwunun patasmwuley cal phwullinta.
This soap dissolves well in the seawater.
b. 이 비누는 바닷물에 잘 풀려진다.
i pinwunun patasmwuley cal phwulecinta.
This soap can be made to dissolve well in the seawater.

(37) a. 그 연필은 잘 깎인다.
ku yenphilun cal kkakkinta.
The pencil sharpens well.
b. 그 연필은 잘 깎아진다.
ku yenphilun cal kkakkacinta.
The pencil can be made to sharpen well.

Both sentences in (36) denote that a certain soap dissolves well in saltwater. But (36a) in addition denotes that the easy dissolution is due to the nature of the soap rather than to an external agent. Similarly, the two sentences in (37) denote that a certain pencil sharpens well. (37a), like (36a), denotes that sharpening well is due to the nature of the pencil.

5.2.4.2. Passives and Intransitives

It is generally thought that the simple passives can be derived from their corresponding actives via transformations. And the agent of the active sentence can also be expressed in the corresponding passive. However, in the preceding sections ample evidence has been presented showing that this position is not tenable.

What I would like to do in this section is to show that the simple passives are closer to intransitives in their function and meaning which will be presented below. First, processes denoted by both passives and intransitives are spontaneous. Let us observe the following set of sentences:

(38) a. 설이 염ribly다.
sili elkhiissta.
The thread entangled itself.
b. 치마가 풀에 치웠다.
chimaka money chinchin kamkiessta.
The skirt wound itself on the body clammily.
c. 낙엽이 길에 갈리었다.
nakyepi kiley kkalliessta.
The dead leaves spread themselves over the road.

In (38) the past forms of the passives are used and the sentences denote that the processes took place, but their occurrence is not due to some external agent or force. Rather the subjects themselves are thought to be responsible for them. In (38a) the thread became entangled but the entangling took place in itself. The same thing can be said of (b) and (c) sentences in (38). They all took place in themselves.

Now, let us compare the intransitive verb pwuth-ta 'to stick' and the passive form kam-ki-ta of kam-ta 'to wind'

(39) a. 그 옷은 몸에 적착 붙는다.
kku osun momey ccekcek pwuthhunta.
The dress sticks to the body clammily.
b. 그 옷은 몸에 적착 갈린다.
kku osun momey chinchin kamkinta.
The dress winds itself on the body clammily.

The process denoted by pwuth-ta in (39a) is spontaneous. A shirt or dress can stick to the body by its own nature without any external force. In (39b) a passive verb is used, but no external agent or force can be read. In this respect, the two processes
in (39) are both spontaneous.

Let us observe an additional pair:

(40) a. 전기불이 켜졌다.
    cenkipwuli nakassta.
    The electric light went out.

b. 신호등이 바뀌었다.
    sinhotungi pakkwissta.
    The traffic signal changed.

An electric light can come and go. Strictly speaking, the bulb is not responsible for the change. The current can be cut off somewhere other than in the bulb. Nevertheless, it is thought and regarded as if the bulb is responsible for the change. Similarly, a traffic light changes from one color to another. The change is controlled by an external control device. However, the subject is regarded to be responsible for the change. So the adverb cecello 'of itself' can occur with pakkwi-ta as well as naka-ta.

pakkwu-ta is the passive form of the transitive verb pakkwu-ta. Being a passive verb, it cannot occur with an agent, just as the intransitive verb naka-ta cannot:

(41) a. 전기불이 자절로 나갔다.
    cenkipwuli cecello nakassta.
    The light went out of itself.

b. 신호등이 자절로 바뀌었다.
    sinhotungi cecello pakkwissta.
    The signal went out of itself.

In (41) the intransitive verb nakatn and the passive form pakwita are used in the same context in which there is no agent. Similarly, both cannot be used with NP-eykey which can be inter-

preted as an agent. In (42) below, the NP-eykey makes the sentences unacceptable.

(42) a. ?신호등이 순경에게 바뀌었다.
    sinhotungi swunkyengeykey pakkwissta.
    The signal went out to the policeman.

b. ?전기불이 순경에게 나갔다.
    cenkipwuli swunkyengeykey nakassta.
    The light went out to the policeman.

5.3. Summary

Korean has two kinds of passives. One is expressed by the infix (-i, -hi, -ki, -li) and the other by the auxiliary verb cita. In this chapter, the two kinds of passives are contrasted. The main difference between them is that the infix passives are used to denote spontaneous processes and the cita passives are used to denote non-spontaneous processes. It is also shown that the infix passives are used to denote spontaneous processes and the cita passives a to denote non-spontaneous processes. It is also shown that the infix passives are close to intransitives in nature.
Chapter 6 Negation

6.0. Introduction ........................................ 313
6.1. an and mos contrasted ............................ 314
6.2. Two negation constructions .................... 319
   6.2.1. The post-verbal construction ............... 319
   6.2.2. ci and its basic meaning ................... 320
      6.2.2.1. matrix sentence ...................... 320
      6.2.2.2. embedded sentence ................. 323
      6.2.2.3. post-verbal negation ............... 325
6.3. Distinction between pre-verbal and post-verbal negation .... 327
   6.3.1. Assertion .................................. 327
   6.3.2. Question .................................. 329
   6.3.3. Imperative ................................ 332
   6.3.4. Delimiters ................................ 334
6.4. Summary ......................................... 337
6.0. Introduction

There are two negation markers in Korean: *an* and *mos*. These two markers can appear in two different positions: the preverbal position and the postverbal position. These positions can be schematically represented in the following way:

1. Preverbal negation: *an* / *mos* VERB
2. Postverbal negation: VERB — ci *an* / *mos* haia

The two positions are illustrated below with *an*.

(3) a. 그 꽃은 안 예쁘다.
   ku kkochun an yepputa.
   The flower is not pretty.

   b. 그 꽃은 예쁘지 않다.
   ku kkochun yeppuji anhta.
   The flower is not pretty.

(4) a. 장수는 안 갔다.
   Changswunun an kanta.
   Changswu does not go.

   b. 장수는 가지 않는다.
   Changswunun kaci anhunata.
   Changswu does not go.

In (3a) and (4a), the negation markers appear preverbally, and in (3b) and (4b), they appear postverbally. *an* also appears after the dependent noun *kes*, as shown in (5), but *mos* does not appear in this construction as shown in (6).

(5) 철프가 갔 것이 아니다.
   Chelswuka kan kesi anita.
   It is not the case that Chelswu went.
Chapter 6

(6) ?철수가 갣 것이 못이다.
Chelswuka kan kesi mos i-tea.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to distinguish the meanings of the negation markers an and mos. Second, it aims to explicate the differences between the two negation constructions (preverbal and postverbal constructions). In section 1, the two negation markers will be contrasted to determine the differences. In section 2, the two constructions of the pre- and postverbal negation will be compared to determine the differences.

6.1. an and mos Contrasted

The two negation markers have different co-occurrence restrictions. an can occur with any predicate (verb or adjective), but mos has some restrictions. In the preverbal position, an can occur with any predicate but in the same position mos cannot occur preverbally with stative predicates, as can be seen below.

(7) a. 그 아이는 안 예쁘다.
ku ainun an yeypputa.
The child is not pretty.

b. 그 아이는 못 예쁘다.
ku ainun mos yeypputa.

(8) a. 그 옷은 안 깨끗하다.
ku osun an kKaykkushata.
The clothes are not clean.

b. 그 옷은 못 깨끗하다.
ku osun mos kKaykkushata.

(9) a. 창수는 안 갈다.
Changswunun an kanta.
Changswu does (will) not go.

b. 창수는 못 갈다.
Changswunun mos kanta.
Changswu cannot go.

(10) a. 그 공은 이 구멍에 안 들어간다.
ku kongun i kwumengey an tulekanta.
The ball does (will) not go into this hole.

b. 그 공은 이 구멍에 못 들어간다.
ku kongun i kwumengey mos tulekanta.
The ball cannot go into this hole.

In (7) and (8) where stative predicates are used, mos cannot be used. In (9) and (10) where nonstative predicates are used, there are no such restrictions against either mos or an.

In the literature on Korean negation, the distributional differences have been noted, but no serious attempt has been made to explicate the semantic difference. However, the difference seems to be semantically motivated, and an attempt will be made to account for the difference in semantic terms. For the moment, let us confine our attention to the preverbal construction. First, the fact that the two markers have different distributions is a clear suggestion that they have different meanings. Second, the negation markers imply absence: with the stative predicates, they imply absence of state or quality; with the process verbs, they imply absence of process; with the action verbs, they imply absence of action. The two negation markers are the same to this extent, but beyond this, they must be distinguished from each other.

The sentences in (11a and b), contrast an and mos before action verbs.

Negation 315
(11) a. 코마가 밥을 안 먹는다.
kkomaka papul an meknunta.
The kid will not eat the rice.
b. 코마가 밥을 못 먹는다.
kkomaka papul mos meknunta.
The kid cannot eat the rice.

Both sentences in (11) imply absence of eating, but they are by no means synonymous. They differ in terms of a possible cause for the absence. The absence can be caused internally or externally. The verb mekta ‘eat’ is an action verb with an agent and the occurrence or non-occurrence of the action can be determined by the agent himself, that is, internally by his will. In such a case, the negation marker an is used and it might therefore be called an internal negation marker. On the other hand, the non-occurrence of the action can be caused by external factors, such as lack of cooked rice, no time to eat, physical discomfort, etc. This second type of absence is caused despite the agent’s desire, will or willingness. In this regard, mos may be called an external negation marker.

Returning now to the stative predicates, we observed that mos cannot be used with statives in the preverbal position. Can we account for the non-occurrence in terms of the semantic distinction made above? How can we explain the distributional difference of the following sentences?

(12) a. 이 고추는 안 밥다. / 못 밥다.
i kochwunun an maypta / mos maypta.
This pepper is not hot.
b. 이 빵이 안 차다. / 못 차다.
i maykhwunun an chata / mos chata.
This beer is not cold.

The stative predicates maypta and chata describe the quality of the pepper and the beer respectively, and the absence of the particular quality of the pepper or the beer itself. In other words, the absence of the quality is not regarded as causeable by outside factors. This is a reason why mos is not used with statives. So the gap (*mos+stative) is not accidental but semantically predictable.

With regard to the process verb, the occurrence or non-occurrence of the process can be thought to be dependent upon the entity involved but not upon the outside factors. This is reflected in the negative sentences below. In (b) a process verb elta is used. It can cooccur with an, but not with mos.

(13) a. 강물이 안 얼었다.
kangmwuli an elessta.
The water of the river did not freeze.
b. ?강물이 못 얼었다.
kangmwuli mos elessta.
The water of the river did not freeze.

Pragmatically, the non-occurrence of freezing can be brought about by different factors such as temperature, location, wind, etc. However, the expression (13a) with pre-verbal an negation, attributes the non-occurrence to the water itself, but not to the other factors.

In the post-verbal position, however, the negation marker mos can used just like an, as shown in (14) through (17).

(14) a. 그 사람 마음이 안 너그럽다.
ku salam maumi an nekulepta.
The man is not generous in heart.
b. 그 사람 마음이 너그럽지 않다.
ku salam maumi nekuleopci anhta.
The man is not generous in heart.
(15) a. 그 사람 마음이 못 느껴지다.
   ku salam maumi mos nekulepta.
b. 그 사람 마음이 느껴지지 못하다.
   ku salam maumi nekulepći moshata.
The man is not g eneuous in heart, according to the speaker's opinion.

(16) a. 그는 못 부자린다.
   kunun mos pwucilenhata.
b. 그는 부자린지 못하다.
   kunun pwucilenhaci moshata.
He is not diligent, according to the speaker's opinion.

(17) a. 그것은 못 좋다.
   kukesun mos cohtta.
b. 그것은 좋지 못하다.
   kukesun cohtci moshata.
The thing is not good, according to the speaker's opinion.

In (15-17), mos cannot appear preverbally, but it can appear postverbally. The reason for these different distributions will be presented in Section 2. In the discussion of an and mos, I pointed out that an is used when the absence of action or activity is thought to be caused by internal factors, and mos by external factors. In the (b) sentences in (15-17) we can find the same semantic distinction. The absence of a certain quality is not attributed to the inherent nature of the thing involved. Rather it is measured subjectively by the speaker. That is, it is measured by the speaker's norm, expectation, or standard which are not part of the inherent qualities of the entities involved. Thus, the (b) sentences are often used to make value judgements about a per-

son. Let us observe the following additional examples:

(18) 그렇게 하면 좋지 못해!
   kulehkey hamyen cohci moshay!
   It is no good if you do so!

Sentence (18) is not a factual description, but a value judgement.

6.2. Two Negation Constructions

There are three distinct constructions expressing negation. The two negation markers can appear (i) preverbally, (ii) post-verbally and (iii) after ke. There have been a number of studies on Korean negation, but the differences between (i) and (ii), and between (ii) and (iii) have not been successfully made. The main purpose of this section is to account for the differences between (i) and (ii).

6.2.1. The Post-Verbal Construction

When negation is expressed by the postverbal construction, the morpheme ci appears as in the following:

(19) 그 꽃은 예쁘지 않다.
    ku kkochun yeypucci anhta.
    The flower is not pretty.

Korean grammarians working on negation have treated ci simply as a complementizer. They have failed to notice that the particular morpheme can appear in other environments, such as those given in (20).
(20) a. 첫수 벌써 갔지?
    Chelswu pelse kassci?
    I presume that Chelswu went already, am I right?
b. 가지 말아라!
    kaci malala!
    Don’t go!
c. 아침은 먹었지만,
    achimun mekessciman,
    Although I ate breakfast, ......

With the distribution above we are compelled to ask the following questions: are all the \textit{ci}'s in (20) different morphemes that happen to be homophonous? Or do they have the same function and meaning? Most Korean grammarians seem to be inclined to treat them separately, not noticing any similarity among the \textit{ci}'s in (20). In this paper it will be argued that all the \textit{ci}'s in (20) are different manifestations of the same morpheme. Thus, a common basic meaning will be proposed to support this argument in the following section.

6.2.2. \textit{ci} and Its Basic Meaning

The morpheme \textit{ci} can be used in a matrix sentence as well as in an embedded sentence. In both cases, it has the same meaning. First, let us observe the meaning of \textit{ci} in the matrix sentence.

6.2.2.1. Matrix Sentence

In Korean there are grammatical morphemes which are related to speech acts. The morphemes are listed below with their rough pragmatic meanings:

(21) -ta (다) 'assertive'
    -ci (치) 'suspective'
    -na (나) 'dubitative'
    -la (라) 'imperative'
    -ca (자) 'proposative'

What concerns us here are the first three markers. The assertive marker -\textit{ta} is used when the speaker imparts some information that he assumes the listener does not know. The dubitative marker -\textit{na} is used to show that the speaker himself does not know whether a certain proposition is true or not. In between the two, there is another marker -\textit{ci}. This marker seems to be partly an assertive marker and partly a dubitative marker. In other words, -\textit{ci} seems to possess features belonging to both assertive and dubitative markers.

The speaker seems to use this form (-\textit{ci}) when he assumes that the listener tends to believe, or is likely to be leaning toward belief, or is committed to the propositional content. This marker can be used either as a question or as an answer, as can be seen below:

(22) 첫수 너 이제 영화 구경 갔지?
    Chelswu ne eecy yenghwa kwukyeng kassci?
    Chelswu, you went to see a movie, didn’t you?

The speaker asking the question (22) assumes that Chelswu went to see a movie and at the same time he also assumes that the listener will give an affirmative answer, which will confirm his suspicion. Thus, (22) is not a neutral question, but a biased one. It is used to confirm the speaker’s suspicion. This can be visualized in the following way:
The speaker's assumption in question (22)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{neutral} \\
-p & \quad +p \\
+P \text{ stands for the positive proposition (He went), and} \\
-\text{L stands for Listener} \\
\end{align*} \]

In other words, the speaker is biased toward the propositional content kunun kassta 'he went' and he wants to confirm his assumption.

The speaker's assumptions attached to (22) become clear when we compare (22) with a neutral question such as (23).

(23) 참수 너 어제 영화 왔나?
Chelswne ccee yenghwa kassni?
Did you go to a movie yesterday?

Normally, (23) does not imply that the speaker has certain assumptions with regard to the propositional content and the listener's reaction to it.

The morpheme ci has the same meaning in statement, too. Let us consider the following.

(24) a. 너 숙제 다 했나?
ne swukseya taa hassna?
Did you finish your homework?
b. 그림 다 했지.
kulem taa hassci.
Of course, I did (as you assume).

The speaker of (24a) uses a neutral question. However, the speaker of (24b) answers (24a) using the suspensive form, although he could use the assertive form hassa. The reason why the speaker of (24b) uses the suspensive form is that he assumes that the speaker of (24a) knows that the speaker of (24b) has finished his homework (See Figure 2). Thus, (24b) implies that the speaker of (24a) doesn’t have to bother to ask the question, since he already knows that the speaker of (24b) has finished his homework.

![Figure 2]

To summarize, the speaker uses the suspensive form ci when he assumes that the listener already believes in the truth of the information conveyed.

6.2.2.2. Embedded Sentence

The morpheme ci is also used in an embedded sentence as a complementizer or as a dependent noun. In (25) the morpheme is used as a complementizer and in (26) it is used as a dependent noun.

(25) a. 그 사람이 오늘 저 모르겠다.
ku salam onunci molukeysta.
I don't know whether he is coming.
not known. Likewise, oncë in (27) also presupposes that the listener knows of his coming. In other words, -ci is used when ‘his coming’ is known to the listener. Similarly, the two sentences in (25) are seldom used discourse-initially, because when ci is used, it is presupposed that the listener is aware of the information contained in the modifying clause.

6.2.2.3. Post-Verbal Negation

As mentioned in the introduction, there are two types of negation: preverbal and postverbal negation. The two types are exemplified below:

(29) 그는 안 갔다.
    kunun an kassta.
    He did not go.

(30) 그는 가지 않았다.
    kunun kacì arhassta.
    He did not go.

The two types of negation in Korean have been the object of heated discussions in Korean linguistics. Some grammarians claim that the two types of negation are free variants, whereas some others claim that they are not synonymous. But the arguments have been sterile and without substance because the discussions of synonymity have been based solely on truth values without the consideration of pragmatics. Furthermore, no one has attempted to associate ci in negation with the other ci’s we observed in 2. In this section, the ci in negation will be related to the other ci’s in terms of pragmatics, and the meanings of the two negations will be distinguished in terms of pragmatics.
First, let us examine the \textit{ci} in negation. One pragmatic function of \textit{ci} as a speech-act marker in the matrix sentence is to indicate the speaker's assumption that the listener is aware of the information and that the listener is inclined to accept the truth of the information. The function of \textit{ci} in negation is not different from the speech-act marker \textit{ci}. The speaker uses the post-verbal negation (with \textit{ci}) when he believes in the information and at the same time assumes that the listener is aware of the information (propositional content) and that the listener is likely to be committed to its truth. In other words, the post-verbal negation is used when the listener's belief is assumed to be tipped toward the truth of the information (propositional content). This can be represented in the following way:

\begin{align*}
(31) & \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{그는 가치} & \quad \text{b.} \quad \text{안하였다.} \\
& \quad \text{kunun kaci} & \quad \text{anhayessta.}
\end{align*}

The speaker assumes that the listener is tipped toward the propositional content (\textit{kunun kassta}) and the speaker asserts that the listener is wrong.

For the sake of presentation, a negative sentence is divided into two parts in (31). (31a) is the listener's potential belief of the speaker assumption. (31b) is the speaker's denial of the listener's potential belief. In this respect, the \textit{ci} in negation is not much different from the speech-act marker \textit{ci}.

This means that the post-verbal negation is used in language contexts where the corresponding affirmative has been mentioned, or seemed likely, or where the speaker assumes that the listener -- sometimes erroneously -- holds a belief in the truth of that affirmative. When the speaker denies the listener's firm belief in the truth of a proposition, the following pattern is used.

\begin{align*}
(32) & \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{그는 간 것이} & \quad \text{b.} \quad \text{아니다.} \\
& \quad \text{kunun kan kesi} & \quad \text{anita.} \\
& \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{The speaker thinks that} & \quad \text{b.} \quad \text{The speaker asserts that} \\
& \quad \text{the listener believes} & \quad \text{the listener is wrong} \\
& \quad \text{in the propositional} & \quad \text{content, and}
\end{align*}

For the sake of presentation, the negative sentence above is broken down into two parts. (32a) is the propositional content that the speaker thinks the listener firmly believes in, and (32b) is the speaker's denial of the belief. Notice that in (31) the verb \textit{hata} is used and in (32) the verb \textit{ita} is used. In Korean the verb \textit{ita} 'be', \textit{isssta} 'exist', and \textit{hata} are used in expressing modality (the relation between a proposition and its reality), and the verbs denote different degrees of certainty, with \textit{ita} denoting the stronger certainty and \textit{hata} denoting the weaker.

6.3. Distinction between Pre-verbal and Post-verbal negation

6.3.1. Assertion

In section 6.2.3, I pointed out that postverbal negation denies something that has supposedly been affirmed. Language is a system and each construction has its own function in the system. In the system of negation, the two negation constructions may sound, at times, synonymous, but a careful investigation may reveal their different functions. This leads us to assume that the functions of the two types of negation will not completely overlap. One possible difference would be that preverbal negation does not presuppose the speaker's assumption about the listener's knowledge and awareness, whereas postverbal negation does. Let us consider the following: suppose we are attending a class. The professor is writing something on the blackboard. The students
are copying it down in their notebooks. A student in the back row cannot read the professor’s writing on the blackboard. In this case, he will utter (33) rather than (34).

(33) a. 선생님, 글씨가 안 보입니다.
    sensayngnim, kulsikka an poipnita.
    Teacher, I cannot see the writing.

b. 선생님, 글씨가 보이지 않습니다.
    sensayngnim, kulsikka poici ansupnita.
    Teacher, I cannot see the writing.

In the given context, ‘not being visible’ is completely new to the professor and the student knows this. That is, the student does not presuppose that the professor is aware of the invisibility. No presupposition is involved and (33a) is appropriate.

Let us look at another context. Suppose the professor writes down something on the blackboard and asks a student in a back row to read it. In this case, (33b) would be much more appropriate because the professor’s command presupposes that he assumes that the student can read it. The student can deny this assumption of the professor by uttering (33b).

For an additional example, let us compare the following. Suppose my watch has stopped running and I take it to a repair shop. In this case, I can use either (34) or (35), but with different implications.

(34) 시계가 안 가서 가지고 왔습니다.
    sikyeeka an kase kaciko oassupnita.
    The watch is out of order, and so I came...

(35) 시계가 가지 않아서 가지고 왔습니다.
    sikyeeka kaci anase kaciko oassupnita.
    The watch is not running, and so I came...

In (34) the speaker does not presuppose any assumption as to the watch on the part of the listener. He simply tells the repairman that his watch has stopped running. This is new information to the repairman (listener). (35), on the other hand, presupposes the listener’s assumption: he may have repaired it previously and may have said that it works. The speaker of (35) is denying the listener’s assumption.

Thus, the preverbal negation is used in monologues where the speaker is not aware of the listener or his assumption about the listener’s presupposition. The following preverbal negations would be used in monologues:

(36) a. 차가 안 온다.
    chaka an onta.
    The car is not coming.

b. 야, 시계가 안 가네.
    a, sikyeeka an kaney.
    Ah, the watch is not going/running of something.

In (36) the speaker notices on absence of something and expresses it in a negative sentences. In (36a) he notices that a preverbal certain car is not coming and expresses it in a negative sentence. Similarly in (36b) he notices that his watch is not running and expresses it in a negative sentence, too. The postverbal negation would not be appropriate in these cases.

6.3.2. Question

The two types of negation when used in the question form are easy to distinguish unlike in assertions because they have completely different illocutionary forces. Compare the following sentences:

(37) a. 너 오늘 학교에 가니?
    ne onul hakkyoe kani?
    Are you going to school today?
b. 너 오늘 학교에 안 가니?
ne onul hakkyoey an kani?
Aren't you going to school today?

(38) a. 너 오늘 학교에 가지 않니?
ne onul hakkyoey kaci anhnii?
You're going to school today, aren't you?
b. 너 오늘 학교에 가지니? (contracted form of (38a))
ne onul hakkyoey kacyanhni?

The speaker is likely to utter (37b) rather than (37a) if he discovers a conflict in the truth value between his prior expectation that you will go to school and the present evidence which suggests that you will not go to school today. In (37b) the negative proposition expresses his doubt or surprise. The speaker of (37b) wants to know whether the negative proposition is true. But the speaker of (38) is not seeking to know whether the negative proposition holds or not. Instead, it is used to solicit the listener's acceptance or rejection of the proposition presented to him.

Compared with (37), (38) is much more involved in terms of presupposition. Roughly, (38) can be represented in the following way:

(39) a. 너, 학교에 가지 b. 안니?
ne, hakkyoey kaci anhnii?
I presume Aren't you?
you are aware Don't you?
you go to school.

The speaker is inclined to believe that the proposition (you go to school) is true, and he assumes that the listener will accept it. Thus, it is not surprising that the post-verbal negation is used as a retort as in the following examples.

(40) a. 너 공부해라.
ne kongpwuhayla.
You, study!
b. 너 공부하고 있어야!
na kongpwuhako isscanhna!
I am studying, am I not? (ain't I)
c. 너 공부 안 하고 있어!
na kongpwu an hako isshe!
I am not studying. / Am I not studying?

Utterance (40a) presupposes that the listener (40b) is not studying. But the speaker (40b) assumes that his listener (40a) knows that the speaker (40b) is already studying. As a result, (40b) roughly means: 'Why are you asking me to study when you already know that I am studying?' The assumptions involved can be broken down in the following way:

(41) a. The speaker (40a) assumes that
b. the listener is not studying.

(42) a. The speaker (40b) assumes that
b. the listener (40a) is aware or knows that
c. the speaker (40b) is studying.

There is a conflict between the speaker (40a)'s assumption and the fact (42c) which the speaker (40b) thinks that the listener (40a) should know. (40c), uttered with a rising intonation questions more directly the speaker (40a)'s presupposition that the listener (40b) is not studying.

Observe the following additional set of examples.
(43) a. 그만 먹어.
    kuman meke.
    Don't eat any more.

b. 안 먹고 있지 않아. (있냐아)
   an mekko issiianha.
   As you can see, I am not eating.

    Isn't it the case that I am not eating?

c. ?안 먹고 안 있어.
   an mekko an isse.

The speaker (43a) presupposes that the listener (43b) is still eating. The speaker (43b) assumes that the listener (43a) is aware that he (43b) is not eating. This can be illustrated in the following way:

(44) The speaker (43a) presupposes that
    the listener (43b) is eating.

(45) The speaker (43b) assumes that
    the listener (43a) is aware that
    he (43b) is not eating.

In other words, the speaker (43b) implies that the utterance (43a) is not necessary.

Notice, however, that (43c) in which two negative words appear in a row is unacceptable.

6.3.3. Imperative

The negation marker mos can be used in negative imperatives, but an cannot.

(46) a. 못 가야!
    mos kaa.
    Don't go!

b. 가지 못해.
   kaci moshay.
   You can't go!

(47) a. 안 가.
   an ka.
   I won't go!

b. 가지와.
   kaci anka.
   I won't go!

The two sentences in (46) can be interpreted as imperatives, but the two in (47) cannot be interpreted as imperatives though they are grammatical statements. The distribution is consistent with the meanings of the negation markers. The marker mos indicates absence by external factors, and imperatives in (46) indicate imposition of the speaker's will upon others. So the two can go well together. But the marker an and imperatives are not compatible.

Returning to the two sentences in (46), we find the negative imperative (46a) sounds much more abrupt than (46b). It is because the negative imperative (46a) is not based upon the speaker's assumption about the listener's intention, but upon some direct evidence which the listener shows (such as his act of going).

On the other hand, (46b) is used when the listener expresses his intention to go or at least when the speaker assumes that the listener is inclined to go. The point will be illustrated with the following pairs of sentences. Suppose a boy is reading D. H. Lawrence's novel Sons and Lovers, and his father notices it. Then he will forbid his son from reading it, using (48a) below rather than (48b).
(48) a. 너는 그것을 못 읽어.
   nenun kukesul mos ilke.
   You are not to read it.

b. 너는 그것을 읽지 못해.
   nenun kukesul ilkei mosheay.
   You cannot read it.

(48b), on the other hand, can be used in an argument between the father and his son. The son may have said that he is old enough to read it. The father refutes him by using (48b).

6.3.4. Delimiters

The two negative constructions behave differently with regard to some particles such as nun, to, man, na, etc. These particles can be used with the postverbal negation construction as in (49) below, but not with the preverbal negation as can be seen below in (50).

(49) a. 그는 그것을 보지도/는 못했다.
   kunun kukesul pocito/nun moshayssta.
   He did not even see it.

b. 제발 죽지나/안 말아라.
   ceypal cuwukina/man malala.
   Please don’t die.

(50) *그는 그것을 안도 보았다.
   kunun kukesul anto poassta.

The particle to can not occur after the negative morpheme an or the verb. This cooccurrence restriction makes the postverbal (but not the preverbal) negation suitable for denying the presupposition implied by the listener. As an example, let us examine the following conversational exchanges.

(51) a. 너 사랑 먹었구나?
   ne sathang mekesskwuna.
   You ate candy.

b. 아니 단 보지도 못했어요.
   ani nan pocito moshaysseyo.
   No, I have not even seen it.

c. 아니 단 못 보았다.
   ani nan mos poassta.
   No, I have not seen it.

Speaker (51a) thinks that his addressee (speaker (51b)) ate his candy and apparently he imputes the absence of candy to his addressee. The addressee, however, denies this and he does it indirectly by denying the presupposition implied by (51a). When we eat something, it is usually the case that we see the thing to be eaten. Thus, eating something presupposes seeing it. Speaker (51b) denies this presupposition, and implies how one can eat something without even seeing it. (51c) is not appropriate as an answer to (51a). Some additional examples are presented below.

(52) a. 그 영화 재미 있더나?
   ku yenghwa caymi istsenya?
   Was the movie interesting?

b. 보지도 못했어요.
   pocito moshaysseyo.
   I have not even seen it.

c. 못 보았어요.
   mos poasseyo.
   I have not seen it.

(53) a. 그 아이 학교에 갔니?
   ku ai hakkyoe kassni?
   Did the child go to school?
b. 아직 일어나지도 않았어요.
   ačik ilenacito anhasseyo.
   He has not even gotten up yet.

c. 아직 안 일어 났어요.
   ačik an ilenasseoyo.
   He has not gotten up yet.

The (b) sentences above deny a presupposition of the preceding utterance. The preverbal negation, however, cannot be used in this context.

In (51-52) the particle to is used with ci and the particle indicates that the to-attached verbs are in focus. But the verb in the preverbal negation cannot be put in focus, as we have seen in (50). Thus, when some element other than the verb is in focus, the preverbal negation is more appropriate. This point is illustrated in the following examples:

(54) a. 그 물건 다 팔았나?
   ku mulken ta phalassna?
   Did you sell all the goods?

b. 더가 됐나? 하나도 못 팔았습니다.
   taka mwepnikka? hanato mos phalassupnita.
   I have not even sold one thing, not to speak of all the goods.

(55) a. 다 왔나?
   ta oassna?
   Has every one come?

b. 아니요, 한명도 안 왔어요.
   aniyo, hanmyengto an oasseoyo.
   No, not one man came.

In (54-55) each answer uses the preverbal negation. One possible reason for this is that each question puts the quantifiers in focus but the responses do not have to put the verbs in focus.

6.4. Summary

Negation in Korean is expressed in four different ways. First, there are two morphemes expressing negation: an and mos. These morphemes have different meanings. In this chapter, an is characterized as an internal negation marker, for it denotes absence of a process of state, which is determined internally. On the other hand, mos is characterized as an external negation marker, for it denotes an absence of process or state caused by external factors.

Second, there are two types of negation constructions. In one type, the negative markers appear before the verbs, and in the other type, the negative markers appear after the verbs. The two types of negation constructions are generally considered to be synonymous but in this chapter it is shown that they are different from each other. The postverbal negation is more involved both semantically and pragmatically. It is commonly used to deny what the addressee holds or is thought to hold. The differences are illustrated with various examples.
Chapter 7 Nominalization

7.0. Introduction ............................................................... 341
7.1 Review of relevant studies ......................................... 341
7.2 Types of nominalizations ............................................. 346
  7.2.1. Second-order nominalization : -ki ...................... 349
  7.2.2. Third-order nominalization : -um .................... 356
7.3. Some grammatical morphemes with ki ....................... 359
  7.3.1. kela (거라) ..................................................... 360
  7.3.2. ketun (거든) .................................................. 364
  7.3.3. kena (거나) .................................................... 366
  7.3.4. key (개) ....................................................... 369
  7.3.5. key (개) (adverbializer) ................................ 372
7.4. Some further justifications ....................................... 374
  7.4.1. verb-ki verb-ta ............................................. 374
  7.4.2. -ki hata ....................................................... 375
7.0. Introduction

Nouns derived from verbs or adjectives will be referred to as nominalization. There are three major types of nominalization in Korean. To a large extent they are expressed by -i (원), -ki (거) and -um(감). The purpose of this chapter is to find out the meanings of each of the nominalizations. The semantics of the -i nominalization is rather clear-cut and poses no great difficulty. However the two remaining nominalizations (-ki and -um) have been a subject of intensive studies. But it seems to me that no study has yet differentiate the two types of nominalizations adequately.

7.1. Review of Relevant Studies

In this chapter it will be claimed that the three types of nominalizations reflect human perception and cognition, and that the Korean nominalizations confirm the findings presented in Lyons (1978), Givon (1979), and Vendler (1968). Lyons classifies nominals into three categories of first-order, second-order, and third-order entities in the following way:

1. first-order entities (physical objects):

   Under normal circumstances
   a. they are relatively constant like their perceptual properties;
   b. they are located at any point in time, i.e., psychologically at least, a three-dimensional space;
   c. and they may be referred to and properties may be ascribed to them.

2. second-order entities (events, processes, states of affairs)
a. they are located in time and are said to occur or to take place.
b. they may be identified and referred to as individuals;
c. they are much more obviously perceptual and conceptual constructs;
d. and there is no sharp distinction between an individual situation and a generic situation.

3. third-order entities (propositions):
   a. they are outside space and time;
   b. they are unobservable and cannot be said to occur or to be located either in space or time;
   c. they are ‘true’ rather than ‘real’;
   d. they can be asserted, denied, forgotten;
   e. and they can be reasons instead of causes.

Givon (1979:314-6) presents three generic features by which we classify the noun universe. They are “concrete”, “temporal”, and “abstract.” The three features, he said, are hierarchically ordered. Accordingly the nouns can be classified into three major categories, which correspond to Lyons’ ontological classification. Givon’s three features are translated in the following way in terms of space and time:

1. concrete: exist in space (first-order entity)
2. temporal: exist in time (second-order entity)
3. abstract: exist outside of time and space (third-order entity)

Predicates can be classified into various classes in terms of the three major features. Some types of predicates that Givon presents are as follows:

A. “Non temporal” and “nonspatial” predicates which occur with the three types of nouns:

1. The chair/ event/ idea is the same as the one we discussed a while ago.
2. The chair/ idea/ event is different.
3. The chair/ idea/ event is similar.
4. There’s a man/ event/ idea that is important here.
5. There’s a man/ event/ idea that is important here.
6. It’s this man/ event/ idea that is important here.
7. We talked about this man/ event/ idea.
8. Think about this man/ event/ idea.

B. Temporal predicates specific to temporal nouns: happen, occur, or take place

C. Concrete and temporal predicates:

1. The field begins here and ends there.
2. The concert begins here and ends there.
3. *My idea of freedom begins here and ends there.
4. *The conception of relativity began at 8:00 and ended at 10:00.
5. Chaos begins at 8:00, when they close the bars.
6. Chaos began at the gate and ended at the back fence.

In 5 and 6 an abstract noun chaos is used with temporal predicates. But it is interpreted not as a concept but as a state of chaos and an area of chaos respectively.

D. Concrete predicates:

Be behind the barn, break, bend, get lost, appear on the sense

Vendler (1968: 143–4) makes a similar threefold distinction: (1)
objects; (2) events, actions, processes; and (3) facts. Some characteristics of the objects are:

1. they have sizes and shapes;
2. one can touch them, look at them and see them from various angles and distances;
3. one can push and pull them, cut them and tear them apart;
4. all this and many other features can be summarized by repeating the truisms: objects are in space;
5. objects do not occur, begin or end;
6. they are in a place, but they do not take place at a certain time.

On the other hand, events and their kin are primarily temporal entities. And facts are not in space and time at all. They are not located, cannot move, split or be spread and they do not occur, take place or last in any sense. Nor can they be vast or fast.

So far in this section we have examined three classifications of nouns (entities). Although different terms are employed, the classifications are basically the same in nature. In traditional and transformational generative grammars, nouns are classified into abstract and concrete nouns. But the threefold division seems to be more adequate in that it can account for selectional restrictions generally more generally. In what follows we will apply the threefold classification to Korean nouns and see if it is valid in Korean.

As nouns are classified into three categories, predicates can also be classified into various classes in terms of the three features. As in English, there are nontemporal and nonspatial predicates which can also cooccur with the three categories of nouns. Predicational attitudes can occur with the three categories of nouns. Observe the following:

(1) 그 의자/ 전쟁/ 이념은 먼저 것과 같다.
ku uyca/cencauyng/ inyemun mence keskwa kattha.
The chair/war/idea is identical to the previous one.

(2) 그것은 필요한 의자/ 전쟁/ 이념이다.
kukusen philyohon uyca/cencauyng/injyemita.
That is a necessary chair/war/idea.

(3) 나는 그 의자/ 전쟁/ 이념을 생각한다.
nanun ku uyca/cencauyng/injyemul sayngkakha.
I am thinking of the chair/war/idea.

Some predicates are temporal and cooccur only with temporal nouns. They do not occur with concrete or abstract nouns:

(4) 그 지진/ 프림/ 수업은 열시에 시작한다.
kuk cyin/moin/swuepun yelsiey sikakha.
The earthquake/meeting/class begins at 10 o'clock.

(5) 그 의자/ 마음은 열시에 시작한다.
kuk uyca/maumun yelsiey sikakha.
The chair/mind begins at 10 o'clock.

There are some predicates which occur with abstract nouns but not with concrete or abstract nouns:

(6) 그는 잘못/ 의미를 깨달았다.
kunun calmos/uymilul kkatyalassta.
He realized the mistake/the meaning.

(7) 그는 의자/ 전쟁을 깨달았다.
kunun uyca/cencauyngul kkatyalassta.
?He realized the chair/war.
And some predicates occur only with concrete nouns:

(8) 그 책은 책상 위에 있다.
ku chaykun chayksang wiy istta.
The book is on the table.

(9) 그 사전 모임 눈리기는 책상 위에 있다.
ku saken moim nonlinun chayksang wiy istta.
The event/ meeting/ argument is on the table.

The facts presented above suggest that the threefold division is applicable to and necessary for the Korean nouns and predicates. What is more interesting, as will be clear later, is the threefold division. The -nominalization and its variants correspond to the concrete category (first-order nouns), the -ki nominalization to the temporal category (second-order nouns), and the -um nominalization to the abstract category (third-order nouns). In the following section, some justification will be offered for the correspondence.

7.2. Types of Nominalizations

There are three major types of nominalizations in Korean. They correspond to the three ontological categories of the first-order, the second-order, and the third-order entities. The first-order entities are expressed by the suffix -i and its variants. The second- and third-order entities are expressed by the suffixes -ki and -um respectively, as the following paradigms show:

(10) a. salta (살다) 'live'
b. sali (살이) 'utensil'
c. salki (살기) 'to live'
d. salm (살) 'life'

(11) a. tatta (닫다) 'close'
b. mitati (닫으러) 'sliding door'
c. tatki (닫기) 'to close'
d. tatum (닫음) 'closure'

(12) a. ustta (웃다) 'laugh'(V)
b. usey (웃에) 'laughable act'
c. uski (웃기) 'to laugh'
d. usum (웃음) 'laugh'(N)

(13) a. mitta (밀다) 'believe'
b. miti (밀이) ?
c. mitki (밀기) 'to believe'
d. mitum (밀음) 'belief'

(14) a. ssota (쏘다) 'shoot'
b. ssoi (쏘이) ?
c. ssoki (쏘기) 'to shoot'
d. ssoum (쏘음・쏘) 'shooting'

The -i suffix is not productive and it can be attached to some but not to all verbs. The suffixation might have been productive in the earlier forms of the language and might have been attached to verbs to create words referring to institutionalized objects, but it does not seem to be productive any more. With regard to -ki and -um suffixes, we have to note that some nominalizations are lexicalized, and we have to distinguish nonproductive lexicalized nominalization and productive sentential nominalization. For example, some -ki nominalizations are lexicalized and used to refer to some institutionalized events, and some form compound nouns with other temporal nouns. Observe the following:
In what follows we will disregard the nonproductive lexicalized nominals and focus on the productive sentential nominalizations.

### 7.2.1. Second-order Nominalization: 

The nominalizer 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kaki</td>
<td>가기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kaskki</td>
<td>갔기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>ka isski</td>
<td>가 있기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>ka issesski</td>
<td>갔 있었기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kako isski</td>
<td>가고 있기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kako issesski</td>
<td>가고 있었기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>kanunki</td>
<td>가는기</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>kanki</td>
<td>갔기</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (21) the nominalizer appears after the verb stem and the past tense marker. In (22) and (23) compound verbs are used and the nominalizer appears after the second verbs with or without the past tense marker, -ki and the aspect marker un are not used after the present tense marker as can be seen in (24). However in the following sentences kim is used which seems to be made up of -ki and -um. But nothing definite can be said at this point.

### (25) 

이왕 온 김에 만나고 가자.  

Iwang on kimnye manaiko kaka.

Let's see him since we came here.
The -ki nominalization can function as the subject or as the object of the verb or the postposition, as in the following:

(27) a. (이 캐운 일기)가 어렵다.
(i chaykun ilki)ka elyepa.
This book is difficult to read.
b. 나는 (그가 왔기)를 바란다.
nanun (kuka oaisiki)lu palanta.
I want him to have come.
c. (비가 오기) 때문에 나는 못갔다.
(pika oki) ttaymune y nanun mos kasta.
Because it was raining I was not able to go.

In (27a) the-ki nominalization is used as the subject, and in (27b) it is used as an object of the verb. In (27c) the nominalization stands in an appositive relation to the following noun ttaymun, which is optional.

So far in this section we have observed the distribution and function of the -ki nominalization. In what follows we will examine whether ki is a meaningless morpheme or a marker with a meaning of its own. In this chapter, it will be argued that the suffix -ki indicates existence (whether it is actually the case or not) of action, event, process, or situation. This means that the verb stem itself designates only the type of situation, a cover term for a process, an event, an action or a state. The verb stem alone does not indicate presence or absence of a situation. For example, the verb stem o- ‘come’ does not indicate whether the action it designates took place or is taking place; it simply designates a type of action.

In the main (non-nominalized) sentences the tense markers indicate the presence or absence of action or process. To see this, let us consider the following.

(28) a. 그는 이제 갔다.
   kunun ecey kassta.
   He went yesterday.
b. 그는 곧 갔다.
   kunun kot kanta.
   He is going at once.

The past tense marker ess indicates existence of action in the past. In (28a) the action of going took place and it does not exist at the moment of speaking. In another interpretation, it simply denotes irrealis. In (13b) the present (actual) tense marker indicates presence of action. The realization of the action falls within the sphere of the actual world. We can represent the two sentences in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ku, ka</th>
<th>propositional content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'he' go</td>
<td>ess/nun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>remote/nonremote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two sentences in (28) can be paraphrased in the following way according to the diagram above.

(30) 28a: the speaker asserts that an action referred to by ka actually took place and it does not exist now.

28b: the speaker asserts that an action referred to by ka takes place; it exists now.
The -ki nominalization can be represented in the following way:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{ka} & \text{designated action} \\
\hline
\text{ess/0} & \text{remote/nonremote} \\
\hline
\text{–ki} & \text{nominalizer (existence marker)} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

The nominalizer -ki not only makes what precedes it a nominal but also marks the resulting nominal as a second-order nominal: it designates existence (whether realized or not) of an action in question. Let us examine the following two sentences in the light of the above analysis.

(32) a. 나는 (그가 오기)를 기다린다.
    nanun (kuka oki)ul kitalinta.
    I wait for him to come.

b. ?나는 (그가 왔을)을 기다린다.
    nanun (kuka om)ul kitalinta.

In (32a) the -ki nominalization is used and the sentence is grammatical, but in (32b) the -um nominalization is used and the sentence is ungrammatical. We can account for this difference in a rather straightforward way: it is possible for us to wait for something that can move or change its location or state. The -ki nominalization refers to existence of action, process or event, but not to an abstract concept (which is expressed by the -um nominalization). Therefore, it is compatible with kitalita 'wait for'. On the other hand, the -um nominalization refers to an abstract concept or fact, which cannot be located in space and in time. And thus, it cannot be compatible with kitalita 'to wait for'.

The past tense marker ess in the nominalization indicates remotedness and also implies precedence to another event or situation. The -ki nominalization without ess can be interpreted as actual existence or expected potential existence, depending upon the matrix verbs. Now compare the following two sentences. In (33a) ess is not used but in (33b) ess is used.

(33) a. 비가 오기 때문에 길이 젖다.
    pika oki taymuney kili cila.
    Because it is raining, the road is muddy.

b. 비가 왔기 때문에 길이 젖다.
    pika oasski taymuney kili cila.
    Because it rained, the road is muddy.

In (33a) the event of raining is simultaneous with the state of the road being muddy. In (33b) the event of raining preceded the state of the road being muddy.

In the light of the present analysis we find that Martin's (1969:226-233) observation is very insightful. He notes that -ki denotes 'act' or 'state', depending upon the nature of the preceding verbs. For example, ttwi ki means 'an act of jumping', and iss-ki 'a state of being'. Martin's act and state can be subsumed under my general category existence. The category is defined as 'existence (actual or potential) of a situation (such as process, action, event, or state). Besides this, he lists some predicates that occur with the -ki nominalization. But he does not mention why they are compatible with the -ki nominalization. The following are some of the predicates he lists:
(34) sicakhata (시작하다)  'begin'
cohahata (좋아하다)  'like'
silhehata (싫어하다)  'dislike'
wenhata (원하다)  'want'
palata (바라다)  'hope' 'expect'

However, we can add many more predicates to the list:

(35) tumwulta (드물다)  'rare' 'infrequent'
ilswuta (일쑤다)  'frequent' 'customary'
elyepta (어렵다)  'difficult'
swipta (쉽다)  'easy'
tetita (더디다)  'be slow' 'take time'
papputa (빠쁘다)  'be busy'
cengsini epata (정신이 없다)  'be engrossed'
kwichanhta (귀하다)  'be annoying'
ccaeungi nata (확증이 나타나)  'fret'
kkuthnata (큰나다)  'end'
iluta (이르다)  'come to'
malenita (마련이다)  'be set to'
kwenhata (권하다)  'urge' 'encourage'
kocellhata (거절하다)  'refuse'
cakcenghata (제정하다)  'make up one's mind'
kyelsinhata (결심하다)  'decide'
kitalita (기다리다)  'wait for'

When we observe the meanings of the predicates above and the basic meaning of the -ki nominalization, it becomes clear that it is by no means accidental and idiosyncratic, but that the combination is very natural. The -ki nominalization is of second-order nominalizers, existing in time. Entities denoted by the -ki nominalization, existing in time, can begin or end just as the situations denoted by 'class', 'discussion', and 'meeting' can begin and end, or can take time, as the following examples show.

(36) a. 그는 풋을 물기 시작했다.
   kunun phwulul ppopki sicakhayahatta.
   He began to weed the garden.

b. 풋용기는 끝이 났다.
   phwul ppopkito kkuuthi nassta.
   The weeding came to an end.

c. 풋용기가 더디다.
   phwul ppopkita tetita.
   Weeding takes time.

Predictably in (36) the -ki nominalizer cannot be replaced with the -um nominalizer.

Again, neither concrete objects nor abstract concepts can be frequent or infrequent. On the other hand, what can exist in time (action, process, event, etc.) can be frequent or infrequent. Similarly, neither concrete objects nor abstract concepts can be easy or difficult. Thus, it is natural and expected that only the -ki nominalization can occur with ilswuta 'frequent', elyepta 'difficult', and swipta 'easy'.

(37) a. 그는 지각하기가 일쑤다.
   kunun cikakhakika ilswuta.
   He is frequently (customarily) late.

b. 이 문제는 풋기가 어렵다.
   i munceynun phwulkike elyepta.
   This problem is difficult to solve.

c. 이 풋사는 타지기가 쉽다.
   i phwungsennun theckikka swipta.
   This balloon can easily burst.

In (37) the -ki nominalizer cannot be replaced with the -um nominalizer.
7.2.2 Third-order Nominalization: -um

The nominalizer um can be attached (suffixed) to a verb stem or to the past tense morpheme, as the following paradigms show:

(38) a. kam (감) 'going'
b. kassum (갔음) 'having gone'

(39) a. ka issum (가 있음) 'going and being present somewhere'
b. ka isssum (가 있었음) 'having gone and been present somewhere'

The -um nominalization, like the -ki nominalization, can be used as the subject, and as the object of the verb or the postposition, as in the following:

(40) a. (그가 홍청겠음)이 분명하다.
    kuka hwumehissum pwnnymenghata.
    It is evident that he stole it.

b. 그는 (그 문건을 홍청겠음)을 자인했다.
    kunun (ku mulkenul hwumehissum)ul cainbysstta.
    He admitted that he stole the thing.

c. (날씨가 추워짐)에 따라, ...
    nalssika chwuecimte ttala, ...
    As the weather gets chilly, ...

In terms of distribution and function, the -um nominalization and the -ki nominalization, can be the same. However semantically the two nominalizations are completely different. Unlike the -ki nominalization, the -um nominalization does not have the meaning of the temporal existence. It conveys only the propositional content. In this sense, it is abstract and corresponds to what Lyons calls the third-order nouns (see Section 2). Some main characteristics of third-order entities are that they are unobservable and cannot be said to occur or to be located either in space or in time, but that they can be asserted or denied, remembered or forgotten. Thus, they can be used as the objects of propositional attitudes.

The following are some of the predicates that occur with the -um nominalization.

(41) alta (알다) 'know'
    kkaytatta (개달다) 'realize'
    icta (잊다) 'forget'
    saynkakhata (생각하다) 'think'
    nukkita (느끼다) 'feel'
    mitta (믿다) 'believe'
    palkhita (말하다) 'make clear'
    ttwulyeshta (두령하다) 'be clear'
    thullimi epsta ( 돌아림이 없다) 'be correct' 'be true'
    incenghata (인정하다) 'admit'
    pulinha (무언하다) 'deny'
    cencehyata (전제하다) 'presuppose'
    mullonita (물론이다) 'to be sure'
    pwnnymenghata (분명하다) 'be evident'
    calanghata (자랑하다) 'boast'
    ipeunghata (일종하다) 'attest'
    cungmyenghata (증명하다) 'certify'
    hwakinhata (확인하다) 'make sure'
    sangkhata (상기하다) 'recall'
    cachaykhata (자책하다) 'accuse oneself'

In the following examples the two nominalizers are contrasted. Note that only the -um nominalizer is acceptable while the -ki nominalizer is not.
The verbs of the matrix sentences in (42) correspond well with the -um nominalization, but not with the -ki nominalization. It is because we can believe or confirm facts about some process, event, or situation, but we cannot believe or realize temporal existence of a process, event, or situation itself.

The predicates used in (43) are compatible with third-order nominalizations, but not with second-order nominalizations, because what can occur or is occuring can be real or unreal, but not true or untrue.

With regard to the reporting verbs we have the same result. We can report some fact about an event a process, a situation, etc... but not the event, the process or the situation itself.

The verbal connective ketun "when" (which contrasts with umyen (으연) "if") cannot be analysed into two morphemes synchronically, but in terms of meaning it seems to be made up of ki + etun. Lastly, there is a morpheme which is used widely in the causative construction. It is key (개). Traditionally, it is treated as an adverbializer and a complementizer, and it is also regarded as a single unanalyzable morpheme. But here it will be argued that -key is made up of the two morphemes -ki and -ey. The first element -ki is the temporal existence marker and the second element ey is a postposition of goal marker, meaning 'to'.

To summarize Section 3, we have observed the two nominalizers -ki and -um. The -ki nominalization corresponds to what Lyons calls the second-order nominalis, and the um nominalization to what he calls the third-order nominalis. The -ki nominalizations refer to entities that exist in time whereas the -um nominalizations refer to entities that exist neither in time nor in space. There are some cooccurrence restrictions between the nominalizers on one hand and some predicates on the other hand, and the compatibility between them is found to be consistent and predictable.

7.3. Some Grammatical Morphemes with -ki

There are few pairs of grammatical morphemes, one of which contains -ki, and the other does not. The imperative marker ela (으라), for example, has a variant form kela (게라), and the verbal connective una (으나) has a variant form kena (거나). The members of each pair have been regarded as free variants without any difference in meaning. But in this section it is argued that kela and kena have the existence marker -ki (nominalizer) in them. Thus, they can be analysed in the following way: kela = ki + ela ; kena = ki + una.

The verbal connective ketun "when" (which contrasts with umyen (으연) "if") cannot be analysed into two morphemes synchronically, but in terms of meaning it seems to be made up of ki + etun. Lastly, there is a morpheme which is used widely in the causative construction. It is key (개). Traditionally, it is treated as an adverbializer and a complementizer, and it is also regarded as a single unanalyzable morpheme. But here it will be argued that -key is made up of the two morphemes -ki and -ey. The first element -ki is the temporal existence marker and the second element ey is a postposition of goal marker, meaning 'to'.
7.3.1. kela (거라)

There are two imperative forms. One is expressed by ela and the other by kela, as can be seen below.

(45) a. 자다  자라  자거라  'sleep'
cata  cala  cakela

가다  가라  가거라  'go'
kata  kala  kakela

있다  있이라  있거라  'stay'
isata  issela  isskela

b. 읽다  읽이라  읽거라  'read'
ilkta  ilkela  ilkkel

보다  보이라  *보거라  'see'
pota  poala  pokela

잡다  잡이라  잡거라  'hold'
capta  capala  capkela

c. 잡고 있거라  잡고 있이라  'hold'
ilkko isskela  ilkko issela

보고 있거라  보고 있이라  'hold'
poko isskela  poko issela

잡고 있거라  잡고 있이라  'hold'
capko isskela  capko issela

The sentence-ender kela has some distributional restrictions. It can be used with some verbs but not with others. The verbs which can be used with kela are or are thought to be continuative in nature. The verbs in (45b) cannot be used with kela. But the verbs which appear in the progressive aspect can be used with kela as can be seen in (45c), where the kela forms sound more natural than the ela forms.

The two forms of imperative have been regarded as synonymous, but in actuality they are not. Imperatives expressed by ela is used when the speaker for the first time names the action to be carried out by the addressee. On the other hand, imperatives expressed by kela are used when the speaker reminds or prompts the addressee to carry on an activity he is doing or thinking of doing at the moment of utterance. Thus, kela is used when the existence of an action to be carried out is presupposed. To make this last point clear, let us compare cala with cakela. cala simply names an action and cakela prompts the addressee to go on or carry out what he is doing or is thinking of doing (in this case, sleeping). An appropriate context for cakela might be the following: suppose A was sleeping and B came to see him. At the sound of B's approach A woke up and was trying to get up, but still looked very sleepy, and seemed to want to go back to sleep. In such a case, the naming of the action is not important: it is presupposed. What is important here is the continuous temporal existence of the process of sleeping, which had been going on, and the speaker uses cakela.

Let us observe the following additional examples:

(46) a. 이 실 끝을 잡아라.
i sil kkuthul capala.
Hold this end of the string.
b. 이 실 끈을 잡거나.
i sil kkuthul capkela.

(47) a. 이 실 끈을 잡고 있어라.
i sil kkuthul capko issela.
b. 이 실 끈을 잡고 있거라.
i sil kkuthul capko isskela.
Be holding this end of the string.

Sentence (46a) is used to tell the listener what to do when the listener is not holding the line or when he is not aware that he should do something. In other words, it is used to call the listener's attention to a type of action. In the above situation, (46b) is awkward, because it asks the listener to continue the action when the type of action itself is not understood or presupposed. On the other hand, (47b) can be used when the listener is already holding the line, and the speaker wants him to keep on holding it. In this case, the naming of the action is not so important, because it is presupposed. What is important here is the continuous existence of the action.

Let us consider another case. A is leaving B's house after visiting him. B is also out to see A off. In this context, the going is pragmatically presupposed, and the kela form is more appropriate than the ela form as shown below:

(48) a. 조심해서 가라.
cosimhayse kala.
Go carefully.
b. 조심해서 가거라.
cosimhayse kakela.
Go carefully.

Lastly, let us think of the following situation: A visited B and it was getting late, so B suggested that A go. A said that he would.

But, engrossed in chatting, he seemed to have forgotten to go. After a while B urges that A go. In the case of the first suggestion (49a) is more appropriate and in the case of the second urging, (49b) is more appropriate.

(49) a. 이제 그만 가라.
icai kuman kala.
Now you have stayed long enough, go.
b. 이제 그만 가거라.
icai kuman kakela.
Now you have stayed long enough, and so go.

It was observed in the preceding paragraph that capkela is somewhat awkward and that the awkwardness is not confined to capta 'catch', 'hold' alone. The verb capta 'catch' is instantaneous, and all the instantaneous verbs are awkward in their kela form. In (50) some instantaneous verbs are listed showing their awkwardness in the kela forms. However, their corresponding progressive forms can appear in the kela form naturally.

(50) a. ? capkela (잡거리)
? chikela (치거리)
? chakela (차거리)
? kamkela (감거리)
'catch'
'hit'
'kick'
'close (the eye)'

(51) capko isskela (잡고 있거라)
chiko isskela (치고 있 거라)
chako isskela (차고 있 거라)
kamko isskela (감고 있 거라)

On the other hand, non-instantaneous verbs can occur with the kela imperative forms freely, as can be seen below:
In this section we will examine the differences between (u)myen and ketun. When a speaker uses myen, he merely puts forth a name of an action for consideration. He simply suggests an idea without paying much attention to its realization. On the other hand, when a speaker uses ketun, the nature of the action is pragmatically presupposed: it may have been mentioned or it could be understood by context without being specified or named. And what the speaker is interested in is the realization (existence) of the action. Consider the following conversational give-and-take:

(56) a.올여름에 하와이를 갈까한다.
oh-yelumey hawaliul kalkkahanta.
I am thinking of going to Hawaii this summer.

b.가디른 내 친구를 만나보아라.
kaketun nay chinkwulul mannapoala.
When you go, look up a friend of mine.

The idea of going to Hawaii has been put forth in (56a) and the name of the action is presupposed for the speaker of (56b). So what matters to the speaker of (56b) is not the name of the action but its existence, and so ketun is used.

Observe the following similar case:

(57) a.철수는 오늘 세시에 오기로 약속했다.
Chelswu onul seysiey okilo yaksokhayesta.
Chelsu promised to come at three o'clock today.

b.내가 없을 때 오기로 가다리라고 해라.
nayka epsul tay oketun kitafilako hayla.
If he comes while I am away, tell him to wait.

In (57a) the speaker mentioned Chelswu’s coming, and the speaker of (57b) assumes that the idea or notion of coming is presupposed and that the name of the type of action is not at issue. That is, he is
interested in the realization of someone's coming.

In some cases, a certain idea can be pragmatically presupposed.

For example, a doctor prescribes medication for a patient and asks him to come back if the medicine does not work for him. In this case, the idea of getting well can be pragmatically presupposed by the medication. What matters afterwards is not the idea, but the existence of getting well. The following sentence illustrates the point made above.

(58) 이 약을 드시고 안 낫겨든 다시 오십시요.
    i yakul tusiko an nasketun tasi osipsio.
    If you do not get well after taking this medicine, come again.

7.3.3. kena (거나)

Compare the following two sentences. In (60a), the connective -una is used and in (60b) its corresponding -kena is used.

(60) a. 그 사람은 오나가나 말쟁이다.
    ku salamun ona kana malssengita.
    He causes trouble whether he comes or goes.

b. 그 사람이 오거나 말거나 말쟁이다.
    ku salamun okena malkena malssengita.

(61) a. 그 사람이 오나가나 나는 상관하지 않는다.
    ku salam onakana nanun sangkwanhaci anhnunta.

b. 그 사람이 오거나 가거나 나는 상관하지 않는다.
    ku salam okena kakena nanun sangkwanhaci anhnunta.

Both connectives can be glossed as 'whether', but they have different cooccurrence restrictions and their distribution shows that they are different in their meaning. In (60a) the speaker puts forth different names of actions without reference to their actual realization. In (61b) the idea (or name) of an action is presupposed and what is at issue is the realization of the action.

In order to see the difference more clearly, let us observe the following conversational give-and-take.

(62) a. 철수가 또 싸웠단다.
    Chelswuka tio ssawesstanta.
    I heard that Chelswu fought again.

b. 그 아이는 오나가나 말쟁이다.
    ku ainun onakana malsensgita.
    The child makes trouble whether he comes or goes.

c. ?그아니는 오거나 가거나 말쟁이다.
    ku ainun okena kakena malssengita.

The idea of coming and going is neither explicitly mentioned nor implicitly implied in (62a), and the idea is first suggested in (62b). In such a case the use of the connective una is possible but its corresponding kena is not. We can find the reverse situation in (63) below.

(63) a. 철수가 내일 온다며.
    Chelswuka naiyi ontata.
    I heard that Chelswu is coming tomorrow.

b. 그런 친구 오거나 말거나, ...
    kulen chicinkwu okena malkena, ...
    (I don't care) whether that kind of fellow comes or not.

Observe the following additional examples. In (64-65) the types of action mentioned in the (b) sentences are already mentioned in the (a) sentences, and kena is appropriate but una is not.
(64) a. 사람들은 본다. 차워다.
salamtuli ponta. chiwela.
People are looking at it. Put it away.
b. 보거나 말거나. (?보나마나)
pokena maika. (ponamana)
(I don't care) whether they see it or not.

(65) a. 그 치녀 내일 시집간다.
ku chenyenayil sicipkanta.
The maiden will be married tomorrow.
b. 가거나 말거나, • (?가나마나, •)
kakanma maika. • (kanamana, •)
(I don't care) whether she marries or not.

In (66-67) the (b) sentences put forth alternative actions which are not presupposed nor implied by the preceding utterance, and so una is used.

(66) a. 엄마, 나는 그 사람들하고 살기 싫어요.
emma, nanun ku salamhako salki silhoyo.
Mom, I don't want to live with the man.
b. 보나마나, 너희들 또 씨앗으구나.
ponamana, nehitulo to ssaaweskwuna.
I can see that you two fought again, without even having seen it.

(67) a. 편지 왔어요.
phyencu oaseyo.
A letter came.
b. 읽으나 마나, 난 다 알아.
ilkuna mana, nan ta ala.
I know whether I read it or not.

7.3.4. key (계)

Traditionally key was regarded as a single unanalysable and meaningless morpheme. But in this section it is argued that it is actually made up of two morphemes ki 'existence' and ey 'to'. In order to see this clearly, let us first compare the following two sentences.

(68) a. 나는 (그가 오기)를 바란다.
nanun (kuka okey)ul palanta.
I expect him to come.
b. 나는 (그가 오기)된다.
nanun (kuka okey) mantuleessta.
I made him come.

In (68a) what is expected is not the abstract concept of coming but the temporal existence of coming. The expected existence is expressed by the nominalizer -ki. However, the mental act of expecting in no way affects the process mentioned. What is made in (68b) is a process of his coming. This process is expressed by the nominalizer -ki. However, the verb mantula 'make' is different from palata 'expect'. In the case of mantula, the denoted action can be directed to an object and the object can be affected; or it can be directed to some material and some object can be affected as in (69).

(69) 그는 그 관자로 책상을 만들었다.
kunun ku phancealo chaykansul mantulessta.
He made the board into a desk.

In (69) the action of mantula is directed to the board and as a result a desk comes into being. The difference between (68b) and (69) lies
in the kinds of the objects: In (68b) a second-order nominal is used as the object and in (69) a first-order nominal is used. However, in both cases, the action is directed to a third entity. This outward direction of the action is explicitly marked by ey in the case of the second-order nominal, although it is not marked in the case of the first-order object.

The first- and second-order entities can be used with the verb mantulta, but not the third-order entity. It is because the first-order entities can undergo change in size, shape, color, location, etc., and the second-order entities can also undergo change (from nonexistence to existence, and vice versa). But the third-order entities, being abstract, do not undergo any such changes. The following sentence, in which the third-order entity is used as an object, is ungrammatical.

(70) ?나는 (그 아이가 울음)에 반응했다.
nanun (ku alika wulum) ey mantulessta.

In the preceding paragraphs it is suggested that the goal marker ey denotes the goal to which the action of 'making' is directed, and (68b) can be paraphrased in the following way: the agent (‘I’) did something to bring into existence the baby’s crying. This paraphrase corresponds rather closely to Lyons’ definition of causativity, which he defines in the following way: “But what do we mean by causativity? The abstract predicative CAUSE employed in the previous paragraph, takes a first-order nominal in its subject and a second-order nominal as its object (or complement). It most naturally reflects, therefore, the notion of causality, according to which agents are seen as the causes of the situation which by their actions, they bring into existence.”

However, the goal marker ey can be interpreted in a different way. In (69b) the agent brings into existence a situation which would not take place without the agent, and the goal marker ey denotes a goal to which the agent’s action is directed. In addition, ey can denote the goal of change of state. An entity can change from state 1 to state 2, and the goal marker denotes the final state. The following sentence can illustrate the point.

(71) 나는 (그가 가게) 내버려 두었다.
nanun (kuka kakey) naypelye twuessta.
I let him go.

In (71) the main verb naypelye twuara means ‘to leave alone’, which in turn means that the agent does not exert any influence upon the process of his going. The postposition ey is used because his going is a new state brought about. His not going is a first state and his going is a second state. This last state is expressed by key.

So far we used the verb mantulta ‘make’ as a causative verb. But this is by no means the only causative verb in Korean. Any verb that can be perceived to bring about a change of state, or to bring into existence a state, a process, an event, or a situation can cooccur with the key construction. Some sentences illustrating the point are presented below:

(72) a. 나는 아이를 (병이 들게) 때렸다.
nanun ailul (moeng tulkey) ttyayyessta.
I beat the child black and blue.

b. 그는 생선을 (시켜 맛게) 구웠다.
kunun sayngsenul (sikhemehkey) kwuessta.
He roasted the fish black.

c. 나는 아이를 (웃지 않게) 때렸다.
nanun ailul (wulci anhkey) ttyayyessta.
I calmed the child to stop him from crying.

d. 나는 (그가 밤 가게) 반대했다.
nanun (kuka mok kakey) mallyessta.
I dissuaded him from going.
In (72a) there are two events: someone hitting a child, and the child being bruised. The first event caused the second event. In other words, the second event was brought into existence by the first event. Similarly, there are two events in (72b): someone roasting a fish, and the fish becoming black. The first event caused the second event to come into existence. The remaining two sentences (72c,d) can be accounted for in the same way. In all sentences key denotes existence of a situation newly brought about.

7.3.5. key (개) (adverbializer)

With the analysis presented above we can automatically account for the so-called adverbial use of key. In Korean there are two kinds of adverbs derived from adjectives: one uses the suffix -(h)i and the other uses the suffix -key. A few sets of examples are presented below.

(73) kkaykkushata (개_EMIT) "clean"
    kkaykkusi  (개_EMIT) "cleanly"
    kkaykkushakey (개_EMIT) "to be clean"

(74) malkkumhata (말_EMIT) "tidy"
    malkkumhimi (말_EMIT) "tidily"
    malkkumhakey (말_EMIT) "to be tidy"

(75) ttokttokhata (폭_EMIT) "clear"
    ttokttokhi (폭_EMIT) "clearly"
    ttokttökakey (폭_EMIT) "to be clear"

In this section the two forms of adverbs will be contrasted and characterized semantically. The hi form simply describes the agent’s action without implying any change of state. The key form, on the other hand, implies change in a concomittant situation. Let us consider the following examples:

(76) a. 그는 슬퍼 울었다.
    kunun sulphi wulessta.
    He cried sorrowfully.

b. 그는 슬프게 울었다.
    kunun sulphukey wulessta.
    He cried, (causing the people around him to be sad).

The hi form in (76a) simply describes the manner in which the subject is crying. The key form also describes the manner in which the crying takes place. But in addition it implies change of state: maybe he was not crying sorrowfully at one point, but later he began to cry sorrowfully, or his crying made the people around him sad. The two sentences in (76) seem to be almost synonymous and interchangeable, but when some further context is given, only one is possible as in the following:

(77) 그는 옆에 있는 모든 사람이 슬프게/슬퍼 울었다.
    kunun yophey issnun motun salami sulphukey/sulphi wulessta.
    He cried, making the people around him sad.

The same distinction can be made with regard to sentential adverbs. Let us consider the following:

(78) a. 다행히 그는 살아왔다.
    tahaynghi kunun salaoassta.

b. 다행하게 그는 살아왔다.
    tahaynghakey kunun salaoassta.
    Fortunately, he lived through it.
tahayngi in (89a) describes the speaker's evaluation about his coming back alive; his return is fortunate. On the other hand, tahaynghakey in (78b) conveys the same evaluation but in addition implies that there occurred some change of state. His returning alive brought about some change in the state of affairs. That is, his return made things better.

7.4. Some Further Justifications

In what follows we will observe some constructions in which -ki and -um behave differently.

7.4.1. verb-ki verb-ta

There is a special construction which is used when the existence of a state, a process, an event, etc. is in dispute. This clearly supports our claim that the nominalizer ki is a marker of temporal existence. Consider the following.

(79) a. 이 시계 다 망가졌다.
i sikyey ta mangkacessta.
This watch is completely broken.
b. 그레도 가기는 간다.
kuleyo kakimun kanta.
Nevertheless, it does go.

(79a) implies that the watch is not running, and the existence of running is in dispute. In order to emphasize the existence of running, the emphatic construction is used. One thing to note is that a delimiter, which shows contrast, addition or delimitation, must be used. This means that the construction is not used when there is no presupposition as to the dispute, but that it is used when the existence is in dis

pute.

Consider the following:

(80) a. 그 사람 엣지녁에 시끄러워서 못 잤겠구나.
ku salam eccenyeyekey sikkulewese mos caskeysskwuna.
I presume that he might not have slept well last night.
b. 불을 쌓기만 잡 자라.
hwulkwul cakiman cal catela.
He slept very soundly.

The speaker (80a) presumes that the man did not sleep well, and the speaker (80b) contradicts him, emphasizing the existence of the sleep.

7.4.2. -ki hata

The kinominals can be the objects of the verb hata 'do' but the um nominals cannot be, unless the noun cil 'act' is used.

(81) 아이들이 쓰[너기/?님을]을 잘 한다.
aituli ewul[nemki/nemun] ul cal hanta.
The children are skipping rope.

(82) 아이들이 [달리기/?달림]을 한다.
aituli [tallik/tallim] ul hanta.
The children are engaged in a tug of war.

(83) 아이들이 꽃[차기/?참]을 한다.
aituli kong [chaki/? cham] ul hanta.
The children are kicking balls.

The examples below show that cil occurs only with the um nominals.
(84) 아바니가 [달림/?달리기]질을 한다.
Mother is ironing.

(85) 소가 [세김/?세기기]질을 한다.
The cow is regurgitating.

(86) 누이가 [까 бум/?까불기]질을 한다.
Sister is winnowing.

Some nominals with un can combine with hata to produce stative predicates, as in the following:

(87) kkyalkkumhata ( 얼마함하다) ‘neat’
kyalumhata ( 꾸며함하다) ‘slender’
kemukkulumhata ( 가무끄름하다) ‘blackish’

In some cases, cik is added to the unnominals to produce stative predicates, as in the following:

(88) mitumcihkata ( 달음직하다) ‘reliable’
palamcihkata ( 마람직하다) ‘desirable’
issumcihkata ( 입음직하다) ‘likely to exist’
mekumcihkata ( 백음직하다) ‘good to eat’

A process of deriving compound nouns using one of the two nominals is productive. But there are some restrictions. When the first element is the kinominul, the second element must be a second-order noun. On the other hand, when the first element is the unnominul, the second element must be either first-order or third-order nouns.

(89) cwultaliki sihap
‘contest of tug of war’

iwus topki wuntong
‘neighbor helping campaign’

twimtwiki wuntong
‘jumping exercise’

The second elements in (89), sihap, wuntong are second-order nouns. In (90) below, the second elements are not second-order nouns. If the second elements denote ‘manner’, ‘nature’, ‘tendency’ etc., only the unnominal can be used.

(90) iummay ( 이음매) ‘manner of connection’
pwuthimseng ( 옷입성) ‘affability’
olumsay ( 오름세) ‘tendency to rise’
anumcimsay ( 안움세) ‘manner of sitting’
Chapter 8  Tense-Aspect-Modality

8.0. Introduction ........................................... 381
8.1. Tense .................................................. 384
  8.1.1. Actual Tense .................................. 384
  8.1.2. Remote Tense (I) ............................. 388
  8.1.3. Remote Tense (II): ess-ess ................. 392
8.2. Aspect ............................................... 394
  8.2.1. Aspect in Matrix Sentence .................. 394
  8.2.2. Aspect in Modifying Clauses ................. 401
8.3. Modality ............................................ 417
  8.3.1. Nouns used with j 'be' ...................... 419
  8.3.2. Nouns used with iss 'exist' ................ 427
  8.3.3. Nouns used with al/molu 'know/not know' 429
  8.3.4. Nouns used with the verb ha ............... 430
8.4. Summary ............................................ 433
8.0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the Korean tense-aspect-modality (henceforth, TAM) from a different angle.

Langacker (1978) presented a very interesting paper titled "The form and meaning of the English auxiliary." There he suggested interesting directions for the analysis of the Korean TAM. His analysis seems to make it possible to integrate form and meaning to a degree that has not been possible up to now.

The following concepts will be constantly employed in this chapter:

**Tense**

It relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually the moment of speaking. However, it will become clear that the meaning of tense is a derived meaning, not a basic meaning. Joos (1968: 121) recognizes two tenses: remote tense and actual tense. The remote tense has the basic meaning that the referent (what is specified by the subject—verb partnership) is absent from that part of the real world where the verb is being spoken.

**Aspect**

Comrie (1976: 3–5) defines aspect in the following way: aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. He recognizes two aspects: perfective and imperfective. Verbs in perfective aspect present a situation in its totality without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole situation is presented as a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one. Verbs in imperfective aspect make explicit reference to the internal temporal constituen-
Modality

Joos (1968:149) defines it as a specific relation between a situation and the real world, and as a specific set of terms of admission for allowing it a real world status. There is no truth value attached to sentences with modality. Langacker's (1978: 855) epistemic distance roughly corresponds to this relation.

Reality

Joos (1968:861) sets up two kinds of reality. In a broad sense, one is made up of both the previous and the present existing circumstances: the other, in a narrower sense, constitutes the present — the locus of the speech situation (actual reality). Reality contrasts with potentiality on the one hand, and with unreality on the other hand. The relation between them can be represented in the following way:

unreality
potentiality
reality

Figure 1

Ground

It refers to a platform or a perspective from which a situation is viewed. It expresses a judgement or viewpoint of the speaker. In an embedded sentence there can be a surrogate ground from which the embedded situation is viewed (see Langacker, 1978: 857).

Situation

This will be used as a cover term for a state, an event, or a process. States are static, continuing as before unless changed. Events are dynamic processes which require a continual input of energy if they are to come to an end. Events are dynamic situations viewed as a complete whole (viewed perfectly), whereas processes are dynamic situations viewed in progress from within (viewed imperfectively) (see Comrie, 1976: 13).

Basic Meaning

It will be assumed that each grammatical morpheme has one basic prototypical meaning from which inferential meanings can be derived.

The following morphemes are used in the Korean TAM:

1. Tense-aspect markers in the matrix sentence:
   a. (n)un (∥) actual tense
   b. ess (∥∥) remote tense (I)
   c. essess (∥∥∥) remote tense (II)

Note: The actual tense has two forms: nun is used after a consonant-final verb stem, and un is used after a vowel-final stem, e.g. kanta 'go'; capnunta 'catch'

2. TAM constructions
A. matrix sentence

a. -e iss (이있): perfective
b. -ko iss- (고 있): imperfective (I)
c. -ko iss- (고 있더): imperfective (II)

Note: -e is a goal marker like 'to' in English, and iss is an existential verb meaning 'exist'. ko denotes 'partitive.'

B. embedded sentence

a. -un (은): perfective
b. -ten (은): imperfective (past)
c. -nun (은): imperfective (present)
d. -ul (을): unrealized, unspecified

3. Combined forms

a. essse (있더): completion-imperfective
b. essul (있을): completion-unspecified

4. Modals

In expressing modality, the following dependent nouns are used:
es, ek, tay, evul, swu, tus, ppen, pa, chey or chek, etc.

3.1. Tense

3.1.1. Actual Tense

In Korean there are basically two tenses: the actual tense and the remote tense. The actual tense refers to the existence of a situation in an area which includes the speaker's platform. Traditionally, the actual tense is regarded as referring to a point in time. The actual tense in the sense defined above is more flexible. Depending upon the height of the platform, the area the speaker commands will vary. If the platform is high, it will command a wider area; if the platform is low, it will command a narrower perspective. This means that the area covered by the actual tense is relative. In the following diagram, Ground (G) is the place where the speaker stands, the circles are the different areas that he can command.

![Figure 2](ground.png)

In its narrow use, the actual tense indicates an event which is synchronous to the moment of speaking. For instance, in demonstration, the demonstrator can comment upon his demonstration, and his comment and demonstration can overlap, as in the following examples.

1. 이 두개를 열고 새를 넣는다.
   i ttwukkengul yelko sayul nehnunta.
   Now I open this lid and put the bird in.

2. 자 이 수건 안에 이 새를 넣습니다.
   ca, i swuken aney i sayul nehaanunita.
   Now I put this bird in this towel.

The wide use of the actual tense can be illustrated with verbs
denoting mental activities. In the following sentence, the verb mita is used. The actual tense does not indicate that the mental process of believing takes place at the moment of speaking. Rather, it means that believing is valid throughout the area of the ground covered by the actual tense.

(3) 나는 그가 겁쟁이라고 믿는다.
    nanun kuka kepengilako mitunanta.
    I believe he is a coward.

When the actual tense is regarded as the speaker's platform, we can account for the following apparent discrepancy.

(4) 그는 지금 침다.
    kunun cikum canta.
    He sleeps now.

(5) 나는 조금 있다 침다.
    nanun cokum issta canta.
    I will sleep after a while.

cikum 'now' and cokum issta 'after a while' refer to two different points in time. However, the same form canta 'sleep' is used. With regard to this, we can ask the following question: is it simply a coincidence, or is it a reflection of a common feature? The second alternative seems to be preferable for the following reason. Sentence (4) is used to describe or report an actual occurrence of sleeping at the time of speaking. Sentence (5) refers to a sleep that will take place after a while. However, from the speaker's viewpoint, the sleep in the future is within the area covered by the ground and is as real or actual as the one that occurs now. Observe the following additional examples:

(7) 그녀는 곧 돌아 온다.
    ku nyenun ko tola onta.
    She comes back soon.

(8) 우리는 내일 떠난다.
    wulinun moyil tenanta.
    We leave tomorrow.

The actual tense can have a derived sense and it is used to describe habits, truths or general facts. The following sentences express habits. But the habits can be steady or sporadic. But this does not make any difference as long as it is valid in the area covered by the actual tense.

(9) 우리는 매주/가끔 정구를 한다.
    wulinun moycwu/kakkum cengkwulul chinta.
    We play tennis every week/once in a while.

In the following sentences, the actual tense describes general facts.
The degree of separation between the present platform and the past situation is not important as long as the situation and the actual reality are thought to be separated from each other. The distance between them can be long or short, as can be seen in the following examples.

(12) 나는 지금 맥 점심을 먹었다.
    nanun cikum mak cemsimul meketsa.
    I just had lunch.

(13) 나는 많섯간 전에 점심을 먹었다.
    nanun tasessikan ceny cemsimul meketsa.
    I had lunch five hours ago.

The remote tense in the two sentences above denotes that the process of eating came to an end, and it is in the area separated from the actuality. But what can come to an end is not limited to processes; habits can also come to an end, as can be seen in the following sentences:

(14) 그는 최근에 운동을 많이 했다.
    kunun choykuney wundongul manhi hayssta.
    He did a lot of exercise recently.

(15) 그는 작년까지 교회를 일심히 다녔다.
    kunun cakyenikkaci kohoyey yelsimhi tanyessta.
    He went to church regularly until last year.

hayssta denotes that exercising was a past habit, and is not valid now. Likewise, tanyessta above denotes that going was a past habit and it is not in the actual area now.

In colloquial speech ess can denote future events as in the following:
(16) 너는 발각되면, 혼났다.
nenun palkaktoymyen honnanta.  
If you are discovered, you will be punished.

(17) 그는 난일이라, 죽었다.
kunun nayilimyen cuuokessta.  
By tomorrow, she is dead.

The adverb nayil indicates that the sentence is something about a future event, but it is expressed in the remote tense. Thus the two elements of the adverb and the tense seem to be contradictory. But in actuality, they are not. There can be two different interpretations for this. One is a shift of the speaker’s ground. The speaker places himself at a future point in time. From the point, the addressee’s punishment is a past event. In other words, it is a future situation but it is regarded as an established fact.

Another possible explanation might be that in Korean the world is divided into actuality and non-actuality. What is non-actual is expressed by the remote tense. The non-actual world can be past worlds, hypothetical worlds and future worlds. This is not peculiar to Korean, as the following examples suggest:

(18) In the year A.D. 2201, the interplanetary transit vehicle Zeno VII made a routine journey to the moon with thirty people on board.

The remoteness we examined above belongs to the past reality. However, there are other kinds of remoteness: a situation can be separated from the speaker’s platform or the actual reality because it belongs to unreality. Conceptually it is not difficult to draw a line between reality and unreality. When we think that a situation belongs to unreality, we can easily imagine that there is a demarcation line, separating the two. So a situation thought to belong to unreality is also expressed by ess, as can be observed in the following sentence.

(19) 우리도 벌리 갔으면 좋겠구.
wulito ppalli kassumyen cohkeyssta.  
It might be good if we went now.

Sentence (19) is used when the action of going is not taking place. kassumyen is counterfactual and makes a hypothetical assumption which is contrary to fact or just something not thought of as a fact. The speaker is talking about going as a part of unreality.

Some objection might be raised that the unreality is expressed not by kass, but by -umyen. The objection is partially true in that -umyen is a marker of unreality. However, when we compare the following two sentences, the meaning of ess as a marker of remoteness will become clear.

(20) a. 우리도 갔으면 좋겠구.
wulito kassumyen cohkeyssta.  
It might be good if we went.
b. 우리도 가면 좋겠구.
wulito kamyen cohkeyssta.  
It might be good if we go.

Sentences (20a) and (20b) are both conditional clauses. But they differ from each other in the nature of condition. The condition in (20a) is counterfactual, but that in (20b) is an open condition. (20a) presupposes that we are not going. On the other hand, (20b) is neutral; the condition may or may not be fulfilled. In other words, the condition of going in (20b) belongs neither to unreality nor to reality.

The two instances of remoteness discussed above can be represented in the following way:
Conditions contrary to fact in the past reality are expressed by esstelamye. They will be discussed in section 8.1.3. after the aspect marker te is presented in Section 2.

8.1.3. Remote tense (II): ess-ess

In the preceding section (1.2) we observed that the marker ess indicates remoteness or separation from the actual reality. Specifically it indicates that a situation referred to is absent in the actual reality where the speaker's platform is located. When ess-ess is used, another platform is set up at a point in the past reality. For the sake of convenience, let us distinguish the two esses by superscripts: ess1-ess2. ess1 expresses the remote tense viewed from a platform in the past. ess2 expresses the remote tense viewed from a platform in the actual tense. So ess1—ess2 indicates that a situation is viewed from a platform in the past reality, which is removed from another platform in the actual area, so that the situation is further removed from the actual area. The difference between ess and ess-ess is represented in the following:

In Figure (5a) only one platform is set up in the actual reality, but in Figure (5b) there is another platform (G'). This may account for a greater epistemic distance in native speakers when ess-ess is used.

Now let us compare the following two sentences in which ess and essess are contrasted.

(21) a. 그 때 한강물은 맑았다.
ku tgay hankangmulun malkassta.
At that time the water of the Han River was clear.

b. 그 때 한강물은 맑았다.
ku tgay hankangmulun malkassesa.
At that time the water of the Han River had been clear.

The speaker of (21a) looks at a situation (the water being clear) from his platform in the actual reality, whereas the speaker of (21b) looks at a situation from a surrogate platform set up in the past reality. In both sentences the objective distance between the platform in the actual reality and the situation may be the same, but the epistemic distance of ess-ess seems to be far greater in the case of (21b).

Then, where does the greater psychological distance come from? This leads to another question: when does a speaker use ess-ess instead of ess? It seems that the speaker uses ess-ess when he thinks that the view of a past situation from his plat-
form in the actual reality is blocked by changes in the state of the world. That is, the state of the world he lives in now is completely different from one at some earlier point in time. Returning to (21b), the speaker may use it feeling that the present state of the world is not a natural continuation of the previous ones. The water of the Han River now is seriously polluted because of industrial wastes. At some point in the past the water was not polluted. The states of the world at the two points are not connected naturally. In such a case he sets up a surrogate ground in the past reality and views a situation backwards. This may create a sense of detachment and account for a greater psychological distance in the native speakers of Korean.

A somewhat similar but different case is the reporting of the past actuality in the actual tense. When a speaker is reporting or describing a past situation, he can get so deeply involved in the situation that he may forget his platform in the actual reality and project himself to the scene he is describing. In such a case, the speaker uses the actual tense. It is as if he has stepped out of the actual reality and placed himself in the actual past, and relives the past by using the actual tense.

8.2. Aspect

8.2.1. Aspect in Matrix Sentence

8.2.1.1. Resultative and Imperfective

The resultative aspect in the matrix sentence is expressed by the construction (1) and the imperfective aspect by (2).

(1) verb stem-e issta
     - at exist - E

(2) verb stem-ko issta
     - on exist - E

The suffix e in (1) is a goal marker and ko in (2) is a partitive marker. The goal marker indicates that a process referred to by the verb stem has come to an end. The existential verb is, which follows e, indicates that the subject is located at the end of the process. In this sense, (1) can be characterized as a perfective with a resultative meaning. The partitive marker indicates that a point somewhere in the middle of a process and the existential verb indicates the subject is at the point within a process. The two aspectual constructions are exemplified below.

(3) 그 개구리는 죽어 있다.
    ku kaykwulunun cwuke issta.
    The frog is dead / The frog is in the state of being dead.

(4) 그 개구리가 뛰고 있다.
    ku kaykwulika twiko issta.
    The frog is jumping.

In (3) -e in cwuk-e denotes the end of a process of dying and the verb is denotes existence. Thus, the sentence as a whole denotes that the frog is in the dead state. In (4) -ko in twi-ko denotes a point somewhere between the beginning and the end of an activity or a process, and the verb is likewise denotes existence. Thus, the sentence as a whole means that the frog is jumping. (literally it is in the middle of process of jumping.)

8.2.1.2. Imperfective Aspect (II): tela

The marker tela is made up of two morphemes, te and la. te is an imperfective aspect marker which is to be discussed in this section. In
is a sentence-ender, be which needs a separate treatment. However, nothing further will be said about it here other than that it indicates the speaker's nonchalant attitudes and appears with imperative markers such as ke and ne as in -kela, -nela, etc.

As an imperative, te indicates that the speaker saw a process at some point in the middle of a process. He only saw a midway point, and he does not know about its beginning and its end. This means that the speaker may not know what has happened to the process after the point of observation, that is, he does not know, for example, whether the process has come to an end or not. This is represented in the following diagram.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 6

Now let us compare the following two sentences.

(5) 철수는 조금 전에 도서관에 있었다.
    Chelswunun cokum ceny tosekwaney issessta.
    Chelswu was in the library a while ago.

(6) 철수는 조금 전에 도서관에 있다.
    Chelswunun cokum ceny tosekwaney istela.
    I saw Chelswu in the library a while ago (since then I have been away from it and) I do not know where he is.

The speaker of (5) views the situation (Chelswu being in the library) from outside of it and presents it as a complete whole. On the other hand, the speaker of (6) first views the process (Chelswu being in the library) from inside of it at a certain point in the past (G') and then reports it at G. Thus, he is not sure about the place of his being between G' and G.

From the basic meaning of te, various inferential meanings can be drawn. For example, as an answer to (7) below, the three sentences in (8) can be used with differences in meaning.

(7) 철수 지금 어디 있나?
    Chelswu cikum eti issna?
    Where is Chelswu now?

(8) a. 조금 전에 도서관에 있었다.
    cokum ceny tosekwaney issessta.
    He was in the library a while ago.

b. 지금 도서관에 있다.
    cikum tosekwaney issta.
    He is in the library now.

c. 조금 전에 도서관에 있었다.
    cokum ceny tosekwaney istela.
    I saw Chelswu in the library a while ago (since then I have been away from it and I do not know where he is).

Let us suppose that the speaker of (8) saw Chelswu in the library a while ago. Assuming this, the speaker can use any of the three sentences in (8). But they differ from each other in terms of naturalness and the speaker's commitment. (8a) cannot be a direct answer to (7); the inquirer wants to know about Chelswu's present whereabouts, but (8a) does not provide the necessary information directly, since it gives Chelswu's previous location. (8a) is the least natural answer. (8b) is more natural than (8a) in that it provides information about Chelswu's present whereabouts. However, he can be
wrong: he saw Chelswu a while ago and in the meantime Chelswu may have left the library. He provides information that he is not sure of. (8c) seems to provide an appropriate amount of information — not too much or too less. So the speaker can never be wrong. He is not committed to the present whereabouts of Chelswu, who may or may not be in the library at the time of speaking. For this reason, the imperfective marker te seems to convey a non-committal attitude or reservation on the part of the speaker.

Let us examine another pair of examples in which the imperfective marker tela seems to impose a processual meaning where it is normally not allowed.

(9) 그 영화 재미있었나?
    ku yengwha caymiissessna?
    Was the movie interesting?

(10) a. 그래 재미있었다.
    kulay caymiissetela.
    Yes, it was interesting on my part.

b. 그래, 재미있다.
    kulay, caymiissetela.
    Yes, it was interesting on my part.

The speaker of (10) expresses his view about a movie he saw. But the two answers in (10) differ in their shades of meaning. (10a) describes his seeing the movie as a single unanalyzable whole, whereas (10b) describes it as an on-going process. Here, there seems to be discrepancy: seeing a movie from beginning to end is a complete event but tela forces one to interpret it imperfectively. How can this discrepancy be reconciled? It is true that when the speaker utters his view on a movie after seeing it completely, there is no room for the imperfective aspect.

Yet seeing a movie can be viewed imperfectively. When a movie is playing at a theater, the presentation is repeated. One person's seeing it is but a portion in the repeated process, and one person's opinion about it is nothing but a part of the possible responses. Viewed in his way, seeing a movie and saying something about it can be interpreted imperfectively. In its imperfective interpretation, (10) implies the speaker's reservation: the movie was interesting to him, but he is not committed to a subsequent viewer's opinion. Notice that in (10b) two platforms are used, but they are not occupied by the same speaker. The first platform is occupied by the speaker, but the second one is occupied by the inquirer — a potential viewer. This is represented in the following way:

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8.2.1.3. Imperfective Aspect (Ⅲ) : ess-te

The meaning of the compound form can be derived from the meaning of the individual morphemes despite an apparent discrepancy. ess as a remote tense marker indicates absence of an event referred to in the actual tense and usually implies completion, but te as an imperfective aspect marker indicates an on-going process and its relation to a subsequent point. At first glance completion and on-going process look incompatible. But the two concepts may be considered compatible if it is not a single event but a process made up of a series of events. Let us examine the following:

(11) 철수 숙제 다 했나?
     Chelswu sukeeyu haassna?
     Is Chelswu almost through with his homework?
(12) 연어 숙제만 다 했더라.  
    yenge sukceyman ta hayestela.  
(When I saw him) he finished only the English assignment  
(but I am not sure of the rest of his assignments).

Suppose the speaker of (12) saw or observed that Chelswu finished his English assignment an hour ago. On such an assumption, the speaker can use (12) as an answer to (11). However, there is a discrepancy mentioned in the preceding paragraph: ess indicates completion and tet on-going process. They look incompatible. Nevertheless they are perfectly acceptable and natural. How can we explain this apparent discrepancy? It can be resolved in the following way: all we have to do is think that the English assignment is just one part of a series of assignments Chelswu had to do. The speaker of (12) checked just one completed part of the process and so he cannot say anything definite about the rest of his assignments. This is illustrated in the following figure.

```
English  math  history  ......  G  
```

Figure 8

When the assignment in English alone is considered, it is a completed event. But when all the assignments are considered, they can form a process, and can be viewed imperfectively although the English assignment is completed.

Let us observe another similar example:

(13) 그 집 다 자이가나?  
    ku cip ta ciekana?  
    Is the house almost through?

(14) 일주일 전에 갔을 때, 가동은 다 세웠더라.  
    il cwiul ceny kassul ttay, kitwungun ta seyestela.  
(When I went there a week ago, I saw that) all pillars were set up (but I cannot say anything about the rest of the process).

Building a house involves a process made up of a series of different events such as ground-breaking, setting up pillars, laying bricks, etc. What the speaker observed is just one part of the process and he is not committed to the rest.

In 8.1.2. we discussed counterfactual conditions, that is, conditions contrary to fact in the actual reality. However, there can be counterfactual conditions in the past reality. The compound form ess-tetela is used to express such a condition, as can be see in the following.

(15) 그 때 같이 갔더라면 죽었을 것이다.  
    ku tlay kauh kastelamyen cuwukessul keyta.  
    If (we) had gone together, I might have been killed.

kass is in the remote tense form and it can indicate either a past reality or an unreality. But myen "if" restricts it to unreality. And tetela denotes the speaker's non-committal attitudes toward realization of going. The final combined form kass-te-la-myen becomes a marker of the counterfactual condition in the past.

8.2.2. Aspect in Modifying Clauses

The modifying clause in Korean shares some similarities with the
English relative clause and there are four morphemes used in the modifying clause. They are: un, ten, and ul. They are illustrated with the verb mek ‘eat’. Note that ten and ul can cooccur with the remote tense ess.

(1) a. mekun (먹은) perfective
    b. mektan (먹던) imperfective (I)
    c. meknun (먹논) imperfective (II)
    d. mekul (먹을) unrealized or unspecified

(2) a. ?mekessun (먹었은)
    b. mekessten (먹었던)
    c. ?mekessun (먹있는)
    d. mekessul (먹을음)

The first three forms in (2) end with the consonant n, and they share a common semantic feature of ‘realized’, whereas the last form (2b) does not have the same meaning. Although it might be possible to think that the form n may reflect a common semantic feature, this possibility will not be pursued further.

In what follows, each of the aspect markers will be examined and it will be shown that these markers are used to express different ways of viewing situations in the modifying clauses.

8.2.2.1. Perfective Aspect: un

The speaker uses un when he looks at a situation as an unanalysable whole. He does not divide it into parts: beginning, middle and end. He sees the whole of a situation from beginning to end as a unit. This is a perfective view of a situation. In order to see a situation, the observer must be at a distance from the situation. When he is too close to the situation, he cannot see all of it. When we want to see a whole building, we must be at a distance from it. This is the perfective view and it can be represented in the following way (3a). The viewpoint is separated from the situation. This may be one of the reasons why the perfective aspect is often identified as the past tense.

(3)

When we are inside a building, we can see only a part of the building; we cannot see the ends of the building. This is the imperfective view, which is represented in (3b).

Whether a given situation is represented as perfective or imperfective is not determined by the situation itself but by the speaker. Suppose someone read a few pages of a book. He can refer to the book either as (4a) or (4b).

(4) a. 내가 읽은 책 ‘the book that I read’
    b. 내가 읽던 책 ‘the book that I was reading’
    c. 내가 읽을 책 ‘the book that I was to read’

(4a) views the situation perfectively. He sees the situation as a whole. In contrast, (4b) views the situation imperfectively. He sees it in part. In this view, the reading of the book is not finished.

In what follows, let us observe the relation un and some classes of verbs such as accomplishments, achievements, activities, and states. Both accomplishments and achievements have terminal points. But
they differ from each other in that accomplishments arrive at their goal cumulatively whereas achievements instantaneously. In (5), some examples of accomplishments are presented.

(5) a. 그 사람이 지은 집이 가장 좋다.
ku salami ciun cipi kacang cohta.
The house that the man built is best.

b. 그 사람이 쓴 책이 가장 재미가 있다.
kusalamisun chayki kacang caynika issata.
The book the man wrote is most interesting.

c. 어머니가 한 세타가 따뜻하다.
emenika qan sethaka ttattushata.
The sweater that Mom knitted is warm.

The accomplishment verbs with un mean that the logical goals of the processes denoted by the verbs have been reached. In (5) a house, a book and a sweater have come into being as results of the processes denoted by the accomplishment verbs.

In (6), the achievement verbs are used, with un denoting that the logical goals have been reached.

(6) a. 내가 잡은 토끼는 크다.
nayka capun thokkinun khuta.
The rabbit that I caught is big.

b. 내가 찾은 책은 좋은 것이다.
nayka chacun chaykun cunuy kesita.
The book that I found is John's.

c. 내가 한 공은 멀리 갔다.
nayka chin konjun melli kassta.
The ball that I hit flew far.

The verbs capta, chacta and chita are used and these verbs arrive at their goals instantly. And these verbs with un also denote that the goals have been reached.

There are some transitive verbs whose objects denote instruments. These verbs do not have terminal points. In this respect, these verbs behave like activity verbs (to be presented below).

(7) a. 우리가 쓴 품은 날았다.
wulika ssun thopun nalkassta.
The saw we used was old.

b. 그가 뜨른 연은 날아가 버린다.
kuka ttuywun yenun nalaka pelyessta.
The kite that he flew flew away.

In (8), some activity verbs are used which do not have their terminal goals. Their perfective form denotes that an activity took place, regardless of whether a goal has been achieved or not.

(8) a. 운동장에서 뛴 학생들은 벌을 받았다.
wungtongcangayo eyet tetun hakayntuglul pelul patassta.
The students who made noises on the playground were punished.

b. 노래를 부른 학생들은 상을 받았다.
nolaylul pwulin hakayntuglul sangul patalus.
The students who sang received prizes.

c. 밖에서 일을 한 농부가 집에 돌아왔다.
potheyeye ilul han nongpwuka cipay tolaoassta.
The farmer who worked in the field came home.

In (8a), for example, making a noise does not have any terminal point, and as soon as he made a noise, we can say that he made a noise. In (8b), the students were engaged in an activity of singing and we can say that they sang, as soon as they sang. The same thing can be said of a farmer who works in the field. As soon as he starts working we can say that he worked.
8.2.2.2. Imperfective (I): ten

In the preceding section we examined the meaning of un. It is the marker of the perfective aspect. It is used in viewing a situation as a whole. There is another aspect marker which views a situation in the middle. In other words it views some part of a situation and cannot see the whole picture of the situation. This is diagrammatically represented as in (9) below.

The dotted area is the whole process and the shaded area in the dotted line is part of a situation that the speaker can observe. Notice that the shaded area does not include the two ends (beginning and end) of a situation. This is an imperfective view of a situation. In what follows, we will observe the meaning of ten with the different classes of the verbs.

First, when ten is used with the accomplishment verbs, it means that the situations denoted by the verbs is in the middle of the situations, and did not reach their goals, at the time of the speaker's observance.

(10) a. 우리가 짓던 집이 무너졌다.
    wulika cisten cipi munecyessta.
The house we were building collapsed.

b. 우리가 짓던 집들이 아직도 눈에 띄입니다.
    wulika cisten cipi akikto nwinen tuiinta.
The kinds of houses that we were building are still noticeable.

cisten cip itself is ambiguous. It can refer to a specific house as in (10a) or a type of houses as in (10b). Thus in (10a) the imperfective form means that the house was not completed: the speaker views the situation in its middle. In (10b), not a particular house but a type of houses is in question. The subject 'we' was engaged in building a certain type of houses. The period takes up just a part of the period of the history of the houses. The subject may have stopped building the type of the houses but others may have continued to build them. From the expression cisten cip, we do not know when the type of houses began to be built and when it began to disappear. Let us observe another example.

(11) a. 어머니가 스웨터가 안 보이다.
    emenika ccaten sethaka an pointa.
The sweater that mother was knitting is not seen.

b. 그 공장에서 10년 전에 짓던 스웨터가 또 옷으로 보이다.
    ku kongcangye seccyen ceny ccaten seethaka yokkumto pointa.
The kind of sweater that the factory was producing about ten years ago is still seen around.

In (11a) a specific sweater is implied and ccaten means that mother was in the middle of a process of knitting a sweater. So the sweater was not completed. In (11b) not a particular but a type of sweaters is involved and ccaten focuses on a period of time when they were being produced.
(12) a. 내가 아직 찾아 봤던 책은 틀내 나타나지 않았다.
   nayka ecey chaeten chaqyun kluunay nathanac anhassta.
   The book I was looking for did not turn up.

b. 내가 아직 찾아 봤던 책을 오늘에야 찾았다.
   nayka ecey chaeten chaqkul onunepya chacasssta.
   The book I was looking for yesterday I found today.

'chaeten' means that one was engaged in looking for something, and is noncommittal as to the final result, because it focuses on a portion (exclusive of the initial and final ends) of the process of looking for a book. Thus, the two sentences in (12) are possible.

With the verbs of consumption, the imperfective form can be ambiguous as can be seen in the following sentences. Let us first observe the following examples:

(13) a. 내가 마신 술은 참 독하다.
   nayka masin swulun cham tokhata.
   The alcoholic drink I had is very strong.

b. 내가 마신 술은 참 독하다.
   nayka masiten swulun cham tokhata.
   The alcoholic drink I was having is very strong.

Each sentence (13a) can be ambiguous. Sentence (13a), for example, can be interpreted at least in two different ways. In one reading, 'masin' swul means an alcoholic drink one consumed on a particular occasion. In another reading, it is interpreted generically and means a kind of alcoholic drink the speaker used to drink. In the following diagram, the shaded area of the bottle is the part that one consumed. The consumed part has a beginning and an end. Focusing on this area alone, the speaker can use 'as in (13a)'.

In (13b) the speaker can focus his attention on the whole bottle and the drink is not finished yet.

Sentence (13b) is also ambiguous. In one reading, 'masiten' swul denotes the remaining portion of an alcoholic drink after the subject's consumption of it consumed. In another reading, 'swul' is interpreted generically and it means, a kind of alcoholic drink. The subject used to drink it but he is not drinking it any more, so the drink itself may still be remaining. The subject's consumption of it takes up only a portion in the history of the drink. The shaded bottle in (14) forms only a part and so it does not exhaust the type of drink, thus, it is imperfective.

Let us examine additional pairs of sentences.

(15) a. 우리가 먹은 빵은 맛이 있다.
   wulika mekun ppaungun masi ista.
   The bread we had is very tasty.

b. 우리가 먹던 빵은 맛이 있다.
   wulika mekten ppaungun masi ista.
   The bread we were eating is very tasty.

(16) a. 그가 마신 국은 맛이 좋다.
   kuka masin kwukun masi cohta.
   The soup he had is very delicious.
(17) a. 우리 가 옛 푸른 여관은 서양식이었다.
    wulika mwikun yekwanun seyangsikiessta.
    The inn we stayed at was western style.

b. 그 때 우리 가 옛 푸른 여관은 서양식이었다.
   ku ttay wulika mwukten yekwanun seyangsikiessta.
   The inn we were staying at was western style.

(18) a. 우리나라 자라 품은 시골이었다.
    wulika caulan kosun sikliessta.
    The place we grew up is in the countryside.

b. 우리나라 자라 품은 시골이었다.
    wulika cauten kosun sikliessta.
    The place we were growing up is in the countryside.

In (17a) the speaker looks at the inn some time after staying at the inn. In (17b) he looks at the inn with a viewpoint from inside the inn. Similarly, in (18a) the speaker views the place from a viewpoint after growing up, and in (18b) he views it from a viewpoint in the process of growing up.

In the following examples, the head nouns are time expressions, and these can be viewed in two different ways:

(19) a. 우리나라 그 곳에 산 해는 1963년이다.
    wulika ku kosey san haynun 1963nyenita.
    The year we lived there is 1963.

b. 우리나라 그곳에 살던 해는 1963년이다.
    wulika ku kosey salten haynun 1963nyenita.
    The year we were living there is 1963.

In (19a) the speaker looks at the year (1963) in its entirety, but speaker (19b) looks at the year as a part of a larger whole: that is, his life. Living at the place is a part of his life.

8.2.2.3. Imperfective Aspect (Ⅱ): nun

When a situation is synchronous with a reference time, the speaker uses nun. Usually, the reference time is the time of utterance, but some other point of time can be the reference point.

In the following examples, the reference time is the time of utterance:

(20) a. 저기 텔레비전을 막은 분이 제의 선생님이시다.
    ceeki thayksilul thanun pwuni ceuy sengsayagnimisita.
    The man who is getting in a taxi is my teacher.

b. 저기서 노래를 씀이 분이 내 동생이다.
    cekise nolaylul hanun pwuni nay tongsayngita.
    The person who is singing over there is my brother.

c. 물을 볶는 물에 손을 넣지 마시오.
    kkuhnhun muley sonul nehci masio.
    Don’t put your hand in the boiling water.

The underlined part in each sentence in (20) describes a situation which is taking place at the time of utterance. In (20a), for example, a certain man is getting in a taxi and the speaker describes him almost synchronously. In (20b), someone is singing a song and the speaker is describing it. In (20c) the speaker refers to the water when it is boiling.

In the examples we examined above, the objective situations and their verbal descriptions are coincidental. This can be represented as in (21a). But sometimes, the two are not coincidental.
at the time of utterance which makes the use of nun possible.

In the preceding examples, the reference point is the time of utterance, but some other point in the past can be a reference time. Observe the following examples:

(24) a. 그 때 자는 아이를 깨웠다.
ku ttay canun ailih kkaywessta. (They woke up) a child who was sleeping then.
b. 음동방에서 노는 아이를 테리고 갔다.
wuntoncgangeyse nonun ailih teliko kassta. (They took) the boy who was playing in the ground.

In (24a) nun is used, but sleeping is not taking place at the moment of speaking, but at a point in the past when the child was awakened. The sleeping is synchronous to the waking. Similarly, in (24b), the boy's playing is synchronous to taking him away.

8.2.2.4. Unrealized or Unspecified Aspect: ul

The marker ul denotes that a situation is yet to be realized. Observe the following examples:

(25) a. 이것이 내가 먹을 사과이다.
ikesi nayka mekul sakwaita. This is an apple that I am going to eat.
b. 그 분이 우리에게 영어를 가르쳐질 분이다.
ku pwuni wulfiyeykengel yungelul kaluchisil pwunita. This is the man who is going to teach us English.
c. 나는 읽을 책이 없다.
nanun ikkul chayki epsta. I do not have any book to read.
In (25), mekul means that the apple is the object that the subject is to eat, in (25b) kaluchisil means that the person is the one who is to teach English, and in (25c) ilkul chayk denotes what the speaker is to read.

When ul is used, the situation is yet to be realized. The reference point of time is usually the utterance time. So that the situation is to take place after the utterance time. This can be represented in the following.

(26) \[ \text{ut} \quad \text{st} \]
\[ \text{ut} = \text{utterance time} \quad \text{st} = \text{situation time} \]

But the utterance time is not always the reference time. Some other point can be the reference time. To see this, observe the following examples:

(27) a. 시내 학기에 쓸 책이 이제 왔다.
    cinan hakkixey soul chayki icy davsta.
    The book that I was to use last semester has come now.

b. 이제 다른 사람과 오늘 갔다.
    ecey kal salami onul kassta.
    The man who was to go yesterday has gone today.

In the two sentences above, the reference point is not the utterance time. In (27a), it is some time before last semester and in (27b), it is some time before yesterday.

The marker ul has an idiosyncratic use. It is used with ttau and ul ttau can refer to past and future. Observe the following examples:

(28) a. 나는 그를 작년에 미국 갈 때 만났다.
    nanun kulul caqnyeney mikuw kal ttau mannassta.
    I saw him on my way to America.

b. 나는 그를 내년에 미국 갈 때 만나갔다.
    nanun kulum nayryeney mikuw kal ttau nammkeyssta.
    I am going to see him next year when I go to America.

(29) a. 그는 우리가 잠자리에 들 때 찾아왔다.
    kunun wulika camcallyy ul ttau chacoaasta.
    He came to see us when we were going to bed.

b. 나는 오늘 저녁 잠자리에 들 때 그 친지를 잃여보았다.
    nanun onul cenyek camcallyy tulu ttau ku phyenclul ilike pokyaesta.
    I am going to read the letter when I go to bed this evening.

The V-ul ttau denotes a time during which a situation develops. Thus, in (28) mikuw kal ttau means 'on his way to America', and in (29), camcallyy tulu ttau means 'when going to bed'.

There is another aspect marker. It is a compound form -ess-ul, and this is used with ttau : -ess-ul ttau. This denotes a time when a situation is seen in its entirety. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences.

(30) a. 나는 그를 서울 갈 때 만났다.
    nanun kulul Sewul kal ttau mannassta.
    I saw him when I was on my way to Seoul.

b. 나는 그를 서울 갈 것을 때 만났다.
    nanun kulul Sewul kaulul kal ttau mannassta.
    I saw him when I had arrived in Seoul.

In (30a) the speaker met someone when he was preparing to leave or on his way to Seoul. In (30b) the speaker went to Seoul, and there he met someone. In other words, he reached Seoul, and met him.

Let us compare another pair of examples:
In (33a), the speaker lived in the house, and he wants to identify the house by the fact that he lived in the house, he sees his living in the house in its entirety. In (33b) the speaker is interested in the history of the house. The speaker’s living in the house constitutes only part of the history. In (33c), the speaker lived in the house, but he is not interested in the house alone, he is interested in other houses and the house is but one of many houses he has lived in.

8.3. Modality

Modality indicates the relation between a situation and reality or fact. There can be different degrees of distance between the two, and the degrees denote epistemic distance. Modality in Korean is expressed by a construction of the following type.

\[(1) \quad [[[\text{clause}]} (-AM)] \quad [\text{head}]] \quad \text{np} \quad (CM) \quad \text{verb}\]

Note: AM = Aspect Marker, CM = Case Marker

The modifying clause in (1) is linked to the head noun by one of the aspect markers (un, ten, nun, and ul), except for one case where no aspect marker is used. For the head noun, there is a set of dependent nouns which can never be used alone without a determiner or a modifying clause. The NP construction is followed by an optional case marker. The marker is optional, but its presence and absence signal different meanings.

Lastly, a verb must appear. The verb is chosen from a closed set of verbs. The verbs belonging to this set are i ‘be’, iss ‘exist’, ha ‘do’, and al ‘know’ and their negative counterparts ani ‘not be’, epp ‘not exist’, and molu ‘not know’. These four pairs of verbs seem to constitute a continuum, which is related to the degrees of certainty. i ‘be’ is the most certain and ha ‘do’ is the least certain, with iss ‘exist’ and al ‘know’ in between them. This can be represented in the following diagram.
In the following sections, the dependent nouns listed above will be examined one by one and it will be shown that the degree of certainty is a product of the aspect marker, the head noun and the verb.

### 8.3.1. Nouns used with ı 'be'

There are four common dependent nouns which are commonly used with the verb ı. They are kes, pa, kkatalk, and tteymun. In this section, the first two will be examined.

#### 8.3.1.1. kes

The dependent noun kes is used to indicate that a situation designated is related to reality or fact when the aspect marker is used, and that it is not related to reality or fact when no aspect marker is used. The relation between a situation and reality can be close or far, and immediate or not immediate. Different degrees of closeness and immediacy are expressed by aspect markers. This is summarized in the following way.

(3) with aspect markers

a. (modifying clause- nun) kesi
b. (modifying clause- un) kesi
c. (modifying clause- ten) kesi
d. (modifying clause- ul) kesi
e. (modifying clause- esseten) kesi
f. (modifying clause- essul) kesi

(4) without aspect markers

(modifying clause-O) kesiosita 
be-Remote-
All the patterns in (3) and (4) indicate different degrees of the relation between a situation referred to and its reality. In the following sections each of the patterns above will be examined.

8.3.1.1.a. ⋯-nun kesita

The present imperfective aspect marker nun is used above, and it indicates that a situation designated by the modifying clause can be checked against reality while the sentence is being uttered. As an illustration, let us assume that there are two boys, Bob and Tom. Bob is wondering how to cut a pineapple. Tom knows how. In such a case, Tom may start to cut a pineapple, saying (5):

(5) 파인애플은 어떻게 찍는 것이다.
   phainayphulun ilehkey ecsalsun kesita.
   This is the way to cut a pineapple.

(5) means that all Bob has to do is check what Tom is doing to find out the reality of the situation. In this case the relation between a situation and its reality is so close and immediate that the listener can check the relation through the speaker’s utterance and actions.

8.3.1.1.b. ⋯-un kesita

The perfective aspect marker un is used above and it indicates that the situation referred to has already been checked by the speaker. This, in turn, implies that what the speaker says is based on fact, not personal opinion. We can illustrate the point with the following sentence.

(6) 그는 1940년에 태어난 것이다.
   kunun 1940nyeney thayenan kesita.
   It is a fact that he was born in 1940.

(6) means that the situation of someone’s being born in 1940 and the fact has been checked by the speaker. This implies that the speaker is not expressing his personal opinion but reporting a fact that he has confirmed.

Let us compare the following two sentences. In (7) only the remote tense ess is used, but in (8) modal elements are used.

(7) 천수가 그것을 훔치였다.
    Chelswuka kukesul hwumchiessta.
    Chelswu stole the thing.

(8) 천수가 그것을 훔친 것이다.
    Chelswuka kukesul hwumchin kesita.
    It is a fact that Chelswu stole the thing.

The source of the information contained in (7) is the speaker himself. He is responsible for the truth of the statement. The speaker of (8) is also responsible for the truth of the statement. But (8) differs from (7) in that the source of the information contained in (8) is factual, i.e., based on facts which the speaker can present when necessary.

8.3.1.1.c. ⋯-ul kesita

The unrealized aspect marker ul is used above. It indicates that the relation between a designated situation and its actual reality is not realized or confirmed. However, the speaker using this modal construction has assumed that the situation is real and included it as a part of actual reality. All that is needed is to confirm the relation. Therefore, unless the speaker assumes that the relation is reasonably strong and he is confident of the events’ eventual occurrence, he will not use this form. For example, the speaker of (9) below, has deduced that John’s coming is actual and all that remains unrealized is
the confirmation of the situation.

(9) 준은 곧 올 것이다.
    jonun got ul kesita.
    John will probably come soon.

One of the reasons why the unrealized aspect marker _ul_ is called a future tense marker is that it often takes time for the relation to be confirmed. Actually, it is not a tense marker and in 3.1.1.d, it will again be definitely shown that _ul_ is not a tense marker but an aspect marker.

8.3.1.1.d. ... — essul kesita

The remote tense marker _ess_ can place a situation in past reality or unreality. But due to the influence of _kes_, which follows _ess_, the situation is confined to the past reality. The imperfective aspect marker _ul_ indicates that only the confirmation of the relation between the situation and reality has not been made. So the speaker using this modal construction is confident that the situation definitely took place, and that all that is needed is a confirmation. Except for the fact that the situation is placed in the past reality, the modal construction presented in this section is very similar to the one in the preceding section. The speaker of (10) below, for example, firmly believes that John definitely came and regards it as actual reality. He is confident that his belief will be confirmed.

(10) 준은 왔을 것이다.
    jonun oassul kesita.
    John must have come.

8.3.1.1.e ... kesiessta [keyssta]

One common feature of the modal constructions (3.1.1.a—d) is that the modifying clause is linked to the following head noun by one of the aspect markers. The aspect marker clearly indicates a relation between a designated situation and its reality. However, the modal construction in this section differs from the previous ones in that no aspect marker links the modifying clause to the head. The absence of aspect marker in the pattern is indicated by _φ_.

Traditionally _keys_ was analyzed as a single indivisible morpheme. But in this chapter, it is argued that it is actually made up of three morphemes: _kes_ ‘fact’ or ‘reality’, _i_ ‘be’ and _ess_ ‘remoteness’. This seems to be far-fetched at first glance. But phonologically and semantically, it is quite probable. First, the sequence of _kes i_ in the modal constructions is often contracted to _key_ in informal speech, as in (11).

(11) ... | kesita — — — — — — — | keyta.

(12) 나는 내일 갈 것이다.
    nanun nayiil kal kesita.
    It is probable that I must be going tomorrow.

So it is not so far-fetched after all to assume that the sequence of _kes i_ of the modal construction of ... kesiessta is first contracted to _key_ and then _keys_ to _keys_. There is ample evidence for the second contraction. When the first vowel of the remote tense is immediately preceded by the stem—final _y_, it is dropped, as can be seen in (13).

(13) a. meyessta (매했다) meyssta (썼다) 'carry'
    b. ttayssta (떼었다) ttyssta (썼다) 'remove'
    c. seyesssta (셋었다) seysta (셋다) 'count'
    d. heyessta (yyyyMMdd) heysssta (yyyyMMdd) 'rinse'
Semantically, the justification for the postulated remote tense marker \textit{ess} is also clear. \textit{ess} denotes in this case dissociation from reality or fact. In other words, it indicates that the situation referred to has nothing to do with reality or fact. Viewed in this way, the fact that no aspect marker is used to link the modifying clause with \textit{kes} in this modal construction is not accidental but systematic. Like \textit{ess}, this absence also indicates dissociation from fact.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been shown that \textit{keyss}, generally thought to be a single morpheme when analysed, is actually made up of three morphemes, and that it indicates dissociation from fact. Consequently \textit{keyss} as a modal marker which implies casualness in the sense that the speaker alone determines the factors that may influence or predict the likelihood of a situation. From the basic meaning of dissociation and the casualness it implies, various inferential and contextual meanings can be derived. For example, when \textit{keyss} is used with the first person subject, it denotes determination. To understand this, let us examine the following two sentences.

(14) 나는 내일 가겠다.
    nanun nayil kakessta.
    I will go tomorrow. (determination)
    Perhaps I may go tomorrow. (guess)

(15) 나는 내일 같 것이다.
    nanun nayil kai kesita.
    I must go tomorrow.

Both (14) and (15) refer to potential situations. But in (14) potentiality is determined not by reality but by the speaker alone. From this, a sense of determination is derived. In (15), on the other hand, the potentiality of the situation is determined by reality, not by the speaker. The situation is assumed real and all that remains is confirmation.

8.3.1.2. \textit{a. kkatalk} and \textit{ttaymun}

In addition to \textit{kes}, which was examined in the preceding sections, there are a few other dependent nouns which are used with the verb \textit{ij}. They are 'kkatalk 'reason', \textit{ttaymun 'cause}', and \textit{pa}, etc. The first two nouns have clear meanings and they are used both as dependent and independent nouns, and they will be excluded from this study.

8.3.1.2. \textit{b. pa}

The dependent noun \textit{pa} can appear in the following forms:

(16) a. ... nun paita
    b. ... un pawa kaththa
    c. ... ul palul molu
    d. ... ul paev

When \textit{pa} is preceded by the aspect marker \textit{nun}, it is followed by the verb \textit{ij}, as in (16). When it is preceded by \textit{un}, it is followed by the verb \textit{kaththa} 'be the same'. When it is preceded by \textit{ul}, it is followed by the verb \textit{molu} 'not know', or it can be used as an independent postpositional phrase.

In order to understand the meaning of \textit{pa}, we need a concept of mental reality in addition to factual reality and unreality. Factual reality is public reality, but the mental reality is private reality --- personal consciousness or knowledge. The dependent noun \textit{pa} used in the four patterns in (16) means mental reality. The patterns in (16) indicate that designated situations can be related to mental reality. (17) below illustrates the pattern (16).

(17) 이에 깊은 감사를 드리는 바이다.
    iey kiphun kamsaul tulun paita.
    For that I offer my deep thanks.
(17) means that the situation designated can be found in the heart of the speaker at the moment of speaking. In other words, it means that the situation corresponds with the speaker's mental reality.

In (16b), the verb kath 'be the same' is used, and it is a relational word, to which the verb i 'be' belongs. However, unlike i, kath requires the perfective aspect marker un. The modal construction (16b) is used when the speaker assumes that what was mentioned before may not be in the listener's consciousness at the moment of speaking. Actually the information is public (known and given), but the speaker treats it as new. To see this, let us examine the following.

(18) 이제 말씀 드린 바와 같이 나는 오늘 간다.
eced malsum tulin pawa kathi nanun onul kanta.
As I told you yesterday, I am going today.

(18) implies that the speaker reported something to the listener before, but he assumes that the listener may not be aware of the report and he repeats it.

In the pattern (16c), the unrealized aspect marker ul is used, and it denotes that the situation referred to is not realized. The verb molu 'not know' means that the speaker (the agent) does not have any personal knowledge nor does he know of any way to make a decision regarding the situation. As a consequence, it implies puzzlement or helplessness on the part of the agent. (19) below illustrates this pattern.

(19) 나는 바سار에서 이제 할 바를 모른다.
nanun peppase ecci hal palul molunta.
Being too busy I do not know what to do.

The pattern (16d) is a postpositional phrase, and it means to judge the unrealized (ul) situation from viewpoint (ey) of my personal opinion (pa), ... . The following sentence illustrates the pattern.

(20) 백주를 마실 바에야 위스키를 마시겠다.
maykwulul maal paeyya wishhilul maskeyysta.
As for me I would rather drink whiskey than drink beer, which you have suggested for us to do.

8.3.2. Nouns used with iss 'exist'

Two dependent nouns cek 'occasion' and swu 'means' are used with the existential verb in the following pattern:

(21) ····ul ceki ista

Only the perfective aspect marker un can be used in the pattern above. When the unrealized aspect marker ul is used with the independent noun tayy 'time,' then iss must be modalized as in (22).

(22) ····ul tayka isskeysta.

Returning to (21), the perfective marker un indicates that a situation took place. The existential verb indicates that the completed event falls still somewhere in the sphere of actual reality. However, its exact location in the actual reality of the situation is left unspecified. In some sense it corresponds to the English perfect. (23) below illustrates the pattern (21).

(23) 여름에 눈이 온 적이 있다.
yelumeey nwuni on cekk iista.
It has snowed in summer.

The situation of snow falling took place and was completed but it is regarded to be still in the sphere of the actual reality.
8.3.2.1. *swu* 'way'

The dependent noun *swu* is often glossed over as meaning 'way' but this in itself cannot represent the basic meaning of *swu*. Roughly speaking, *swu* is used when the connection between potentiality and reality is possible because there are no physical or external obstacles. The dependent noun is used in the following two patterns.

(24) a. ⋯⋯ *nun swuka ista*
b. ⋯⋯ *ul swuka ista*

Below, (25) illustrates the pattern (24a), and (26) illustrates (24b).

(25) 이 문제를 쉽게 풀는 수가 있다.

_i mwuneylul swipkeyl pwnun swuka ista._

There is a way to solve this problem.
I can solve the problem.

The present imperfective marker in (25) and the existential verb indicate that there is a way to bring the designated potential situation into reality. The speaker may then proceed to demonstrate it. It implies absence of obstacles to his solving the problem. In (26) below the speaker may not actually demonstrate his ability to drive a car; nevertheless (26) indicates that the speaker can drive in the sense that his physical condition is fit or that he is legally permitted to drive. That is, there is no physical or legal obstacles to his driving.

(26) 나는 운전할 수가 있다.

_nanun wuncenhal swuka ista._

I can drive.

*swu* in (25) and (26) indicates that there are no cogent external factors against the realization of the designated situation. In this respect, *swu* contrasts with *cwul*, which is related to mental capacity (see 3.3).

8.3.3. Nouns used with *al* / *molu* 'know/not know'

In the preceding section we observed that the meaning of *swu* has something to do with physical and external factors but not with mental capacity. *Cwul* is reserved for denoting mental capacity. First, let us examine the following sentences.

(27) 나는 운전할 수가 있다.

_nanun wuncenhal cwul anta._

I know how to drive.

(28) 나는 그가 간/가는/갈 줄로 안다.

_nanun kaka kan/kanun/kal cwulo anta._

I know that he went/is to go/will go/

Some activities require not only physical ability but also mental ability, and others, only mental ability. Driving, for example, requires physical as well as mental ability. Solving a mathematical problem requires mental ability. Knowing how to do something is a mental ability. The relation in (27) is between a potential situation and mental ability. The mental ability is assumed to be real and the potential situation can be brought into existence whenever the mental ability is exercised. Furthermore the mental ability in (27) is applied to an activity that the speaker himself can perform. However, in (28) the mental ability is not involved in carrying out some activity but in making a cognitive judgment. The meanings of *cwul* in (27) and (28) differ, but the difference can be attributed to the different subjects. In (27) the subject of the modifying clause and the matrix clause is the same, but in (28) the subject of the modifying clause is
different from that of the embedded sentence. It is obvious that one's own mental activity must remain separate from someone else's mental activity, and so in this case, _cwal_ must be interpreted differently from the one used in (27). From this we can say that _cwal_ in (27) and (28) has the same basic meaning of mental ability but that it is interpreted differently depending upon context.

**8.3.4. Nouns used with the verb _ha_**

Relations between potential situations and reality expressed by the modal construction using the verb _ha_ seem to be the weakest and the least stable, as was already suggested in section 3. Some dependent nouns used with _ha_ are as follows: tus, ppen, man, and chey. These will be examined in the subsequent sections.

**8.3.4.1. tus 'appearance'**

The dependent noun tus generally means 'appearance' 'expression' or 'effect'. It can appear in the following patterns. Notice that the verb siph 'seem' can be used in the patterns, instead of _ha_. Used with the verb siph, tus means 'vague feeling'.

(29) a. ...... un tus ha / siph
    b. ...... nun tus ha / siph
    c. ...... ul tus ha / siph

The three aspect markers un, nun and ul can be used in the patterns above. When the perfective aspect un is used, the construction (29a) means that it looks as if something happened. (29b), in which the present imperfective aspect nun is used, means that it looks or appears something is happening. (29c), in which the unrealized aspect is used, means that it appears something is likely to happen. However, any judgment based on appearance or feeling, without taking reason, cause, etc. into consideration, can be far from reality. The following sentence illustrate the patterns in (29).

(30) 비가 온/오느/올 드 했다.
    pika on/onun/ol tus hata.
    It looks like it rained / is raining / will rain.

Often the construction the main-clause-AM tus is followed by mal-AM tus in expressing a fifty-to-fifty chance.

(31) 비가 온 드 안 드 했다.
    pika on tus man tus hata.
    It looks as if it rained, but then again it does not look like it rained.

(32) 비가 온 드 안 드 했다.
    pika ol tus mal tus hata.
    It looks as if it might rain, but then again it does not look like it will rain.

**8.3.4.2. ppen 'point'**

The dependent noun ppen roughly means 'point' as in 'on the point of ...' or 'near' as in 'come near ...ing'. It is used only with the unrealized aspect marker ul, as in the following sentence.

(33) 그는 낫어질 쫙 했다.
    kunun nemeci ppen hayasta.
    He was near/on the point of falling down.

(33) means that an event of falling down was not actually realized (ul), but it was on the point (ppen) of falling down (nemeci).
8.3.4.3. man ‘norm’

The dependent noun indicates a norm that the speaker sets up. So the norm may vary depending upon the speakers. It is used only with the unrealized aspect marker ul. This marker denotes that the designated situation almost, but not quite, measures up to the norm, but not exactly.

(34) 그는 요즘은 살만 하다.
    kunun yoocum salman hata.
    He is fairly well off nowadays.

(35) 그 곳은 가볼만 하다.
    ku kkosun kapolman hata.
    The place is fairly worth visiting.

8.3.4.4. chey ‘make-believe’

This dependent noun means ‘make-believe’, and it is used with the two aspect markers un and nun. In (36) below, chey is used with the perfective aspect un, and (36) means that he did not sleep, but he pretends to have slept. In (37), chey is used with nun, and (37) means that what he is doing now is to pretend to be sleeping.

(36) 그는 잡 체 한다.
    kunun can chey hanta.
    He pretends that he slept.

(37) 그는 자는 체 한다.
    kunun canun chey hanta.
    He pretends that he is sleeping.

8.4. Summary

In this chapter the tense-aspect-modality system of Korean has been analysed from a different approach. In the analysis of tense two concepts of remoteness and actuality are utilized. Remoteness is defined as the absence of a situation referred to by a verb from actual reality. This concept can account for the so-called ‘past’ meaning as well as the use of ess in counterfactual conditions. Actuality is defined as the existence of a situation. The term tense in this chapter is used to refer to the absence or existence of a situation. In the analysis of aspect, three main aspects are recognized. They are perfective, imperfective, and unrealized. There are two kinds of imperfectives. One requires only one platform, but the other requires two platforms. The meanings of the compound aspect markers are found to be derived from the meaning of the individual aspect marker. Modality is defined as the relation between a designated situation and reality. The relation is an epistemic distance. The following construction is used to express this distance Modifying Claus- (Aspect Marker) + Dependent Noun + Verb. Different degrees of epistemic distance are products of the presence or absence of the aspect marker, the meaning of the dependent noun, and the nature of the verb.

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on formal distinctions, and a significant correlation between form and meaning has been found. One significant finding, for example, is that the modal marker keyss is deduced to be made up of three morphemes kes i and ess. For each grammatical morpheme its basic meaning is postulated. Various inferential and contextual meanings can be drawn from the basic meaning. The reverse procedure was commonly practiced by Korean grammarians but their efforts have not been productive. I hope that the present chapter has brought light to a new avenue to the study of Korean tense-aspect-modality.
| 9.1.  | ciman (지만) | 437 |
| 9.2.  | le (려) | 447 |
| 9.3.  | lye (려) | 448 |
| 9.4.  | ese (여서) | 453 |
| 9.5.  | eta (이따) | 460 |
| 9.6.  | kena (거나) | 463 |
| 9.7.  | ketun (거든) | 464 |
| 9.8.  | ko (고) | 469 |
| 9.9.  | myen (면) | 484 |
| 9.10. | myense (면서) | 491 |
| 9.11. | una (으나) | 497 |
| 9.12. | ni (니) | 503 |
| 9.13. | nu (느) | 515 |
| 9.14. | nuntey (눈데) | 519 |
| 9.15. | taka (다가) | 529 |
| 9.16. | telato (더라도) | 537 |
| 9.17. | to (도) | 540 |
| 9.18. | tolk (도록) | 549 |
| 9.19. | tuncti (등지) | 558 |
9.1. ciman (지만)

The connective ciman is used when the speaker partially accepts and partially rejects the content of an utterance of another speaker. What he accepts is expressed by the ciman-clause and what he rejects is expressed by the main clause. Let us observe the following conversational give-and-take.

(1) a. VW는 기름도 적게 들고 고장도 안난다.
VW has little gasoline and seldom breaks down.

b. 기름은 적게 들지만 고장은 다른 차나 마찬가지이다.
little gasoline and it breaks down like any other car.

Although a VW takes little gasoline, it breaks down like any other car.

Speaker (1a) says that VWs consume little gas and they run well without giving much trouble. Hearing this, speaker (1b) accepts the content about the gasoline consumption, but rejects the content about the trouble. Consider the following additional example:

(2) a. 이 물건은 값도 싸고 질감도 좋습니다.
This thing is cheap and durable.

b. 값은 싸지만 질감은 안 좋습니다.
Although it is cheap, it is not durable.

C. 질감은 좋지만 값은 싸지 않습니다.
Although it is durable, it is not cheap.

Speaker (2a) comments upon a thing saying that it is low in price
and durable in quality. Speaker (2b) agrees that the price is low, but with regard to its durability he disagrees with speaker (2a). On the other hand, speaker (2c) agrees with speaker (2a) that the thing is durable, but disagrees with him that the price is low. What the speakers of speaker (2b, c) accept is expressed with ciman.

In the preceding two examples, the two assumptions of speaker (2a) are conjoined by a coordinate conjunction. In the following sentences, two assumptions are joined by a causal connective. Either the cause part or the result part can be accepted or rejected, as can be seen below:

(3) a. 응해는 비가 와서 농사가 잘 되었다.
olhayum pika oase nongeaka cal toyessta.
Because it rained a lot, the harvest is good.

b. 비는 많이 왔지만 수확은 좋지 않았어요.
pinun manhi oaseciman swuwhwaun cohie ahayyo.
Although it rained a lot, the harvest is not good.

c. 수확은 좋지만 비 때문에는 아니예요.
swuwhwaun cohieciman pi ttaymunun aniyeeyo.
Although the harvest is good, it is not because of the rain.

Speaker (3a) assumes that it rained enough to bring in a good harvest. Speaker (3b) accepts that it rained sufficiently, but rejects that the harvest was good. Speaker (3b) accepts the cause part, but does not accept the result part. On the other hand, speaker (3c) accepts that it was a good harvest, but rejects that the rain was the cause of the good harvest.

Let us observe some additional examples.

(4) a. 너 내 담배 다 피웠구나?
neg ney tampayun ta phiwesskwnun?
You smoked all my cigarettes?

b. 담배는 피웠지만 너 담배는 아니야.
tampayun phiwessciman ne tampayun aniya.
Although I smoked, I didn't smoke yours.

c. 피웠지만, 나 피우지는 않았다.
phiwessciman ta phiwucunun anhassta.
I smoked some, but not all.

Utterance (4a) can be broken down in the following way:

(4) i. You smoked
ii. The cigarettes were mine
iii. You smoked all of my cigarettes.

Speakers (4b and c) accept only a part of what speaker (4a) says, that is, (4i). But they reject the rest: (4ii, iii).

(5) a. 너 또 그 아이를 때일 만나는구나?
ne tto ku ailul mayil mannnununkwnun?
You are seeing the child again every day, aren't you?

b. 만나긴 만나지만, 대입은 아니야.
mannakin mannciman, mayilun aniya.
Although I see him, I don't see him every day.

(6) a. 너 또 그 책 때문에 그 친구하고 싸웠구나.
ne tto ku chakht ttaymuney ku chinkwushoko ssawesskwnun.
You quarrelled with your friend again about the book.

b. 싸우긴 싸웠지만, 책 때문에는 아니야.
sawukin ssawessciman, chakht ttaymunun aniya.
Although we quarrelled, it was not because of the book.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have examined the acceptance and rejection of overtly stated assumptions. In what follows we will observe some cases in which the addressee accepts what is overtly
stated but rejects what is covertly implied.

(7) a. 에, 그 사람 오늘 만났더니 너 아니면 못 살겠다고 하더라.
    yey, ku salam onul mannassteni ne animyen mos
    salkeysatoko hatela.
    I met him today and he said that he could not live without
    you.
b. 말이나 잘 그렇게 하지만 그 사람 속은 아무도 몰라요.
    maliya nul kulehkey haciman ku salam sokun amuto
    mollayo.
    Although he says so, no one knows his real intention.

Speaker (7a) reports someone else's (let us say X) remark to speaker (7b). Speaker (7b) accepts X's statement itself which is reported by speaker (7a) but he doubts X's commitment to his statement. In other words, the overt statement is accepted but its covert meaning of X's commitment is rejected. Observe the following additional examples:

(8) a. 다음부터 열심히 하겠습니다.
    nayilpwuthe yelsimhi hakayyssupnita.
    Starting from tomorrow, I will work hard.
b. 너 말이나 잘 그렇게 하지만 실천을 해야 말이지.
    nen maliya nul kulehkey haciman silchenul hayya malici.
    Although you always say so, there is a problem: you never
    carry out your promise.

Speaker (8a) promises to work hard. Speaker (8b) accepts (8a)'s statement, but does not accept his sincerity which should underlie the promises. He doubts that speaker (8a) will carry out his promise. In the following example, the second speaker questions the first speaker's authority although he accepts the first speaker's order.

(9) a. 과장님께서 그래서는 이 일은 오늘 몽 긁내야 된다고 합니다.
    kwacangnimkkkeyse kulesinuntey ilun onul kkok kkut-
    hneyya toyntato hapnita.
    The section chief says that you have to finish this work by
    tomorrow.
b. 나도 알고 있어요. 하지만 그 회사 무언데 그런 소리를 하
    nato alko isseyo. haciman ku chinkwu muente yulen
    solilul hana?
    I know, but does he have the right to say that?

Speaker (9a) accepts what is the overtly stated order, that the work is to be done today. But he rejects what is covertly implied: he does not think that the section chief has the authority to give orders.

Cooperative Principles

In the paragraphs above we have examined the general meaning of ciman. In this section it will be pointed out that the connective has a lot to do with the cooperative principles of Grice.

When a speaker makes an utterance, he can expect certain reactions from the addressee. Sometimes the speaker can predict these reactions and say something to forestall negative reactions. For example, the speaker utters sentence (10) when he knows that the addressee has heard his explanation several times before and that he may react by saying that he already knows.

(10) 다 아시겠지만, 다시 한번 설명을 드리겠습니다.
    ta asikeyasciman, tasi hanpen selmeyungul tulkeyyssupnita.
    You may know already, but I will explain it again.
If the speaker does not use the ciman-clause, the addressee might react by saying that he knows already, as in the following examples:

(11) a. 다시 한번 설명을 드리겠습니다.
    tasi hanpen selmyengul tulikyssciman.
    I will explain it again.

b. 싫어요. 우리는 벌써 다 알아요.
    silhoy. wulinun pelsse ta alayo.
    No, I know it already.

Thus, the ciman-clause in (10) is used to forestall a negative reaction such as (11b).

Speakers in a speech community have acquired not only grammatical rules but also communicative rules. They can distinguish grammatical sentences from ungrammatical ones. In addition, they know how to use the sentences properly and know the rules involved in using them in context. Grice (1967) calls these rules “Maxims of Conversation”. Their purpose is to insure clear and efficient transmission of information. The maxims are quantity, quality, relevance and politeness. In what follows, we will see that speakers are aware of these rules, and whenever they violate these rules, they use the ciman-clause. Let us begin with the maxim of quantity.

**Quantity:** Don’t give too much or too little information.

When a speaker wants to repeat what he has already said, he may think that the addressee will be bored to listen to it again and will say that he doesn’t want to hear it again. In order to forestall this negative response, the addressee uses the ciman-clause. In other words, ciman-clause shows that the speaker is aware that he gives too much information to the addressee and in a way apologizes for it beforehand.

Some additional examples are presented below. What is expressed in the ciman-clauses is what the speaker expects to be in the addressee’s consciousness.

(12) a. 방송을 들어서 아시겠지만, 놀랐이 일어났습니다.
    pangsongul tulse asieyssciman, phoktoni illenssupnita.
    You may have already heard about it on the radio, but there is riot.

b. 가까서 아시겠지만 그곳은 삐기가 많 좋아요.
    ka pwase asieyssciman kukosun saldika cham cohayo.
    You’ve been there and may know it, but the place is good to live in.

c. 그 책을 읽어보시어서 아시겠지만, 내용이 별로 좋지 않아요.
    ku chaykul like posise asieyssciman, nayongi pyello cohci anhayo.
    You have already read the book and may know it, but the content of the book is not good.

Next, let us examine the maxim of quality with regard to ciman.

**Quality:** Don’t say things you don’t believe or don’t have adequate evidence for.

In the following conversational give-and-take, speaker (13a) may expect a response such as (13b). He doesn’t have adequate evidence for his assertion. In such a case he is aware that he is violating the maxim of quality and he tries to avoid the addressee’s negative response by mentioning it beforehand in the ciman-clause of (14).

(13) a. 이 책이 저 책보다 쉬운 것 같습니다.
    i chayki ce chaykpotw swiwun kes kathsupnita.
    This book seems to be easier than that.
any direct relevance to things under discussion or when he wants to introduce something which is not directly relevant to the previous exchanges, he is aware of the deviation, and also assumes that the addressee is aware of it. In order to forestall any objection from the addressee, the speaker uses the ciman-clause. Observe the following:

(16) a. 이건 완벽 보세요.
ikes hanpen poseyoo.
Look at this.

b. 우리가 하는 일하고 무슨 관계가 있나요?
wulika hanun ihako mwusun kwankyeyka isinayo?
What relevance does it have to what we do?

The speaker of (16a) meets with an objection from speaker (16b). But he can forestall such a negative reaction by using a ciman-clause as in (17).

(17) 직접적인 관련성은 없지만, 이것도 완벽 해보세요.
cikkepecokin kwanyensengun especiman, ikesto hanpen hayposeyoo.
It does not have any direct relevance, but take a look at this.

Some additional examples are presented below.

(18) a. 장소리로 생각하시겠지만 이것도 들어주세요.
cansolilo sayngkakhasikeyssciman ikesto tulecwuseyoo.
You may regard it as insignificant talk, but listen to this.

b. 국어학을 공부하시지만, 심리학도 좀 읽으세요.
kwukehakul kongpwahasiciman, simlihakto com ilkuseyoo.
You are studying Korean linguistics but read psychology too.
c. 적효는 없겠지만, 장기적인 효과는 있을 것입니다.
cikhyonun epskeysscowman, cangkieckin hyokwanun
issul kesinpita.
It may not have an immediate effect, but it will have a
long-term effect.

Lastly, let us examine the maxim of politeness and ciman.

**Politeness**: As in any other behavior, one is not to intrude
upon another: we have to be polite to others.

When a speaker asks the addressee to do something for him, he
knows that that causes the addressee some trouble. For example,
when speaker (19a) asks the addressee to tell him the time, the
addressee may regard that as something he does not want to do.
Being aware of this, the speaker can forestall the negative reaction
by mentioning it beforehand in the ciman-clause.

(19) a. 지금 몇시나 되었습니까?
cikum myechsina toyessulkka?
What time is it now?
b. 바쁜데 귀찮아 죽겠다.
poppumtey kwihanha cwukkeyssta.
I am busy and don't bother me.

The negative reaction such as (19b) is forestalled in (20) by the
ciman-clause.

(20) 귀찮으시겠지만, 지금 몇시쯤 되었습니까?
kwihanhusikeysscowman, cikum myechsiccum toyessupnikka?
It may bother you, but what time is it?
Some additional examples are presented below:

The ciman-clauses in (21) can forestall negative reaction
from the addressee.

(21) a. 피로우시겠지만, 이것 좀 하주세요.
koylowusikysscowman, ikes com poa cwuseeyoo.
It may be irksome to you, but have a look at this.
b. 심으시겠지만 한 번만 도와주세요.
silhusikeysscowman, hanpenman towacwuseeyoo.
You may not like this, but give me a helping hand.
c. 피곤하시겠지만, 이것만은 마쳐주세요.
phikonhusikeysscowman, ikesmanun machoyewuseeyoo.
You may be tired, but please finish this one.

9.2. le (리)

The morpheme le denotes purpose but its use is rather restricted.
It is used only when a locomotion verb is used in the main clause.
Verbs such as ota, kata and tanita are verbs of locomotion. Some
illustrative examples follow.

(1) a. 그는 붓을 사려 시장에 갔다.
kunun saalul sale sicanggey kassta.
He went to the market to buy rice.
b. 그는 돈을 찾아서 은행에 갔다.
kunun tonul chucule unhayngey kassta.
He went to the bank to withdraw money.
c. 그는 나폴 만나러 왔다.
kunun nalul manmale wassta.
He came to see me.

When a locomotion verb is not used in the main clause, as in the fol-
lowing sentences, le is not used naturally.
(2) a. *그는 쌀을 사러 시장에 있다.
kunun ssalul sale sicangey ista.
He is at a market to buy rice.
b. 그는 쌀을 사러 시장에 왔었다.
kunun ssalul sale sicangey waissta.
He is at the market to buy rice.

(3) a. *그는 돈을 찾으러 은행에 있다.
kunun tonul chacule unhayngey ista.
He is at a bank to withdraw money.
b. 그는 돈을 찾으러고 은행에 왔었다.
kunun tonul chaculye ko unhayngey waissta.
He has come to a bank to withdraw money.

In the a sentences above, the existential verb ista is used instead of a locomotion verb and le is not natural. In the b sentences, lyeko is used instead of le and the sentences are natural. Thus, the morpheme le is used when the intended or purported action is to take place after change of location.

9.3. ly e (리)

The morpheme ly e also means ‘intention’ or ‘purpose’. But this is not used alone and must be used with other morphemes as in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lyranga</th>
<th>lye-ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>러고</td>
<td>lye-nuntoey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>러는데</td>
<td>lye-nikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>러니카</td>
<td>lye-taka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>러다가</td>
<td>lye-myen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal connectives above are used with the bare verb stems and they retain their meanings even when they combine with ly e as in the above examples. Below we will examine each of the combinations above.

9.3.1. lye-ko (리고)

The general meaning of ko is contiguity and lyeko means that one’s intention to do something or one’s purpose for doing something (P) is contiguous to another action (E). This in turn means that E is for P. That is, someone does E for the purpose of P. Let us examine the following examples.

(4) 그는 자동차를 사려고 돈을 모으고 있다.
kunun catongchalul salyeko tonul mouko ista.
He is saving money to buy a car.

The subject wants to buy a car. This is his intention and this intention is connected to his saving money.

Some additional examples are presented below:

(5) a. 그는 숙제를 하려고 안 자고 있다.
kunun swukcayul halyeko an cako ista.
He is not sleeping to do the homework.
b. 그는 매일 아침에 일찍 일어나려고 저녁에 일찍 잤습니다.
kunun nayil achimey ilcek ilenalyeko cenyeyekey ilcek cassupnita.
He went to bed early to get up early tomorrow morning.

9.3.2. lye-myen (리면)

The connective myen is a condition marker. The speaker uses lymyen when he is not sure about the intention of an agent, and assumes a world in which the agent intends to do something. Let us examine the following examples.
9.3.3. **Iye-nikka** (리나카)

The speaker uses **[A-nikka B]** when he meets unexpectedly with an event **B** while he is doing **A**. **Iyenikka** is made up of **Iye** and **nikka**. Thus, **[A-lyenikka B]** means that the subject meets with **B** while he is intending to do **A**. Some illustrative examples are presented below.

(8) a. 책을 읽으러가 학교에 왔다.
    chaykul ikuliyenikka chinkwuka wassta.
    I was about to read a book when my friend came.

b. 수영장에 가려가 매가 아파요.
   swuyengcangey kalycenikka payka aphyo.
   I was about to swim when I got a stomachache.

c. 동산을 하려가 눈이 적어요.
   tungsanul halyenikka nwuni wayo.
   I was about to climb a mountain when it snowed.

In (8a) the subject was intending to read a book when a friend of his came to see him. The friend's coming was something unexpected to the speaker. In (8b) the speaker was intending to go swimming when he felt a stomachache. The stomachache was something he did not expect to have. In (8c) the snow was something the speaker did not expect to happen.

9.3.4. **Iye-nuntay** (리태)

The speaker uses the connective **nuntay** when he wants to introduce something that the addressee may not be aware of. In **[A-nuntay B]**, the speaker presents **A**, so that the addressee can take **B** in light of **A**. Thus, the meaning of **[A-lyenuntay B]** is that the agent of **A** intends to do something and the addressee is to take **B** in light of the intention. Examine the following illustrative examples:
The information conveyed by the nuntey-clause is background information and the addressee is to take the information of the main clause against this background. In (9a), for example, the addressee is to take the friend's visit against the background that the speaker was about to go out. From these two facts, the addressee is to draw some inference. One possible inference might be that the speaker was not exactly happy to see his friend. In (9b) also, the addressee is to take the rain against the background of his going home. From these two facts, it can be inferred that the rain was not something the man expected.

9.3.5. lye-taka (러디가)

When one has made up his mind to do something, he can keep the determination until carrying it out or change it before carrying it out. This can be represented in the following way.

(10) a. intention __________ action

b. __________ Ø

In (10a) the intention is connected to the action and it means that the intention is carried out. In contrast, in (10b), the intention falls short of the intended action. This happens when the subject changes his mind or the intention does not go through as intended. This change or falling short is expressed by taka. Observe the following examples:

(11) a. 영어로 말하려다가 한국어로 했다.
    yengelo mahalyetaka hankwukelo hayssta.
    I was intending to speak in English, but spoke in Korean.

b. 오늘 회사에 가려다가 그만 두었다.
    onul hoyses kalyetaka kuman twuessta.
    I was intending to go to work, but changed my mind.

c. 그분을 만나러다가 생각을 바꾸었다.
    ku pwnul manalyetaka sayngkakul pakkwuessta.
    I was intending to meet him, but changed my mind.

In (11a) the subject decided to speak in English, but changed his mind and spoke in Korean. In (11b), the subject intended to go to work, but decided not to. Similarly in (11c), the subject intended to see someone but changed mind. The intention is expressed by lye and the change by taka.

9.4. ese (어서)

The connective ese is used to connect two sequential events. An event expressed by the ese-clause occurs first and then another event expressed by the main clause follows. However, the element of the temporal sequence alone cannot account for the meaning of the connective, nor can it account for the differences between ese and other temporal connectives such as ko, which in some of its uses denote temporal sequence. The two example sentences below are clearly different in meaning although both connectives have a meaning of temporal sequence:

(1) 그는 세수하고 밥을 먹었다.
    kunun seyswuha ko papul mekessta.
    He washed his face and ate breakfast.
there he bought bread. In (3b) the subject came home and there he slept. In (3c) the subject went to school and there he studied.

We can have similar examples with verbs of posture, such as seta, nwupsta, ancta and ephtulita, etc. In the following sentences, the ese-clauses denote change of posture and the events of the main clauses take place in the new postures:

4a. 그는 서서 책을 읽었다.
   kunun sesa, chaykul ilkessta.
   He stood up and read a book (in that posture).

b. 그는 누워서, TV를 보았다.
   kunun nwuse, TVul poassta.
   He lay down and watched TV (in that posture).

c. 그는 앉아서, 그림을 그렸다.
   kunun anesse, kuliil kulyessta.
   He sat down and painted a picture (in that posture).

Thus, in (4a) the subject stood up and in the standing position he read a book. In (4b) the subject lay down and in the reclining position he watched TV. In (4c) the subject sat down and in the sitting position he drew a picture. From examples in (3) and (4), it has become clear that the connective ese connects two sequential events and the second one takes place in the new location or posture of the first event.

The concept of location or posture is relatively concrete and this concept can be extended to a more abstract concept of state. In other words, a concrete spacial concept can be a basis of a more abstract concept. This metaphorical extension can be illustrated with adjectives. In the following sentences, some adjectives are used with ese, and the ese-clauses denote abstract locations (states) in which the events of the main clauses take place.

5a. 그는 야씨서 집에 갔다.
   kunun aphas waise kase ststa.
He was sick and (in that state) he went home.

b. 그는 기뻐서 춤을 추었다.
kunun kippese chwumul chwuessta.
He was overjoyed and (in that state) he danced.

c. 그는 무서워서 밤을 나가지 못했다.
kunun musewese pakkul nakaci moshaystta.
He was afraid and (in that state) he could not go out.

In (5) all the ese clauses denote mental states and in or out of the mental states the events of the main clauses took place. A relevant metaphor would be that the state of the ese-clause is a source (or container) and the main clause event comes out of the source. Thus, in (5a) 'he' was in a happy state and in or out of that state he danced. The 'sick' state in (5a) is often regarded as the cause of his going.

Similarly in (5b) he was happy and in or out of that state he danced. This can be interpreted metaphorically in the following way: his dancing took place in or out of happiness. This again means that the happiness is the cause of his dancing.

The connective ese can be used with regard to time and it can be ambiguous depending upon the context. Let us observe the following sentences.

(6a) can have two readings. In one reading it means that he became old and in that old age he died. In another reading, it means that he died because of his old age. Likewise, (6b) can have two readings. In one reading it means that he was famous because he was young, and in another reading he was famous when he was young. (7) means that he came back after or because it was twelve o'clock. The ese-clauses above have two readings but the two senses of the connective ese are not distinct but they are extensions of the concrete meaning of the connective.

In the following examples, we can see that the two events connected by ese are more concrete in that things used or made in the first events are used in the second events.

(8a) 우리는 생선을 구워서 밥이었다.
wulinun sayngsenul kwuwse mekessta.
We broiled the fish and ate it.

b. 그는 라이터를 켜서 주었다.
kunun laithelul khyese cwuessta.
He lit the lighter and gave it (to someone).

c. 그는 겉을 벗어서 바늘을 닦았다.
kunun kelleyul ppalasse mawulul takkassta.
He rinsed the mop and cleaned the floor (with the mop).

In (8a) we roasted a fish and we ate the fish. In (8b) he lit the lighter and gave the lighted lighter. In (8c) he rinsed the mop and wiped the floor with the rinsed mop. The fish, the lighted lighter and the rinsed mop are the result of the first events. Thus, we can still say
that the second event of eating, giving, wiping took place in the state created by the first event.

In the following sentences, the connective ese has a stronger sense of cause. But still this sense comes out of the general meaning of the connective ese.

(9) a. 비가 많이 와서 흑수가 났다.
   pika manhi wase hongswuka nassta.
   It rained a lot and (because of the rain) it flooded.

b. 사람들이 쫓아가서 그 둘이 죽었다.
   salamtuli cispalpase ku phwuli cwukessta.
   People trampled on the grass and (because of that) the grass died.

c. 불은 피워서 굴뚝에 연기가 난다.
   pwlulul phiwese kwuluwukwey yenikika nanta.
   The chimney gives off smoke because someone made a fire.

In (9a) there was a heavy rain and out of that state, a flood occurred. Thus, the heavy rain is regarded as a cause. In (9b) the grass was trampled upon, and in that state (or out of that state) the grass died. In (9c) someone made a fire and because of that state, smoke is coming out. In all cases, the second event is coming out of the first event and thus the first event is regarded as a cause.

At this point a comparison with another connective ko will be useful. The general meaning of ese is that the second event (E2) expressed by the main clause takes place out of the state produced by the first event (E1) of the ese clause. This relation can be represented in the following diagram.

![Diagram](image)

The general meaning of ko is that the speaker lists two or more events. The connective ko itself does not have temporal meaning but it often acquires temporal meaning in context. Nevertheless, the two or more events connected by ko are independent and they are not thought to influence one another.

An easy way to compare ese with ko is to try to use ko in place of ese, and to see how the meaning changes.

(11) a. 그는 마켓에 가서/가고 싶을 난다.
   kunun maketyey kase/kako ppangul saasta.
   He went to the market and bought bread (there).

b. 그는 누워서/굽고 싶을 난다.
   kunun nwuwe/nwupko chaykul possta.
   He lay down and (in that state) he read a book.
   /and read a book.
   He read a book lying down.
   He lay down /and then read a book.

c. 그는 아파서/아프고 싶을 난다.
   kunun aphase/aphuko cipey kassta.
   He was sick and (out of that state) he went home.
   /and he went home.
   He went home because he was sick.
   He was sick and he went home.

d. 그는 늘어서/굽고 싶을 난다.
   kunun nulke/nulko cwukessta.
   He was old and (out of that state) died.
   /and died.
   He died because he was old.
   He became old and died.

e. 그는 생선을 구워서/굽고 먹었다.
   kunun sayngsenul kwuwe/kwupko mekessta.
   He broiled the fish and ate it.
/and ate (something else).

f. 비가 많이 왔서/오고 홍수가 났다.
pika manhi wase/oko hongswuka nassta.
It rained a lot and (because of that) it flooded

In (11a) when ese is used, it means that he went to a market and in the market he bought bread. When ko is used, two events are listed: he went to a market and he bought bread. But it is not clear whether he bought the bread at the market he went to. Thus, the connective ko simply lists events what the speaker did. In (11b), when ese is used, it means that he lay down and in the reclining posture he read a book. When ko is used, it lists two events: he lay down and read a book. In this case, there is no implication that reading took place in the reclining posture. The sentence simply lists two events that the subject did. In (11c), when ese is used, it means that he was sick and in (or out of) that state he went home. His sickness is thought to be the source of his going home. When ko is used, the sentence sounds awkward because it lists two events which should be causally related. Sentence (11d) can be explained similarly. In (11e), when ese is used, it means that he roasted fish and he ate the broiled fish. The connective ko, on the other hand, simply lists two events and there is no implication that he ate the roasted fish. Therefore, sentence (11e) with ko implies that he roasted some fish and he ate something else.

In (1) there are two places implied. One place is where the cookies are baked and the other is where the cookies are given. The connective eta denotes that the subject bakes the cookies at a certain place and takes them to some other place where he gives them to someone else. In other words, when the connective eta is used, it means that the place of the eta-clause and that of the main clause are different. A comparison with the connective ese will make the meaning of eta clearer. Let us compare the following two sentences.

(2) a. 밥을 지어드렸습니다.
papul cieta tuliyesussupnita.
(Someone) cooked rice and gave it to someone else at a place different from that of the cooking.
b. 밥을 지어드리겠습니다.
papul cieta tuliyesussupnita.
(Someone) cooked rice and gave it to someone (at the place of the cooking).

In (2a) the connective eta is used, and the place of cooking the rice and that of giving it are different. But in (2b) the connective ese is used, so the place of cooking the rice and the place of giving are the same. Some additional examples are presented below:

(3) a. 편지를 씌다 드리겠습니다.
phyencilul sseta tulikeyssupnita.
(I will write the letter and gave (it to you where you are).
b. 편지를 씌시 드리겠습니다.
phyencilul ssesse tulikeyssupnita.
I will write the letter and give it to you.

(4) a. 이 생선을 구워다 드리겠습니다.
i sayngamsul kwuweta tulikeyssupnita.
I will broil the fish and give it to you where you are.
b. 이 생선을 구워서 드리겠습니다.
   i sayngsenul kwuweesi tulikeyssupnita.
   I will broil the fish and give it to you.

(5) a. 그 물건을 사다가 드리겠습니다.
    ku mwulkenul satatka tulikeyssupnita.
    I will buy the thing and use it (at a place different from
    that of the buying)

b. 그 물건을 사서 쓴겠습니다.
    ku mulkenul saae saukeyssupnita.
    I will buy the thing and use it.

The connective *eta* is used when we indicate a shift of direction
with regard to seeing it. Observe the following examples.

(6)  

| a. 아래를 내리다 | alaylul nayl'eta |
| b. 위를 쳐다    | wilul cyeta      |
| 우리는         | pakkul nayta     |
| c. 밑을 넣다    | bo'ata.         |
| wulinun       | poassta.        |
| d. 방향을 들어다 | panganul tulyeta |
| e. 위를 드아다   | twilul tolata   |

downward
upward.
He looked
outward.
inward.
around.

9.6. *kena* (거나)

The connective *kena* is made up of two morphemes. It is made
up of *ke* and *na*. The morpheme *ke* denotes existence of a
situation and *na* denotes a choice out of secondary ones. Thus, *kena*
as a whole means that existence of a certain situation is presump-
posed but it is of not much concern to the speaker. To see this,
let us observe the following example.

(1) a. 젠수가 싸우고 있어요.
    Chelswuka ssawuko issayo.
    Chelswu is having a fight.

b. 그 녀석 싸우거나 맺거나 내가 무슨 상관이야.
    ku nyeseek ssawukena malkena nayka mwusun sangk-
    aniya.
    I don't care whether he is fighting or not.

Speaker (1b) hears that Chelswu is fighting, and *ke* shows that
he believes in the existence of fighting. But to speaker (1b) nei-
ther fighting nor not-fighting is of any importance. This is ex-
pressed by the particle *na*. Let us examine another example.

(2) a. 그 애가 술을 마시고 있어요.
    ku ayka swulul masiko issayo.
    He is having an alcoholic drink.

b. 그 녀석 술을 마시거나 맺거나 내가 무슨 상관이야.
    ku nyeseek swulul masikena malkena nayka mwusun
    sangkwaniya.
    I don't care whether he is having an alcoholic drink or
    not.
Speaker (2b) hears that a child is drinking an alcoholic beverage, and he believes it. That is, he believes in the existence of the boy's drinking. But speaker (2b) is not concerned about it. It is none of his concern whether the boy is drinking or not. Observe the following additional examples:

(3) a. 그 사람이려 노래를 하거나 말거나, 벌가 무슨 상관이야.
   ku salamiya nolaylul hakena makkena neyka mwusun sangkwaninya.
   You don't care whether he is singing or not.

b. 낫이야 지거나 말거나 간섭하지 말고 내버려 두세요.
   namiya cakena makkena kansephaci malko navyelye twueyyo.
   Leave me alone. Don't be concerned whether I am sleeping or not.

c. 나아 서 거거나 말거나 벌가 네 사 건관이야?
   naya se iskena makkena neyka way kansepiya?
   Why do you care whether I am standing or not?

In (3) the speaker believes in the existence of someone singing, interfering and standing up, but he is not interested in the existence. He is nonchalant about it.

9.7. ketun (거든)

The connective ketun seems to be made up of two morphemes: ke and tun. ke expresses existence and tun likelihood. It is used only in imperative and hortative sentences. It refers to a future condition resulting from a prior situation which is in existence or will be in existence. In other words, a situation is given and from the given situation, a condition in question is likely to occur, and such a condition is expressed by ketun. Let us first compare ketun with myen. The comparison will bring out the meaning of ketun more clearly.

(1) a. 벌가 꿀프먼 먹어야.
   payka kophumyen mekeka.
   If you are hungry take it.

b. 벌가 꿀프거든 먹어야.
   payka kophuketun mekeka.
   When you are hungry, take it.

Both sentences are conditional imperatives. The conditional clauses define the domain in which the addressee is to carry out orders or follow suggestions. In this regard, the two connectives are similar, but in other respects, they are not. The condition in (1a) is a hypothetical one. The speaker does not know whether the addressee is hungry or not, but assumes a world in which he is hungry and in the given condition the addressee is to eat. On the other hand, the condition imposed by the ketun clause is determined by or results from a situation which is in progress or scheduled. Thus, in (1b) the addressee is fasting or is going to fast for a few hours and then if he is hungry from the fasting, he is to eat.

Compare the following additional pair of examples.

(2) a. 벌가 아프면 다시 오세요.
   payka aphumyen tasi oseyyo.
   If you are sick again, come back.

b. 벌가 아프거든 다시 오세요.
   payka aphuketun tasi oseyyo.
   When you are sick again, come back.

Let us suppose that the speaker of (2) is a doctor and the addressee is a patient. In (2a) the doctor simply assumes a
hypothetical condition in which the patient can be. He does not know whether the patient is likely to be sick or not. In (2b) the doctor assumes or presupposes that the patient is to do something. For instance, he is to take some medication. Thus, taking the medication is a prior condition, and from this given condition a stomachache is thought to be likely to occur. In other words, the condition expressed by ketun is not a purely hypothetical one but one that may result from a prior situation where such a condition is much more likely than a purely hypothetical one. For example, if one takes some pill for pain, he will either feel pain or not feel pain. In contrast, the condition expressed by myen in (2a) does not presuppose any prior situation leading to the condition.

Let us examine another pair of examples.

(3) a. 마음에 들면 사세요.
mauney tulmyen saseyyo.
   If you like it, buy it.

b. 마음에 들거든 사세요.
mauney tulgetun saseyyo.
   When you like it (after trying something on), buy it.

Let us suppose that the speaker of (3) is a salesman and the addressee is a customer. In the case of (3a), the speaker uses the sentence when he does not know whether the customer likes the thing or not. So he simply assumes a hypothetical condition. In the case of (3b) the speaker uses the sentence when the customer is trying the thing on, and he is to decide after he has tried the thing first. Thus, after the trying on, a condition is likely to take place.

Compare the following two sentences.

(4) a. 그가 맛있면 나에게 알리라.
kuka ttaylimyen naeykey illela.
   If he hits you, come and tell me

b. 그가 맛있게 나에게 알리라.
kuka ttayligetun naeykey illela.
   When he hits you, come and tell me.

Sentence (4a) simply describes a hypothetically conceivable happening, whereas sentence (4b) describes the actual likelihood of an event. Suppose we are talking about someone called X and Y. X hit Y and Y reports it to his father. In this case, the father will utter (4b) rather than (4a), because X hit Y and the father knows X’s disposition or temper and thinks it is possible that X will hit Y again.

The difference between the following two sentences can be explained in a similar way.

(5) a. 영히가 오면 나에게 오라고 해라.
Yenghika omyen naeykey olako hayla.
   If Yenghi comes, have her come to me.

b. 영히가 오겨든 나에게 오라고 해라.
Yenghi ogetun naeykey olako hayla.
   When Yenghi comes, have her come to me.

The speaker of (5a) does not know whether Yenghi is coming or not, but assumes that she will come. The speaker of (5b) knows that she might be coming, because she told him so.

A comparison with telato will bring out the meaning of ketun more clearly. The speaker uses ketun when the condition he has in mind is likely to occur. In contrast, he uses telato when the condition he has in mind is not likely to occur. Compare the two sentences below.

(6) a. 비가 오겨든 집에 가거라.
pika ogetun cipey kakela.
   When it rains, go home.
b. 비가 오더라도 집에 가거라.
   pika otelato cipe y kakela.
   Even if it rains, go home.

Speaker (6a) uses the sentence when he knows that it is likely to rain. He sees the sky covered with clouds or he may have heard the weather forecast, which says that it might rain. In contrast, speaker (6b) knows that it is not likely to rain.

ketun is also used with the past tense. As is the case with the present tense, the speaker uses this connective when the condition is likely to have been realized. Let us compare the following two sentences.

(7) a. 그 사진이 잘 되었으면 가져오너라.
   ku sacini cal toyessumyen kacyeonela.
   If the picture came out well, bring it to me.

b. 그 사진이 잘 되었거든 가져오너라.
   ku sacini cal toyessketun kacyeonela.
   When the picture came out well, bring it to me.

When myen is used to express a condition, the speaker does not have any idea whether the condition was realized or not. But when ketun is used, the speaker is aware of a situation or a fact which may have given rise to the condition. For example, in (7a), the speaker does not know whether the picture came out well or not. In contrast, in (7b) the speaker tends to believe that it came out well, maybe because the photographer assured him of a good picture. The following pair of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way.

(8) a. 그 사진이 달렸으면 그날 돌아오너라.
   ku sangcemi tathiessumyen kunyang tolaonela.
   If the store is closed, just come back.

b. 그 사진이 달렸건 그날 돌아오너라.
   ku sangcemi tathiessketun kunyang tolaonela.
   When the store has been closed, just come back.

Speaker (8a) does not know whether the store is closed or not, but speaker (8b) thinks that it is likely to be closed, because someone told him that it is closed or he knows that it is closed at a certain time.

9.8. ko (고)

The basic meaning of the connective ko is that two or more events connected by ko are contiguous to each other. From this general meaning, many inferential and contextual meanings can be drawn: sometimes, events connected by ko are thought to be sequential or parallel to each other. The connective can be used with the present tense and the past tense as in the following.

(1) a. 동사-고
   Verb-ko
   동사-서제
   Verb-Tense-

b. 동사-서제-고
   Verb-Tense-ko
   동사-서제
   Verb-Tense-

In (1a) the tense appears in the last verb and in (1b) the tense appears in each verb. The two patterns above are exemplified below.

(2) a. 우리는 술을 마시고 놀았다.
   wulinun sukul masiko nolassta.
   We drank and had a good time.
b. 우리는 술을 마시고 노았다.
wulinnun swutul maseessko nolast. We drank and we had a good time.

In what follows we will examine pattern (1a) first.

The connective ko can denote continuity between two or more situations. Suppose there are two situations A and B and they are connected by ko. This connection can be represented in the following way:

(3) a. sequential b. coextensive

\[
\begin{array}{c}
A : B \\
A \\
B \\
\end{array}
\]

In (3a), situation B follows situation A and in (3b), situation A and B coexist. In either way the two situations A and B are contiguous to each other.

Whether the two situations connected by ko are interpreted as sequential or as coextensive is determined by the nature of the verbs used and by our knowledge of the world. Let us examine the following examples.

(4) 한 아이가 울고 갔다.
han aika wulko kasst.
The child cried and went.

(5) 그 아이들을 창문을 켜고 도망을 갔다.
kuku aitu changmwnul kkayko tomangul kasst.
The children broke the window and ran off.

(6) 그는 모자를 쓰고 나갔다.
kunun mocaalul sskoko naksst.
He put on his hat and left (with the hat on).

(7) 그는 모자를 쓰고 갔다.
kunun mocaalul ssoppoko naksst.
He tried a hat on and left (without the hat on).

Sentence (4) is ambiguous: it can mean either that the child cried and went or that the child went crying. Sentence (5) is not ambiguous. It allows only a sequential meaning: the children broke the window and ran away. Sentence (6) is ambiguous: it can mean either that he put on the hat and left or that he left wearing the hat. However, sentence (7) is not ambiguous because of the meaning of the auxiliary verb potta 'to try'.

In this section we will examine some examples of the coextensive meaning of ko. The connective ko is interpreted as coextensive when verbs of contact are used. Verbs of dress are one class of contact verbs. The verb suta 'to put on a hat' is an example. When one puts on a hat, it is on or is interpreted to be on unless and until it is indicated that the resultant state is removed by a subsequent action. Thus, when an action of putting on something is followed by another action, it is assumed that the resultant state of the first action is carried over to the second action. The ambiguity of sentence (6) can be represented in the following way.

(8) a. sequential b. coextensive

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{action} \quad \text{action} \\
\text{putting on} \quad \text{going} \\
\text{wearing (state)} \quad \text{going (action)} \\
\end{array}
\]

In (8a) two actions are contiguous to each other, but in (8b) a state and an action are contiguous. The following example
is ambiguous in a similar way:

(9) 우리는 버스를 타고 갔다.
wulinun ppesulul thako kassta.
We got on a bus and went.
We went by bus.

When one gets on a bus, he is or is thought to be on it until it is indicated that he gets off. Thus, when the action of getting on a bus is placed prior to that of going, it is assumed that the state of being on the bus remains while the next action is going on. This again can be represented in the following way.

(10) a. sequential       b. coextensive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>getting on</th>
<th>going</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>being on the bus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>going</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following additional examples have the coextensive reading we have examined above.

(11) a. 그는 신문을 쓴다.
kunun simmwnul kkalko ancassa.
He spread a newspaper and sat (on it).

b. 그는 신문을 읽고 잊었다.
kunun simmwnul tulko ilkessta.
He held up the paper and read it.

c. 그는 옷을 입고 물 속에 들어갔다.
kunun osal ipko mwul soxey tulekassta.
He put on clothes and went into the water.

d. 그들은 서로 기xmlns고 울었다.
kutulun sele kkyanko wulessta.
They held each other and cried.

In (11) the results of the first actions are thought to be carried over to the next actions and the resultant states coexist with the subsequent actions. From this we can see that the coextensive reading is derived from the general meaning of contiguity relation together with the nature of the verbs and our knowledge of the world.

In the following examples, the connective ko is interpreted sequentially and this sequential meaning is not determined by ko but by the nature of the verbs involved.

(12) a. 나는 세수를 하고 밥을 먹었다.
nunun seyswulul hako papul mekessa.
I washed my face and ate my meal.

b. 그가 도착하고 그녀가 떠났다.
kuka tochakhako kunyeka tenassta.
He arrived and she left.

The two sentences above are interpreted sequentially because the first situations do not have any results that may be carried over to the next situations. Washing the face, for example, does not have any conspicuous result that may be carried over to eating, and coexist with the eating. Similarly, one’s arriving does not produce any result that may coexist with someone else’s leaving. For this reason, the two sentences above have only the sequential meaning. However, this sequential meaning is not intrinsic to the meaning of the connective ko. It is simply derived from the general meaning of contiguity together with the nature of the processes connected and our knowledge about them.

The following examples may suggest that the connective ko
has a consequential meaning. However, it will be shown below that this consequential meaning is also derived from the general meaning of ko together with the nature of the processes and our knowledge about them.

(13) a. 그는 아내를 폐리고 도망을 갔다.
   kunun anayul tayliko tomangul kassta.
   He beat his wife and ran away.

b. 그는 비를 맞고 감기에 들었다.
   kunun pilul macko kamkley tulessta.
   He got rained on and got a cold.

In (13a) the connective ko simply denotes that the two situations are parts of a larger process and they can be interpreted to be sequentially contiguous to each other. However, people listening to it may infer that he ran away to avoid being hit back or scolded. This consequential meaning is inferred by the addressee. Similarly, in (13b) the connective simply puts the two situations side by side. But the addressee may interpret the second situations as consequences of the first situation from the general run of things.

Because of the general meaning of ko, it is naturally used in listing some activities, as in the following examples:

(14) a. 나는 푸부를 하고 철수는 짐을 갔다.
   nanun kongpwulul hako Chelswumun camul cassta.
   I studied and Chelswu slept.

b. 그는 낚시를 하고 나는 목욕을 했다.
   kunun nakkaalul hako nanun mokyokul hayastta.
   He fished and I swam.

The connective ko is often followed by the verbs ista, nata.

malta, siphta and hata. In this section we will examine these constructions one by one.

9.8.1.1. verb—ko ista

The construction above is often referred to as the progressive form in Korean. It denotes that a certain situation is in existence. To be more specific, someone or something is in action, activity or operation. Let us observe the following sentences.

(15) a. 그는 저녁을 먹고 있다.
   kunun cenyukul mekoissta.
   He is having supper.

b. 그는 책을 읽고 있다.
   kunun chaykul ilkko issta.
   He is reading a book.

In (15a) when an activity is placed side by side with existence, the activity is interpreted as a place somewhere in the whole process and the subject is thought to be in that place. Similarly, in (15b) the activity of reading is placed side by side with existence and the reading activity is regarded as an abstract place in the whole process with the subject in the abstract place.

9.8.1.2. verb—ko nata

The verb nata means ‘to come out’ or ‘to move out’. When this verb is used in the verb—ko nata construction, the preceding verb is regarded as an abstract location out of which the subject comes. This again means that the subject is out of some activity or action: he is through with it. Let us examine the following sentences.
(16) a. 나는 경부를 치니 기본이 좋다.
nanun cengkwulu chini kipwuni cohta.
I happen to feel good when I play tennis.
b. 나는 경부를 치고 나니 기본이 좋다.
nanun cengkwulu chiko nani kipwuni cohta.
I happen to feel good after playing tennis.

Sentence (16a) means that the subject feels good while playing tennis whereas (16b) means that the subject feels good after playing tennis. Feeling good and playing are simultaneous in (16a), but the two are sequential in (16b).

9.8.1.3. verb-ko malta

Before someone begins to do something, he intends or plans to do it. When he does something, his intention or planning comes to an end. The verb malta means 'to stop' or 'to come to an end'. What comes to an end in the verb-ko malta construction is the intention or planning of an activity denoted by the verb. To see this, let us observe the following examples.

(17) a. 그는 간다 간다 하러니 뒷이 가고 말았다.
kunun kanta kanta hateni tutie kako malassta.
He kept on saying that he would go and finally he went.
b. 그 다른 뒷을 듣 죽을 듣 하러니 마침내 죽고 말았다.
kunamwunun cwukul tus cwukul tus hateni machimney cwukko malassta.
The tree looked as if it were going to die, and finally it died.

In (17a), before going, one intends to go. Upon going, the intention itself comes to an end and it is realized. The auxiliary verb

malta denotes that the change is not what the speaker wants. Before a tree dies, we can notice that it is likely to die. Upon dying, the likelihood itself comes to an end, and a change takes place. The coming to an end of the intention and likelihood is expressed by the verb malta. This auxiliary verb additionally expresses that the speaker does not want the change. The change expressed in (17a) can be represented in the following way.

(18) a. before going                b. upon going

+intention
(or likelihood)
=realization

Before going, there is one's intention to go, but as soon as he goes, his intention to go comes to an end. The signs "+" and "-" mean existence and non-existence respectively.

Thus, the following two sentences are used in different occasions.

(19) a. 마침내 비행기가 떠나고 말았다.
machimney pihayngkika tenako malassta.
Finally the plane took off (against my wish).
b. 비행기가 떠났다.
pihayngkika tenassta.
The plane took off.

Sentence (19a) denotes that the plane took off but it additionally implies that the speaker did not want the plane to take off. Sentence (19b) simply describes the departure of the plane with no implication of the speaker's attitude.

The construction can be used in a somewhat different situation. When someone does not want to go but has de-
cided to or is forced to go, the verb *malta* is used as in the following. In this case, one’s resistance to go is involved and it comes to an end upon his going.

(20) a. 안 가라고 하나가 가고 말았다.
    an kalyeko hataka kako malassta.
    I was not going but gave in.

b. 웃음을 참다가 웃고 말았다.
    wusumul chamtaka wusko malassta.
    I was refraining from laughing, but gave in.

Sentence (20a) can be represented in the following way.

(21) **before going**          **upon going**
    +resistance to go         −resistance to go
    −realization             +realization

Before an action is realized, there is resistance on the part of the subject, but upon going, the resistance comes to an end. From this a sense of regret can be derived.

9.8.1.4. verb-*ko* siphta

The verb *siphta* means *to want to*. The construction above literally means that a certain action or activity denoted by the verb is part of the subject’s desire. This means, in other words, that the subject wants to do the action or activity denoted by the verb. Some illustrative examples are presented below:

(22) a. 그는 나를 만나고 싶어 한다.
    kunun nalul mannako siphe hanta.
    He wants to see me.

b. 그는 집에 가고 싶어 한다.
    kunun cipey kako siphe hanta.
    He wants to go home.

c. 그는 무엇을 말하고 싶어 한다.
    kunun mwuesul malhako siphe hanta.
    He wants to say something.

(23) a. 나는 그를 만나고 싶다.
    nanun kulul mannako siphta.
    I want to see him.

b. 나는 집에 가고 싶다.
    nanun cipey kako siphta.
    I want to go home.

c. 나는 그것을 말하고 싶다.
    nanun kukesul malhako siphta.
    I want to say that.

When the subject is the third person as in (22), the verb *siphta*, which is stative, must be changed to nonstative. But when the subject is the first person, no such change is necessary.

9.8.1.5. verb-*lye-ko* hata

The morphem *lye* denotes intention to do something. The verb *hata* is a very abstract and schematic verb denoting both mental and physical activity. Thus, the combined form means that one’s intention to do something is part of his mental activity. This in turn means that one intends to do something. Observe the following examples:

(24) a. 그는 내일 아침 일찍 떠나려고 한다.
    kunun nayil achim ilcik ttenalyeko hanta.
    He intends to leave early tomorrow morning.
b. 우리는 모자를 써보고 밖에 나갔다.
    wulinun mocalul ssessko pakkey nakassta.
    We put on a hat and we went out.

The two actions in (26a) are thought to be components of a conceptually single plan. Thus, we can interpret them as occurring sequentially or coextensively. In contrast, the two actions in (26b), being conceptually separate, do not allow such an interpretation. Sentence (26b) simply lists two actions that the subject did.

Contrast with other connectives

There are a few connectives which are often treated as being synonymous. In this section such connectives will be contrasted with ko.

9.8.2.1. ko vs. ese

The general meaning of ko is that events connected by ko constitute parts of a larger whole and that of ese is 'the second situation taking place in the resultant state of the first situation', or 'the first situation proving the necessary condition(s) for the second situation'. Keeping this distinction in mind, let us compare the following two sentences. In (27a) the connective ko is used and in (27b) the connective ese is used.

(27) a. 그는 입을 벌리고 깨다.
    kunun ipul pelli ko cassta.
    He opened his mouth and slept (with the mouth open).

b. 그는 입을 벌리고 깨다.
    kunun ipul pelli ye sesse cassta.
He opened his mouth and then slept. Sentence (27a) is acceptable, because it is perfectly possible for the two states of keeping his mouth open and sleeping to take place simultaneously. In contrast, sentence (27b) is not acceptable, because it is rather difficult to imagine a situation in which opening one's mouth or keeping the mouth open leads to sleeping. In the following, however, we find a different case where the connective ko is not acceptable but ese is.

(28) a. 그는 놓고 졌다.
   kunun nupko cassta.
   He lay down and he slept.

b. 그는 누워서 졌다.
   kunun nuywese cassta.
   He lay down and slept.

The acceptability seems to depend upon our conceptualization. We do not regard (lying down and sleeping as two separate situations occurring side by side. The two should be conceptually closer. This is the reason why sentence (28a) is unacceptable. We regard (lying down as a necessary step toward sleeping. Sleeping must take place in the resultant posture of lying down.

9.8.2.2. ko vs. myense

The connective ko is sometimes treated as being synonymous with the connective myense. At first glance the two connectives appear to be similar to each other because ko in one sense means 'coextensiveness' and myense 'simultaneity'. But they are different from each other in that the two situations connected by myense must be either dynamic or static. On the other hand, the connective ko in its coextensive meaning can connect a static situation with a dynamic situation. Let us examine the following examples.

(29) a. 그는 택시를 타고 학교에 갔다.
   kunun tayksilul thako hakkyoey kassta.
   He got in a taxi and went to school.

b. 그는 택시를 타면서 학교에 갔다.
   kunun tayksilul thammyense hakkyoey kassta.
   He was getting in a taxi and went to school.

When we go somewhere by taxi, we first get in a taxi and the taxi moves with us in it. The state of our being in it coexists with the movement of the taxi. Thus, sentence (29a) is natural. However, sentence (29b) is awkward because the connective myense juxtaposes two actions and normally the action of getting in a taxi cannot go on while the taxi is going.

Observe the following pair of sentences.

(30) a. 그는 하모니카를 불고, 노래를 불렀다.
   kunun hamonikalul pwulko, nolaylul pwuulessta.
   He played the harmonica and sang songs.

b. 그는 하모니카를 불면서 노래를 불렀다.
   kunun hamonikalul pwulmyense, nolaylul pwuulessta.
   He was playing the harmonica and sang songs.

Sentence (30a) allows a sequential interpretation of two situations: playing the harmonica is followed by singing. In contrast, sentence (30b) is unacceptable because the connective myense denotes two simultaneous situations but playing the harmonica and singing cannot go on together.
9.9. myen (면)

The connective unj and ese present events in the real world. In contrast, the connective myen presents events in the non-real world. The non-real world includes a world of indeterminacy and impossibility. This means that events presented by myen can differ in their degree of reality. This will be examined closely in the following sections. The connective is used in the following environments.

(1) a. bare-stem—myen
b. past tense—myen
c. future tense—myen
d. -tela—myen
e. -ta—myen
f. -le—myen

We will examine each of the above combinations one by one.

9.9.1. bare stem—myen

In the following sentences, myen is used with the bare stem o-‘to come’, and as was pointed out above, it presents a situation of uncertainty or of possibility:

(2) 눈이 오면 밖에 나가자.
   nwuni omyen pakkej nakaca.
   If it snows, let’s go out.

The sentence above is ambiguous. In one reading, the speaker knows that it is not snowing and he assumes or expects a world in which it snows. It is a hypothetical condition and his suggestion is valid under the given situation. In another reading, the speaker does not know whether it is snowing or not, and assumes a world in which it snows. His suggestion is to go out if it snows. In a similar way, the following sentence is ambiguous.

(3) 그 분이 살아 있으면 참 좋겠다.
   ku pwuni sala issuwnyen cham cohkeyssta.
   If he is alive, it will be good.

In one reading of (3), the speaker does not know whether the man is alive or not, and he assumes a world in which he lives. In another reading, the speaker knows that the man is not alive, and assumes a world in which the man lives. This ambiguity can be represented in the following way:

(4) irreals
    uncertainty □ myen
    realis

The diagram shows that myen covers both the world of irreals and uncertainty. The first reading of (3) corresponds to the world of uncertainty and the second reading to the world of irreals.

9.9.2. past tense—myen

The past tense can be used with myen as can be seen in (5). This form is used when the speaker makes some assumption about a past event.

(5) 그때 그 여자가 여기 왔으면 그를 만났을 것이다.
   kuttay ku yeaka yeki wassumyen kulul manassul kesita.
   If the woman had come, she would have met him.
Like myen used with the bare stem, myen with the past tense is also ambiguous, and the speaker can use sentence (5) for two different situations. One situation can be that he does not know whether the woman came here or not, and another situation may be that he knows she did not come. Thus, myen covers both uncertain and hypothetical situations.

With regard to some assumption about an unrealized event, the present tense and the past tense forms both can be used but they are different. To be more specific, they differ from each other in expressing the degree of realizability. When the speaker assumes that a situation in question is likely to occur, he uses the form, bare stem-myen. In contrast, when he thinks that a situation in question is unlikely to occur, he uses the form past tense-myen. To compare the two forms, let us examine the following pair of sentences.

(6) a. 그들이 지금 가면 좋겠다.
   kutuli cikum kamyen cohkeyssta.  
   If they go now, it will be good.

b. 그들이 지금 갔으면 좋겠다.
   kutuli cikum kassumyen cohkeyssta.
   If they went now, it would be good.

Sentence (6a) can be ambiguous, as was said before. The speaker can use it when he does not know whether they may go or not, or when he thinks that they may not go. But in this case, the possibility of their going is not completely out. In contrast, the speaker uses sentence (6b) when he definitely knows that they cannot go at all. The different forms reflect the different degrees of possibility.

9.9.3. -keyss-umyen

The connective myen can be preceded by the future tense marker -keyss-, as in the following sentence.

(7) a. 가서갔으면, 가실시요.
   kashikeyssumyen, kasipsyo.
   If you would like to go, please go.

b. 하시겠으면, 하실시요.
   kashikeyssumyen, kasipsyo.
   If you would like to do, please do.

The conditional form -keyss-umyen is used, when the speaker is not sure about the intention of the addressee. In (7a) the speaker is not sure whether the addressee wants to go or not, and assumes a world in which the addressee wants to go, and suggests the addressee do something under the given condition.

9.9.4. tela-myen

tela is made up of two morphemes: te and la. te is a retrospective marker and it is used to report a situation which the speaker observed while it was going on, but of which he did not see the end. la is a sentence ender, which indicates the speaker's noncommittal attitude toward the content of the sentence. The combined form tela is used to indicate that what is being reported is remote from the present validity. myen can be added to tela and tela-myen is used to express a counterfactual condition, which is remote from reality. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences.

(8) a. 그때 그가 열심히 했으면 지금은 관할을 것이다.
   kuttay kuka yelsimhi hayssumyen cikumun kwaynychahul kesita.
   If he had worked hard then, he should be well off now.

b. 그때 그가 열심히 했더라도, 지금은 관할을 것이다.
kuttay kuka yel simhi haysstelamyen, cikumun kwanye-
hanchul kesita.
If he had worked hard, he should be well off now.

Sentence (8a) can be ambiguous. In one reading the speaker does
not know whether he worked hard or not. In another reading, the
speaker knows that he did not work hard. In contrast, sentence
(8b) is not ambiguous and the speaker uses it when he knows
that he did not work hard. Conditional sentences with tel-a-myen
is used to express such counterfactual conditions.

The speaker using a counterfactual condition is committed to
the belief that a situation occurred or did not occur and condi-
tions expressed by telamyen are counterfactual. Sentence (9a)
clearly implies that the speaker knows that the subject did not
take the drug and sentence (9b) implies that the subject bought
a car. In other words, the speaker is making assumptions con-
trary to facts.

(9) a. 그가 그 약을 먹었더라도 살아남을 것이다.
kuka ku yakul meke stelamyen salanassul kesita.
If he had taken the medicine, he would have been alive.
b. 그가 그 차를 사지 않았더라도, 그런 일은 없었을 것이다.
kuka ku chalul saci anhaa stelamyen kulen ilun opessul
kesita.
If he had not bought the car, nothing of the sort would
have happened.

A few additional examples are presented below:

(10) a. 나는 수학을 잘 했더라면, 공대에 갔을 것이다.
nanun swuhakul cal haysstelamyen, kongtaye y kassul
kesita.
If I had been good at math, I would have gone to the
college of engineering.

b. 그는 더 일찍 왔더라도, 그 선생님을 만났을 것이다.
kunun te ikcik wasstelamyen ku sensayngnimul mannas-
sul kesita.
If he had come earlier, he could have met him.

9.9.5. -ta myen

The speaker uses the conditional form clause-ta myen when he
has some reservation with regard to the truth of the proposition
he hears. Let us observe the following conversational give-and-
take.

(12) a. 연탄 값이 오른다.
yenthan kapsi olunta.
The price of briquet is rising.
b. 연탄 값이 오른다면, 많이 사두는 것이 좋겠다.
yenthan kapsi oluntamyen (kulehtamyen), manhi
sawunun kesi cohkessta.
If it is true that the price of briquet is rising, it is rea-
sonable to buy them up.

Speaker (12a) said something, and to this, speaker (12b) uses
the ta—myen conditional form. This form is used when the speaker
is not sure whether he can believe (12a) or not. In other
words, to the speaker of (12b) the content of sentence (12a) is
still in the world of indeterminacy, and to express this
indeterminacy the speaker uses the conditional form. The condi-
tional form below can be accounted for in a similar way.

(13) a. 그 사람 내일 떠난다.
ku salam nayil tenanta.
He leaves tomorrow.
b. 그 분이 의사다면, 지금 가서 만나봐야겠다.
ku pwuni nayi1 ttenantamyen, cikum kase mannnapwanya keysssta.
If it is true that he leaves tomorrow, I'd better go and see him.

Speaker (13b) hears that 'the man' leaves tomorrow. As he hears this for the first time, he is not sure whether it is true or not and he does not accept it as a fact, and he puts it in the world of uncertainty.

In the case of the copula verb ita, its conditional form is not itamyen but ilamyen. Observe the following examples.

(14) a. 그 분은 의사이다.
ku pwunun uisita.
He is a doctor.

b. 그 분이 의사라면 아무도 안 찾아가겠다.
ku pwuni uisalamyen (*uisatamyen) amwuto an chaca kakeysssta.
If it is true that he is a doctor, nobody will go and see him.

Speaker (14b) hears that a certain person is a medical doctor, but he is not ready to believe in the content of (14a) and puts it in the world of indeterminacy.

Note the difference between the following two sentences:

(15) a. 그 분이 간염이라면, 빵리 치료를 받아야 한다.
ku pyengi kanyemilamyen, ppali chilyoul pataya hanta.
If it is true that that is hepatitis, you'd better receive treatment immediately.

b. 그 분이 간염이라면, 빵리 치료를 받아야 한다.
ku pyengi kanyemilamyen, ppali chilyoul pataya hanta.
If that is hepatitis, you'd better receive immediate treatment.

In the case of (15a), the speaker hears something but he is not willing or ready to believe and tentatively assumes that someone's assertion (the disease is hepatitis) is true. Sentence (15b) has nothing to do with an assertion made by another. The speaker simply does not know whether the disease is hepatitis or not, but he tentatively assumes that it is hepatitis.

9.10. myense (면세)

The connective myense is used to express that two situations are taking place at the same time. Look at the following example.

(1) 그는 책을 읽으면서 콜을 보고 있다.
kunun kke1mul asipurnyense chakyul pokol issata.
He is reading while chewing gum.

Chewing gum and reading a book are taking place at the same time. When we compare the following two sentences, the simultaneous nature of myense becomes clear.

(2) a. 그는 자리에 앉아서 콜을 쐈다.
kunun caliey anc1pulul kkessta.
He sat down and then turned off the light.

b. 그는 자리에 앉으면서 콜을 쐈다.
kunun caliey ancumberyne psulul kkessta.
He turned off the light while sitting down.
sentence (2a), in which the connective eso is used, means that the subject sat down and then turned off the light. The first action comes to an end and then in a sitting position, a second action takes place. The two actions take place in sequence. Sentence (2b), in which myense is used, means that the subject turned off the light while he was sitting down.

The situations connected by myense must be performed by the same agent. This can be seen in the following examples:

(3) a. 나는 과자를 먹으면서 편지를 썼다.
    nanun kwacalul mkumyense phycelul ssessta.
    I wrote a letter while eating cookies.

b. 나는 과자를 먹으면서 그는 편지를 썼다.
    nanun kwacalul mkumyense kunun phycelul ssessta.
    He wrote a letter while I was eating cookies.

In (3a) the same subject ate the cookies and wrote letters. But in (3b) the one who ate the cookies and the one who wrote the letters are different. This makes the sentence ungrammatical. But the problem of grammaticality is not as simple as this. To see this, let us observe the following examples.

(4) a. 바다가 불면서 천둥이 치기 시작했다.
    palami pululmyense chentwungi chiki sicakhayssta.
    The wind was blowing and at the same time it began to thunder.

b. 바다가 불면서 나무가 혼들리기 시작했다.
    palami pululmyense namwuka huntulliki sicakhayssta.
    The wind was blowing and at the same time the trees began to shake.

In (4a) two different subjects are used: palam and chentwung. The two subjects are not identical in reference either. But the sentence is grammatical unlike sentence (3b). However, the same constraint seems to hold in (4a) too. The constraint is that the blowing of the wind and the thundering are caused by a single central force --- in this case a natural force. This means that when we can think of a single force behind two situations they can be connected by myense. Sentence (4b), for example, would be grammatical if we could find a single force behind the two situations. Otherwise, it would be unacceptable. Suppose the wind is blowing but the trees are shaken by something other than the wind, the connective myense would not be used in (4b).

(5) a. 불꽃이 일면서 식한 열시가 냈다.
    pwulikkochi ilmyense simhan naymsayka nassta.
    It burst into flames and gave out a strong smell.

b. 바다가 갈라지면서 바다가 드러났다.
    pataka kullacimyense pataki tulenassta.
    The sea was dividing and at the same time the bottom appeared.

As long as we can find a single cause or force behind two or more situations, we can connect them with myense. In (5a) the two situations, blazing and harmful fumes are caused by a fire. In (5b) also, the two events are assumed to be effected by a single supernatural force: in Christian belief they were brought about by an act of God.

In the preceding paragraphs, we examined examples in which the two situations connected by myense are both dynamic. But the connective can be used to connect two static situations (qualities). Qualities of things are static, and the connective myense can be used to connect them. In [A — myense B], both A and B can be static and at the same time they tend to a common goal, with A more encompassing than B. Some examples are presented below.
(8) 그는 공책을 갖다 버리면서 나에게는 안 준다.

kunun kongchaykul kaacta pelimyense naeykeynun an cwunta.
He does not give me any notebooks even though he is throwing away the notebooks.

The speaker of (8) says that the subject's throwing away notebooks and his not giving them to the speaker coexist. But the speaker thinks that given the throwing away of the notebooks, he should give them to the speaker. The second event, however, is not realized. From this a meaning of accusation can be inferred. Consider the following.

(9) 그는 연필을 쓰지 않으면서 안 빌려준다.

kunun yenphilil ulsu cianhurnyense an pillye cwunta.
He does not lend me his pencil even though he is not using it.

The speaker of (9) asserts that not lending a pencil exists in the context of not using it. He believes that not using it should not coexist with not lending it: when one is not using something, he is supposed to lend it to others who want it. A sense of accusation seems to be involved in (9) too: the subject is willfully refusing to lend the pencil which he is not using.

There are two negation markers in Korean. One is an, which expresses internal negation and the other is mos, which expresses external negation. When the negation marker mos is used instead of an, the nonfulfillment is attributed not to the subject himself but to some forces outside of him.

(10) 그는 꼭이 죽어가면서도 일을 안한다.

kunun kwulme cuwkekamyenseto ilul an hanta.
He is not working even though he is starving.
Sentence (10a) means that the subject does not work even when he goes hungry, and sentence (10b) means that he is not allowed to work, although he goes hungry. As a result, a sense of accusation is attached to sentence (10a), whereas a sense of sympathy to sentence (10b).

The connective with negation is also used in expressing discrepancies between one’s words and deeds. For example, in (11) the speaker asserts that not fulfilling a promise exists in the context of making it. The implication is that they should not coexist. Instead, making a promise and fulfilling it should coexist.

(11) 그는 약속을 하면서 지킬 줄을 모르다.
   kunun yaksokul hanyense cikhil cwulul molunta.
   He does keep his promise even though he is making it.

In the following additional examples, the negation marker in the main clause and the connective myense denotes that B does not exist in the context of A. That is, the speaker’s expectation is that B should exist in the context of A, but the facts are contrary to the speaker’s expectation.

(12) a. 그는 알면서 안 가르쳐 준다.
    kunun almyense an kaluchye cwunta.
    He does not tell us about it even though he knows it.

b. 그는 돈이 있으면서 없는 것 한다.
   kunun toni issumyense espunun chey hanta.
   He pretends to be empty handed even though he has a lot.

c. 그는 그 사람을 매일 만나면서 안 만났다고 한다.
   kunun ku salamul mayil manmanyense an mannantako hanta.
   He says he does not see the man even though he sees him every day.

d. 그는 내 물건을 쓰면서 안 쓴다고 한다.
   kunun nay mwulkenul ssunyense an ssuntako hanta.
   He says he does not use my things even though he is using them.

9.11. una (으나)

The connective uma denotes contrast. This connective is used to show contrast between qualities or contrast between one’s expectation and reality. Let us examine these contrasts one by one.

9.11.1. Contrast between qualities

When we evaluate something for a certain purpose, some qualities of the thing are good and favorable but others are not. The connective uma is used to express such a contrast between qualities. Observe the following examples.

(1) a. 이 양말은 어떤가요? 하나 살까요?
    i yangmalun ettenkayo? hana salkkayo?
    How about these socks? Shall we buy a pair?

b. 아니, 짧은 편으나 값이 너무 비싸요.
   ani, cilun cohuna kapsi nemwu pissayo.
   They are good, but too expensive.

In (1) the goal is buying a pair of socks. With regard to this goal, the speaker (1b) presents both good and bad qualities of
the socks. The two qualities contrast and the contrast is expressed by the connective na. To speaker (1b), the good quality and the exorbitant price of the pair contrast with regard to the purpose of buying it. The two do not contrast inherently but they do for a specific purpose. Observe the following additional examples. 

(2) a. 이 연필은 값은 지나 심이 좋지 않다.
   i yenphilun kapaun ssana simi cohici anhta.
   This pencil is cheap but the lead is not good.

b. 그 분은 몸은 흔충히나 머리가 좋지 않다.
   ku pwunun momun thanhunhana melika cohici anhta.
   He is strong but not intelligent.

c. 이 천은 얇으나 지겨서 좋다.
   i chemun yalpura cikyese cohta.
   This cloth is thin but tough.

d. 이 양은 쓰나 몸에는 아름다.
   i yakun ssuna momeynun iloita.
   This medicine is bitter but good for the body.

The connective is used to show contrast between the speaker's preconceived knowledge and reality. In this case, the connective can be translated as 'contrary to one's expectation'. Observe the following sentence.

(3) 벌써 봄이 되었으나 아직 날씨가 차다.
   pelse pomisoyessauna acik nalisika chata.
   It is already spring, but it is still cold.

The speaker of (3) is thought to have the following knowledge in mind.

(4) 봄이 되면 날씨가 따뜻하다.
   pomisoymyen nalisika tatushata.
   When it becomes spring, it is warm.

In the speaker's knowledge, it should be warm in May. But contrary to his expectation it is still cold. Thus, the speaker's knowledge and the actual weather contrast and this contrast is expressed by una. The connective una in the following sentence can be accounted for in a similar way:

(5) 그 봉은 세변이나 허물었으나, 아직도 잘 모르겠다.
   ku chaykun seyipena ilkessuna, aciko cal malukeyssta.
   I have read the book three times, but I still don't understand it.

It is the speaker's expectation that he will be able to understand the book after reading it the third time, but he still cannot understand it. Here also the speaker's preconceived expectation contrasts with his understanding.

Some additional examples are presented below:

(6) a. 이 탕은 삶있으나 저지 않는다.
   i taynun salsassenuna cici anhnunta.
   I have boiled the wash, but the dirt does not come out.

b. 봉이 되었으나, 진달래가 피지 않는다.
   pomisoyessauna, cintalayeka phici anhnunta.
   It has become spring, but the azaleas do not bloom.

c. 그 아버는 세 살이 되었으나 아직 말을 못한다.
   ku ainun sey sali toyessauna acik malul moshanta.
   The child is three years old, but cannot speak yet.

The connective is also used in expressing contrast in speech acts. Speech acts, like any other behavior, are correctly performed only if certain conditions are met. The illocutionary act of promising, for example, is only correctly carried out if the speaker is able to fulfill the promise, sincerely intends to do so, and believes
that what he is promising to do is something the addressee would like him to do. Promising depends on more than just saying the sentence "I promise to do something." and speakers of the language know this. The conditions on which the appropriateness of a speech act depends are called **appropriateness conditions.** They represent rules which users of the language assume to be in force in their verbal dealings with each other; they form part of the knowledge which speakers of a language share and on which they rely in order to use the language correctly and effectively, both in speaking and understanding. An account of the appropriateness conditions for the illocutionary act of asking a question, for example, would include the following statements.

(7) a. The speaker does not know the answer.
   b. The speaker believes it is possible that the addressee knows the answer.
   c. It is not obvious that the addressee will provide the answer at the time without being asked.
   d. The speaker wants to know the answer.

Interestingly enough, the connective **una** is used when an appropriate condition is violated. That is, an actual speech act is contrary to the speaker’s knowledge of the speech act. Consider the following.

(8) 철수에게 그 내용을 물었으나, 모른다고 했다.
    Chelswukey ke nayyongul mulesuna, moluntakas haysste.
    I asked Chelswu about the content, but he said he did not know it.

One of the felicity conditions of asking is that the speaker believes that the addressee knows the answer (cf. 7.2). Thus, when the speaker asked Chelswu about the contents, he believed that the addressee knew the answer. Contrary to his assumption, the addressee did not know the answer. So in (8) a condition assumed by the speaker is contrasted with the actual condition and the connective **una** is used. Consider the following:

(9) 물어보긴 했으나, 대답은 나오지 않았다.
    mulepokin hayssuna, taytapun nato alko issesta.
    I have asked about it, but I know the answer.

When someone asks a question, he is assumed not to know the answer. This is one of the felicity conditions of asking. This condition is violated in (9), and the connective **una** is used to show contrast between the speaker’s knowledge of the felicity condition and the actual utterance.

The illocutionary act of making a statement, for another example, carries the following conditions.

(10) a. The speaker believes P (where P is the proposition being asserted).
   b. The speaker has evidence for the truth of P (or reasons for believing P).
   c. It is not obvious to both speaker and addressee that the addressee knows P.
   d. The speaker has some reasons for thinking that the addressee wants to know P (or to remember P).

When a speaker knows that one of the conditions is violated, he uses the connective **una.** Consider the following.

(11) 나는 이것이 좋다고 말했으나, 정말 그런지 모르겠네.
    nanun ikesi cohtako malhayssuna cengmal kulenci molukeyssney.
    I have said that this is good, but I am not sure.
contrast between the speaker's knowledge of felicity conditions for a promise and his actual condition. Another condition for a promise is that the speaker intends to fulfill his promise. In (13b) the connective una indicates that this condition is violated. Another condition for a promise is that the addressee would like the speaker to do something. In (13c) this expectation is violated and the connective una is used.

Some additional examples are presented below:

(14) a. 나는 그에게 때린다고 위협을 했으나, 눈 하나 깜짝하지 않았다.
    nanun kueykey ttaaylintako wihyepul hayssuna, nwun hana ikamocakhaci anhassta.
    I threatened to hit him, but he did not care a bit.

b. 나는 이 문제를 쉽게 봐서 잘해부하나, 자신이 없다.
    nanun i mwuncelyul swipkey phwuntako cangtamh-
    hayssuna, casini epsta.
    I have boasted that I can solve this problem with ease,
    but I am not sure.

c. 나는 그에게 할 일을 가르쳐주겠다고 했으나, 그는 상하다고 했다.
    nanun kueykey tapul kaluchie cwukeystsako hayssuna,
    kunun siltako haysta.
    I said that I could give him the answer, but he said he
did not like it.

9.12. ni (나)

When the speaker notices for the first time tentatively that one event A leads to another event B or that A and B are associated, he is aware of but not sure of the relation or the association between the two. In such a case, he uses the connective uni to
express the tentativeness. Such a sense of tentativeness arises when the two events are almost simultaneous and the speaker has no time to check the causal relation. Observe the following sentences:

(1) a. 이 단추를 누르니 즊이 올린다.
   i tanchwulul nwuluni congí wullinta.
   I push this button and the bell rings.

b. 이 방에 불을 피우니, 저 방 곁쪽에서 연기가 난다.
   i pangey pwluli phiwuni, ce pang kwulttwukyse yen-
   kika nanta.
   We made a fire for this room and smoke is coming from
   the chimney of that room.

c. 이 우유를 먹으니 배가 아프구나.
   i wuyulul mekuni payka aphukwuna.
   I drink this milk and my stomach aches.

In each sentence above, two events are almost simultaneous and the speaker is not sure whether there is any causal connection between them. Nevertheless, he feels tentatively that there is some connection. The connective uni denotes such a tentative connection. The speaker of (1a), for example, did not know that the button was connected to the bell. Thus, the ringing of the bell was something that he was not prepared for and it could cause him some surprise. In (1b), when one makes a fire in a room, one can expect that the smoke will go out of the chimney of that room, but not out of an adjacent room. The speaker of (1b) is not sure whether the smoke is from his fire or from some other source. Nevertheless, he presumes that the smoke is from his fire and expresses the tentative connection using the connective uni. In (1c) the speaker finds that drinking a certain milk immediately

ly causes a stomachache. But he is not really sure whether the stomach trouble is caused by the milk. So the relation between the milk and the stomach trouble is tentative and this tentativeness is expressed by the connective uni.

As the causal relation expressed by uni is tentative and unexpected, adverbs such as 이상하게 isanghakey ‘strangely’, 끔찍하게 ttuspakkey ‘unexpectedly’, and 감자가 kapeaki ‘all of a sudden’ go well with the connective uni, as can be seen in the following examples.

(2) a. 이 담배를 피우니 이상하게 머리가 아프다.
   i tampayul phiwuni isanghakey melika aphuta.
   When I smoke this cigarette and strangely my head
   aches.

b. 저 잉크를 쓰니, 끔찍하게 이 펜은 잘 써진다.
   ce inkulul ssuni, ttuspakkey i peyin cal sseinta.
   I use that ink and unexpectedly the pen writes well.

c. 앉았다 일어서니 감자가 머리가 아프다.
   ancasista llesoni kapeaki melika aphuta.
   I sat down and stood up, and all of a sudden my head
   aches.

There is another situation in which the connective uni is used: when the speaker is personally experiencing or discovering a certain relation which he may have heard about from others but which he has not experienced himself. Suppose speaker A has advised another speaker B that getting up early in the morning makes one feel good. Speaker B has never experienced such a causal relation before. Being a dawdler in bed, he has seldom gotten up early. One morning he happened to get up early and found that he was feeling better. For speaker B, what speaker A said is borne out. In other words, speaker B directly experiences the relation between the two for the first time. Experiencing it for the first time, the speaker regards it as tentative. Thus,
adverbs such as cengmal ‘really’, and kwayen ‘truly’ can be naturally used with the connective.

(3) a. 아침 일찍 일어나니 점말 기분이 좋다.
   achim ilcik ilenani cengmal kipwuni cotha.
   I got up early in the morning and I feel really good (as I had been told).

b. 그 책은 읽어본이 과연 제미가 있다.
   ku chaykun ilkeponi kwayen caymika isssta.
   I have read the book and I find it interesting indeed.

c. 그 문은 맛나보니 정말 좋은 사람이야.
   ku pwunun mannaponi cengmal cohum salamitera.
   I met him and found him really good.

In the preceding paragraphs we have observed that the connective uni connects two simultaneous events between which the speaker suspects a tentative causal relation or association for the first time. As the two events are almost simultaneous, the speaker does not have time to check or confirm the causal relation. In addition to this, there can be other occasions on which the speaker can have tentative feelings. For example, one event has occurred but the consequent event has not occurred. Unless the speaker is sure about the causal relation, he cannot assert it strongly. In such a case the connective uni can be used which indicates that the speaker suspects a causal relation but that he is not sure about it. Let us observe the following examples.

(4) a. 펼기 시험을 잘 쳤으니, 합격하였다.
   philiki sibemul ci cal chyessuri, haphkexhakeyssta.
   Since you did well on your written test, you will pass.

b. 주사절을 맞았으니, 열이 내리겠지.
   cwusulci macassuri, yeli naylikeyssci.
   Since you had a shot, the temperature will come down.

In (4), the events expressed in the uni clauses took place, but the ones in the main clauses have not. Thus, the relation is yet to be checked or confirmed, to be sure about the relation.

Some additional examples illustrating a tentative relation between an actual and a potential event are presented below.

(5) a. 봄이 왔으니, 날씨가 따뜻해졌다.
   pomí wassuri, naisiska tissushaycikeyssta.
   Since spring has come, it will get warm.

b. 그 사망 운 좋게 열렸으니 네 돈을 잡겠지.
   ku salam tonul manhi pelessuri nay tonul kaphkeyssci.
   Since he has earned enough money, he will pay back my money.

c. 궁지에 몰렸으니, 무엇을 안하고도?
   kwungcicye mollyessuri, mwusul anhaeyssso?
   Since he has been cornered, he will do anything.

So far we have observed two cases in which the speaker suspects a tentative relation between two events. In one case, the two events are almost simultaneous and in another case, one event took place, but the other has not. In neither case is the speaker able to check or confirm the suspected relation. There can be, however, another situation in which the speaker forms a tentative relation between two events: there is a case in which one event took place, but it is not known whether the other has taken place or not. Suppose we know a friend who married five years ago. We attended his wedding but since then we have not seen him again. In such a case, we may utter (6).
The events expressed in the uni clauses took place, but the realization of the ones in the main clauses are not known to the speaker and he makes an inferential guess.

In the preceding paragraphs, we observed three cases in which the speaker makes a tentative causal relation between two events: (i) when the two events are simultaneous, (ii) when one event is realized but the other one is not yet realized, and (iii) when one event is realized but the realization of the other one is not known to the speaker. In what follows we will examine another similar case in which the speaker makes a tentative hypothesis about a relation. When one event took place in the past and another event after some interval is taking place, the speaker can suspect a causal relation but it is tentative and yet to be checked. He can use the connective uni to express such tentativeness. Let us examine the following example:

(9) 임계식에 아이스크림을 먹었으니, 지금 배가 아프다.
    eccenyekey ainukulimul mekessteni, cikum payka aphuta.
    Last night I had ice cream, and now my stomach aches.

In (9) there is an interval between the two events. The first event of eating ice cream took place some time in the past and then after a while the other event of the stomachache took place. The two events are both actualized, but the speaker is not sure whether the stomach trouble was caused by eating ice cream or by something else and he guesses the tentative connection and expresses it, using the connective uni. If he is sure that the first event led to the second event, he will use the connective ese as
is a definite well-established relationship between certain two events, but he assumes that the relationship is new to the addressee. On such an assumption, he can use the connective \textit{uni}. Let us examine the following conversational exchanges:

(12) a. 아이 바 아파. 왜 이렇게?
   \textit{ai pay apha. way ilehci?}
   My stomach aches. I wonder why.

   b. 무얼 먹었나?
   \textit{mwuel mekessna?}
   What did you have?

   a. 아이스크림 좀 먹은 것 뿐인데.
   \textit{aisukhullim zom mekun kes ppunintey.}
   I had just a little bit of ice cream.

   b. 그래니가 그러지.
   \textit{kulerikka kulehci.}
   That's why.

The speaker of (12a) had ice cream and has a stomachache now, but he assumes that there is no connection between them. On the other hand, the speaker (12b) thinks that the ice cream had much to do with the stomach trouble, but he assumes that the addressee (the speaker of (12a)) is not aware of the relationship. So he uses \textit{uni}, believing that he is making the addressee become aware of the relationship for the first time. In other words, the speaker uses \textit{uni} from the addressee's perspective.

Let us observe the following additional example.

(13) a. 몸이 웃.pair.
   \textit{momi cpipraphey.}
   I feel lousy.

   b. 왜 그렇게?
   \textit{way kulehci?}
   Why?
c. 비가 오라고 하나,
    pika olyekohani,
    It is going to rain,

The speaker of (14) believes that there is a definite relationship between being late, the children's waiting and the likelihood of rain on the one hand and his going on the other. But the speaker uses uni assuming the addressee's viewpoint who is not aware of the relation between the two.

In a similar way, the connective uni is used to express a reason for a command or an order as in the following sentences:

(15) a. 비가 오니, 그만 가라라.
    pika oni, kuman kakela.
    It is raining; go now.

b. 사람들이 기다리고 있으니 빨리 가라라.
    salamulikisulik issuni ppalli kakela.
    People are waiting for you; go quickly.

c. 아이가 울고 있으니, 빨리 오너라.
    aika wulko issuni, ppalli onela.
    The baby is crying; come quickly.

The connective uni is used to give reasons for the proposed actions, but the reasons are not objective, but subjective. Furthermore, the relation between the reasons and the actions are possibly new to the addressee. So the connective is used from the addressee's viewpoint.

Let us examine the following conversational exchanges.

(16) a. 이 차가 여제보다 잘 간다. 왜 그렇지?
    i chaka eepyota cal kanta. way kulehi?
    How come the car runs more smoothly than it did yesterday.
Sentence (17a) is a description of an ongoing event: as the tile is broken, (the roof) is leaking. Sentence (17b), on the other hand, is a prediction: as the tile is broken, it will surely be leaking. The following minimal pair can be explained in a similar way.

(18) a. 바람이 불어서 졸다.
    palami pwulese chwupta.
    It is cold because the wind blows.

b. 바람이 부는 졸다.
    palami pwuni chwupta.
    Since the wind is blowing, it is cold.

The speaker of (18a) is sure that the wind blowing leads to his feeling cold. The relation is definite and well established. But the speaker of (18b) leaves some room for other possible factors. He thinks that he feels cold because of the wind blowing, but he also assumes that there may be some other factors for his feeling cold.

9.13. nu (느)

The morpheme nu denotes comparison between two actions or activities, and it is used with ni, lako and lamyen as in the following:

(1) a. nu-ni
   b. nu-la-ko
   c. nu-la-myen

In [A nu→B], where A and B are two actions or activities contrasted, B is what the speaker prefers. Each compound connective will be
examined below.

**9.13.1. nuni**

The speaker uses [A—nuni B] when he thinks that B is more preferable or desirable than B. Let us observe the following:

(2) a. 요즘 무엇을 하나?
yocuum mwuesul hana?
What are you doing?
b. 영어를 가르친다.
yengelul kaluchinta.
I am teaching English.
a. 나 같으면, 가르치는 날을 하겠다.
na kathumyen, kaluchinuni saepul hakeyssta.
I would rather go into business than teach.

In the second utterance of (2a), the connective no unni is used and it means that the speaker would rather go into business than teach. In other words, going into business and teaching are compared, and the former is preferred. A similar example is presented below.

(3) a. 오후에 영화를 보러가자.
ohuwuey yenghwulul polekaca.
Let's see a movie this afternoon.
b. 영화를 보러나, 집에서 TV나 보자.
yenghwulul poruni, cipeyse TVna poca.
Let's watch TV rather than see a movie.

The speaker of (3b) thinks that watching television is preferable to going to the movies. Some additional examples are presented below:

(4) a. 나는 미국을 가느니 독일을 가겠다.
nanun mikwukul kanuni tokilul kakeyssta.
I would rather go to Germany than go to America.
b. 술을 마시느니 납시나 갑니다.
swulul masinuni nakksina kapsita.
Let's go fishing rather than drinking.
c. 자동차를 사느니 집을 사겠다.
catongchalu sanuni cipul sakeyssta.
I would rather buy a house than buy a car.

One thing to note is that the connective is not used with the past tense in the main clause. Thus, when kassta is used instead of kakeyssta in (4a), the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(4a’)? 나는 미국을 가느니 독일을 갔다.
nanun mikwukul kanuni tokilul kassta.
I went to Germany rather than to America.

**9.13.2. nulako(느라고)**

The morpheme nu is a comparison marker, la is an attitude marker which denotes the speaker's nonchalant attitude toward the proposition denoted by the sentence, and ko is a connective, which denotes contiguity. Thus, [A—nulako B] means that A and B are parts of a larger situation. Thus, in one reading, it denotes two situations which are just like the two sides of a coin. One cannot have both at the same time, and the two are not of equal importance to the speaker. If one has A, which is less desirable than B, he will have it at the expense of B. The following sentences illustrate the meaning of nulako.
(5) 나는 늦잠을 자느라고 아침을 놓치지 못했다.
nanun nucamul canulako, achimul meki moshayssta.
Having slept late I was not able to have breakfast.
I slept late at the expense of breakfast.

The subject slept late in the morning and he missed breakfast. In
other words, 'I slept late at the expense of breakfast. Sleeping
late and eating breakfast are the two sides of a coin. One cannot
have both at the same time. Observe some additional examples.

(6) a. 그는 임접력에 술을 마시느라고 술제를 못했다.
kunun eccenykey swulul masinulako swukceylul moshy-
ayssta.
He was not able to do his homework, drinking last
night.

He drank last night at the expense of his homework.
b. 그 문과 예기를 하느라고 그만 차를 놓쳤�다.
ku pwunkwa yaykilul hanulako kuman chalul nobby-
estta.
I missed the train, talking with him.
I talked with him at the expense of catching the train.

In another reading [A–nulako B] means that A and B occur
at the same time, and B occurs because of A. However, the
speaker thinks that A is not worth B. Observe the following ex-
ample.

(7) 그는 그 일을 하느라고 밤을 떠낼 놓리고 있다.
kunun ku ilul hanulako tjamul ppleppel hulliko isssta.
He is sweating a lot, doing the work.

Working on something and perspiring occur at the same time,
and the perspiring is caused by the working. But the speaker
thinks that working is not worth perspiring. The connective in the

following sentences can be accounted for in a similar way:

(8) a. 그는 거짓말을 하느라고 진실을 훔치고 있다.
kunun kecismalul hanulako cinttamul hulliko isssta.
He had a hard time telling a lie.
b. 아이들은 개구리를 잡느라고 운중일 장가에 나가있다.
aitulun kaykwulilul capnulako onchongil kangkaey naka-
isssta.
The children are at the river, catching frogs.

9.13.3. nulamyen (노라면)

This is made up of nu, la and myen. The first two morphemes
are examined in the preceding sections. myen is a condition mark-
er. Thus, [A–nulamyen B] means that if one does A, which is
not regarded as very important, one will come to have B, which
is rather important.

(9) a. 사느라면, 그 일을 잊어버릴 것입니다.
sanulamyen, ku ilul icepelil kesipnita.
You will forget about it if you live on.
b. 그 종을 기다리는라면, 연인가는 오겠지요.
ku pwunul kitalinulamyen, enceykanun okeysscyio.
He will come someday, if you wait for him.

9.14. nuntey (논데)

The connective nuntey is used to provide background
information. Against the background information provided by the
nuntey clause, the speaker presents the main clause, and the
addressee is to draw relevant inferences from the two pieces of
information. The connective has two main functions: introductory
and suggestive functions. In what follows we will examine one
after another.
9.14.1 Introductory Function

In a conversation, consciousness plays a very important role, especially at the beginning of a conversation. When two persons meet with each other, each may have different things in mind; each may be thinking of different things. In other words, different things might be in their consciousness. The speaker uses a nuntery clause to draw the addressee's attention to a particular event or entity that he would like to make a topic of conversation. To see this role of the connective, let us observe the following conversational exchanges.

(1) a. 부산에 뭐 부탁할 것 없나?
   Pwusaney mwue pwuthakhal kes epsna?
   Do you need anything (when I am) in Pusan?
   b. 부산 가나?
   mwue Pwusan kani?
   What, are you going to Pusan?
   a'. 그래.
   kulay.
   Yes.
   b'. 언제
   encey?
   When?

The flow of the conversation above is not smooth. There is a breakdown and it is due to the speaker's misjudgement: the speaker thought that the addressee knew that he was going to Pusan. However, to the addressee the fact was simply out of the blue and he questioned the underlying assumption of the speaker (1a). In such a case, the connective nuntery would be useful, because the nuntery clause can be used to draw the addressee's attention to a particular event or entity which the speaker judges is not in the addressee's consciousness at the moment of the conversation. After an entity or an event is introduced into the addressee's consciousness, the speaker can move on to a topic that is related to the given entity or event. Observe the following conversational give-and-take.

(2) a. 나 내일 부산에 가는데, 뭐 부탁할 것 없나?
   na nayil Pwusan karuntemey, mwue pwuthakhal kes epsna?
   I am going to Pusan tomorrow, do you need anything?
   b. 아니.
   ani.
   No.

The underlined part in (2a) is a nuntery clause and through it the speaker introduces something new into the addressee's consciousness. After this introduction, the conversation does not stall, unlike the one in (1).

This may account for the frequent occurrences of nuntery clauses in the first sentence of folk tales. With the introductory clauses, the speaker sets up an abstract stage on which his story is to develop. He draws the addressee's attention to an entity and/or event for the first time. Observe the following.

(3) a. 옛날 이 마을에 주택이 하나 있었는데, ...
   yeysnal i mauley cwumaki hana issesnuntemey, ...
   Once upon a time, there was a tavern in this village, ...
   b. 옛날 이 고타에 많은 아버지와 딸이 살았는데, ...
   yeysnal i kouley nwunmen apeciwa tlali salasuntemey, ...
   Long ago there lived a blind father and his daughter in this village, ...
In lectures and speeches, the speaker uses nunteny clauses when he wants to change his topic. Suppose he wants to talk about Germany after he said something about France. He will use a nunteny clause to introduce a new topic, as in the following:

(4) 그 다음 독일에 갔는데, 모두가 찰해졌다.
ku taum tokile yassunteny, motwuka chinchelaysta.
Then, I went to Germany and everyone was nice.

The nunteny clause above establishes a domain which the speaker estimates is not in the addressee’s consciousness at the moment.

9.14.2. Suggestive Function

A speaker uses utterances for various reasons. He may assert, request information, direct others to do something, or express his own internal feelings. In addition to these main speech acts, the speaker may want to convey his attitude toward the assertion, request or directive. In order to do so, he may employ various paralinguistic means such as gestures, intonation voice, etc. But he can also use linguistic means. The nunteny clause is one such linguistic means. The speaker juxtaposes a nunteny clause on the one hand and an assertion, request, or directive on the other hand, so that the addressee can draw relevant inferences. This is an indirect way of conveying the speaker’s attitude.

This means of conveying the speaker’s attitude is based upon the assumption that there are beliefs, items of knowledge and rules of inferences shared by the speaker and the addressee. The speaker uses the nunteny clause to provide background information assuming that the addressee can draw some relevant inferences together with the foreground information expressed by the main clause. In what follows we will examine some specific examples. Let us examine the following sentences first.

(5) a. 내일 비가 온다.
    nayil pika onta.
    It will rain tomorrow.

b. 내 집 작업에, 내일 비가 온다.
    nay cimakintey, nayil pika onta.
    It is my guess: it will rain tomorrow.

The speaker of (5a) believes that it will rain tomorrow, and the addressee also believes that the speaker is not telling a lie, unless the speaker intends to deceive his addressee. However, it is not clear to the addressee on what basis the speaker makes his prediction. The nunteny clause provides such a basis. The addressee is to evaluate the speaker’s assertion against the background of the nunteny clause, and it is up to the addressee to decide to what extent he can accept the speaker’s assertion. Compare the following two sentences.

(6) a. 첫 수가 시험에 떨어졌다.
    Chelswuka sibemey ttelecyeysta.
    Chelswu failed the exam.

b. 내가 직접 확인했는데, 첫 수가 시험에 떨어졌다.
    nayka cikeep hwakinhaysenunteny, Chelswuka sibemey ttelecyeysta.
    I myself checked and (found that) Chelswu failed the exam.

The addressee of (6a) may not believe the speaker of (6a) and may question him; he can ask him for the source of the information or ask him whether he is joking or not. The nunteny clause in (6b) blocks such a reaction beforehand, by providing the source of the information. Again the nunteny clause provides information against which the addressee is to interpret the assertion (6a).
The nuntey clauses below seem to denote time but in actuality they provide background information.

(7) 저이들은 완반층인데, 저렇게 빠른다.
       ceeltulun hanpamcwungintey, celhekey ttetunta.
       It is midnight, and they are making such a racket.

The nuntey clause above provides information against which the addressee is to interpret or evaluate the information provided by the main clause, drawing relevant inferences that the speaker has in mind and wants to convey.

(8) a. People are to sleep at midnight and they are not to make noise.
       b. They are making noise at midnight.
       c. They must be inconsiderate of others.

The speaker of (7) wants to convey his attitude such as in (8c), but does not do it directly, but implicitly, believing that the addressee can draw the inference himself, given the two juxtaposed facts.

Let us examine another example.

(9) 무심코 길을 걷고 있는데, 무서운 개가 나타났다.
       musimkho kilul ketko issnuntey, mwusewun kayka nath-anassta.
       I was walking unguardedly, and a fierce dog appeared.

The speaker of (9) provides two kinds of information and wants his addressee to make an inference such as (10c).

(10) a. When one is absorbed in thought, he does not notice anything else.
       b. At such a time, a fierce dog appears all of a sudden.
       c. Then one may be very frightened.

An inference (10c) is what the speaker wants to convey to the addressee, but he does it implicitly by simply juxtaposing two facts.

In the following sentence, the connective seems to denote a contrastive relation. However, the connective itself does not have a contrastive meaning. If it seems to have such a meaning, it is inferred from the knowledge of the world shared by the speaker and the addressee.

(11) 구름 한점 없는데, 비가 온다.
       kwululun hancem espununtey, pika onta.
       There is not a single cloud, but it is raining.

Like other nuntey clauses, the one in (11) provides background information which the speaker expects the addressee to use in making some inference the speaker has in mind. The following is one possible inference the addressee may draw.

(12) a. Usually rain comes when the sky is covered with clouds.
       b. There are no clouds in the sky but it rains.
       c. It is an unusual phenomenon.

Without actually saying it, the speaker wants to convey his attitude which is expressed in (12c).

The following sentence, however is very awkward. How can we account for the awkwardness?
In the following example, the nunty clause is juxtaposed with a promise.

(17) 그가 일등을 했는데, 내일 시계를 하나 사주어 니다.
    kuka ilungul hayssnuntyey, nayil sikyeypedula sacwueyakeyssta.
    He won a first prize and I am going to buy him a watch.

The promise of the main clause must be taken in the light of the information provided by the nunty clause, which makes it possible for the addressee to think of some major premise and draw an inference such as the following.

(18) a. Brilliant students deserve prizes.
    b. He has proved himself to be brilliant.
    c. He deserves a prize.

Thus, the nunty clause in this case is used to provide indirectly a reason for the promise.

The nunty—clause can be used with an order and it provides a justification for it. Let us compare the following two sentences.

(19) a. 빌리 학교에 가기라.
    ppalli hakkyoey kakela.
    Go to school quickly.
    b. 8시가 되었는데, 빌리 학교에 가기라.
    8sika toyessnuntyey, ppalli hakkyoey kakela.
    It is eight o'clock; go to school quickly.

The two sentences in (19) are both imperatives, but sentence (19b) is much milder than sentence (19a). How can we account for the difference? One obvious difference is that sentence (19b)
has the nuntye clause. It indirectly provides a justification for the order. This makes the order less blunt. The following is an illustration of how the addressee might figure out the justification.

(20) a. It takes one hour to go to school and school starts at 9.
   b. It is 8 now.
   c. I must hurry in order not to be late. The order makes sense.

Sentence (19b) is much milder than sentence (19a) because it provides a ground or justification such as (20c). The major premise (20a) is knowledge that the speaker assumes the addressee is aware of. The speaker believes that from the major premise and the fact that it is eight o'clock, the addressee will be able to infer (20c). Thus, the addressee hearing (19b) would think that the order is for his own benefit, and that it is a reasonable one.

Similarly, (21b) below is much milder than (21a). It is because a ground for a relevant justification for the order is given in (21b), whereas none is given in (21a).

(21) a. 습을 마시지 말아라.
   swulul masici malala.
   Don't drink.
   b. 속이 헛지 않은데 습을 마시지 말아라.
   saki cohci anhuntey, swulul masici malala.
   You have a stomachache, so don't drink.

The following might be a possible process by which the addressee may draw a justification for not drinking.

(22) a. Alcoholic drinks hurt the stomach.
   b. I have some trouble with my stomach.
   c. I might as well abstain from drinking.

Again, the addressee will figure out that the order (21b) is reasonable and meant to be for his own good.

In the following sentence, the nuntye clause is juxtaposed with a question.

(23) 비가 오는데, 가니?
   pika onuntay, kani?
   Are you going, even though it is raining?

Sentence (23) suggests that the addressee should reconsider his decision to go in light of the fact that it is raining. The following might be the steps through which the addressee draws the inference (24c).

(24) a. One gets wet in the rain.
   b. It is raining.
   c. I might get wet if I go out now. (Is it really necessary to go out now in the rain?)

9.15. taka(다가)

The connective can be used with the present tense and the past tense. When it is combined with the present tense, it denotes that the process denoted by the verb is interrupted or is taken over by another action. The nature of the verb makes the meaning of the connective more specific. When the verb is one with a goal or a terminal point, it denotes that the action stopped short of reaching it, and when the verb is one without a goal, it simply denotes that the action stopped or was interrupted. Compare the following two sentences.
(1) a. 그는 서울에 가다가 왔다.
   kunun Sewuley kataka wassta.
   He was going to Seoul but came back.
b. 그는 운동장에서 뛰다가 왔다.
   kunun wuntoncangeyse ttwita wassta.
   He was jogging on the playground but came in.

In (1a) the verb kata is used and it is a verb with a goal. Thus, kataka means that he stopped short of reaching the goal. In (1b), however, the verb ttwita is used and it is a verb without a goal, and ttwita means that he stopped jumping and it was taken over by another action.

In (2) below, verbs with a goal are used and verb—taka means that the goals are not reached.

(2) a. 그는 집 한здрав을 찾아가 그만 두었다.
   kunun eip hanchayul cistaka kuman twuessta.
   He was building a house, but stopped.
b. 그는 편지 한장을 쓰다가 왔다.
   kunun phyenci hancangul ssutata wassta.
   He was writing a letter and (without finishing it) came.
c. 그는 그 물건을 팔다가 다 못 팔았다.
   kunun ku mwulkemul phaltaka ta mos phalassata.
   He was selling the things but was not able to sell them all.

In (3) below, some verbs without a terminal goal are used and the connective taka simply denotes that the activity or action stopped.

(3) a. 그는 학교에서 놀다가 왔다.
   kunun hakkyoeyse noltaka wassta.
   He was playing in the playground but (in the middle of the playing) he came.

b. 그는 신문을 보다가 잠자기 웃었다.
   kunun sinmwanul potaka kapcaki wuessa.
   He was reading a paper and all of a sudden (in the middle of it) smiled.
c. 그는 미국에서 살다가 돌아왔다.
   kunun mikwukeye saltaka tolawassta.
   He was living in America and came back.

Verbs such as those used in (2) have goals and they will be called 'accomplishment verbs', and verbs such as those used in (3) do not have goals and they will be called 'activity verbs'. The connective taka, when used with the past tense of the accomplishment verbs, denotes that the continuation of the resultant state is broken. Suppose a sweater is knitted, a sweater comes into being. Unless it is unknit, it will remain as a sweater. The existence of the sweater is a state. The connective taka with the past tense of accomplishment verbs denotes that the resultant state is broken. Observe the following example.

(4) 영화는 세탁을 끊다가 줄어 버렸다.
   Yenghinun seythalul ccataka phulepelyessta.
   Yenghi knitted the sweater, and then unknitted it.

The connective taka denotes that there is a change in the state of a sweater that has come into being. The main clause specifies that it is knit. This means that the resultant state is interrupted. Such an interruption is possible when the action denoted by the verb is reversible. This reversal can be represented in the following way.

(5) a. continuation: action ————> state

   b. reversal: action (—————) state
Some reversible actions with taka are presented below.

(6) a. 문을 닫았다가 열었다.
   mwnunu tatasstaka yelesta.
   He closed the door and then opened it.

b. 신을 신었다가 벗었다.
   sinul sinestaka pesessta.
   He put on the shoes and then took them off.

c. 그는 죽었다가 살아났다.
   He died and then revived.

The past tense of activity verbs can also be used with taka and the combined form ess-taka denotes a different kind of interruption. There are sometimes situations in which the speaker assumes that something that he has finished will not be followed by anything. This expectation that nothing will follow what he has done is a state and this state can be broken. That is, some unexpected thing follows what he has done. Consider the following:

(7) 그 여자와 말을 했다가 혼이 났다.
   ku yecaawa malul hasstsaka honi nassta.
   I talked with the woman and paid dearly for it.

The speaker talked with a certain woman and he did not expect that anything unusual would happen. He had no idea that anything would follow until he was reprimanded. Thus, what is broken in this case is the speaker's expectation that nothing will follow what he has said or done. Consider the following:

(8) 나는 그 고수를 먹었다가 혼이 났다.
   nanun ku kochwulul mokesstaka honi nassta.
   I ate the pepper and I got burned.

The speaker ate a pepper, without any idea of consequence. While he was eating it, he did not find it too hot. And he thought that he had eaten nothing unusual until the pepper began to take its effect. Again what is broken here is the speaker's expectation that nothing will follow what he has eaten. Such a meaning of interruption and its concomitant surprise apply both to reversible and irreversible actions. Some further examples are presented below.

(9) a. 나는 왔까WebView를 찾다가 야단 맞았다.
   nanun malechamkyenul hasstaka yatan macassta.
   I made an uncalled for remark and I had a hard time making up for it.

b. 독한 와스키를 마셨다가 혼이 났다.
   tokhan wisukhulul masesstaka honi nassta.
   I drank some strong whisky and had a hard time.

c. 그는 나를 압맞아 보다가 큰 코를 당치.
   kunun nalul yathcapa potaka khun kholul tachiessta.
   He looked down on me and was snubbed.

In the preceding paragraphs we observed that actions and states can be interrupted. Besides these two kinds of interruption, there is still another kind of interruption. This other type has something to do with one's intention. Before doing something, one can plan or intend to do it. This intention or planning can continue or be interrupted before being carried out, just as an activity or a state can be interrupted. The morpheme lye denotes intention and it can be combined with taka as in lyeatka. The combined form lyeatka means that a certain intention is interrupted before being carried out. Consider the following:
first idea was interrupted or replaced by another. Some additional examples are presented below.

(13) a. 그는 타자기를 승가 생각하다가 컴퓨터를 샀다.
   kunun theacilikul salka sayngkakhataka komphywut-helul kassta.
   He was thinking of buying a typewriter, but bought a personal computer.

   b. 나는 그 문을 만들기 생각하다가 반지치 않았다.
      nanun ku pwunul manankalka sayngkakhataka mananci anhassta.
     I was thinking of seeing him, but did not.

There are also cases in which one has reached a decision but afterwards changes his mind and does not implement the original plan or decision. Look at the following examples:

(14) 그들은 이민을 가라고 마음을 먹였다가 안 가지로 했다.
    their iminul kalyeko maumul mekesstaka an kakilo haysta.
    their decided to emigrate, but changed their mind.

Sentence (14) means that the subject had made up their mind to emigrate, but afterwards changed their mind. Note that the past tense is used with taka here, whereas the present tense is used in (12). A few similar examples are presented below.

(15) a. 우리는 그 집을 사려고 마음을 먹였다가 그란 두었다.
    wulinun ku cipul salyeko maumul mekesstaka, kuman twuessta.
    We decided to buy a house, but changed our mind.
b. 그 사람이 만나라고 마음을 먹었 다가 만나지 않았다.
ku salamul manalayeko maumul mekesataka, manaci anhassta.
We made up our mind to see the man, but didn't.

The perfective form of verbs nohta can be used with the connective taka and the combined form denotes that a resultant state has continued for some time before another situation takes over. To see this, let us compare the following two:

(16) a. 그는 집을 지었다가 했다.
kunun cinul ciesetaka helessta.
He built a house and tore it down.
b. 그는 집을 지어 놓았다가 했다.
kunun cinul cis nohasstaka helessta.
He had built a house (for a while) and then tore it down.

In (16a) the past tense of cista is used and ciesetaka means that the house was torn immediately after being built. In (16b) the past tense of cis nohta is used and cis nohasstaka means that the house existed for some time before being torn down. Some similar examples are presented below.

(17) a. 그는 편지를 쓰고 놓았다가 잊어 버렸다.
kunun phycencil sse nohasstaka coice peliyssta.
He had written a letter and then tore it up.
b. 돈을 마련해 놓았다가 빚이라면 주어라.
tonul malyenhay nohasstaka tellamyen cwuela.
Get some money ready and give it when he asks for it.
c. 그 빌리는 물에 담구이 놓았다가 빼아라.
ku ppalayun munwly tamkwue nohasstaka ppalala.
You have to soak the wash for a while and then wash it.

9.16. telato (더라도)

The two morphemes te and la can be combined and the combined form means remoteness from the present validity or reality, and it can be used with the present tense and the past tense form. tela in turn can be followed by to. The combined form telato is used when the speaker wants to express an additional condition that is unlikely or impossible to be realized. Because of to in telato a meaning of comparison between two conditions are implied. Let us examine the following sentences:

(1) a. 너 다시 이런 것을 할거야?
ne tasi ilen cispul halkeya?
Are you going to do this again?
b. 아닙니다. 해가 서쪽에서 떠더라도 이런 것은 안 하겠음
anipniay. hayka seccokeyse tutelelo ilen cisun an hak-
eyssupnita.
No, I will not even if the sun were to rise in the west.

The sun does not rise in the west, but the speaker in (1b) assumes a hypothetical condition in which the sun is to rise in the west. Thus, sentence (1b) means that the speaker would not do something even under an extraordinary condition, not to speak of 'under normal circumstances'. The two conditions contrasted can be represented in the following way.

(2) normal circumstance    extraordinary circumstances
weak condition        strong condition
not do something       not do something

The following sentence can be accounted for in a similar way.
(3) 다시 페이나더라도 거짓말을 안 합니까.
   tasi thayenatelato kecismalul an hananta.
   I wouldn’t lie even if I were to be born again.

Man is not born again, and the speaker says that he would not lie even under this impossible condition, not to speak of ‘under normal conditions’. So the impossible condition is thought to be stronger than the normal condition.

According to the meaning of telato we have examined above, the two concessive clauses below expressed by to and telato respectively differ in their degree of realizability.

(4) a. 그가 약속을 해도, 믿지 말아라.
   kuka yaksokul hayto, mitci malala.
   Don’t trust him even when he promises.

b. 그가 약속을 하더라도 믿지 말아라.
   kuka yaksokul hatelato mitci malala.
   Don’t trust him even if he promises.

In (4a), the speaker thinks that the subject may or may not make a promise. In contrast, in (4b) the speaker assumes that the subject may not make any promise. Thus, the two conditionals differ in their degree of realization. Observe some additional examples of contrast between to and telato.

(5) a. 그를 만나도 내 아기는 하지 말아라.
   kulul mananato nay yaykinun haci malala.
   Don’t say anything about me even when you see him.

b. 그를 만나더라도 내 아기는 하지 말아라.
   kulul manatelato nay yaykinun haci malala.
   Don’t say anything about me even if you see him.

(6) a. 남씨가 주워도 오너라.
   naissika chuwueto onela.
   Come even when it is cold.

b. 남씨가 쓰다랗도 오너라.
   naissika chwuptelato onela.
   Come even if it is cold.

In the (b) sentences, the possibility of meeting him or of the weather being cold is very slight, whereas in the (a) sentences, the possibility might be fifty – fifty.

telato can also combine with the past tense form, and the resulting form is used to express counterfactual conditions. Observe the following examples.

(7) 의사가 좀 더 일찍 왔더라도 그는 살지 못 했을 것이다.
   uisaka com te ilecik wasatelato kunun sali mos haysul kesita.
   He would not have survived even if the doctor had come earlier.

In (7) the speaker knows that the doctor did not come in time, but he assumes a world in which he came in time. This is a counterfactual condition. Here a comparison between an actual condition and a hypothetical one is implied. The actual condition is that the doctor did not come in time and the hypothetical condition is that the doctor came in time. The hypothetical condition is much better for bringing the patient to life again. The concessive meaning is derived from the fact that the patient might have died even in better conditions.
9.17. to (도)

The particle to, which is used with nouns as a particle, can be used with verbs with the same meaning of increment. The incremental meaning can be naturally intensified when it is reduplicated as in the following examples.

(1) a. 가도 가도 끝이 없다.
    kato kato kkuthi epsta.
    There is no end even though we keep on going.

b. 자도 자도 자꾸 잡아 옵니다.
    cato cato cakkwu cami onta.
    I feel sleepy even though I sleep and sleep.

c. 맛이도 맛이도 한이 없이 맛한다.
    meketo meketo hani epsi mkhinta.
    I feel like eating even though I eat and eat.

d. 찾아도 찾아도 계속 새로운 것이 나온다.
    chacato chacato kyeysok saylowun kesi naonta.
    There is always something new even though I keep finding (things).

e. 벌이도 벌이도 늘 모자란다.
    peleto peleto nul mocalanta.
    We do not have enough money even though we keep on earning.

In (1a) a reduplicated form of kato appears and this reduplication intensifies the meaning of increment, which is expressed by the particle to. This can be shown diagramatically in the following way.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kato} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{kato} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{kato} \\
\text{go} \\
\vdots
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, kato kato in (1b) means that one keeps on sleeping and sleeping, but one still feels like sleeping. meketo meketo in (1c) means that one keeps on eating and eating, but that there is no end. The rest of the sentences in (1) can be accounted for in the same way.

The particle to can also be used with adjectives in reduplicated forms to intensify the meaning of the adjectives. The increment can be in either direction: toward the positive or negative increment. Observe the following examples.

(3) a. 넓이도 넓이도 이렇게 넓을 수가 없다.
    nepeto nepeto ilehkey nepuli swuka epsta.
    It is wide and wide as nothing can be wider than this.

b. 어려워도 어려워도 보통 어려운 것이 아니다.
    eyeweto eyeweto ponthong eyewun kesi anita.
    It is so difficult and it is beyond the ordinary degree of difficulty.

(4) a. 작아도 작아도 이렇게 작을 수가 있니?
    cakato cakato ilehkey cakul swulta isni?
    It is small, but how can it possibly be this small?

b. 쉬워도 쉬워도 보통 쉬운 것이 아니다.
    swiweto swiweto ponthong swiwun kesi anita.
    It is so easy that it is beyond the ordinary degree of easiness.

In (3) the increment expressed by to and reduplication is toward the positive direction and in (4) the increment is toward the negative side. This shows that the increment can be in either direction.

In the preceding paragraphs we observed that to is used with a verb or adjective and the combined form can be reduplicated.
In what follows we will observe to used with simple unreduplicated verbs and adjectives. First, let us examine to preceded by simple adjectives. When to is used with a noun, it denotes that the noun is an increment. Likewise, to used with adjectives denotes increment. This means that when to is used, some comparison is implied between two sizes, degrees, amounts, etc. Let us examine the following conversational give-and-take.

(5) a. 이것은 얼마나 걸리나? 100원이나 걸리나?
    i kes elmana toylkka? 100weninna toylkka?
    How much will this be? About 100 Wen?

b. 아니야. 그것은 적어도 300원은 된다.
    aninya. kukusun ceketo 300Wenun toynta.
    No, that must be at least 300 Wen.

Speaker (5b) thinks that speaker (5a) underestimates the price of something, and suggests another value which he thinks is the minimum but is higher than the estimation of speaker (5a). There is a comparison between the estimation (100 Wen) made by speaker (5a) and another one (300 Wen) made by speaker (5b). Of course 300 Wen is higher than 100 Wen. This can be represented in the following way.

(6) a. speaker (5a)  
    100 200 300 400 500 600  
    speaker (5b)

Let us observe another example.

(7) a. 그 사람 40대로 보인다.
    ku salam 40cente lo pointa.
    He looks about 40.

b. 아니야. 아마도 35세 밖에 안된다.
    aninya. manhato 35sey pakkey antoynta.

No, he is at the most only 35.

Speaker (7b) thinks that speaker (7a) overestimates the age of a certain man, and he offers an alternative which he thinks is smaller than the one suggested by speaker (7a) but which is the maximum of his own estimation. Here again is the implication of increment, although toward the negative direction.

Let us examine one additional example:

(8) a. 그 사람 몇 시에 오기로 했나?
    ku salam myech siete okilo hayssna?
    What time is he scheduled to come?

b. 두시에.
    twusiey.
    At two.

a. 지금 밤에 두시가 나타났다.
    cikum pelsse twusika nemessta.
    It is already past two.

b. 늦어도 세 시까지는 오겠지.
    nuceto sayisikkacin okeyssci.
    He will be here by three at the latest.

A certain man is to come at two o'clock but he is not here yet, and speaker (8b) suggests another time (3 o'clock) which is later than the reference time (2 o'clock).

In the preceding paragraph we examined to used with adjectives. In what follows we will examine to used with verbs.

In the following examples, the meaning of increment exists between the two speakers. The first speaker makes a suggestion and the second speaker makes an additional more specific suggestion. Let us examine the following.
(9) a. 속계 다 했으니 놓아라.
    swukcey ta hayssuni nolala.
    You have finished your homework, and you can play.

b. 밖에 나가 놓아도 되요?
    pakkey naka nolato toyyo?
    Can I go out and play outside?

(10) a. 사과 하나 먹이리.
    sakwa hana mekela.
    Have an apple.

b. 참 맛이요. 하나 더 먹이도 되요?
    cham masisseyo. hana te meketo toyyo?
    It is delicious. Can I have one more?

In (9), speaker (a) permits the addressee to play and speaker (b) requests a more specific permission to play outside. This is an increment toward specificity. Similarly, in (10), speaker (a) asks the addressee to eat an apple and speaker (b), after eating one, asks if he could eat one more apple. The request of speaker (b) to eat one more apple is in addition to the permission of speaker (a) to eat one apple. Some additional examples are presented below. The to clauses below express more specific requests subsequent to the permission given by the first speaker.

(11) a. 시간이면 놓리 오세요.
    sikan namyen nolle oseyyo.
    Come and play if you have time.

b. 지금 가도 좋을까요?
    cikum kato cohulkkkayo?
    Can I come even now?

(12) a. 이 나무 비오면 심으세요.
    i namwu pionmyen simuseyyo.
    Plant this tree when it rains.

b. 여름에 심어도 괜찮아?
    yetumey simeto toyynikka?
    Can we plant it even in the summer?

(13) a. 그 차를 사세요.
    ku chalul sasseyyo.
    Buy that car.

b. 같이 비싸도 살가요?
    kapsi pissato salkkkayo?
    Shall I buy it even if it is expensive.

Sometimes, the meaning of increment is between an implied desire and the act. The speaker expresses his desire to do something implicitly and indirectly, and if the desire is accepted, he further expresses his intention to carry out the act. The following sentences illustrate the point.

(14) a. 일 다 했습니다.
    il ta hayssupnita.
    I am through with my work.

b. 수고 했습니다.
    swuko hayssupnita.
    You have taken great efforts.

a. 이제 가도 되겠습니까?
    icey kato tokeyssupnikka?
    Will it be okay even if I go now?

Speaker (14a) reports that he has finished his work, and speaker (14b) accepts his report by thanking him for his efforts. Speaker (14b) thinks speaker (14a)'s acceptance implies that he is free from further work, and he adds another request expressed by the second utterance of (14a). This is the reason why to is used in the second utterance.

Observe the following additional examples.
In the following example, a comparison is implied in the ways or means of doing something.

(18) a. 이 짠은 살아야 겠니다.
    i taynun salmay cinta.
    This dirt comes off only when we boil the laundry.

b. 아니요. 잘 몸에 백아도 겠니다.
    aniy o, chan mwuley pppalato cinta.
    No, it comes off even when we wash it in cold water.

Speaker (18a) presents a way of removing a certain stain. This way of removing the stain serves as a reference point, and speaker (18b) presents another way of removing the stain. We can put the two ways on a scale, and washing in cold water is thought to be an easier way than that of boiling. The two ways can be represented on the following scale.

(19) easynext
    washing in the cold water
    boiling
difficult

Washing in cold water is an increment toward the direction of easiness. In the following example, the direction is reversed: the increment is toward difficulty.

(20) a. 이 옷은 참 묽에 밀면 되겠어요.
    i osun chan mwuley pppal cintyssta.
    You can wash this in cold water.

b. 아니요. 그것은 살아도 안됩니다.
    anipnita, kukesun salmato antopynita.
    No, it won’t come off even when it is boiled.
Speaker (20a) suggests washing something in cold water, but speaker (20b) regards it as not satisfactory and suggests a stronger or more effective method of boiling it. This time the increment is toward the more difficult side.

In the following examples, different speakers place a certain method at different points on the scale of effectiveness.

(21) a. 이 때는 빨면 된다.
   i taynun ppalmyen cinta.
   This dirt washes off when we wash it.

b. 이 때는 빨아도 안 된다.
   i taynun ppalato an cinta.
   This dirt does not wash off even when we wash it.

In (21) the two speakers have different opinions about washing something in water. Speaker (21a) thinks that something can be washed in water. But speaker (21b) thinks that it cannot be washed in water. In other words, speaker (21a) thinks that washing is effective, but speaker (21b) thinks that it is not or less effective. This can be represented in the following way.

(22) less effective          more effective

washing in water to (21b)    washing in water to (21a)

Observe the following additional examples:

(23) a. 비가 와도 가겠습니다.
   pika wato kakeysupnita.
   I will go even when it is raining.

Speaker (23a) suggests that the addressee should not go because it is raining. However, speaker (23b) thinks that rain will not deter him from going. Again the two speakers have two different attitudes toward rain with regard to going. To speaker (23a), rain is strong enough to prevent one from going, but to speaker (23b), it is not that strong.

The main clause of the following sentence (24b) is negative and the expectation scale is reversed.

(24) a. 비가 그쳤으니 가자라.
   pika kuchyessuni kakela.
   It has stopped raining; go now.

b. 비가 그쳤어도 안갈래요.
   pika kuchyesseto an kalleyyo.
   I will not go even if it has stopped raining.

Again, the two speakers have different attitudes toward the rain. Speaker (24a) thinks that rain is not a sufficient condition for his going, but speaker (24b) thinks that it is not. This can be represented in the following way.

9.18. tolok (도록)

The connective tolok has a meaning of result or a meaning of purpose. This means that tolok provides us with two points of view. In one point of view, we can look back upon the process from the end point, and in the other point of view we can look forward to the end point. In the first viewpoint, the connective
denotes that something reached a point or a state gradually and cumulatively. Thus, in the first view of tolok, both the final point and the preceding duration are important. In the second viewpoint, the connective denotes purpose. That is, the end of a process has not been reached and it is a goal. Let us examine the following sentence.

(1) 그들은 날이 세도록 놓았다.
    kutulun nali saytolok nolassta.
    They played until daybreak.

The connective tolok in (1) indicates that daybreak is the final point and that it is reached gradually. There is no intrinsic relation between the tolok clause and the main clause. The tolok clause is incidental to the main clause but it has an important function, that is to indicate the degree or amount of the development of the process of the main clause. In other words, by using a tolok clause, we can state how far or to what extent the process of the main clause developed.

Suppose someone asks us how long we stood or sat, we can answer the question either by supplying him with the time we stood or sat, or with some resulting state that is incidental to standing or sitting. Let us observe the following examples:

(2) a. 얼마나 서 있었는가?
    emana se issessna?
    How long did you stand?

b. 두시간 동안 서 있었습니다.
    twu sikan tongan se issessupnita.
    I stood for two hours.

b’. 다리가 아프도록 서이 있었다.
    talika aphputolok se issessta.
    I stood until my legs ached.

To question (2a), sentence (2b) provides the inquirer with the amount of time he stood, and sentence (2b’) provides him with a resulting state that is incidental to the standing.

In the main clauses, verbs without their inherent terminus are often used. Compare the following two sentences.

(3) a. 나는 손목이 아프도록 판지를 썼다.
    nanun sonmoki aphputolok phyenclul ssessta.
    I wrote letters until my wrist ached.

b. 나는 손목이 아프도록 판지를 한장을 썼다.
    nanun sonmoki aphputolok phyenclul hancangul ssessta.
    I wrote a letter until my wrist ached.

In (3a) the predicate phyenclul ssessta does not have any set terminus, and the whole sentence is acceptable. But in (3b) the predicate phyenclul hancangul ssessta has a terminus and the whole sentence is not acceptable.

In addition to the distinction between predicates with and without a set terminus, there is another distinction which is important to the proper use of tolok: the distinction is between instantaneous and noninstantaneous verbs. Some verbs are continuative in nature and others are instantaneous. This distinction plays an important role in the proper use of tolok. Let us observe the following:

(4) a. 그는 한낮이 되도록 쫓았다.
    kunun hannaci toytolok cassta.
    He slept until it became noon.

b. 그는 한낮이 되도록 안 쫓았다.
    kunun hannaci toytolok an cassta.
    He did not sleep until it became noon.

c. 그는 한낮이 되도록 자고 있다.
    kunun hannaci toytolok cako isssta.
    He is sleeping until it becomes noon.
In (4) a durative verb *ceta* is used and all three sentences are grammatical. By contrast, in (5) below an instantaneous verb *kKayta* is used making sentence (5a) ungrammatical.

(5) a. 그는 한밤중이 되도록 왔다.
    Kunun hanpemewungi tyotlokk kKayasta.
    He woke up until it became midnight.

b. 그는 한밤중이 되도록 계지 않았다.
    Kunun hanpamewungi tyotlokk kKayci anhassta.
    He did not wake up until it became midnight.

c. 그는 한밤중이 되도록 왔다.
    Kunun hanpamewungi tyotlokk kKay eissessta.
    He was awake until it became midnight.

Sentence (5a) is ungrammatical because there is a discrepancy between the meaning of *tolok* and that of the verb *kKayta*. The connective *tolok* is durative in nature and the process of the main clause must be a process that goes in parallel with that of the *tolok* clause. But the verb *kKayta* is instantaneous and cannot go on in time. When the verb is negated as in (5b), the sentence becomes grammatical because absence of activity can be regarded as a state which lasts. In (5c) the compound verb *kKay eissa* denotes a state and can be used with the *tolok* clause.

The observation above is basically correct, but the following point must be noticed. Some instantaneous verbs can be used with a *tolok* clause when the subjects are plural. Compare the following two sentences.

(6) a. *12시가 되도록 그가 왔다.
    12sika tyotlok kuka wassta.
    * He came until it became 12 o'clock.

Sentence (6a) is ungrammatical because there is a discrepancy between the meaning of *tolok* and that of the verb *kKaye*. The connective *tolok* is durative in nature and the process of the main clause must be a process that goes in parallel with that of the *tolok* clause. But the verb *kKaye* is instantaneous and cannot go on in time. When the verb is negated as in (6b), the sentence becomes grammatical because absence of activity can be regarded as a state which lasts. In (6c) the compound verb *kKaye eissa* denotes a state and can be used with the *tolok* clause.

The observation above is basically correct, but the following point must be noticed. Some instantaneous verbs can be used with a *tolok* clause when the subjects are plural. Compare the following two sentences.

(7) a. 그는 목이 쉬도록 였었다.
    Kunun mokii switoalk wulessta.
    He cried until his voice became hoarse.

b. 그는 다리가 아프도록 걸었다.
    Kunun talika aphutoalk kellessta.
    He walked until his legs ached.

c. 귀가 닳도록 붕타올랐다.
    Kwika talhtolok pwahukal haysssta.
    I asked (him) until his ears were worn out.

So far we have examined the terminal viewpoint of result expressed by *tolok*. The two processes connected by *tolok* are simultaneous, and the process of the *tolok* clause is usually incidental to that of the main clause. The connective *tolok* provides us with another viewpoint. It is an initial viewpoint expressing purpose. In this use, the process of the main clause either precedes
or coincides with that of the tolok clause and the process of the main clause is thought to be contributory to that of the tolok clause. These two viewpoints can be seen below:

(8) 우리는 어머니 병이 낫도록 했다.

wulinun emeni pyengi nastolok pilessta.

We prayed until (so that) my mother became well.

Sentence (8) is ambiguous. In one interpretation, the event of praying and the process of getting well are concurrent. The sentence means that when we stopped praying we found that mother had gotten well. In another reading, the praying and the getting well are not concurrent. The praying preceded the getting well and the praying is thought to have contributed to the getting well. The two viewpoints of tolok in (8) can be summarized in the following way.

(9) a. resultative viewpoint  

getting well (E1) is concurrent with praying (E2) and E1 is incidental to E2

b. purpose viewpoint  

getting well (E1) is preceded by praying (E2) and E2 is contributory to E1.

In the purpose reading of the tolok clause, the purpose may or may not result. Observe the following additional examples.

(10) a. 우리는 나무가 일지 않도록 동치에 세기를 감았다.

wulinun namwuka elci anhtolok twungchier saykkilul kamassta.

We wound the trunk with straw rope until/so that it might not freeze to death.

b. 우리는 그 생성이 쇠지 않도록 소금을 뿌렸다.

wulinun ku sayngsenni sseksi anhtolok sokumul ppuylestta.

We spread salt on the fish so that it might not spoil.

In (10a) the two processes did not take place at the same time and the desired state of the tree that it does not freeze may or may not result. But the speaker believes that winding the trunk with a straw rope is contributory to the prevention of freezing. Similarly in (10b), salting is thought to contribute to the prevention of rott ing.

Some additional examples illustrating the purpose viewpoint are presented below.

(11) a. 병이 낫도록 그들은 곳을 했다:

pyengi nastolok kwutulun kwusul hayssta.

They performed an exorcism so that (someone) might become well.

b. 나는 그 물을 바우지 않도록 배어 놓았다.

nanun ku twuli sswauci anhtolok tyeve nchasstta.

I separated the two so that they will not fight.

c. 나는 그가 나쁜 마음을 고치도록 양심했다.

nanun kuka napun pelusul kochitolk thallessta.

I advised him so that he might get rid of his bad habits.

In this section, the connective tolok will be compared with key and some differences will be pointed out. First, let us compare the following two sentences. They are identical except for the connectives.

(12) a. 반죽이 녹히도록 물을 푹다.

pancwuki nuuknukwikatolok mwulul thala.

Add water until the dough becomes soft.
In both sentences above, the speaker wants to have a thin mixture. However, the two sentences are not the same. The speaker of (12a) asks the addressee to add water until the mixture becomes thin. Probably the addressee has added some water. Here the speaker's interest lies in the gradual process of making the paste thin. On the other hand, the speaker of (12b) simply names the action to make the mixture thin. He is not interested in the gradual process.

The difference between the two sentences below can be accounted for in a similar way.

(13) a. 그 감자를 바삭바삭 하도록 떡겨라.
    ke kamealul passakpassak hatolok thwicyela.
    Fry the potato until it becomes crisp.
b. 그 감자를 바삭바삭하게 떡겨라.
    ku kamealul passakpassakhatolok thwicyela.
    Fry the potato so that it becomes crisp.

What the speaker of (13a) is interested in is the gradual process of frying until the potatoes become crispy. In contrast, the speaker of (13b) is interested in the resultant state of being crispy. Pragmatically sentence (13a) will be used when the speaker asks someone to fry the potato chips more until they become crispy. Sentence (13b) will be used when the speaker asks someone to fry the potato chips crispy. Thus, when tolok is used, the idea of duration is important, and when key is used, the idea of the resultant state is important. When a process is thought to take time, tolok is more natural than key, as can be seen below.

(14) a. 방안이 훈훈하도록 문을 닫았다.
    pangani hwunhwunhatolok mwunul tatasta.
    I closed the door until/so that the room became warm.
b. 방안이 훈훈하게 문을 닫았다.
    pangani hwunhwunhakey mwunul tatasta.
    I closed the door to make the room might become warm.

Warming up a room takes time and sentence (14a) is more natural. When the room is already warm, sentence (14b) is more natural. In this case, no change is implied and only maintaining the state is intended.

The difference between the following two sentences can be accounted for in a similar way.

(15) a. 나는 그가 오도록 했다.
    nanun kuka otoolok haystsa.
    I did something until/so that he might come.
b. 나는 그가 오게 했다.
    nanun kuka okey haystsa.
    I made him come.

When tolok is used, a gradual process of persuasion or encouragement is implied, but when key is used, only the resultant state is important. The following pairs of sentences can be accounted for in a similar way.

(16) a. 나는 그가 열심히 일하도록 타일렸다.
    nanun kuka yelsimhi ihatolok thaillessta.
    I advised him until/so that he might work hard.
b. 나는 그가 열심히 일하게 타일렸다.
    nanun kuka yelsimhi ihakey thaillessta.
    I advised him so that he might work hard.
(17) a. 식에 참석을 하도록 다시 알려 주었다.
   sikey chamseukul hatotok tasi illecwuessta.
   I told him until/so that he might attend the meeting.

b. 식에 참석을 하게 다시 알려 주었다.
   sikey chamseukul hakey tasi illecwuessta.
   I told him so that he might attend the meeting.

9.19. tunci (돫지)

The particle tunci is used when the speaker has no preference for a particular choice. It can be used with verbs, nouns, and postpositions. In this section, we will examine its use with verbs. In the following sentences, the connective is used with the present tense. The speaker uses this form when he does not have any preference for a future action or activity. Let us observe the following examples.

(1) a. 이 생선 어떻게 할까요?
   i sayngsen ettehkey halkkayo?
   What shall I do with this fish?

b. 살문지 굽는지 마무대로 하세요.
   salmtunci kwuptunci maumtaylo haseyyo.
   Do whatever you want to do: you can boil or roast it.

In (1) speaker (b) does not have any particular preference either for boiling or roasting, and he leaves the decision to the addressee. The important thing with tunci is that the action denoted by the verb is not yet realized. It is still being contemplated. As the speaker does not have any preference for a choice, the addressee can choose what he wants to do.

Let us observe the following additional examples.

(2) a. 정구를 좀 친가요?
   cengkwulul com chikkayo?
   Shall I play tennis?

b. 그래, 정구를 치는지 공을 차는지 하자.
   kulay, cengkwulul chitunci kongul chatunci haca.
   Okay, let's play tennis or kick ball.

(3) a. 그 분이 내일 갈리고 합니다.
   ku pwuni nayil kalyeko hapnita.
   He is going to leave tomorrow.

b. 가든지 밀든지 난 모르겠다.
   katunci maltunci nan molukeysssta.
   I don't care whether he goes or not.
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